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THE IMPLEMENTATION OF POPULAR CULTURE IN CREATIVE ADVERTISING STRATEGY IN POST-APARtheid SOUTH AFRICA

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DECLARATION

I herewith declare that the dissertation which is handed to Rand Afrikaans University for completion of the requirements for the degree, Master of Arts, is my own unaided work and has not been submitted to any other University.

December 1994
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This study could not have been completed without the financial assistance of Rand Afrikaans University. All statements made within this document however, are made by the author and do not necessarily reflect the point of view of the University.

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SUMMARY

This dissertation will concentrate on the manner in which the signification systems of Popular Culture in advertising texts operate within the context of a changing South African or post-apartheid society. Social and political changes have taken place virtually overnight and it is therefore not surprising that the effects of these transformations have not yet filtered through to all layers of society. Furthermore, such quick changes cannot take place without causing at least some ripples of dissent and upheaval within certain sectors of society which may include cultural groups or even business.

The author will consequently examine the effect which social changes have had on the perceptions of advertisers in the marketplace and the manner in which their brands are portrayed within advertising texts. More specifically, an investigation will be undertaken into the manner in which Popular Culture, which is inherently South African, has been incorporated within the contents of those texts.

Popular Culture, it will be argued, has moved away from being a term used by classical Marxists to describe a so-called mass culture. In fact, within the context of a postmodern society, in other words, one which is essentially multi-faceted, the concept Popular Culture encapsulates that which is used within the day-to-day living experience to make a statement of dissent with the mainstream.

Therefore the task set by this dissertation is manifold. In the first instance we will place the South African market within a historic, cultural and economic context. In other words, we will attempt to trace the life-world of the South
African consumer. In the second place, the nature of the Popular Culture within that society will be discussed during which we will define the nature of such a culture as well as the manner in which it functions and the role it plays within discourse and power.

Finally the producers of the advertising texts and their products - the advertising will be examined. In doing this, the manner in which marketers function and the way in which marketing activity relates to Popular Culture will be examined. Finally a range of advertising texts produced by the South African advertising industry will be analyzed. They will be examined in terms of their signification systems and the manner in which they reflect the Popular Culture of their target markets.

The above mentioned topics will be discussed within the entire context of a critical history. In other words, the study of discourse and language will play a seminal part within the arguments of this dissertation. The changing nature of critical thought, from an inherently modernist perspective to one which can be described as postmodern, will be examined in relation to both the manner in which Popular Culture is defined, and the manner in which the discourse of South African society is changing.

This discussion will illustrate a movement away from the trend to perceive events and texts as singular manifestations of meaning, to the perception that such social texts are indeed polymorphous and subject to multiple readings.

Finally suggestions will be made relating to additional studies which may be conducted within this field of enquiry.
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: HISTORY, THEORY AND CONTEXT

INTRODUCTION

The field of study upon to be embarked is one which has no simple answers, and indeed the theoretical stance which is assumed during this dissertation is one which is equally complex. This is perhaps because both the theoretical and the advertising phenomena which will be under discussion have lapsed into a grey area in which meaning has become indistinct and referential systems essentially polymorphous.

In this introductory chapter will be a brief examination of some of the issues which have bearing on this dissertation. The first of these is the nature of advertising as cultural text within contemporary society.

Secondly, an overview of the theoretical debate between the modernist and postmodern schools will be given. This will enable the author to maintain an argument throughout this dissertation that South African society should be regarded as being a postmodern rather than a modern one.

Finally a brief discussion about the nature of Popular Culture and the role it is perceived to play within the signification systems of advertising texts will follow. This will enable the reader to contextualise the dissertation as a whole, in terms of its historical and theoretical positions.
1.1 THE ADVERTISING TEXT

Although the twentieth century may well be described as the age of advertising, the promotion of goods occurred as long ago as Roman times. However, with the advent of the twentieth century and incredible technological advances, a mass media which could communicate with thousands of people at the same time was developed. It is in this development that the strength of advertising lies.

The branded 'myths' of our age have become the signification systems upon which consumers have based their lives. And it can be said that modern consumers invent themselves through the mass consumption of branded items - each with its own set of signification systems, codes and characteristics. Through this consumption, branded items gain strength in terms of their inherent consumer value, or lose strength if they are not perceived as being desirable items.

Baudrillard writes:

"... [Brands] objects are categories of objects which quite tyrannically induce categories of persons. They undertake the policing of social meanings and the significations they engender are controlled. Their proliferation, simultaneously arbitrary and coherent, is the best vehicle for a social order, equally arbitrary and coherent, to materialize itself effectively under the sign of affluence." (Baudrillard in Poster, 1988: 16 – 17)

He goes on to say that all brands in contemporary society become acronyms for the products they represent. Thus the function of the brand is to make the product recognizable and distinct from others, and its second function is to set in motion a range of meanings and connotations which are unique
to the brand and which represent its unique selling proposition.

Thus advertising texts must simultaneously contain the elusive quality which makes the brand desirable, and that which makes it recognizable to its consumer audiences. It is precisely this quality, this brand value, which consists of a range of shared and personal meanings, which are adopted by the consumer as their own.

Although strong brands remain consistent through years of advertising, it is the values and qualities embodied within such brands which turns them into cultural texts which reveal the nuances of the day to day lives of consumers within specific societies. As cultural texts, the discourse of advertising assumes a secondary role, not envisaged by its producers: namely that it becomes the voice of the consumers within a specific society. The signification systems at work within such texts in this sense become the testimonial of a Popular Culture at work within a specific society.

The dichotomy between what the modernists term 'high' and 'low' culture becomes pertinent in this instance, as it is argued that 'popular' texts have little or no value in terms of being cultural texts. Advertising falls within the category of so-called 'low' culture and it is in this instance important to justify the value of advertising within a theoretical context.

1.2 FROM META-NARRATIVE TO HYPER-REALITY - MODERN AND POSTMODERN THEORY

Contemporary critical thought is still marked by a growing divide between theoretical thinkers. Two schools of thought exist - namely that of the now 'traditional' modernist
thinkers - and those which can be described as being essentially postmodern in nature.

The basis for this critical shift occurs mainly on the level of meaning and the perceptions surrounding it. Essentially, meaning is described as a socially-constructed set of norms and rules which is understood within specific societies as the result of convention. In the past it was accepted that meaning had a singular function - to depict a certain concept, world view, norm or convention - in order for it to be understood by a wide range of people. This 'meaning' was regarded as being encapsulated within the discourse or language of a society.

Meaning was communicated in this instance by the use of symbols which bore an arbitrary relationship to the object that they depicted. Thus the signifier (symbol)/ signified (object) relationship was based purely on social convention and a shared understanding of that symbol.

Garnham states:

"One cannot avoid, in any discussion of the field of media and cultural studies today, the questions of the status of the text and its interpretation. All forms of human communication are mediated through, and all forms of human knowledge constructed within, languages. By languages I mean socially constructed and therefore shared systems by means of which individuals can represent to others in strongly coded form perceptions or mental states such that they can in some sense be shared." (1990: 14)

This is essentially the modernist stance with regard to meaning. Furthermore this point of view has permeated into a mass media industry which presents texts that presuppose that
meaning is indeed singular and shared. Garnham goes on to admit that, although the intention of the mass media is to convey such a singular shared meaning, slippages do occur both on the level of meaning construction and of interpretation.

It is this essential flaw in the modernist argument which has led to the rise of a growing sense of postmodernism in the late seventies through to the present time. Lyotard (Hutcheon, 1989) encapsulates the postmodern condition by stating that the meta-narratives of the past have collapsed, resulting in a theoretical situation in which the concept no longer has a relation with the object.

In simpler terms this is an indication of the collapse of the relationship between the signifier and the signified. The relationship upon which language was based was once arbitrary, but in the minds of modernist theorists it most certainly existed. In a postmodern society this same relationship has deteriorated to such an extent that one essential meaning is unattainable. It is this which Garnham (1990) refers to as 'slippage' and Derrida (1978) describes différence - the constant deferral of meaning.

In terms of the modernist description of 'high' and 'low' culture the rise of a postmodern consciousness has had very real repercussions when one examines popular texts such as advertising.

Whereas the modernists are purists, believing that meaning fulfils a singular function, and that culture has to adhere to certain principles in order for it to be valued - postmodern theorists are multi-faceted, examining a range of cultural activities which produce different types of meaning within society.
This means that advertising texts are perceived to have some value as cultural texts, and indeed that they represent a valid type of reality or world view.

Dyer (1982) argues that advertisements are often mistaken as depicting a transparent reality when in fact they in themselves a kind of reality portraying 'specific representational practices.

"... [advertisements] are specific discourses or structures of signs. As such we do not passively absorb them but actively participate in their production and signification, according to the way they 'speak' or 'ensnare' us. We come to advertisements as social readers." (Dyer, 1982: 115)

The semiotic approach adheres neither to a modernist or a postmodern principle although is has adopted some of the concepts and analytical tools used in structuralism. Looking at a system of signs, semiotic enquiry enables us to examine the codes and structures within advertisements, the manner in which they have been organized and more specifically how they produce meaning/s.

Because of its inherent objectivity, and the apparent ability of semiotic analysis to identify patterns of cultural signification, it will be used throughout this study as the primary means of analysing advertising texts. Furthermore the semiotic approach has the potential of revealing not only one type of meaning, but all the deferred meanings inherent within the text.
1.3 POPULAR CULTURE AND THE ADVERTISING TEXT

The nature of the advertising text as well as the theoretical approach which will be assumed regarding it has been discussed in some detail. At this stage it becomes necessary to examine the actual element under discussion within those texts, namely Popular Culture.

The description of Popular Culture is inextricably interlinked with the notion of a changing theoretical consciousness. As noted earlier, a certain change has taken place within the minds of literary theorists regarding the nature of meaning within texts as well as the inherent value of specific texts such as advertising.

Within the field of Popular Culture a similar shift has occurred, one in which it is no longer defined simply in terms of a repressive ideological tool with which to keep the working class masses in position of submission. Rather, in postmodern consciousness it is described as the manner in which the larger mass of people are able to express dissent, albeit on a level which is essentially not mainstream.

But it is more than just that: Storey writes: "... the term Popular Culture is not as definitionally obvious as we might have first thought. A great deal of the difficulty arises from the absent/present other which always haunts any definition we might use. It is never enough to speak of Popular culture, we have always to acknowledge that with which it is being contrasted." (1993: 17)

Thus the term Popular Culture will be examined within this study within the broader context of the South African situation relating specifically to the practice of advertising.
Dyer states:
"Ads as a means of representation and meaning construct ideology within themselves through the intervention of external codes which are located in society. The ad will use images, notions, concepts, myths etc. already available in culture." (Dyer, 1982: 129)

He fails however to mention the existence of a Popular Culture which is as much part of the systems of signification at work within the microstructure of society as are the generally understood myths and concepts which function within the mainstream.

It is this relationship between meaning which occurs within the microstructure of society and their appearance within advertising texts which will form the basis of enquiry within this dissertation. Thus the stance must be adopted that the consumer does not merely passively accept the reality presented to him or her within the framework of the advertising text.

Rather the relationship between the consumer and the text is a multi-faceted one in which the consumer interpellates the text, drawing from a general pool of cultural knowledge and from specific and personal experience in order to create meaning. It is the stance of the author that the producers of advertising texts often disregard specific cultural information - or the Popular Culture of the target market. Furthermore, that advertising effectively for a changing south African market should incorporate a combination of Popular and Mainstream Culture, using the multi-faceted postmodern approach in order to advertise most effectively.

Although not blatantly so, this study may be considered within the light of political studies as it will examine the nature
of power and discourse, and the manner within which it is implemented on an economical level. It is also a humanist study, examining the South African advertising industry and the market within the context of historical and social changes.
CHAPTER TWO
THE MARKET BEFORE AND AFTER APARTHEID

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the nature of the market within the framework of a changing epistemology will be examined, that is a market in a previously repressive society in which the structures of power and discourse were situated within one sphere of society; and one in which those structures transformed themselves through social change in order to become more representative.

Firstly, the nature of the market during the apartheid era will be scrutinized, in terms of its political, economical and social make-up.

Thereafter the realities of a market in transition will be discussed, a market which can essentially be described as being a Third World one and one in which the dominant face of the consumer changes as access to power is spread more evenly over a larger base of the population.

Finally, the implications of the marketplace in a post-apartheid South Africa and the impact that the changing market has had on the perceptions of marketers and advertisers alike will be ascertained.

The author's argument will be based primarily on the Foucauldian idea that societies function within very distinct epistemological ages. In other words, ages in which one type of world view is dominant.

According to Foucault, every period or age adheres to a specific conceptual structure which ultimately determines the nature of
knowledge within that epoch. The character of such an age is
known as an episteme (Littlejohn, 1983).

According to Foucault each world view and episteme of every
passing age is exclusive and incompatible with those preceding
or following it. People within a specific epoch are shaped by
the dominant discourse at play within it. That is to say that
human agents are shaped by certain treatises, by what they
'know' and are therefore created then by the language or
discourse which forms the basis of knowledge within that epoch.

The function of this discourse of knowledge is ultimately power
- because those who control the latent 'knowledge' within a
society are also those who are within a political, social and
cultural position of strength.

What we are witnessing in a post-apartheid South Africa is the
changing of such an epoch. The discourse of racism has been
replaced, albeit gradually, by a one of reconciliation. And as
we pass from one epoch into the next, so too the power will pass
from the minority of the population to a larger representative
one.

2.1 THE IMPLICATIONS OF AN APARTHEID MARKET

Before we examine the nature of the apartheid market we must
recognise the fact that what we will be examining in the ensuing
pages now constitutes history. Foucault identifies within the
context of a postmodern society, the changing nature of history.
We are moving as it were from a modernist epoch in which a total
history was the dominant theme, into one in which a general
history prevails.

By this Foucault means that, rather than history having one
single centre, it now exists within the context of dispersion.
"A total description draws all phenomena around a single centre - a principle, a meaning, a spirit, a world-view, an overall shape; general history on the contrary, would employ the space of a dispersion." (Foucault, 1972: 10)

This implies that our perceptions about history are constantly mutating and changing, more than ever now within the context of a society in which the discourses of power are changing hands.

Therefore the observations made within this chapter should be regarded as the product of such a changing society and should be viewed within the context of the time in which it is written.

Within any society the political, the social and the economical factors are intrinsically linked. And within the apartheid market, this connection is that which constitutes the very basis of such a racist discourse. We will therefore often find that discussions about these three aspects about the apartheid market overlap and are interwoven, influencing each other in a variety of ways.

2.1.1 THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF APARTHEID

The power of an apartheid discourse was based for almost forty years on the concept of race and superiority. The principles of Afrikanerdom - religion, nationalism and an inherent belief in the superiority of one race above another is the basis of an ideology which managed to split South Africans into racially determined groups. And it was within the context of such racially segmented groups that empowerment and disempowerment occurred.

One cannot speak of apartheid without speaking of politics as the entire apartheid ideology was based essentially within that
area of activity. Although racism was enforced in South Africa long before the rise of the National Party in the 1940s, through legislation such as the passing of the Natives Land Act in 1913 and the Pass laws in 1923, it was during the reign of the Nationalist Party that apartheid was most stringently enforced as a complete ideology encroaching on the lives of all South Africans.

And although the Black sector of the South African population had been well and truly disempowered by the 1940s, the manifestations of African Nationalism were quelled by the rampant growth of Afrikaner Nationalism.

Smuts was almost prophetic when he wrote in 1892:

"The race struggle is destined to assume a magnitude on the African Continent such as the world has never seen, and the imagination shrinks from contemplating. . .."

(Smuts in Oliver and Atmore, 1972: 188)

He went on to say that the only manner in which annihilation could be prevented was through the unification of the White camp. By 1948 that White unity had been attained to some extent, but far from preventing the annihilation of the country, it was in fact the first symptom of a long process of social destruction.

Far from being the first implementors of the principles of segregation, the National Party was simply instrumental in reinforcing and fine-tuning them. At the time in which the National Party rose to power, the African National Congress, which was founded in 1913 by Sol Plaatje, enjoyed only a limited support.

However, as the National Party extended its ideology through legislative and economic empowerment, the African National
Congress decided on a programme of non-violent action, which was very similar to the defiance campaign which happened during the 1950s.

This was to no avail, as a number of acts were passed which were designed to uplift the White population and completely control the Non-white population. In 1950 the Suppression of Communism Act was passed - preventing free association and expression of thought. Furthermore the Bantu authorities Act in 1950 revived the idea of chieftainship - dispersing tribes and allowing the government even further control by means of the selected chiefs.

Perhaps the most frightening of all legislative action was the passing of the Bantu Education Act which placed 'Black' Education within the jurisdiction of the Department of Native Affairs. Verwoerd argued that the inferior education given to Black South Africans was in the interest of better race relations.

"... race relations cannot exist when education is under the control of people who believe in equality. Such a person will create in the Bantu expectations which will clash with the possibilities of the country."
(Mbeki, 1992: 68)

Thus education for Black people was structured in such a way that it trained them only for menial work and was, as a result, of a much lower standard than the education given to White children.

In the 1950s, a Defiance campaign was launched and was marked by a number of consumer boycotts. It was also during this time that the African National Congress gained most of its support, moving from being a party supported mainly by intellectuals to one which enjoyed support from the ranks of the working class. However, in the late 1950s, a split occurred within the African
National Congress when a Pan-Africanist group broke away, opposing the concept that South Africa belonged to all those who lived in it (Mbeki, 1992). According to the Pan-Africanists, South Africa belonged only to the indigenous people, and not to the White 'settlers' who had been living in the country for generations.

It was this split which led indirectly to the Sharpeville shootings in 1960. When the African National Congress decided to launch an anti-pass campaign, due to start on 31st March 1960, the Pan African Congress retaliated by launching its own campaign ten days earlier on 21 March of the same year.

Mbeki argues that the 69 people shot at Sharpeville were merely curious spectators who had arrived to see the Pan Africanists hand over their passes to the police.

As result of the Sharpeville massacre, a state of emergency was declared on 31 March and both the PAC and ANC were banned. It was only then that the ANC abandoned its campaign of passive resistance, taking up arms to start the armed struggle which was to last until the 90s. The massacre had a further effect in that it evoked an international outcry which led to the initial isolation of South Africa from the rest of the world. However, the government, then still led by the National Party maintained its pro-segregation stance with some success.

By the beginning of the 1970s however, it had become clear that apartheid would not succeed. 1976 was the turning point for the political underground in South Africa, when students protesting against Afrikaans medium teaching in their schools rose up and were forcefully suppressed. The country never recovered completely from the shock waves caused by the Soweto uprising.
The inauguration of P.W. Botha in 1979 officially marked the era of reform. Instead of smoothing over the troubled waters, the era of reform led to even greater economic debilitation and social unrest. This was perhaps the result of reforms being presented under a different mantle, rather than being a manifestation of the outright abolition of apartheid.

The referendum held in 1985 to determine whether a tri-cameral parliament was to be convened was resisted on a number of fronts because of the fact that it allowed only limited participation, and once again left the Black majority with no say in the political matters of the land. Several states of emergency were called and revoked only to be reinstated once again in the violence-stricken eighties.

At this stage the African National Congress was fully involved in the armed struggle and the government reacted by clamping down and passing draconian censorship laws. Journalists were prevented from entering unrest areas, information was carefully selected to reflect only one side of the story and the politically suspect could be detained without trial or charges for long periods of time.

This all resulted in a serious devaluation of the rand, more isolation in the form of ever more stringent sanctions and economic disaster. In the late eighties a group of White businessmen and politicians ventured forth to Dakar to speak to the African National Congress which was still banned. Although not clear at that stage, the Dakar talks were instrumental in removing barriers between big business and the African National Congress and ultimately leading to F.W. de Klerk's ground breaking speech on 2 February 1992.

It was this, more than any other occurrence in the preceding forty years, which ultimately set the wheels in motion for a
process which had a post-apartheid South Africa in mind as its final aim.

Thus it is clear that the period 1948 to 1992 was one in which the majority of people in South Africa were systematically disempowered by means of a number of political steps. The effects of the apartheid ideology were far-reaching, not only in terms of the political climate of the country, but also in terms of the social and economical conditions.

2.1.2 THE SOCIAL CULTURE UNDER APARTHEID

A number of the legislative measures taken during the apartheid era had a negative impact on the social development of Black, Coloured and Indian South Africans. These include a fragmentation of family structures, a culture of violence and increased impoverishment due to low-paid jobs and lack of job opportunities.

We will examine some of the major factors involved in the disintegration of South African communities, such as pass laws, influx controls and inferior education. Once again it will become clear that the apartheid discourse functions like a language, in which the ideology it espouses essentially reinforces power within the White 'ruling class'.

i. INFLUX CONTROL

The pass system - which had already been in place since the 1920s - resulted in Black consumers experiencing restricted movement and consequently becoming even more economically impoverished as this often meant that they were denied access to larger economic systems.
Massive urbanisation - although in its infancy - escalated because of the pass laws. These were designed to keep the cities of South Africa White, but far from controlling influx, it resulted in a radical increase of 'illegal immigrants' in the cities.

This in turn resulted in massive Black settlements on the outskirts of every South African city. Rapid urbanisation could not be accommodated. Housing shortages resulted which led to the development of informal settlements.

The homelands policy was supposed to alleviate this problem, but it did not manage to do that. Instead the 'independent' Homeland states became an additional drain on the South African economy.

ii. FORCED REMOVALS

During the apartheid years, social engineering was attempted. Areas were often claimed for the White sector of the population. Forced removals were at the order of the day, the most famous example perhaps being the destruction of Sofia Town in the 1950s.

The inhabitants of such settlements were often moved to areas which were far away from city and shopping centres - or if they lived in rural areas, were removed to one of the independent homelands. This influenced consumption patterns in two ways. In the first place it gave rise to the beginnings of a thriving informal sector in the shape of spaza shops and hawkers as well as shebeens. Secondly it influenced the Black way of life in that people were forced to commute over long distances to their places of employment. Family life under these conditions could not withstand the strain and often crumbled as Black adults had to leave for work early in the mornings and returned home late.
iii. MIGRATORY WORKERS

Family life was further disrupted because either one or both parents worked in cities for the majority of the year, often leaving their children in the care of family members in the rural areas. Women, in the employ of White households, were discouraged from sharing their living quarters with husbands and children and the mine compounds were restricted to males only.

iv. APARTHEID LEGISLATION

Other political factors which affected Black consumption patterns were amongst others, the Separate Amenities act which denied Black consumers the access to public places such as parks, cinemas, restaurants and beaches. Consequently the majority of the market was excluded from important advertising strategies and decisions.

Although a marginal awareness of the needs of Black consumers existed - the South African market was regarded, as a whole, as a homogenous Western market, rather than a diverse African one. This trait is understandable when one takes into consideration that in the 1970s only 25% of money spent on consumer goods was spent by the Black market. However, since the 1980s that amount has been rising steadily, totalling 40% in 1987. It is estimated that, by the year 2000 between 60% and 70% of all purchases will be made by the Black market (Morris, 1992).

v. POLITICAL VIOLENCE

The Black consumer was furthermore affected by violence which flared, often as a result of apartheid ideology. With the banning of the ANC and PAC in the 1960s, as well as the decision to take up an armed struggle - the incidence of urban violence rose dramatically - the 1960 Sharpeville shootings and the...
uprisings in 1976 being but two of the examples. Rather than abating, violence escalated in the mid 1980s and has become even more prominent in the transition period.

The Black consumer was affected by such urban violence in that day to day life was disrupted on several levels. Often Black employees were unable to go to work for long periods of time. Intimidation played a role when consumer boycotts were called and schooling was disrupted to such an extent that we are now witnessing the effects of a so-called 'lost' generation. The secondary effects of violence included a massive loss of capital and did not in any way assist the already crippled economy which resulted in an endless spiral of poverty, unemployment and illiteracy.

**vi. EDUCATION**

Although education was often disrupted by violence, the fact remains that the Black educational system was, and remains, hopelessly inadequate. An ideological tool in the hands of apartheid architect Verwoerd, it was structured specifically to keep the Black population at a menial level.

Furthermore it was restricted by budgetary constraints. Only a fraction of the money allocated to White education was allocated to Black education. Teachers were often less than qualified and the dropout rate in Black schools was high – pupils leaving because of financial constraints, making it impossible for them to continue with their education, or they were forced to go to work to supplement family incomes or to look after the household during the absence of their parents.

This also contributed to the spiral of poverty, industrialists often complaining that "... few school leavers from the South African education system, but above all from the Black
education system, had the capacity and/or knowledge to enter the job market." (Lee & Schlemmer, 1991: 154)

Thus apartheid legislation extended itself to all aspects of life in South Africa, especially when one belonged to the disempowered majority group. Kotzé (1993) attributes the existence of a collective consciousness within Black communities to precisely such disempowerment.

The concept of collective consciousness in this instance is manifested in certain types of social behaviour which may explain cycles of violence within Black communities and is, Kotzé argues, a means of coping with extreme social situations in which poverty and violence features strongly. Later in this dissertation we will discuss the ideas of a collective versus an individual consciousness in more detail.

2.1.3 THE ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF APARTHEID

In order to examine the facts about the South African Market during and after apartheid, it is necessary to keep in mind the conditions which facilitated the implementation of racial segregation, not only in the social arena but also in the business sector. Unfortunately it is the case that big business often backs the power centre. As van Zyl Slabbert duly notes:

"The private sector has always followed the political approach of 'business' to keep both ears to the ground, tuck in behind power, and economically exploit stability for as long as it endures."

(Van Zyl Slabbert in Lee and Schlemmer, 1991: 7)

He also notes however that as soon as governments commit themselves to periods of transition, that businesses have no other choice than to look ahead to the political future and to
attempt to apply survival tactics in order to be able to enter into that future.

It was only in the 1970s, when apartheid started showing discernable negative effects on economic growth, that the business sector started campaigning for a change in the dispensation. But years of political repression had already left its mark on the South African market.

Lascaris and Green were the first to admit that the advertising industry was as guilty of entrenching apartheid as any legislation enforced during the apartheid years:

"The marketing, advertising and research communities of this country were guilty of allowing the doctrine of separate development to influence their thinking about products and about people...It was as though two different species on different planets were being considered." (Lascaris and Green, 1988: 15 - 16)

And it would seem that, during the apartheid years, the South African market had, almost unnoticed, joined the ranks of other Third World nations. So unnoticed in fact that, when Lascaris and Green suggested in the late eighties that the South African market should be approached largely as a Third World market, their point of view was regarded as somewhat of a breakthrough within the South African advertising fraternity. They argued that the South African market should be approached the in following manner:

"* Stressing the increasingly Third World nature of our market;
* minimising the importance of American and British models for our market;
emphasising parallels with multi-ethnic Brazil;
* examining population trends and their consequences."
(Lascaris & Green, 1988:45)

The South African market in its present day can be described as a Third World one, precisely because of the forces of an apartheid ideology which led to segregation not only socially and politically but also on an economic basis. Factors such as inferior education and job availability have led to Black consumers being disadvantaged in the economic sphere as well, and the large informal sector can be regarded as one of the results of this.

Morris notes that "...the average black consumer is very aware of the free enterprise system and knows the value of the rand." (1991:22) And although it is almost impossible to ascertain exactly what Black families are earning as many are employed in the informal sector, it is clear that Black consumers know the value of money as they are still earning substantially less than their White peers.

The Race Relations Survey of 1989 found South African per capita incomes had increased over thirty years, but during that time the gap in earnings between the White and Black sector hadn't narrowed by any noticeable margin.

The Bureau of Market Research at UNISA estimated that a family of five who lived in Soweto or the greater Johannesburg area needed R151,03 to survive in 1980. In 1989, at an inflation rate of 291% the same family needed R591,10 a month. Schlemmer et al. (1991) note that wages in formal employment have exceeded inflation by as mere 1,1% per annum, and the informal sector in this instance was not taken into account at all.
They also argue that activity in the informal sector is not significantly instrumental in altering the subsistence level of many Black families. It is however important to take cognisance that 86% of workers cannot find work in the formal sector and consequently turn to the informal sector for employment opportunities. It is estimated at the present time that unemployment levels have reached an all time high of 46% - although it must be noted that those people who are in fact economically active in the informal sector, are not taken into consideration.

Furthermore the informal sector indirectly influences estimations of the annual economic growth rate - although it was judged to stand at 3% in 1988 - Professor Brian Kantor of the University of Cape Town's School of Economics estimated, that with input from the informal sector which was largely unregulated, actual growth could be estimated to stand at 10% (Kantor in Lee and Schlemmer 1991).

In a post-apartheid South Africa, Black income levels might not jump immediately, but they are bound to rise substantially. It is generally accepted that a new dispensation will take economic steps to ensure the upliftment of the Black sector. Measures presently under discussion include the imposition of a wealth-tax as well as the levying of taxes on property. This is intended primarily to close the economic gap between White and Black South Africans and is bound to affect the White market far more adversely than it will the Black.

The political, the social and the economic implications of the apartheid ideology and its accompanying legislative measures has been discussed in some depth, and it is clear that all of the aspects above are interlinked in some way. Thus inferior
education for example leads to diminished job opportunities and consequently poverty.

The segregation ideology which apartheid espoused can therefore be regarded as functioning on one major level, that of disempowerment. All the measures taken to institute the ideas and ideals of apartheid ultimately had the same aim, to ensure that a relatively wealthy class of people ruled over one which, because of social, financial and political disempowerment had little or no ability to stand up and assert their rights. At the turn of this century such power relations were based on class differences, but in the South Africa of an apartheid age, they were based purely on race.

However, despite extensive measures to institute such a society, the disempowered were involved in what can only be described as a type of latent 'guerilla warfare', in which resources were used and subverted in order for those people to enjoy a reasonable standard of living.

And, as this guerilla warfare became more intense as the apartheid age drew to its close, so too the society which generated it could be increasingly described as a Third World one.

2.2 THE THIRD WORLD REALITY - A MARKET IN TRANSITION

This emerging Third World market must be described as a market in transition, and although it follows trends set in other Third World countries all over the world, the South African market is apparently unique in that it functions on two levels. The first is that of a mainstream Westernised market and the second is that which has been set up during the apartheid era, a large informal sector which is largely unexplored.
A brief description of what Third World market is before discussing the implications of the new rising consumer in the South African context will be necessary.

The effects of political repression on the market have been manifold. As has become clear, South African society was essentially 'divided' in the minds of the people as well as the South African legislation before 1990. Furthermore the majority of that market was perceived as being "second class", which is why the bulk of the advertising done before the mid-1980s was directed towards the White market.

The political influences on the whole South African market during the apartheid years have already been examined. Unfortunately it seems that, although the Black sector of the population will enjoy increasing power in terms of consumer profile, that the malaise which resulted from the apartheid years will remain for us for some decades to come.

It appears to be the case that the South African market has, almost overnight, turned into a Third World one, showing most of the characteristics of young and developing nations. The definition, Third World is a problematic one, and to establish whether in fact we can use it as a classification for a future South African market, we will have to examine it in some detail.

2.2.1 THE SOUTH AFRICAN MARKET AND THE THIRD WORLD

Lascaris and Green in their last book, Communication in the Third World (1990), list a basket of ten attributes which serve as indicators whether or not countries can be classified as Third World. It is however important to note that, since the publication of their book in 1990, the world has changed substantially and that even highly developed Westernised Nations
are manifesting symptoms which were originally unique to developing nations.

The term, Third World, was first coined at the Bandung Conference of Asian and African nations in 1955 and was one of the first indicators of political solidarity between developing nations.

"There they proclaimed a common identity distinct from the two advanced industrial worlds, namely the capitalist world on the one hand, and the socialist world on the other; they were a 'Third World'." (Norbu, 1992: 19)

Although the Bandung conference established a certain solidarity between emerging nations, Lascaris and Green quite rightfully point out that all Third World nations do not adhere to equal measures of Third Worldness. And in fact, when one considers worlds as diverse as Taiwan and Portugal, one cannot but come to the conclusion that nations which are classified as belonging to the First World, should by rights be belong in the ranks of developing nations.

According to Lascaris and Green, all developing nations adhere to at least three of ten characteristics. The closer a nation moves to notching up a full score of ten out of ten, the more deeply it is embedded within the ranks of the Third World. The ten points which they identified in developing or Third World nations were:

* Not a member of the political, economic and military blocks of the East or West.
* Authoritarian form of government.
* Volatile politics.
* High rate of inflation and reputation for a lack of financial discipline which can usually be attributed to mismanagement.
High birthrate and a population which is large and impoverished enough to impose social strains.

* Social dislocation as a result of education crisis, housing problems and/or a high level of crime.

* New Nation status, in terms of having achieved independence from colonial power in the last century.

* Large disparity between the rich and poor of the country.

* High level of foreign debt, to such an effect that it incapacitates long-term prospects.

* An informal code of business conduct, often characterised by bribery and corruption.

In 1990, Lascaris and Green argued that South Africa scored seven out of ten, because it did not suffer from volatile politics, lack of financial management or a large gap between the country's rich and poor. But in 1993/4, we can no longer give South Africa the benefit of the doubt on any of those counts.

Politics have become more volatile in the last three years, to such an extent that we could possibly have entered the first stages of a civil war without even noticing it. Furthermore it has become clear that lack of financial management during the apartheid era has left the country on the brink of bankruptcy - and although we are told that the rate of inflation is less than 20%, it is estimated to be much higher.

Although Lascaris and Green might still argue that the gap between the rich and the poor in South Africa is not too great, it has also become clear that all parties involved view the discrepancy in incomes, and therefore general wealth of the various population groups, as one of the greatest stumbling blocks to a peaceful settlement.
Thus, if we follow Lascaris and Green's method of 'using a basket of definitions', we are not left with a score of seven out of ten as suggested back in 1990, but a score of ten out of ten. This means that South Africa has, in the last three years, rapidly managed to enter the ranks of those countries which are regarded as being firmly embedded in the lowest ranks of the Third World hierarchy.

Other elements which are regarded as typifying developing nations can be found in Kinsey's (1988) classification:

* Massive but under utilised natural resources
* Poverty
* Inadequate health services
* Population explosions resulting in youthful nations
* Vulnerable economies and infrastructures
* Diversity of cultures or languages, and
* Large divide between the wealthy minority and the poor majority.

With the exception of the utilisation of natural resources it is clear that, although Kinsey classifies South Africa as a First World country, everything else indicates the contrary: South Africa has long ceased to belong to - if it ever did - the ranks of First World nations.

The unfortunate truth is that the term Third World has more negative connotations than positive ones. When the Third World is discussed, problems which are highlighted are those of overpopulation, poverty and starvation, spiralling inflation, civil corruption and unrest - to name but a few.

2.2.2 THE RISING THIRD WORLD CONSUMER

But, as the world changes - so too the ambiguous definition of
Third World nations will. For example, the notion that the Third World belongs neither to the Western or Eastern blocs has already dated. When we consider the original source of the Third World, it is, by implication trapped by and excluded from the economic and military strength of both First and Second Worlds. The decline of the East block has removed one of the aspects of power, and to a certain extent, the Second World might quite easily be seen as occupying an equal status as that of the Third World. Furthermore, it is clear that even advanced countries like the United States are developing social pockets which can essentially be classified as being Third World.

Taking this into consideration, Lascaris and Green regard the movement of the South African market from a First to a Third World one as a positive factor within advertising.

"South Africa could become an experimental laboratory. Other markets that were once all First World are now developing Third World characteristics, just as we did in the late '70s and early '80s. Marketing schizophrenia could well set in." (Lascaris & Green, 1990: 29)

The fact remains that in a post-apartheid South Africa, advertisers will have to become trendsetters - taking a long look at the market and the manner in which it is being approached, on all levels. And when the market is approached in the 1990s, it should always be kept in mind that:

"The Third World component of our market is a result of an inadequacy of resources, particularly know-how and capital. It is unstructured, underdeveloped, unsophisticated and informal." (Harben, 1992:7)

Thus one of the most pertinent problems facing a post-apartheid South African marketer is not the market itself, but the mental
leap from First to Third World thinking. Although the majority of the market might be a Third World market, one should at the same time not lose sight of the small percentages of sophisticated consumers which are to be found in all Third World nations.

Consequently, one of the major problems of marketing to Third World consumers can be identified as the coming to terms with the duality of systems - that of the developed and that of the informal.

Nowhere is this duality more apparent than in the South Africa of the '90s. It is as if people were living in parallel universes - but often life-worlds apart, and it is a situation which has not been readily rectified by the election on 27 April, 1994. It is for this reason that marketers in the new South Africa will perhaps have to take more notice of the emergence of a cross-over culture. Because of the youthful nature of the market, the cultural references have become fused. Thus music listened to by Black youth tends to be same as that listened to by White youths.

Furthermore the present youth market is truly the first generation which is growing up with the idea of integration, rather than separation - another of the factors which Lascaris and Green could not have foreseen when Third World Destiny was published in 1988. With the lifting of the legislation enforcing apartheid from the statute books - we can hope to witness the development of a true South African culture. It can be described as a development which took place during the period of transition and which has continued after the April 1994 elections.

Therefore, instead of examining the differences between the South African market before and after apartheid, it would seem
more sensible to examine it as a market in transition as well as the possible development of such a market.

2.3 MOVING TO A POST-APARTHEID MARKET

The factors which seem to have the most discernable influence on the profile of Black South African consumers appear to be primarily political. It is also clear that these and other factors can indirectly be held responsible for the movement of the South African market into a Third World scenario.

Although the dismantling of discriminatory legislation in the 'new' South Africa has occurred with relative speed, it has not been accompanied by massive social changes. The chasm of poverty still yawns between White and Black South Africans, and it will take time, rather than the removal of legislation, to address the economic inequalities which continue to exist between South Africans of all colours.

Sisulu (in Lee and Schlemmer, 1991) identifies addressing the inequality between the races as one of the major elements which will have to be addressed in a future dispensation by saying that meaningful political change refers not only to laws but also tackling fundamental social and economic injustices.

The demographic profile of the Black consumer in a transitional society, moving towards a post-apartheid South Africa should support the argument that South Africa has become a Third World country.

2.3.1 DIVERSE TRIBAL AND LANGUAGE STRUCTURES

The Black market remains, despite attempts to classify it as consisting of a homogenous group, essentially diversified in terms of tribal affiliation, language and culture. This is
certainly more true of rural areas. Urban areas have become a melting pot for many tribes - and because of the urban lifestyle - city-dwellers tend to see themselves first and foremost as South Africans, rather than belonging to a specific tribe.

With the exception of the ex-Transvaal region, specific South African areas are still dominated by specific tribes. In Kwazulu/Natal, the Zulus make up 88% of the total, in the Free State the South Sotho dominate, making up 56% of the total and in the Cape Province 82% of the total are Xhosa. Because Gauteng and its surrounding regions are the country's economic centre, drawing people from all over the country, it has no real dominant group, although North Sotho, Tswana, Ndebele, Zulu and South Sotho make up 55% of the total (Morris, 1991).

Although the Zulu are the dominant tribe in South Africa, followed by the Xhosa - Morris notes that this is changing because large numbers of people who live in the cities do not describe themselves in terms of their tribal origins any more.

2.3.2 URBANISATION

Morris (1991) notes that before the discovery of gold and diamonds in 1886 and 1867 respectively, the Black population depended almost entirely on agricultural activity for survival. And indeed until the second world war, economic activity in this sector was limited to mining and agriculture.

However, after the second world war a proliferation of secondary industries saw the light. This in turn ensured that the larger cities became economic centres where there were more job opportunities. This meant that the rate of urbanisation escalated rapidly, both in White and Black populations.

South Africa has some of the fastest growing urban centres in
the world. City populations are expected to grow between 4 and 4.5% per annum between 1980 and 2000 (Lascaris & Green, 1988). Morris notes that an estimated 23% of the Black population are presently residing in the Gauteng area (Morris, 1991).

By 2000 Black urbanisation is expected to run at 60% and by the year 2040 is estimated that between 85 and 90% of all Black consumers will be urbanised (Lascaris & Green, 1990).

2.3.3 POPULATION GROWTH AND YOUTH

Another important factor to take into consideration is the fact, that as a result of a population explosion, the market is becoming younger and younger. In 1960 South Africa had an estimated 16 million inhabitants - by the 1980s that figure had doubled and is expected to have tripled from the 1960 figure by the year 2000 (Lascaris & Green, 1988).

However, as Lascaris and Green have realised, with rapid population growth and census surveys often not taking members of the Homeland states into account, expert predictions are often not as accurate as initially thought.

"In February 1989 the Department of Health reported that South Africa's population had already reached 37 million. Yet a few years earlier some experts had predicted a population of only 40 million by the end of the century. Population growth was so rapid it was nearly 10 years ahead of schedule." (Lascaris & Green, 1990: 19)

The census department estimates that the Black population will increase by 2.8% annually; the White population by 1.6% and the Coloured and Asian populations by 1.8% respectively (Morris, 1991). This means that, whereas White, Coloured and Indian South Africans are showing the First World trend of
progressively aging populations, Black consumers are showing
definite Third World traits in that they are growing more
youthful every day. At present the average age of the Black
population is estimated to be 18 and falling (Lascaris & Green,
1990).

The fact that the population is so youthful influences other
factors related to advertising, such as the fact that a large
sector of the population is economically unproductive, and the
very real possibility that, unless economic growth is able to
keep up, the spiral of poverty, unemployment and illiteracy will
be even more pertinent in years to come.

2.3.4 EDUCATION

The South African market has become a youth market, and is bound
to remain one in a post-apartheid South Africa. As the crisis in
education is bound to influence consumer profiles in the years
to come in terms of literacy and employability, it is necessary
to include it in the possible demographic profile of the post-
apartheid consumer.

Black education has been in a crisis since the 1960s, especially
when one takes into consideration that spending for Black
education has been a fraction of that spent on White education.
It is therefore not surprising to find that dropout rates are
high amongst Black students.

Rather than being against education, the Black consumer regards
it as an asset which enables him or her to aspire to greater
heights. Lee et al. identify the Black educational system as
being ambiguous in this sense that:

"...education is the 'gateway' to individual and
social mobility, to personal 'empowerment', and to group
capacity to take control of the policy. In these senses, everyone 'wants' education and believes that can never get enough of it. But the education system is also a 'barrier' to achieving precisely the personal and group goals to which it appears the 'gateway'. education policy and the systems of education provision themselves and embody precisely the racial values and procedures black people want to get rid of through education."

(Lee & Schlemmer, 1991: 151)

It is because of this educational ambiguity - that education is regarded as both an opportunity and a restriction - that student anger was fuelled, jobs became ever scarcer for school leavers and has indirectly been responsible for the emergence of the 'lost generation' which has been at the forefront of violence in the '80s and '90s.

When one considers the levels of education for the Black population, it becomes clear that the 'lost generation' is not merely a hypothesis, but a very important reality.

(See Figure 1.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Proportion of Total Black Market</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>With high school</td>
<td>6,2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some High school</td>
<td>30,2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Post Matric</td>
<td>3,6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some University</td>
<td>0,2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With University</td>
<td>0,2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: AMPS, 1989)
High dropout levels stunt economic growth when one takes into consideration that it is commonly accepted that education supports economic growth.

Furthermore, poor education affects Black consumers in terms of literacy rates, an important factor of consideration when one takes into account that a Human Resources Research Council investigation found that literacy levels (standard 3 and higher = literate) amongst Whites stood at 97%, Asians were 80% literate and Coloureds 68%. Blacks lagged behind at 45% - which means advertising people have to take into consideration that more than 55% of their target market are incapable of understanding a basic press advertisement (Lascaris & Green, 1988).

The problems in the educational system, as well as the low literacy rates amongst the majority of the population will also not change overnight and are problems which are bound to remain with us in a post-apartheid South Africa, despite brave attempts to rectify the situation.

CONCLUSION

It is clear from the above discussion, that the discourse of power which we identified earlier in this chapter, had shifted from an age in which the apartheid ideology dominated to one which was more in line with a reconciliatory, pro-integration stance which marks the beginnings of a truly non-racial, post-apartheid South Africa.

Although Foucault discusses the manner in which discourses function within specific epochs, he fails to take cognisance of the manner in which such epochs pass, and the transitional phase through which those discourses of power must pass in order to constitute a new knowledge and a new order.
It is such a phase within which South Africa finds itself at the present moment, culturally, economically and politically. The author would therefore like to suggest that such shifts occur horizontally. In other words the discourse or language becomes more dominant as time passes until the previous is eradicated almost completely from the referential system of the society within which such a changing epoch has occurred.

Therefore the South African situation can be summed up as being a combination of the effects of the epoch of apartheid and its particular kind of knowledge, and the ideals of a non-racial and integrated society. Eventually the ideals and latent ideology of the apartheid age will disappear entirely to make way for a new discourse which reflects the knowledge which is inherent within a new South African society.

Thus, as the market was repressive in the extreme during the 1948 to 1992 period, representing only one facet of society, the rise of a new consciousness has led to the rise of a new consumer which requires advertising which reflects his or her world views and ideals. That consumer can be recognised by his or her inherent Third Worldness which is reflected in the social, economic and political realities of an everyday existence.

We must conclude that the market in a new South Africa will be multi-faceted, made up of a range of cultures and experiences which may ultimately merge to form a frame of reference to which the majority of South Africans are able to relate. And, in the same breath we must also conclude that one of the major differences between a market in which apartheid ideology dominated and the one which follows it, is the fact that the former can be regarded as being inherently stagnant whereas the latter is completely dynamic.
CHAPTER THREE

POPULAR CULTURE AND POPULAR DISCOURSE

INTRODUCTION

Thomas Kuhn (1962) introduces the idea of a paradigmatic shift in the field of scientific enquiry in the late fifties. Although he is the first to admit that the term "paradigm" is in itself problematic, he ultimately conceded that a paradigm constituted a group of theories or a 'disciplinary matrix' which was used by scientists to examine, analyze and explain the phenomena of everyday living.

However, this is not where the concept of paradigms end. Paradigms are not static and are constantly subjected to crises in which alternative paradigms are suggested and new theories adopted. Eventually this leads to the emergence of new theoretical paradigms (Mouton, 1987). As noted earlier, in Foucault's investigation of belief systems, similar conclusions are drawn. According to Foucault, every age of period adheres to different belief systems which reflect a specific world view and conceptual structure which ultimately determines the nature of knowledge within such an epoch.

The character of such an age is known as an episteme - and the epistomologies of the passing ages are usually entirely exclusive and incompatible with each other.

When a crisis in the discourse of a society occurs, so too the nature of the epoch changes which leads to a new epoch and a new archaeology of knowledge.
The brief discussion of Kuhn's theory about paradigms and Foucault's belief in the passing of epochs serves to illustrate one of the underlying arguments in this chapter: namely, that the nature of knowledge in Western society has changed to such an extent that it cannot but be described as a radical paradigm shift. And, when such a shift in the belief systems of a society occur, then too the underlying discourse must.

This paradigm shift can be detected firstly in the manner in which the emphasis of cultural studies has changed from the early twentieth century and secondly by a change in thought from a modernist to a postmodern sensibility. Equally a paradigm shift has occurred in South Africa. The author will argue that this society stand on the brink of a postmodern consciousness and that it is this, coupled with a combination of a collective and individual consciousness which constitutes a popular South African culture.

The author will not deny that the terms which will be discussed in the following chapter are probably some of the most problematic in any study of human power relations and interaction. The terms under discussion? Culture, the nature of discourse and ideology and their relation to the creation of a cultural consciousness in social subgroups.

Fiske proclaims in the preface of his book: Understanding Popular Culture (1989a), that the popular phenomena he reads are read with a European eye; regardless of whether they are circulated in America or Australia.

" My work as an academic is as much a social product as that of a builder of motorcars. The history of cultural studies, my academic history, and my personal history all intersect and inform one another . . ." (1989a: x)
Before embarking on this chapter with its many subjective concepts and terms, the author must make a similar proclamation. The analysis and observations made in this chapter, although backed up by academic and historical readings, reflect the point of view of a Euro-African person. Consequently the conclusions drawn in this chapter are as much a cultural and social product as any other text which emanates in these times, whether it be a political gathering, a commercial, or a specific type of lifestyle.

The author cannot pretend to understand the perceptions and experiences of the Black consumers as they do, and remains at all times an observer. The experience of being Black, being Coloured, being Indian or being White in contemporary South Africa are an ideology in themselves.

3.1 CULTURE, IDEOLOGY AND HEGEMONY: A MARXIST DEFINITION

3.1.1. CULTURE

Raymond Williams astutely notes that the difficulty in pinning down culture is not as much because of an inherent complication of the term itself, but rather because of the varied means in which the linguistic construct "culture" is used.

"Culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language. This is so partly because of its intricate historical development, in several European languages, but mainly because it has now come to be used for important concepts in several distinct intellectual disciplines and in several distinct and incompatible systems of thought." (1988: 87)
The fact that the term culture has come to serve more than one master in the twentieth century, is perhaps, one of the first indications of the perceptual shift which has occurred in a cultural theory since its early years. Furthermore it shows that the definitions of culture are often conflicting.

If one follows Thornton's argument, then culture "shares a complex intellectual history with the ideas of 'society', 'nation' and 'organism', all of which appeared with their contemporary sense around the beginning of the nineteenth century. They have in common the idea of self-contained and self-regulating wholeness." (Thornton in Boonzaaier and Sharp, 1988: 19)

Yet at the same time it can be argued that culture is precisely the social product which creates barriers between people, between different classes, language and ethnic groups, genders, and even age-groups.

"Society is structured around a complex matrix of axes of difference (class, gender, race, age, and so on), each of which has a dimension of power. There is no social difference without power difference." (Fiske, 1989a: 30)

The definition of culture also differs from study field to study field. Cultural anthropology sees the term as an indication of material production, whereas cultural studies examines signifying practices and symbolic systems. (Williams, 1988)

Yet, despite the paradoxical nature of the term culture, two things remain certain. The first being that culture is, before anything else, a product constructed by society. And in the second place, that the cultural process in one with
which society makes meaning of its diverse experiences and observations.

"Culture is the constant process of producing meanings of and from our social experience, and such meanings necessarily produce a social identity for the people involved." (Fiske, 1989b: 1)

It is clear that culture is a polymorphous term. Its meaning and application changes from discipline to discipline. Finally the only insight we might gain into the essential nature of culture will be contextual. It is perhaps wise to examine culture, as Thornton suggests, not in terms of its nature, but in terms of its effects or practices.

Turner suggests that, "culture is a signifying practice with its own specific product, namely, meaning." He goes on to say: "That cultural product - meaning - is of crucial importance. If the only way to understand the world is through is 'representation' to us through language(s), we need some method of dealing with representation, with the production of meaning." (1990: 16)

And Fiske backs up this point of view:

"Culture consists of the meanings that we make of social experience and social relations, and the pleasures or unpleasures, we find in them." (1989a: 134)

Definitions of culture have not always been this benign. The early Marxist paradigm regarded culture as being created by a dominant class. In the light of this, the so-called dominant culture was regarded as being inherently repressive. Following a base and superstructure model, in which the base represented the economic life of a society, and the
superstructure the cultural, the Marxists argued that the bourgeoisie or middle classes controlled the economic base.

"At the heart of this analysis is the claim that how a society produces its means of existence (its particular mode of production) ultimately determines the political, social and cultural shape of that society and its possible future development. This claim is based on the revolutionary understanding of the relationship between base and superstructure. It is on this base that the Marxist account of culture rests." (Storey, 1993: 98)

As the base and superstructure were perceived to work in unison, the one influencing the other when change was detected, it was argued that the middle classes who dominated the economic base also determined the superstructure, or cultural life of a society. It is upon this premise, that "the social relations between men"(sic.) are inextricably interwoven with the manner in which they produce their material life (Hawkes, 1976: 4).

Dominant culture, the Marxists argue, is naturalised to such an extent that the working class accepts its plight as natural and right, and are disempowered so completely that they are incapable of rising up against their economic oppression. Consequently the dominant culture or belief system is not a true representation of the material and spiritual lives of the people.

3.1.2 CULTURE, IDEOLOGY AND HEGEMONY

Ideology is regarded as the means by which the dominant culture is kept in place. It was introduced by the early Marxists as a cultural concept and was regarded as representing the belief system of the dominant culture.
Ideology was initially regarded as being inherently repressive, as "a kind of veil over the eyes of the working class, the filter that screened out or disguised their "real" relations to the world around them. The function of ideology was to construct a "false consciousness" of the self and one's relation to history." (Turner, 1990: 25)

Marx and Engels reinforce this point of view by repeatedly referring to ideology merely as an "upside down" reality, "an illusion" and a "false consciousness" which prevents people from gaining knowledge of a complete social picture (Williams, 1988: 155).

It was Gramsci who introduced the idea of hegemony to Marxist thinking. Contrary to the mainstream thinkers, Gramsci did not perceive ideology to be an all encompassing evil which pulled the proverbial wool over the eyes of the working class. Instead he introduced the idea of consent and coercion. Williams defines "hegemony" as, "... an integral form of class rule which exists not only in political and economic institutions and relationships but also in active forms of experience and consciousness." (Williams, 1988: 145)

Gramsci's theory of hegemony is based on the broad concept that society consists of two bands: namely a civil and a political society. He argues that the power of the predominant class transcend merely the political band "extending to society at large, to a civil society with its institutions such as schools, churches and the press, with its cultural organizations directing collective events and practices such as sports, leisure time and so forth. A predominant class produces and maintains power, or, as Gramsci calls it, hegemony, via civil society, where a set of ideological
practices guarantees the status quo anchored in political society, ultimately legitimating certain economic practices." (Holub, 1992: 103)

In terms of cultural production the concept of hegemony remains important as it suggests that power, and therefore the power to produce cultural meaning, does not only come from above, but that the ultimate success of power operations and their products are entirely dependent on consent from below. Thus cultural practices are interrogated "not simply in terms of consumption or reception, but in terms of production or directed production for a specific consumption." (Ibid: 104)

We will see later in this chapter how Gramscian thought was revived in the seventies and how the idea of an apparent 'spontaneous consent' was utilised to explain the nature of culture, and more specifically, Popular Culture.

3.1.3 ALTHUSSER'S DEFINITION OF IDEOLOGY

The third important development in Marxist cultural studies was introduced by Althusser who studied ideology and its relations to society. An important deviation from classic Marxist theory was made when Althusser rejected the original base and superstructure theory.

Althusser regarded society as consisting of three dominant practices, namely the political, the economic and the ideological. Althusser gave the superstructure relative autonomy, divorcing it from the economic base as it were; by suggesting that the superstructure is not necessarily a reflection or passive expression of the base - but rather that the superstructure is necessary for the continued existence of the base (Storey, 1993).
Althusser furthermore argues that ideology has a two-fold existence. Firstly it exists in terms of its manifestation of a "material existence", in other words, the embodiment of ideology in social structures and institutions. And secondly it has an individual existence, which question the manner in which individuals are constituted by ideology.

"Our sense of ourselves and our role in society are, for Althusser, ideological constructions, maintained by the ever-present working of ideology."
(Cormack, 1992: 11)

Therefore in the Althusserian sense, ideology is a 'representation' of the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence. Secondly, ideology is also a practice through which power is enforced by the dominant class by means of Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA's) and Repressive State Apparatuses (RSA's). ISA's refer to the measures used by the State which are indicative of Covert Force. These include social institutions such as Schools and churches. RSA's are the means by which the State becomes overtly forceful, namely the police and army.

Rather than rejecting the concept of ideology completely, Althusser regards it as an essential structure for the historical life of societies. This means that not only the State or the dominant class utilises ideology, but that a working class ideology may exist side by side with that of a dominant ideology. And indeed, if a working class culture were to become dominant, then that ideology would replace another as the dominant ideology (Hawkes, 1976).

This once again reinforces the idea that ideology is not merely part of a cultural superstructure resting on an economic base, but rather that the base and superstructure are
in fact equal partners. As Cormack notes:
"......economic structures and ideological structures should be seen as intertwined frameworks of social action. Changes in one result in the other." (1992:14)

The concept that dual ideologies may exist side by side is an important one, as this indicates that a dominant ideology is not the only one which creates culture and therefore meaning within societies. Rather people are regarded as being interpellated by ideology. They become the subject of ideological interpellation or scrutiny when they respond to ideological signals.

This in turn indicates that people are created as material subjects who respond to ideology and by implication, a dominant culture. In this they become subjected to its material practices.

The concept of interpellation however, suggests the responses to ideology could eventually lead to its subversion. As individuals are bound to respond to interpellation by ideology in different ways, ideology must not be regarded as being absolute or omnipotent. In fact individual responses might well lead to the development of alternative ideologies which enable people who are not necessarily part of the dominant ideology, to subvert and change social structures. In this instance ideology becomes progressive.

The paradigm shift which occurred around the concept of ideology enabled scholars to study culture as a progressive practice, rather than one which is indicative of a false consciousness. Cormack limits culture to "... those aspects which have a place in any system of symbolic meaning. Culture refers to the sum total of such elements in society. Cultural Products refers to specific, identifiable objects and events
in which the culture is made manifest." And to finally and irrevocable link culture and ideology, he goes on to say that: "the culture of a society is a material manifestation of ideology. In this sense, culture can be seen as ideology in action - ideology given specific expression."

(Cormack, 1992: 26)

What we have discussed thus far, culminates only in a brief examination of the concept of culture and its theoretical history. But of course, Marxist theory examined not only the concept of culture, but the manner in which so-called high and low cultures operated, the potential for radical change in these cultures and progressive potential of a so-called mass culture.

3.2 MASS CULTURE TO POPULAR CULTURE
- FROM A CULTURE OF REPRESSION TO ONE OF PROGRESSION

It is here, in the field of Popular Cultural studies, more than anywhere else that we will come across a radical paradigm shift - from the Frankfurt School's eventual rejection of the 'culture industry' as being inherently repressive, through to the debates about high and low culture; and finally to the present where theorists such as Fiske argue that Popular Culture is inherently subversive, part of a counter-culture as it were.

3.2.1 POPULAR CULTURE AS MASS CULTURE

Popular Culture enjoys almost as many diverse definitions as the term 'culture'. Williams (1988) identifies four usages for the term popular. The first indicates that something is "well-liked" or "widely favoured". The second use places 'Popular' Culture in relation to 'high' culture, and implies that the former is part of a 'low' culture. The third use of the term
popular refers more directly to culture itself, and implies that Popular Culture is indeed a culture of the people, produced by themselves for their own consumption. Lastly, popular refers to a culture which is enforced by a mass media, a mass culture as it were.

Let us start our discussion about Popular Culture by looking at Williams' last definition of Popular Culture - namely as a mass culture, as it is this, more than any other social phenomena, which has influenced the way in which we perceive culture and Popular Culture in the twentieth century.

Mass culture is a means of communication which emerged only in the late nineteenth century with the advent of better means of transport and more sophisticated ways of communicating with larger audiences. However, nothing could have predicted the unprecedented growth of the mass communications industry after the Second World War.

Essentially, what I refer to as 'mass culture' here, is the information which is received by a large group of non-homogenous people and sent via various mass media, such as radio, television and newspapers by a small group of people, usually belonging to a corporation of some sort.

"The expression 'mass media' denotes certain modern systems of communication and distribution which 'mediate' between relatively small, specialized groups of cultural producers and very large numbers of cultural consumers." (Walker, 1983: 18)

When taking the beliefs of the early and later Marxists into consideration, it is clear that they would experience some major problems with a mass culture which is determined and produced by a non-representative minority which holds the
interests of the dominant system at heart.

Mass Culture was regarded as one of the most prominent disseminators of a dominant, and by implication - repressive ideology. The first group of theorists to examine the effects of mass culture intensively were those of the Frankfurt School. The Frankfurt School was started in the early twenties by a group of Left-wing thinkers but, with the rise of National Socialism in Germany, were forced to flee Germany. They regrouped in the United States where they continued their investigations and finally returned to Germany in 1949.

'Culture industry' became the term which referred to the products and processes of mass culture. The so-called 'culture industry' was criticised for depoliticising the masses and threatening cultural standards. As Benjamin writes in his article: "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction":

"Even the most perfect reproduction of a work of art is lacking in one element: its present in time and space, its unique existence at the place where it happens to be." (Benjamin, 1979: 851)

It is in this instance that the continuing debate between a 'high' culture and a 'low' culture emerges. And it is precisely this dichotomy which has occupied cultural theorists for the better part of the century. High culture was regarded as defeating the essential ideals of capitalism, whereas low or Popular Culture was regarded as disseminating information which stunted political growth and led, in the words of Marcuse, to "one-dimensional" thought.

The idea of a repressive 'culture industry' which is blindly followed by the consumers of Popular Culture is built on the original Marxist idea that ideology immobilises people by
preventing them from seeing a whole social picture.

"Widely drawn on for the study of popular culture, the dominant ideology thesis regards popular culture specially marked by ideology while high culture, relatively, is not." (Easthope, 1991: 79)

Like the Marxists, the followers of the Frankfurt School perceive consumers as being passively repressed by the culture industry which is also perceived as being omnipotent. But as Walker and others have noted, it is a fallacy to presume that mass media is nothing more than 'the opium of the people', at odds with high culture and stifling in its uniformity and anonymity. Indeed, Walker (1983) goes on to suggest that mass media audiences are capable of producing their own 'antidotes' and sometimes creating contradictory new cultures. Furthermore, he notes that the products of mass culture are not only produced by the heads of corporations, but that it is a collaborative effort which enables a wide range of people to creatively express themselves as individuals.

It is from this radical view about mass culture and Popular Culture, (which followers of the Frankfurt School regard as one and the same thing), upon which British Cultural studies are based. However, the Birmingham School place a greater emphasis on the representation of political problems and social relations as well as the manner in which such representations transform popular ideologies. In other words, rather than examining the whole of mass/Popular Culture as a product of ideology as the Frankfurt School does, the Birmingham Group examine the discourse of Popular Culture.

Instead of taking the stance that consumers are merely passive receptors of a repressive Popular Culture, Hall looks specifically at the role interpretation, and ultimately
meaning, plays during the receptive process. Consequently culture is perceived as being a signifying practice with its own product, namely meaning.

"... we signify ourselves through the signs available to us within our culture; we select and combine them in relations to the codes and conventions established within our culture in order to limit and determine the range of possible meanings they are likely to generate when read by others." (Turner, 1990: 17)

Essentially the Birmingham School's position takes up the Culturalist versus Structuralist debate. The former regarded culture, much as the Members of the Frankfurt School did, as being divided into a high and low culture. High culture being the gentry's expression of culture and popular or low culture being generated to represent a working class consciousness.

Consequently the Birmingham group utilised a combination of Marxist Theory and Structuralism to examine the effects of mass culture on prevailing ideologies.

Despite a directional change in the study of Popular Culture by the Birmingham Group, a set of assumptions about Popular Culture remained. The first being that popular and mass culture were one and the same thing. Secondly, that Popular Culture was inherently repressive, generated by large media institutions. And in the third place the belief that Popular Culture was merely a manifestation of a specific set of beliefs about the reality of everyday living.
3.2.2 PERCEPTIONS ABOUT POPULAR CULTURE IN POSTMODERN THEORY

Thus, despite a substantial perceptual shift about the nature of Popular Culture and the manner in which it was approached, it was still viewed from what can be termed as a modernist position.

The most obvious traits of modernism are a unitary style which reflects the principles of a modern age, the concept of rationality, clarity and uniformity as well as a complete rejection of regionalism and nationalism. Rather, the modernist thinkers espoused a truly international style which could cross all barriers and create a brave new 'socialist' world. This was the modernist ideal, and to a certain extent it was reflected in structural analysis as well as Marxist thinking.

It is debatable when postmodernism first emerged as a dominant trend in cultural and theoretical studies. Arguably it manifested itself as far back as the 18th Century with the age of reason. But, as a theoretical position it came to the fore first in the post-68 period. Modernism had long been regarded as countering mainstream perceptions, and often its products deviated from conventional ideas of reality and beauty. But by the mid-sixties, modernism had become as institutionalised as 'main-stream' ideology. It had become part of a dominant ideology itself.

It was this incorporation of modernist thought, perhaps more than any other factor that led to the rise of postmodern thought. The rise of postmodernism signalled changing conceptions about Popular Culture. Postmodernism, in direct opposition to modernism, endorsed the return to a plurality of styles, rather than just one. It was manifested by a return to history and tradition as well as a mix of high and low
cultures. The postmodern cultural product consisted, not only of one meaning, but rather encouraged multiple meanings - leading to the complete breakdown of meaning as it was known before.

This epistemological crisis led to a renewed interest in cultural studies and more specifically - in Popular Culture. John Fiske has written extensively and eloquently about the new perception about what Popular Culture is, as well as its progressive potential. He recognises two major movements in the study of Popular Culture up to the present. The first movement celebrates Popular Culture without placing it in a model of power; whereas the second entrenches it into a model of power so firmly that it negates the very existence of a true Popular Culture which is not forced upon the masses.

Fiske goes on to write:

"Recently however, a third direction has begun to emerge. . . It, too, sees popular culture as the site of struggle, but while accepting the powerful forces of dominance, it focuses rather upon the popular tactics by which these forces are coped with, are evaded or are resisted." (1989a: 20)

Thus, Fiske regards Popular Culture, not as the product of an insidious culture industry, but as a product of the people belonging to a specific group. Rather than being interpellated by a mass culture, Popular Culture is the effect of the people interpellating mass culture - making it the subject of their own ideology of resistance.

De Certeau suggests that Popular Culture is indeed a site of struggle against a dominant force. but, at the same time it is a struggle which he likens to a guerilla warfare.

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"Guerilla tactics are the art of the weak: they never challenge the powerful in open warfare, for that would be to invite defeat, but maintain the own opposition within and against the social order dominated by the powerful." (Fiske, 1989a: 19)

This point of view is backed up by Eco (1986) who refers to 'mass culture' as a type of semiological guerilla warfare. In line with this point of view, Fiske goes on to support the belief in a dominant theory by stating that Popular Culture is always a culture of resistance and that it can never become the Dominant Culture of a society.

"There can be no popular dominant culture, for popular culture is formed always in reaction to, and never as part of, the forces of domination." (1989a: 43)

Popular Culture, as Fiske defines it, can never be accused of inspiring passivity. It is produced by people, in reaction to their everyday existences - a manner to deal with the realities of everyday life as it were. Barthes (1977) writing about textual interaction, differentiates between readerly and writerly texts. A readerly text being one which invites a passive reader to accept the meaning within that text as being predetermined. A writerly text on the other hand is one which shakes the reader out of his/her passivity, challenging him/her to produce independent meaning.

Fiske refers to a third kind of text which he calls a producerly text, and he argues that such producerly texts are most like Popular Culture.

"... the producerly text has the accessibility of a readerly one, and can theoretically be read in that easy way by those readers who are comfortably accommodated
within the dominant ideology. . . but it also has the openness of the writerly. The difference is that it does not require this writerly activity, nor does it set rules to control it. Rather, it offers itself up to popular production. . ." (1989a: 104)

As we examine Fiske's perception of Popular Culture, it becomes increasingly clear, that his conception follows, almost step for step, the thinking of postmodernism. Like Popular Culture, in the Fiskean sense, postmodern texts, simultaneously illicit active participation in the creation of meaning but makes such meaning accessible through the use of well-known traditional, popular and historical images.

Furthermore, Postmodern texts are well-known for their use of pastiche, in other words their referral to other diverse sources. This often leads to fragmented readings of postmodern texts and an inability of audiences to pin one single unifying meaning down to it. It is interesting to note that Fiske argues that texts created by Popular Culture are often "incomplete", and because of their leaky boundaries, that they tend to flow into one another and everyday life.

"Popular culture can be studied only intertextually, for it exists only in this intertextual circulation." (1989a: 126)

Derrida (1978) refers to this deferral of meaning in postmodern texts as différence. It is this deferral, or lack of one meaning which is at the heart of all postmodern and post-structural thought. The concept that language fails to mean anything, yet means all things at the same time, epitomises the postmodern condition and explains the sense of crisis experienced by the postmodern subject. In a sense the so-called grand narratives of the past can no longer explain
and make meaning of contemporary cultural and social experiences. The universal signifier of modernism has become fragmented.

The term, *différance* can be used in two senses, the first being deferral of meaning and the second being difference in meaning. It is in this sense that *différance* conveys the idea that one universal meaning cannot be pinned onto a text. For Derrida, as for the postmodernists, each text is subject to innumerable meanings because the symbols which appear in the text differs, albeit marginally, from other similar symbols. Thus *différance* refers firstly to meaning which is implied and secondly to meaning which is absent. Consequently meaning is always simultaneously present and absent.

The Derridean concept of *différance* in texts is pertinent to popular discourse, as Fiske notes that, in order for a text to be truly popular, it needs to have points of relevance to a variety of readers in various social contexts. The text must by polysemic and its reading must be conditional as such a reading is determined by the social and cultural conditions in which it is being read.

"The popular text is a text of struggle between the forces of closure and openness, between readerly and producerly, between homogeneity of the preferred meaning and heterogeneity in its readings." (Fiske, 1989a: 126)

In this sense the popular text must present a range of cultural potentialities to a variety of social formations. What becomes clear in Fiske's examination of the manner in which Popular Culture functions and manifests itself is a definite movement back to aspects of Gramscian thought.
Hegemony becomes the term around which definitions and arguments about Popular Culture are structured. And the paradigm crisis experienced in cultural studies signals the return to a neo-Gramscian view of hegemony and power. Cultural analysis is extended in this instance to include active experience of the cultural as well as questions of reproduction — or the economic and social structures. Instead of examining merely how the consumer confronts the text or practice in the real and the reproductive sense; it also examines the range of reading which is produced in response to such an interpellation.

Therefore Popular Culture conforms neither to a culturalist or structuralist point of view but operates "as a form of settlement negotiated to the advantage of the ruling block; understood as hegemony, Popular Culture is therefore both structurally imposed and an oppositional expression." (Easthope, 1991: 73)

To recap — postmodernism and the new concept of Popular Culture adhere to basically the same principles. Both are indicators of a radical paradigm shift in the field of cultural studies and perceptions surrounding it. Whereas Popular Culture was regarded by modernist thinkers as belonging to or part of a mass culture, the new view of Popular Culture strongly repudiates this. Whereas mass culture, and indeed modernist culture, can be regarded as unified and uniform, both postmodernism and Popular Culture are regarded as open-ended and able to appropriate many meanings at the same time.

And, whereas modernism and a so-called high culture, draw upon points of reference and aesthetic values which were often alien to those people it was supposed to liberate in the face of repression — popular and postmodern culture use
oppositional images which include history, popular images, high art, tradition, the experiences of everyday existence and the practices of parody to question them.

It is in this context of postmodernity, that we will examine the nature of a Popular Culture in the South African situation.

3.3 COLLECTIVE CONSCIOUSNESS AND POSTMODERNISM - TOWARDS A DEFINITION OF POPULAR CULTURE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Although we can theorise incessantly about the nature of culture and the manner in which it, and Popular Culture is defined, the fact remains that all the work we have examined thus far stems from exclusively First World Westernised countries. As Fiske notes in his book which deals with the analysis of Popular Culture, Reading the Popular: (1989b)

"... the countries with which I am familiar, and whose cultures I write about, are all white, patriarchal, capitalist ones." (ix)

Although Marxist analysis has long been a dominant mode of thinking in this country I would like to suggest, that, South African society, like societies elsewhere, is showing an increased sense of cultural fragmentation, perhaps brought about by the final collapse of the systems of referentiality which have so long been described as South African, the ideology of apartheid.

Furthermore, encroaching social realities, such as an upswing in the expression of diverse nationalist and ethnic sentiments which are, arguably, the symptoms of the ideology of apartheid, leads one to come to the conclusion that - rather than becoming a united South African nation first, as the
African National Congress would like to suggest, we will have to go through a period of transition in which such an identity is forged by the coming together of many cultures. Bhabha writes:

"The cultural void - with its discursive "time-lag" - is part of a strategy of cultural survival in conditions of political contestation which necessitates a relocation of the specificity of difference or the incommensurable. The temporal break in cultural synchronicity produces a "scansion of the sign" at truth outside the knowledge of the subject. . ." (Bhaba in Grossberg et al., 1992: 60)

It would seem, that in the transitional period, that South African society will enter into such a cultural void and emerge from it only when it has finally managed to throw off the symbolic and referential systems of apartheid. In a sense all South Africans have already lost their sense of identity. White South Africans no longer enjoy their former position of power. Black South Africans, although economically disempowered, can no longer identify themselves by means of political oppression. In short - the goal posts have been moved, and it will require some time before we are able to catch sight of them once again.

In these times of change, it has become increasingly clear that, although Black South Africans are very much aware of the social and cultural spheres in White society, the same cannot be said for White South Africans. The heritage of apartheid has determined that a majority of White South Africans understand very little about the manner in which Black societies and their referent systems function.
3.3.1 COLLECTIVE AND INDIVIDUAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Professor J.C. Kotzé (1994) is an anthropologist, and has lived extensively in Black communities all over South Africa. The communities which he has studied were all plagued by impoverishment and lack of basic facilities. It is in light of these social conditions that he has come up with a theory of 'collective consciousness'.

Kotzé argues that South African society manifests two distinct types of consciousness - the first being a collective consciousness and the second being an individual consciousness. However, rather than being two distinct concepts, he perceived them to be opposite ends of the same pole.

"Collective and individualistic consciousness are not two discrete perceptual types. They represent opposite poles of a continuum. Although no person is totally without characteristics of either collective or individual consciousness - and although no person is either totally socially-minded or totally private, people tend to be either more collective or more individualistic in their consciousness." (1993: 6)

Although Kotzé (1994) maintains that poverty is not a necessary prerequisite for the formation of a collective consciousness, that in South Africa, this is the main reason for the formation of such a consciousness. It would seem that a connection exists between a collective consciousness and race in South Africa, however, this is not so.

"The pervasiveness of collective consciousness derives from a particular kind of experience. At one level it is the result of general or total deprivation....The deprivation is total in the sense that it encompasses
material, social, physical, and intellectual insecurity. Therefore, if I tend to fuse collective consciousness with a particular race category, I have done so because of the close association between the context of being black and destitution in South Africa." (1993:3)

Thus the manifestation of either a collective or an individual consciousness seems to be tied to the manner in which people deal with certain experiences. This reflects Fiske's view of the manner in which Popular Culture functions, namely, that the dominant culture is used and subverted by the oppressed in order to deal with and analyze the realities of everyday living (Fiske, 1989a and 1989b).

Collective consciousness, Kotze furthermore argues, can be understood in terms of the context of being 'Black'. A context which has a great deal of ideological ramifications on its own. Indeed, as Goldberg argues, race operates as an ideological category on its own. It perpetuates its own type of discourse.

"The field of racialized (sic.) discourse accordingly consists of all the expressions that make up the discourse, that are and can be expressions of this discursive information." (1993: 42)

Race, of course does not only mean 'Black'. When one is 'White' a completely different set of perceptual differences are set into motion. Kotze argues that, even though Black South Africans are not a homogenous body, the context of being Black and all the perceptions and experiences which accompany it lead to a greater sense of collective consciousness amongst Black South Africans.
And even though a Black middle class is emerging, Kotzé argues that such people will still display a greater sense of collective consciousness as it is likely that they had come into contact with highly deprived communities. And, on the other hand, the perceptual differences which operate within the context of being White, places White South Africans within a sphere which is closer to being part of an individual consciousness. As Cormack notes, all societies are organized around a specific identity, and it is precisely this identity which gives a society or social subgroup a sense of wholeness and meaning.

"Any society will be organized around a preferred self-image. By 'self-image' is meant the way in which society is described by the dominant groups. It is this self-image which unites it. A society undergoing crisis, particularly a crisis over which group should be dominant, will manifest competing self-images, but one must eventually become accepted as the dominant image or else the society will lose its coherence." (1992: 12)

The concept of identity is one which can ultimately be changed by people. Kotzé (1994) remarks that whereas culture and identity can indeed be violated and changed, that perception cannot. Perception in this sense is like language. Harland describes the individual as absorbing language before "he" (sic.) can think for himself. And indeed the ability to think depends on the absorption of language.

"The individual can reject particular knowledge that society explicitly teaches him, he can throw off particular beliefs that society forcibly imposes on him - but he has always already accepted the words and meanings through which such knowledge and beliefs were communicated to him. . . . They lie within him like an undigested piece of society." (1987: 12 - 13)
Consequently one can manifest the traits of collective or individual consciousness but have not knowledge of it. Collective and individual consciousness can be described as omnipotent, a complete world view, yet, like language invisible to the naked eye.

Some of the manifestations of collective consciousness in the South African situation, are, says Kotzé, widely known but not recognised as such. Thus people who display larger measures of collective consciousness are more socially 'open'. On the other hand people who tend to display a greater degree of individual consciousness are able to conduct themselves with greater ease in private situations.

Furthermore people with a collective consciousness display a much greater sense of community than people with individual consciousness. They require a sense of belonging to a group. The sense of collective consciousness is inherently social. Social closeness, the sense that one is participating in a group and a fusion between the self and others, is this which sets people with collective consciousness apart from those with individual consciousness.

It is interesting to note that the word community is identified as a political concept by Thornton and Ramphele (Boonzaaier and Sharp, 1988). In view of the history of oppression, the term community has indeed been politicised to such an extent that it encompasses belief systems, norms, social coherence and self-made structure by which political action is engendered.

"Community is the unpredictable product of history, and the product of people. It is not the same thing as the
category created by government or statisticians for reasons of their own."
(Thornton et al. in Boonzaaier and Sharp, 1988: 38)

A high level of political awareness and a strong sense of community can therefore be attributed to higher levels of collective consciousness. If collective consciousness is a way in which to deal with social hardship and deprivation, then political involvement and strong communities are the product of that consciousness, rather than collective consciousness being the result of political involvement (Kotzé, 1994).

3.3.2 SOUTH AFRICA - A POSTMODERN SOCIETY

The subject of collective and individual consciousness has been dwelt on relatively extensively as it appears to bear some striking similarities to the postmodern concept of Popular Culture. And indeed, it must be suggested that the collective or individual consciousness forms the crux of a truly unique South African Popular Culture. South Africa has entered into a postmodern episteme, not because of the fact that it is a late capitalist state which has managed to avoid the predictions of Marxism. But rather because it is a society which has gone through a different type of legitimisation which makes it as fragmented as western countries. It is a society which lacks a fundamental representative system which gives it meaning, yet at the same time consists of such a host of varied meanings that the multiple readings expected from postmodern discourse, must be taken for granted here.

Although the concept of Kotzé's collective consciousness might give the impression that a Black community especially does not suffer from fragmentation, it is indeed an endorsement of fragmentation, which is manifested in such a collective consciousness.
As has been mentioned before - Kotzé believes that the perceptions of individuals are determined by their experiences. Although poverty is a collective experience it is not a universal one. And therefore, collective consciousness itself is a unique experience, calling for different readings and perceptions. Kotzé himself, argues "for a fusion between the best elements of a collective and individualistic consciousness . . ." (1993: xiii), which cannot but lead to a diversified reading of texts and situations which is reflected in postmodern analysis.

Furthermore, although the dominant ideology has been promoting a specific type of culture - the Popular Culture of South Africa is essentially what can be called a South African bricolage, a postmodern pastiche as it were, of African and European cultures with a good deal of parody making the combination uniquely South African.

3.4 POPULAR CULTURE IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

In light of Kotzé's description of a collective consciousness among African South Africans, Fiske's definition of Popular Culture and my argument that South Africa is entering into a Postmodern situation, I have devised five hypotheses which build a basis for the definition of the nature of Popular Culture in South Africa.

Hypothesis 1: Popular Culture happens as a result of disempowerment

Fiske makes a point of stating that Popular Culture is not what has been described in the past as Mass Culture. Rather than being produced by corporations which adhere to a specific ideology, Popular Culture has to do with relations of power. It is "...made by the subordinated peoples in
their own interests out of resources that also, contradictorily, serve the economic interests of the dominant." (Fiske, 1989b: 2)

This hypothesis can be tied up with Kotzé's idea that a collective consciousness is brought about in the South African situation by extreme deprivation. Deprivation in this sense can also be described as disempowerment. It occurs on the level of economic, intellectual, spiritual and social stability, and it is such deprivation which necessarily leads to power relations favouring those who are the instigators of such deprivation.

Consequently it can be said that collective consciousness in Black societies is brought about firstly because of extreme conditions of deprivation which happens as a result of extreme power relations which in turn lead to general subordination and disempowerment of the oppressed.

**Hypothesis 2: Popular Culture is a Way in which the Disempowered Relate to Day to Day Realities**

Fiske argues that Popular Culture happens because people need to subvert a dominant consumer product in order for it to become relevant to their lives. He writes:

"Popular culture has to be, above all else, relevant, to the immediate situation of the people."

(Fiske, 1989a: 25)

At the same time, he argues, that such consumer items must contain elements which allows them to be popularised as they will fail in the marketplace if they are incapable of being subverted.
Collective consciousness is, like Popular Culture, the result of the inherent need of people to deal with the experience of deprivation, just as an individual consciousness is brought about because of relative prosperity. Thus as Popular Culture is "relevant" to the immediate situations of people, so too a collective or individual consciousness manifests an immediate relevance to the experience of people.

**Hypothesis 3: Popular Culture is always a Process**

Like culture, Popular Culture is usually manifested by its practices. Therefore Popular Culture is constantly changing and adapting to the processes of dominant consumer products and the requirements of the people which produce and subvert its meanings.

Equally, collective and individual consciousness, although established in the early years, is regarded as a process. Instead of being presented as two separate entities, the two types of consciousness are described as the extreme opposite ends of a continuum. And subjects fluctuate between the two extremes in relation to their day to day experiences. Consequently people who live in impoverished communities which are also plagued by political unrest for example, will display a greater degree of collective consciousness than those communities which are relatively stable and prosperous.

**Hypothesis 4: Popular Culture is a Subconscious Form of Resistance**

De Certeau, Eco and Fiske all regard Popular Culture as being a form of 'guerilla warfare', which presupposes that preplanned tactics and plans exist. However, at the same time De Certeau and Fiske argue that Popular Culture is the manifestation of 'everyday living', that Popular Culture is
most often to be found in the 'practices' rather than the texts of Popular Culture. This would suggest that Popular Culture comes naturally, rather than being elaborately planned tactical manoeuvres.

Instead of being the subject of careful thought, the resistance inherent in Popular Culture is, like collective consciousness, something of which very few people are aware. The discourse of Popular Culture, like the discourse of collective consciousness is internalised and operates on a subconscious rather than a conscious level.

**Hypothesis 5: Popular Culture is Polymorphous**

This fifth and last hypothesis is explicitly supported by Case and Fiske. Fiske argues that in order for Popular Culture to be effective, that it needs to be read in a number of ways in order to be understood by a range of people. Similarly Kotzé attributes the existence of different intensities of collective to individual consciousness to different perceptions of various experiences. This can also be explained as a variety of readings of the same experience.

**CONCLUSION**

This brings one to conclude that Popular Culture, as defined here, is undoubtedly a product of a postmodern consciousness. One which does not attach itself to one central meaning, but leaves meaning open - so that it is described simultaneously as being present and absent. A South African Popular Culture contains, not only levels of a collective unconscious, but also manifests degrees of an individual consciousness. This will necessarily lead to different situations, discourses and texts to be perceived or read differently by different people.
Furthermore, postmodern discourse displays the use of many cultures and eras simultaneously and does not shy away from tradition and history. Yet, at the same time it manages to subvert its texts through parody and irony. A South African Popular Culture is made up of all the texts of the past and a combination of such diversity will necessarily lead to a certain degree of subversion in the form of parody.

One might want to argue that this Popular Culture which has been described has already taken the place of an older dominant culture. However, it is fair to say, that the first few years of a post-apartheid South Africa will not change suddenly or radically. We are entering into a 'time warp' of sorts.

Eventually the structures of power will change and the economic base of the country will not be dominated only by white men. But until such a time, the dominant culture will remain one which reflects the point of view of the minority, rather than the majority of the people.

It is also important to note that the Popular Culture of the present will not become the dominant culture of the future. Popular Culture, after all, is not stationary, but it adapts and changes as it makes small victories by changing the larger picture of a dominant culture.

Having defined the nature of Popular Culture in a changing South African society, we are now able to examine the manifestation and role of that culture within communications strategies devised for a South African market.
INTRODUCTION

It seems, that, of the entire advertising process, that the nature of creativity within the communications strategy is least understood of all.

Barenblatt and Sinclair for example write: "Creative people in advertising manufacture ideas. They are cerebral, sensitive and frequently neurotic." (1989: 171) And, although Young (1960) recognises that creativity is indeed a process, he too believes in a final creative product which is almost subconsciously formulated.

Even David Ogilvy, the so-called father of modern advertising maintains that the creative process cannot be logically thought through.

"The creative process requires more than reason. Most original thinking isn't even verbal. It requires 'a groping experimentation with ideas, governed by intuitive hunches and inspired by the unconscious.'" (1963: 28)

Baker recognises the little understood nature of creative ideas and concepts when he writes:

"Many people, perhaps most, think that ideas fall from heaven like manna: all one has to do is look up and pray."
Unfortunately, creativity does not work quite that way. Ideas rarely happen as if by divine revelation." (1979: 2)

In fact, the creative process in advertising is rigidly structured, the goals are mapped out stringently by the client and the product, and the most creative people are creative precisely because they are able to work within such narrow parameters.

In this chapter a number of issues will need to be examined, all of which relate to the communications strategy, and which impact on the nature of the creative process, and in turn, its relations to Popular Culture. Perhaps some of the myths about creativity and creative strategies will be dispelled, revealing that, instead of creative brilliance being the work of neurotic individualists, that in the advertising and marketing environments, that it is in fact the product of creative thinkers which may be found within all spheres of business, from account executives to strategic planners. That great creative work depends on the combined vision of people who are often not described as 'creative people', but without whom creative advertising campaigns would not be possible.

Firstly, the nature of creativity will be examined, both as a generic concept and as an advertising concept arguing that the entire marketing and communications process is indeed a creative one. Then the nature of the marketing mix, and more specifically, the concept of a communications mix will be investigated.

Finally the nature and function of advertising will be discussed, and the manner in which it requires Popular Culture for its successful implementation. The arguement will be
based on the premise that, without certain essential factors, based in a consciousness of Popular Culture, consumer communication as we know it can not continue to exist.

But first, an exploration into the nature of creativity and the manner in which the creative process works.

4.1 CREATIVITY

4.1.1 WHAT IS CREATIVITY?

It is understandable that people tend to confuse creativity with 'intuition' and the 'subconscious' when one considers that so-called creative people, or creative thinkers are perhaps not even aware of the processes which they pass through as they formulate ideas.

According to Pareto's theory, there are two types of people in the world, speculators and stockholders - or creative and non-creative people. Whereas the 'stockholders' are steady going and unimaginative, the 'speculators are "constantly preoccupied with the possibilities of new combinations." (Young, 1960: 18)

The fact that creative thinkers, or speculators are constantly going through a process of making decisions and choices suggests that creative ideas entail much more the 'intuitive groping' as Ogilvy suggests. And Young maintains:

". . . the production of ideas is just as definite a process as the production of Fords; that the production of ideas, too, runs on an assembly line; that in this production of the mind follows an operative technique which can be learnt and controlled and that its effective use is just as much a matter of practice in the technique as the effective use of any tool." (1960: 15)
Thus creativity is first and foremost a process of thought in which a range of variable information may be combined to come up with a creative idea. Marra reconfirms this by stating that "...a large part of creativity is the creative individual's ability to think by connections, many times by analogies or metaphor: Something is like or suggests something else. And this connection provides the spark for creative ideas." (1990: 2) And Young goes as far as to say that ideas are "nothing more than a new combination of old elements." (1960:25)

Ultimately then creativity is the result of 'lateral' thinking, a process in which diverse bits of information are combined to form a new idea. Although some argue that creativity can be learnt, most creative people believe that it is a talent which can only be developed through practice.

It is important to note that different types of creativity exist, and this is perhaps too, where misconceptions about the nature of creativity arise. It is presumed that creative people are able to do culturally specific things well, such as painting or playing a musical instrument, when in fact this is not necessarily the case. And it is in realising this that the true secret of advertising creativity lies.

4.1.2 THE PROCESS OF CREATIVE THINKING

The creative process is one which sets very specific goals and targets, it is as it were, a creative process in itself. As Groenewald (1994) maintains, lateral and therefore creative thinking cannot take place without a final goal or target in mind. Thus the creative process, although it may follow many paths, always sets a specific problem and works within the boundaries of that problem and how to solve it.
"...the most interesting aspects of creativity, is that a clear definition of purpose encourages not only better ideas but more of them." (Baker 1979: 3)

Baker likens the creative process to a pyramid. The first step or base represents the first phase which consists of gathering information. It is also the base which also lends stability to the whole structure of the creative process.

The second or middle phase is the analysis stage. It is during this stage that all the information is sorted and assessed. And the third part represents the final phase and the top of the pyramid. During this phase the relevant information is compiled and that leads to the culmination of the idea or creative concept. It is also during this stage that the idea is refined and polished.

Young (1960) suggests a similar process but examines it in greater detail. Firstly information is gathered. The second step is to combine and contemplate information, drawing parallels between the relevant elements. The third step is to identify the problem and think it through, which leads to the fourth step which is the formulation of an idea or solution. The final step in the process is the fine tuning of the idea.

It is clear that both Young and Baker, although the latter is not as precise as the former, basically follow the same steps in the same sequence in order to formulate a final idea or creative concept.

Thus the creative process depends on a four step process for its resolution:

1. Setting the creative problem or goal.
2. Gathering information about the problem.
3. Considering possible solutions to the problem by considering diverse combinations of information involved.

4. Formulating and fine-tuning the idea.

Thus the product of the creative process is ultimately an idea, concept or representation which is new and unique; and which is, more importantly, relevant to the original problem at hand. Creative thinking is in this way, essentially strategic thinking.

In order for the problem to be strategically resolved, regardless of whether it is marketing or business related, creative thinking is of vital importance. This means that the creative processes start right at the beginning of the marketing process, and not only towards the end when advertising and conceptualising happens. Consequently the greatest creative thinking often happens within the strategic thinking stage of the entire marketing process.

4.1.3 WHAT IS A STRATEGY?

The term strategy was first used in terms of warfare. Military strategy was the game plan devised to keep one ahead of the enemy in order to win the battle. And in terms of business, the term strategy means essentially the same thing.

Marketing can be seen as a type of warfare where the marketer of a specific product is trying to gain as much of the market share as possible. The marketing and communications strategy is the game plan which is devised to ensure that this goal is achieved.

"Strategy is the art of deploying available resources to attain objectives in the face of active opposition."

(Bogart, 1967: vii)
Lloyd (1994) maintains that without strategies, companies would be unable to operate effectively. Strategies form the basis of all problem setting in companies, whether they have to do with marketing, advertising or even distribution and operations.

Oosthuizen (1994) argues that strategies, regardless of the level on which they occur, i.e. on a business, advertising or marketing level, are essential for the direction of a Communications campaign. Clausen (1994) goes as far as to state that the strategy should be treated as the source of inspiration for all creative work pertaining to a specific campaign. Furthermore, that the directional thinking proposed by strategies should not be arbitrary. Their ultimate goal should always be to build the brand and maintain or increase marketshare.

The trend in business is to utilise comprehensive strategies rather than fragmented ones. In other words, the business strategy and communications plan all set the same goals and action plans, rather than being divided into their individual parts such as advertising, marketing and creative plans.

The basis of the business strategy, or overall strategy for the brand is based on the marketing mix, which warrants some further investigation and explanation.

4.2. THE MARKETING MIX

The classical marketing mix consists of four elements namely Product, Price, Place and Promotion, although Schultz (1990) also includes factors such as Consumer, Cost, Competition and Channels as important factors of consideration. Before we are able to discuss these factors however, it is important to note that another important change has been suggested by Overton
(1993) to the overall structure of the four P's principle.

Rather than using the limited term "Promotion" the last factor in the combination should be referred to as The Communications Mix, as 'Promotion' refers merely to a limited sphere of communications activity which is mostly related to Below-the-Line activities.

Although only four types of activity are included in this particular Communications Mix model, namely Promotion, Personal Sales, Advertising and Public Relations work, the term, communication encompasses a far wider range of activities which may also include internal communications (for example news letters and business broadcasts directed at staff) and corporate communications which relate more specifically to suppliers and business partners.

A brief individual examination of each term within the Marketing Mix will reinforce this point of view as well as making it clear that the marketing mix has the ability to be used as the basis of any sound business strategy.

4.2.1 PRODUCT

Within the context of the marketing mix, the term product is relatively straightforward. It encompasses the product or service which is on offer to the consumer.

At this stage it might be pertinent to briefly digress and point out that the product is not the brand and must not be mistaken for it. The product is a physical manifestation of what the company is producing whereas the brand operates on a spiritual, emotional and intellectual level.
Although a product without a brand personality has little to differentiate it from other products within its class, it never the less manages to communicate certain generic values. These may include quality, presentation, size or finish and should be taken into consideration within the scope of the communications mix.

4.2.2 PRICE

This is the second factor in the marketing mix and requires a simple decision: at what price should the product or service be sold to the customer. It would seem logical to go for the lowest price as this would satisfy consumer needs. However, with certain products, the decision to retail at a higher price is a strategic choice precisely because it increases the value or status of such a product and therefore its desirability.

The price of a product also communicates certain generic values to the consumer. For example, if a price is too low the product might be perceived to be of inferior or low quality. On the other hand prices which are too high can place a product out of the reach of its target market as well as engendering perceptions that it is an overpriced luxury item.

4.2.3 PLACE

This element refers to the distribution of the product. It requires the identification of the target market and the ability to ensure that the targeted consumer has ready and easy access to the product.

Distribution choices can communicate a great deal about the product and operates on a similar level as that of the "Price" communication. If the product is available only at
certain outlets it could be regarded as low-class or high-class. On the other hand, if the product is not at all available consumers, might perceive the item to be either of high value or low reliability.

4.2.4 THE COMMUNICATIONS MIX

The communications mix is probably the most complex of all the elements which make up the marketing mix and entails all decisions about the manner in which the image of the product will be communicated to its consumers, the public, suppliers and competition. And in this sense it is the most practical facet of the marketing mix, dealing more explicitly with the implementation of the marketing strategy and the method which is used.

Schultz (1990) argues that three major strategies can be found in almost all companies:

1. To produce either higher or lower prices in order to gain more market share
2. To differentiate the product from others within the same category
3. To focus on a niche in the market and fulfil the needs of that niche market

The elements of the marketing mix can be found in these three strategies. The first relates most clearly to price and communication. Differentiation as well as niche marketing relate to product, communication, and in some instances distribution.

However the three generic strategies cited by Schultz have taken one step away from the marketing mix in that they set specific goals. The marketing mix should therefore be seen as
a tool with which to formulate strategies, implement them and finally evaluate their success.

The communications facets of the marketing mix consist of the following: personal sales, below-the-line activity (promotion), public relations and above-the-line activity (advertising) (Overton 1993). I would like to add internal communications to this mix. Internal communications refers to the image which is portrayed internally to staff and or business associates who do not form part of the general public and sets a new trend for marketing in the 1990s.

Here follows a brief discussion of each of the terms and the type of communication which it entails:

### i. PERSONAL SALES

Personal sales rely heavily on interpersonal communication and can cover a wide range of activity, from canvassers trying to sell products or services to consumers in their own homes to shop assistants attempting to sell their product on the shop floor. Furthermore personal appearances by company executives may also constitute personal sales, albeit on a different level.

In the same way technological developments also play a new part in personal sales. For example, World Book Encyclopedia's representatives are suddenly able to graphically illustrate their product with the help of a small laptop computer. And in Japan kitchen manufacturers are custom-building their product with the help of computer graphics which represent the product in 'virtual space', or a computer generated dimension.
ii. BELOW-THE-LINE ACTIVITY (PROMOTION)

Promotion is a short-term activity which is used to increase volume, rather than build brand image. Later in this chapter, in the discussion of the function of advertising, a more detailed description of the benefits and limitations of promotional activity will be given.

Promotions also incorporate a wide range of activities, from so-called 'price-breaks' to special offers, competitions and the distribution of product samples.

iii. ABOVE-THE-LINE ACTIVITY (ADVERTISING)

Advertising is what builds the brand or personality of the product or service. It fulfils many functions at the same time, but its primary function is to build marketshare by creating a brand image and therefore brand loyalty.

Advertising is a long-term activity. Brands are not built overnight and adstock or brand investment often takes years to establish.

iv. PUBLIC RELATIONS

Public relations refers to all communications directed at the general public about the company and the product. Therefore it will be the function of the public relations officer to ensure that positive publicity about the product appears in other media, such as news articles.

Furthermore, public relations also deals to a certain extent with industrial relations. If a company decides for example to implement an affirmative action programme, it will be publicised by the public relations department if it will
positively affect public attitude.

When Pick 'n Pay refused to increase the price of its petrol products, it was strongly supported by a public relations action showing that the company maintained public and consumer interests over personal gain, and consequently communicating a favourable image.

v. INTERNAL COMMUNICATION

Internal communication refers to everything which is used to communicate to staff within the company - this may include business broadcasts, newsletters, memoranda and speeches. Furthermore internal communication refers to the nature of the communication with those consumers who do not make up part of the general public, such as suppliers, stock holders and competitors.

Personal sales, advertising, promotions and public relations activities may overlap with internal communication at any given time. But the main function of internal communication is to keep staff morale high and increase productivity. To make the company a desired and respected business partner, and to ensure that it is a trendsetter within the marketplace which is highly regarded by other companies.

Thus, although the internal communications aspect of the communications mix may seem to be one of the least important, it actually enjoys equal status as it has the ability to position the product and its mother company in favourable light in the minds of consumers by creating a high profile corporate position in the minds of consumers and those who have dealing with it on an everyday level.
Gronroos (1990) argues that the essence of the marketing function lies with internal communication in that marketing is not only the function of that department, but a function which needs to be carried equally by management, all the employees of the company regardless of their portfolios, in providing client service and in upholding promises made within the sphere of the transactional relationship between the company and the consumer.

This 'interactive' marketing approach calls for a redefining of the term 'marketing,' and Gronroos (Ibid.) maintains that marketing, rather being the facilitation of the exchange of goods between the manufacturer and the consumer of goods, it is in fact a long term process which maintains and builds up consumer relationships at a profit, so that the needs of both parties are satisfied. This is ultimately achieved by means of a sustained relationship which is maintained through mutual exchange and the upholding of promises.

We have identified the four major aspects of the marketing mix, but for the purposes of clarity within the context of this dissertation it is necessary to focus more specifically on one aspect of the communications mix, namely advertising.

4.3 THE FUNCTION OF ADVERTISING IS TO TURN THE PRODUCT INTO A BRAND

At first glance advertising texts are relatively simple and their function seems almost one-dimensional: to sell a specific product or service to the consumer. But closer investigation leads us to ask a series of pertinent questions which reveal the actual intricacies of the advertising process. For example: 'who is the consumer?' And, 'why are advertising campaigns structured in the way they are if their function is such a simple one - to sell a product?'
These questions are based on certain assumptions made about advertising, namely, that it is a simple process which has only one function and is directed to the broader mass of the population.

However, the key function of advertising is much more complicated than simply selling a product to a receptive consumer market. The first function of advertising is to build the brand and thereby gain marketshare. This will be achieved through long-term advertising and needs to be maintained by building awareness, differentiating the brand from others within its product class and ultimately building and maintaining brand loyalty.

Overton (1993) identifies the five major functions of advertising as being:

1. Awareness
2. Information
3. Choice
4. Accelerated Adoption or Rejection
5. Building Familiarity and Confidence

The five functions listed above are relatively self-explanatory, but what makes them worthy of mention is the fact that they are incapable of operating independently and ultimately each function relates to what all advertising is about - building the brand.

One cannot be aware of an advertising campaign for example without being party to some information about the brand. One cannot choose between brands without having had access to either of the first two functions. And finally whether the goal of the campaign is the increase awareness, supply information or convince the consumer to make a choice, this too cannot be reached without the presence of the brand.
Thus we can say that Awareness is awareness of the brand, its core personality and its positioning in terms of other brands within the same product class.

Information is not only the practical type which informs one the new Mercedes is equipped with an air bag for example, its primary function is to divulge information about the core values of the brand and what it stands for.

Choice is once again about branding, and advertising choice makes it possible for consumers to compare brands and choose one with which they feel comfortable.

Accelerated Rejection or Adoption of the brand, not the product, is cited as being the fourth function of advertising. and although this function lives closest to the product itself, rejection of the brand may indicate the target market is being approached with a brand personality which is not feasible for them. Finally building familiarity and confidence represents the core of what branding is all about - turning the brand into a familiar friend which the consumer will purchase time and again as the result of long-term successful branding.

4.3.1 BRANDING VERSUS PROMOTION

The debate which has been raging for some time in advertising and marketing circles continues - which is the more successful option, larger budgets allocated to brand advertising; or to promotional activity.

Proponents of the latter are usually product oriented, whereas the former is espoused by the those who believe that the brand is in actual fact an asset to the product rather than vice versa.
From the above discussion we have discovered that, without branding, advertising serves little purpose in above-the-line type advertising. (In other words advertising which excludes direct or promotional approaches.) A brand is more than just a product. Whereas the product represents the tangible, the brand represents that which is intangible. It is an idea, a perception, formed over a period of time in the mind of the consumer through consistent, strategically planned advertising. A brand is as it were, the personality of the brand and it that which gives the product added value.

"We define brand equity as the "added value" with which a given brand endows a product. A product is something which offers a functional benefit (e.g., a toothpaste, a life insurance policy, or a car). A brand is a name, symbol, design or mark that enhances the value of the product beyond its functional purpose."

(Farquhar, 1990: 58)

Advertising budgets are usually split in two. Some of the funds are allocated to classical brand advertising which consists of television commercials, press advertisements and radio spots. The rest of the budget is usually allocated towards promotional activity, or below-the-line advertising. This type of activity consists of active promotions with lower prices, sponsorships, special offers and celebrity events to name but a few.

Two pertinent differences exist between the two types of activity. The first is that brand-building is a long-term activity whereas promotions work only on a very short term basis. The second, and most important difference however, is that whereas promotions inspire sudden turnover in volume, it is unable to product maintain loyalty, whereas brand building
activity over a longer period - often at a greater cost, inspires greater loyalty within its users.

At present two schools of thought exist: the first is proponent of the promotional route and is more interested in selling high volumes than gaining a customer base over a period of time. Such marketers are product oriented rather than brand oriented.

The second group stand for the principles of classical advertising: namely that what one sells to the consumer is not merely a product or an image but a relationship. Thus, when a consumer purchases a specific product s/he will pursue it not because of its generic values, but rather because it is familiar, comfortable and well-known. Classical advertising reinforces this relationship, heightens awareness of the brand, creates even greater loyalty and ultimately builds up marketshare for that brand (Oosthuizen, 1994).

It is important to note that consumers cannot build a relationship with a product, as it has little or no endearing qualities which enables him/her to form a relationship with it. Farquhar (1990) identifies the three elements for building a strong brand as:

1. Affective responses (emotions and feelings)
2. Cognitive beliefs (inferences stemming from beliefs about the brand)
3. Behavioural intentions (habitual patterns)

All the elements listed above rely on strong responses from consumers which indicate that a strong link between the evaluation and the brand should exist, an evaluation which can only be formed through a relationship which has been carefully planned and designed over a period of time.
It is that long-term investment in brand advertising which ultimately results in increased adstock, or value for the brand. Each piece of advertising must be seen as a contribution to the long-term status of the adstock, and therefore of the brand.

Unfortunately difficult economic times often lead to cuts which affect the advertising budget first. However, it has been proven that marketshare can be gained if more money is pumped into advertising during times of recession. For example: the South African car market was looking extremely bad at the end of the eighties and most of the major manufacturers responded by cutting their advertising budgets radically. Toyota on the other hand increased their adspend during this time and managed to become one of the market leaders within its product class whereas other manufacturers are finding it difficult to recover the pre-recession marketshare.

Although Toyota reaped the fruits of success from its decision, many businesses are still reluctant to follow suit. Unfortunately proponents of a dominant below-the-line strategy are by far the majority in South African business at the present time. It seems that there is an inherent inability to judge what the long-term value of brand advertising is, and the potential it holds.

Rather than considering it as money wasted, budget allocated to the building of the brand should be regarded as a long-term investment, not a short-term solution. And, as has been proven by brand leaders, a long-term brand investment will prove invaluable after years of building up adstock through above-the-line brand advertising.
The answer ultimately is to find a healthy balance between brand advertising and promotional activity so that one may have the best of both worlds, a loyal consumer base as well as high-volume turnover.

4.4 THE DISCOURSE OF THE BRAND

We have discussed the function of advertising in some detail and from this it has become clear that the brand is in actual fact what drives the advertising function. The 20th century, far from being the age of science or enlightenment can in fact be accurately described as the epoch of the brand. Branding has become part of modern referential systems as it were, part of the language we speak and know.

This is true not only of First World countries with their large media monopolies, but also of Third World countries which have been targeted by global marketers. Even if certain brands enjoy little or no exposure in Third World countries, others such as Coca-Cola have become entrenched in the lifestyle of these societies, and incorporated into their Popular Culture.

In the townships for example, where there are few shopping outlets, spaza shops are often recognised by their hand-painted signs depicting Coca-Cola. The brand name signage was adopted in the townships as part of a unique referential system, as almost all local cafe's have similar (albeit professionally painted) signs showing the Coca-Cola logo.

And it is not entirely surprising to note that the great brands from the fifties are still with us at the turn of the century. Although the creation of awareness, the dispelling of information and choice are but a few of the primary supportive
functions of building a brand, the brand personality is in fact much more elusive than that.

Kim writes: "Brands are the copyrighted myths of the 20th century - the most potent icons of modern life." (1990: 65) But brands are more than just that. They are a representation of the whole image which a brand projects, a colour, a tune or a catch-phrase - and in its essence it presents a discourse which creates a finely structured reality which is entirely unique yet one which allows consumers to identify the brand with ready alacrity. It is the discourse of the brand, rather than the mechanics of presenting it to the consumer, which is in fact an asset to the product, an asset which will ensure its longevity in a competitive consumer market.

"A product is a physical thing that is made in the factory, or a service that is made available. It exists in the external temporal world. A brand on the other hand, has no tangible, physical or functional properties. It is a mental translation, an abstraction of the object or service." (Kim, 190:65)

And what makes the brand even more of an asset is the constancy of the image it projects. Coca-Cola would not be the same with its familiar red colouring or distinctive logo. And in the US, the announcement of a new Coke with a changed formula and a better taste led to an outcry from its loyal consumers. A fatal mistake which has cost Coca-Cola greatly in loss of marketshare and brand equity to its closest competitor, Pepsi.

The process of building a brand can be likened to the process of formulating a specific type of language. Each language represents a very specific type of reality, and in the same way the images and impressions left by brand advertising are
part and parcel of such a process. A process in which a self-made grammar is applied in order to create a unique type of reality which sets one brand apart from the next and forms a relationship with the consumer.

4.4.1 ADVERTISING AS LANGUAGE

Language is a system consisting of symbolically constructed images which are an abstract representation of reality. In a sense language immerses itself in its own ideology in that it becomes so entrenched in theses artificially created symbolic systems that it becomes almost impossible to question the type of reality which is represents.

Advertising texts in this sense can each be regarded as adhering to their own set of 'grammatical rules', as it were. Rules which are ultimately dictated by the core brand values, and the belief systems of the consumers who are targeted by the advertising.

Structuralism is the theoretical approach to texts which investigates latent structures within such texts and the manner in which they ultimately create meaning which is taken for granted. Semiology on the other hand is the study of signs and symbols within society and the relevance which they have within such societies and the creation of reality.

It is clear that, if we regard advertising as an artificially created text which represents a certain type of reality through the combination of images, words, symbols, songs and colours, structuralism and semiotic studies have bearing not only on the literary texts upon which they are usually applied, but indeed on more immediate texts which form the
basis of a Popular Culture in society. Such texts include cinematic discourses, advertising billboards, television programmes and even the fashions of the moment.

4.4.2 ADVERTISING, MYTHS AND POPULAR CULTURE

French semiotician, Roland Barthes was one of the first theorists to examine modern 'myths' from a structuralist perspective. If structuralism could be used, as it was originally by Levi-Strauss, to discover the universal underlying myths of so-called primitive societies, then too it could be utilised with equal success to analyze the texts of a modern society, and consequently discover the universality of those myths generated by a 'Popular Culture'.

In Mythologies (1989) Barthes starts off by defining myth as a type of speech, but he goes on to state that it is more than just that: "Ancient or not, mythology can only have an historical foundation, for myth is a type of speech chosen by history: it cannot possibly evolve from the 'nature' of things." (1989: 118)

In this sense myths are more than just the relationship between the signified and the signifier, the mythical discourse operates almost exclusively within the realm of the signifying practice. In other words myths, whether they be modern or ancient, have very specific meanings, within specific contexts, can be regarded almost as the ultimate manifestation of Popular Culture.

"We reach here the very principle of myth: it transforms history into nature. We now understand, in the eyes of the myth consumer, the intention, the adhomination of the concept itself can remain manifest without however appearing to have an interest in the matter: what causes
mythical speech to be uttered is utterly explicit, but it is immediately frozen into something natural; it is not read as a motive, but as a reason."
(Barthes, 1989: 140)

In the same way as myths transform history into that which is taken for granted, so too Popular Culture, and indeed advertising, does. As Popular Culture functions as a type of depoliticized speech, so do myths in that they detracts from mainstream discourse, and present a new reality, which although slanted, may undermine already existing perceptions about the world.

And although Barthes goes on to say that myths are incapable of being revolutionary, one must take cognisance of the fact the Mythologies was written in the 1950s when Popular Culture was still regarded as being repressive mainstream texts, produced to keep the minority in power and the majority at bay.

Like Popular Culture, the author would like to argue, mythical texts wage a 'guerilla-like warfare' against mainstream discourses, subtly displacing them until in time the myths of the past become the mainstream realities which are in their turn threatened by newer mythologies which are more relevant to the society of the time.

4.4.3 STRUCTURALISM VERSUS DECONSTRUCTION

Analysing advertising discourses in light of the modern mythologies, with which they share the limelight, has several advantages. Language in structuralism is regarded as consisting of two facets - langue (language) and parole (speech) (Hawkes, 1977). Langue is seen as having no independent existence, yet it is vital for the existence of
parole, in that the latter cannot exist without the predetermined rules and regulations which *langue* imposes. The difference between the two is that whereas language remains constant, speech is constantly changing. Thus language must regarded as a total system which consists of two aspects, the first of which is always a total system which exists independently of history, and the second, which is constantly changing and exists only in the present.

Saussure makes an important breakthrough in terms of linguistics and structuralism when he states that language operates as a total system in that it recognises both its structural qualities as well as its historical dimensions. In the same way advertising texts must be regarded as total language systems and analyzed thus. The core brand values in this sense can be likened to the *langue* factor within the linguistic structure in that those values remain as constant as those of language. The conventions and expectations of the brand are to remain unchanging over a period of time.

However, the execution of a specific campaign can be regarded as the parole, that which operates within a historical framework. And when trends or perceptions change, it is the finish or style of the advertising campaign which changes.

The dialectical relationship between the language and speech aspects of advertising texts remain the same, but in the era of postmodernism, it is the relationship between the signifier and the signified which has become blurred. In structuralist thought the signifier was a sign or symbol which formed an arbitrary relationship with the signified. It is recognised because it has been conventionalised and is recognised as such.
The symbols or signifiers in language form a type of metalinguage, which is accepted as reality and widely recognised. However deconstructivist theory argues that this relationship has broken down to a certain extent. Signifiers are no longer the clear-cut symbols they represented earlier, meaning has been indefinitely 'deferred'.

"Language is in this sense diacritical, or dependent on a structural economy of differences which allows a relatively small range of linguistic elements to signify a vast repertoire of negotiable meanings."
(Norris, 1991: 25)

Although advertising texts are supposed to be single-minded in their meaning, in a post-modern society where meaning is essential absent from all discourse, they have become complex documents which can be analyzed in a manner of ways.

Eco recognises this duplicity when he writes:
"The mass communication universe is full of these discordant interpretations; I would say that variability of interpretation is the constant law of mass communications. The messages set out from the Source and arrive in distinct sociological situations, where different codes operate. For a Milanese bank clerk a TV ad for a refrigerator represents a stimulus to buy, but for an unemployed peasant in Calabria the same image means the confirmation of a world of prosperity that doesn't belong to him and that he must conquer."
(1986: 141)

Unwittingly he refers to the differences in the Popular Culture of different sectors of the population. Mass communication has resulted in a shrinking world, when it comes to information, but instead of leading to unity, this has lead
to even greater polarization among people - whether it is based on race, gender, age or class differences.

And therefore, in order to be able to reach the target market, the producer of the brand must at all times be aware of such splits within the market, and more importantly, of the different perceptions which the different sub-cultural groups within such a market hold.

Groenewald (1994) maintains that people have the same perceptions regardless of race, colour and creed - and this may be true generally speaking. However it is also true that markets are segmented for a reason which relates specifically to advertising more effectively. And although market segmentation is based primarily on lifestyle, these perceptions and definitions which Popular Culture offers such people must be taken into consideration when effective advertising campaigns are planned.

Ultimately this implies that advertising texts must not be regarded as texts with one given meaning, but as discourses which carry a variety of meanings for a range of groups, each of which adheres to their own system of mythologies, or Popular Cultures.

4.5 DETERMINING AND IMPLEMENTING STRATEGIES

Once one has identified the strengths and weaknesses of the product, a concerted effort can be made to set specific aims. The most pertinent goal will be to gain marketshare, or even to become the market leader. And if the product is already a market leader the marketing strategy will most certainly be to remain in that position. Marketshare may be measured, depending on the product, through awareness, sales or response to the advertisement. Such goals are reached through the
implementation of strategies or plans which enables the producers of the product to devise a game plan according to which they are able to chart their progress and set new goals.

The marketing goal ties up directly with the identification of the target market as well as the needs of that market.

"Marketing is the art of providing a product that certain people want to buy more than any other. A marketing strategy is one product's blueprint for how to be that most desired product, at least for a particular group of consumers." (Corstjens, 1990:21)

The broader aim of the communications strategy is ultimately to determine what message and image will be communicated to which consumers through what channels at what cost in order to achieve the marketing goal.

It is in this instance that real factors such as the target market and the brand personality of the product come into play, influencing all aspects of the communications plan. The communications strategy therefore deals in greater detail with the personality or core values of the brand within the target market. It is clear that the concept of the target market is one of the key issues within the formulation of the advertising plan. Thus, whereas the marketing objective is to sell goods, part of the communications objective is to create brand preference.

The most important difference between the marketing strategy and a communications strategy is that, whereas the former examines its task and strategies quantitatively, that is in real measurable values, the latter works more qualitatively. In other words it deals with perceptions and attitudes rather than volumes sold. It deals more intrinsically with the brand, rather than the product.
Essentially the communications strategy examines five pertinent questions:

1. What are the \textbf{Values and Perceptions} of the Target market
2. What is the \textbf{Objective of Communicating}
3. What are the \textbf{Core Values of the Brand}
4. What sets this \textbf{Brand apart from others}
5. How do we \textbf{Communicate this to the Target Market}

The author feels that a sixth question should be added to this list, namely: What is the \textbf{Popular Culture of the Target Market and is it addressed by the Communication}?

\section*{4.6 THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ADVERTISING}

The aims or functions of advertising have been discussed rather comprehensively. Once it has been determined what the message is which the advertising must convey, we enter an implementation or executional phase which also requires a great deal of strategic planning in order to be on target.

Thus it must be decided on the function of the advertising, the values and perceptions of the target market, achieving the advertising objective and the place and manner in which the advertising or campaign should be conducted.

\subsection*{4.6.1 THE FUNCTION OF THE ADVERTISING}

The function of advertising as well as its relation to Popular Culture has been covered comprehensively earlier in this chapter and the major points of concern will briefly be summarised.

The function of advertising should be decided on when the marketing mix is formulated as it is contained within the
communications mix. As stated earlier, advertising usually fulfils more than one role at a time, but its primary function is to build adstock by building up the brand, and consequently increase marketshare. This should be regarded only as part of the overall communications activity and therefore as part of the quest to build up communications stock for the product or brand.

Brand advertising however enjoys a high profile because of the cost and time factor involved but should be regarded as a valuable investment rather than wasted expenditure.

Popular Culture should fulfil a critical role in this aspect of planning, as it relates essentially to consumer perceptions and ideas. And, without relevant and available knowledge, an advertising function cannot be adequately determined.

4.6.2 THE VALUES AND PERCEPTIONS OF THE TARGET MARKET

The target market remains one of the most vital strategic considerations throughout the marketing and communications process. However, rather than examining the potential customer in terms of demographic grouping, age or sex, the implementation strategy of the communications plan should concentrate on lifestyle, attitudes and perceptions. In other words, one should concentrate on the day to day living experiences and adaptations of the consumer in order to understand him or her better - the Popular Culture of the target market as it were.

Corstjens writes:

"The key to defining the advertising target is to understand what it is in a product that makes them susceptible to the product." (1990: 61)
And Clausen (1994) argues that, not only must the advertiser know what makes a consumer susceptible to a product, but what needs that product fulfils in the first place. Naidoo (1994) maintains it is impossible to advertise successfully for the target market if it is not researched comprehensively. Research must include all the major aspects of the target market's everyday existence, from the manner in which the product is perceived, perceptions and attitudes about its competitors, about the mother company (if the brand is one of a group of brands), and purchasing habits to name but a few.

Clausen cites the example of the powdered soup market, stressing the importance of knowledge of alternative uses within a specific market, powdered soup products are for example often used as sauce replacements.

Naidoo (1994) on the other hand states that advertisers should also be aware of the different cultural implications of certain products, maize meal in the White market is perceived primarily as a accompaniment to braaivleis, in the Black market it is used as staple food whereas it serves speciality food functions for Indian consumers. Thus the Popular Culture of the target market should be internalised strategically in order to make the brand more to that market.

4.6.3 THE CORE BRAND VALUES

It is clear, that, for the target market to identify with the brand and to feel an emotive bond with the brand, it should reflect the principle values of that market as well as their dreams and aspirations. This means that brands which are directed towards the lower end of the market should not by implication be of a lower quality as that market may still aspire to a brand which places them (in their minds) in a higher bracket.
The most successful brand campaigns succeed precisely because the values and images which they represent are steady and unchanging. Therefore the core brand values should not necessarily be re-evaluated with each and every new campaign or commercial. The values of the brand should be so entrenched within the minds of the public and the producers of advertising campaigns that it becomes 'mythical' in the way which Barthes (1989) suggests - almost indiscernible from reality itself, yet presenting a separate reality in itself.

Ogilvy writes:

"[Brand] Image means personality. Products, like people, have personalities, and they can make or break them in the marketplace. The personality of a product is the amalgam of many things - its name, its packaging, its price, the style of its advertising, and above all, the nature of the product itself." (1983: 14)

The question is how the key brand values can be assessed and monitored within advertising texts. This can be done, depending on the nature of the media used, in a variety of ways. In the first place the values espoused by the brand need to tie up with the perceptions of the target market which can be ascertained by means of a number of lifestyle studies, discussed in more detail earlier in this thesis. Such studies include information about brand habits, media consumption habits, income, values and perceptions and leisure-time activity of the market in question.

In the second place one needs to return to the basis of the marketing strategy in order to ascertain what consumer promise the brand makes which differentiates it from other products within the same class. However it is important to note that the core brand values should be able to 'survive' things such
as social change and be flexible enough to be adapted to such changes.

For example, the Malboro campaign has been running consistently for 25 years with little change, although the essential 'style' or execution of advertisements may have been adapted slightly in order to remain up-to-date. The same values are still being projected today - freedom, Americanism and masculinity. The core brand values of Malboro cigarettes promise nothing tangible, rather they are a carefully structured referential system which presents Malboro within a specific context to a group of consumers who recognise the personality of the brand, and more importantly, the aspirational values it projects.

Thus when identifying the core brand values, one should not fall into the trap of looking at product benefits, rather one should examine what aspirational lifestyle and personality it projects. And furthermore a critical analysis of these brand values should extend over all aspects to do with the product and create an image of synergy - a picture in which all communication relating to the product form part of the whole.

4.6.4 THE ADVERTISING OBJECTIVE

The third point deals almost exclusively with the creative side of the advertisement, namely the execution. Essentially the target of the advertising and the objective should be united by means of the execution of the commercial.

The execution of the commercial is determined by the media as well as budget constraints. Although not a complete creative strategy, this part of the advertising plan should contain suggestions and rationales for a specific type of 'look' or 'feel' for an advertising campaign. 

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It is during this aspect of the implementation strategy that Popular Culture plays perhaps the most important role. If the code or language of the target market is not identified, utilised and recognised by the target market, the brand will not evoke the type of interest the advertisers require. At the same time cultural references should not be patronising. For example, certain advertisers have regarded it as strategically correct to adapt certain advertising concepts for White and Black markets and in the process have alienated both targets.

Palmolive made exactly such a faux pas by creating a culturally correct 'Black' and 'White' advertisement for its television campaign. However, rather than simply using and Black and a White model, the commercial was adapted to have two different endings. In the 'White' commercial the singing girl was surprised by her boyfriend/husband whereas the 'Black' ad showed the girl being surprised by her daughter. It was later found that the Black sector of the target market, rather than responding to the culturally correct, were offended by the patronising contrast of the White and the Black advertisements.

On the other hand the new Castrol campaign plays with culturally specific imagery which ultimately reflects the nature of a changing society, without patronising either race group portrayed in the commercial.

4.6.5 ADVERTISING MEDIA AND TIMING

Media choice is the primary function which needs to be considered as the fourth aspect of the implementation of the Advertising communications strategy. It is always important as media budgets are invariably limited when it comes to media allocation. Consequently, a client might wish to air a number
of commercials on prime time television, but not have the budget to do this. Therefore the creative team must be able to adapt strategies across a wide range of media without losing sight of the creative concept and never deviating from the core brand personality.

The choice of the media ties up with the rest of the communications mix. In other words the choice of media must be relevant and appropriate to the advertising task at hand. For example, when Doc Martens officially launched the brand in this country at the end of 1994, they had a relatively small budget and wanted to create a great deal of awareness.

The media team bought up various walls, known as star walls and decorated them with an authentic-looking stencil art of a Doc Marten boot with the copy line which read: 'Docs Kick Butt!'. Over the next couple of weeks more graffiti was added by the agency as well as diverse Doc Marten fans.

Rather than spending large amounts on a television campaign, the creative and effective use of media addressed the advertising objective at hand as well as addressing its market effectively.

Which brings us to the second consideration which needs to be made when media is chosen, namely a knowledge of the culture, and more specifically the Popular Culture, of the target market. The example of the Doc Martens campaign illustrates an in-depth knowledge of the habits, attitudes and behaviour of its target market, to such an extent that the consumers actually participated in creating the ad and in the later stages creating truly interactive advertising.
Advertising is an inherently visual activity, whether one is examining television or print ads or outdoor hoardings. Even radio can be categorised as being visual when one considers that it is often referred to as 'the theatre of the mind'.

However each medium has its own specific style which makes the image and message it wishes to convey more effective in terms of reaching its target audience. Even two media, such as press and outdoor hoardings, which may seem similar at first glance have major differences which gives each its unique character and which requires specific inputs from the creative team, consisting of an art director and copywriter.

The major media which will be discussed in this dissertation are those which are classified as being above-the-line - radio, television, press and outdoor. Let us look at the creative execution within each media briefly.

i. TELEVISION/FILM

Television and film commercials operate on more levels, than perhaps any other medium. It employs auditory and visual stimuli and is therefore regarded as presenting a more complete reality than press or radio for example.

On an auditory level the commercial may include either one, or a combination of music and voice. Music in commercials mostly forms part of the background noise, although certain campaigns rely heavily on the use of well-known songs in order to establish the image of its brand. For example in the Sun International commercial advertising Sun City, flighted some years ago, a well-known song by the band Queen was used to convey the message: Sun City will "Rock You". It went on to
set a precedent for advertising within the same campaign as well as making a lifestyle statement about Sun Resorts.

A voice in commercials can be the source of significant information in one of two ways. In the first place the voice may belong to a person who is selling the brand - for example the testimonial advertising for a brand such a Dove Soap. On the other hand the voice may appear to have no source at all, appearing as a voice over the visuals which are playing. Both are conventions within advertising and cinematic narrative which are widely accepted and recognised by television-literate audiences.

On a visual level television and film commercials display an incredibly dense network of codes which will contain references to the core brand values, as well as information about the product and about the type of context within which such advertising is being generated. Logos, titles, studio shots, locations and a plethora of special effects may be used to create the visual impact required by the brand.

Furthermore such commercials have become highly specialised production showcases for young directors, allowing technical information such as special editing techniques to impact upon the entire 'look' of a television commercial.

ii. PRESS/MAGAZINES

The format for press and magazine advertisements are virtually the same, with the exception that the two media present differently formatted advertisements due to the varying sizes of the publications. Magazines are usually in an A4 format whereas newspapers appear in broadsheet or tabloid forms.
Print media operates purely on a visual level. Advertisements designed for the print media usually use the combination of a headline with a visual and some body copy. There are of course exceptions to every rule. The Benetton campaign is renowned for using visuals only which bear no relation to the product which they are selling.

The headline in a print advertisement should be short and to the point. It serves a leading function in that it catches the consumer's eye and urges him/her to read the body copy (if there is any). Often headlines are based on word plays or allusions about the product which operate on a lateral level.

The body copy on the other hand is longer and serves more of an explanatory function and functions together with the headline to create a comprehensive picture about the brand. Copy style depends entirely on the brand, and the copywriter in question. For example, the copy style for a product such as Mercedes Benz will differ from that which is used for Volkswagen. The differences in copy style may be discerned in the generic writing style - whether it be humorous or serious. But also in the manner in which the text is written, length of sentences and the use of specific words.

Although typography relates more to art direction, it has a direct link to the copy in terms of the size of the headline and the typeface used. Furthermore typeface and the size of the typeface may influence the amount of copy which can be used or the manner in which the headline should be broken if it stretches over more than one line. Readability is another issue which arises when we discuss typography. Ogilvy (1983) for example insists that headlines are not readable when they appear all in upper case. And some typefaces are easier to read than others.
The position of the headline and body copy on the page will also influence the overall look of the advertisement and there is a variety of combinations in which this can be used. It is in this instance that the headline and/or body copy become integral design elements in terms of the layout for the whole advertisement.

The visual side of the print advertisement operates on very much the same level as the television/film commercial. Obviously print commercials which consist only of headlines make a different type of statement than those which utilise photographs or illustrations.

With the advent of desktop publishing (DTP) systems, special effects have become common-place rather than exceptional. It is possible to produce advertising campaigns with special photography effects with relative ease. To name but one, the new Smirnoff campaign in which everything seen through the bottle of Smirnoff Vodka is slightly distorted. Within a row of angels for example, the figure seen through the Smirnoff bottle appears to be a hell's angel.

Lastly, colour is an important aspect to consider within the creative execution of advertisements. Although a full-colour advertisement may have a greater visual impact, black and white can be used with equal success, especially when it forms the basis of the visual style for the brand. All print advertisements for ABC shoes for example are shot in highly-contrasted black and white formats, thus giving the brand a unique look.
iii. RADIO

Radio operates purely on an auditory level, yet a well-written radio advertisement will have as much impact as press and television.

As in television, a combination of voice and music can be used to establish the brand values. And although this medium functions purely on an auditory level, the images evoked can be of such strength that in some cases the radio campaign can be regarded as being more effective than that of other more visual media.

One example of such a campaign is perhaps the MTN campaign for cellular air time, in which the writing style is extremely tongue in cheek and the voice highly recognisable.

Jingles which are often used in television advertising are more effective on radio as they are not marred by the 'noise' of visuals and/or headlines. Copy jingles are short and easy to remember, often playing on words which rhyme with the name of the product.

Music in radio advertisements operates purely as background to the voice over as it does not have the visual back-up to promote the brand adequately. However, popular music may be adapted so that the lyrics may reflect the brand values of the product.

iv. OUTDOOR

Outdoor hoardings such as billboards and buses are different from print advertisements in that their copy lines are required to be extremely short, and readable. Furthermore in terms of visuals, they have the ability to be three-
dimensional. Volkswagen for example still have a number of billboards in which the visual element consists of actual cars, mounted on the billboard, and a number of advertisers have followed the same route, producing three-dimensional 'sculptures' rather than conventional picture-and-headline billboards.

Electronic billboards are often used to great effect, giving an impression of movement and allowing more than just one type of information to be contained on it. The M-Net billboard on the M1 North highway is such an example - carrying messages which change on almost a daily basis as well as information about its programme line-ups.

4.7 POPULAR CULTURE AND THE FUNCTIONS OF ADVERTISING

From the above discussion it has become clear that the function of advertising intrinsically interlinked with a knowledge of the Popular Culture or trends of the target market. This is true not only of the manner in which the product is developed, or the manner in which the advertising campaign is presented, but also by the choice of media for example.

To clarify this let us briefly re-examine what the term Popular Culture entails, by looking again at the hypothesis about Popular Culture made in the previous chapter. They were:

Hypothesis 1: Popular Culture happens as a result of disempowerment

This hypothesis refers specifically to the disempowerment experienced socially and economically by the majority of South Africans during the apartheid era. However, in the new South
Africa a different type of disempowerment is being experienced by the minority of South Africans, mostly as a result of perceived political disempowerment because of a so-called people's government.

Hypothesis 2: Popular Culture is a Way in which the Disempowered Relate to Day to Day Realities

In other words, the consumer adapts a specific aspect of his or her life to adapt to the harsh realities of everyday living. This may assume a range of guises: from sewing Pierre Cardin labels onto one's school uniform (as was popular practice by schoolgirls in the townships) to using a product like soup powder as a sauce substitute.

Hypothesis 3: Popular Culture is always a Process

This means that Popular Culture is dynamic, not static. It is indicative of trends rather than firmly routed beliefs. But at the same time changing Popular Culture can be traced back to preceding trends. And in the same way the process of Popular Culture can be traced by means of a series of projections.

Hypothesis 4: Popular Culture is a Subconscious Form of Resistance

By adapting products and consumer objects beyond their original use, the consumer is subconsciously resisting the norm placed on him or her by producers and/or advertisers. An excellent example of this, even though not a consumer object, is the use of language amongst various social groups.

Tsotsi-taal for example incorporates a range of phrases from a diversity of languages with a great measure of slang words thrown in. This adaptation of language serves two purposes. In
the first place to differentiate that specific group from others, i.e. tsotsis from Mapantsulas or Ma-Gents (both township gangster subgroups) and in the second place, to resist the original usages of the language in order for its members not to be understood by others, a subconscious form of resistance as it were. In this way the adaptation of everyday consumer goods is an indication of such subconscious resistance.

Hypothesis 5: Popular Culture is Polymorphous

In other words, Popular Culture enjoys many interpretations at the same time. It is as it were, a postmodern text which bears specific relations to various people, and is understood differently by different sub-groups.

4.8. FORMULATING THE COMMUNICATIONS STRATEGY

These are the primary considerations which need to be taken into consideration when a communications strategy is being formulated. From discussions in this chapter, it is clear that, without a consumer, no product will be able to flourish. And, in order for the product to flourish and build marketshare it must be branded. This will serve the purpose of differentiating it from other products within that product class and building brand loyalty amongst its consumer base.

However, no brand can be adequately branded without taking the target market and the trends or Popular Culture which affect the every-day-existence of that target market into consideration.

Oosthuizen (1994) argues that, not only the creative strategy or the communications strategy should use Popular Culture as
its basis, but indeed the entire business strategy should be built upon it.

In order for any strategy to adhere to the principles of a Popular Culture - the following principles must be considered:

1. Any communication in the nineties, whether an advertising or business message is essentially postmodern in nature.
2. Popular Culture is constantly in flux, and business strategies should be adapted to such changes.
3. Popular Culture should be created through effective Communications which business has at its disposal.
4. The nature of Popular Culture is based in Disempowerment and Resistance.

Let us briefly discuss each of these premises, keeping in mind that they relate to business as a whole, but looking at them more specifically in terms of the communications strategy.

4.8.1 POSTMODERNITY AND COMMUNICATION IN THE 90S

Without saying that communication is postmodernism, I would like to equate the two closely within an advertising context before arguing for the importance of Popular Culture in the formulation of communications strategies. Postmodernism uses a combination of existing realities and subconscious knowledge to shed light on what happens in the present.

1. As Postmodernism uses pastiche, so too does Advertising.

Advertising reality works in the same way as postmodern texts, albeit to create a completely favourable image of the product or service it promotes. It combines generic product values, together with the unique selling proposition as well as the core brand values or personality to present the consumer with
a product which must be bought before any other.

For example the Steers advertisement used the film "Thelma and Louise" as a conceptual basis, together with the generic qualities of take-away burgers and the inherent sexuality craved by a youth market to produce a highly visible and controversial commercial. "Thelma and Louise" itself was multi-layered and subversive in its genre by taking the classical Bonnie and Clyde type road movie and subverting it by placing two women in the starring roles. An exercise in the creation of pastiche and multi-layering to create a truly post-modern advertising text.

2. As Postmodernism is Self-referring so too is Advertising

Postmodern texts simultaneously refer to all other texts which have preceded it. Advertising in the nineties has assumed the same type of self-conscious self-referring nature which is why generic aspects of the brand feature so strongly. Continental tyres for example set a precedent in the mid-eighties when it positioned its product as a 'safety product'. In the nineties, safety has become a generic feature of tyres, and most tyre advertising refers to that generic feature in one way or another (Oosthuizen 1994).

To some extent, all tyre advertising refers back to that first Continental advertisement which set a safety trend in the tyre industry making them, regardless of the conceptual content, essentially postmodern texts.

Furthermore advertising is not only self-referring in that it refers to other advertising texts, but also to real-life situations. For example, when the creative team working on the Radio Active account were doing research in the rural areas about their target market, they came across a scene which
closely resembles the reshoe version which was aired on national television later that year.

3. As Postmodern texts are Parodies, so too are Advertising Texts

Postmodern texts are known for subverting their essential meaning through the use of parody. Parody which is created by the combination of many texts. Advertising, even when it is not intended to be ironic, cannot escape from it.

Thus every new Omo commercial parodies the previous one enabling the target market to recognise it for what it is. At the same time it parodies other soap commercials which use the same generic concepts to sell its products. In soap advertising this parody consists of the testimonial - a small insight is given into the life of the housewife. She relates some incident in which clothing was irrevocably soiled. The product was used, either through habit, or the through recommendation of a female friend. Naturally the soiled clothing came out good as new, which leads us to our next points.

4. As the Textual combinations in Postmodernism are innumerable, so too are those within Advertising

This last point about Postmodernism is probably the most important in the light of advertising. Jorge Luis Borge (1964) in his short story The Library of Babel describes a postmodern world which consists of an infinite number of interlinking rooms which contain all the texts ever written. All the texts are versions of one text which is impossible to locate. This basically describes the postmodern condition in which the lack of master narrative is central. Therefore all texts are versions of previously written texts, but differ
marginally from each other.

In the same way classical brand advertising can be regarded as a phenomena in which the master narrative has become impossible to locate, where the essence of the texts or the brand values of the product remain the same, but in which each text speaks essentially of a new reality.

4.8.2 FLUCTUATION IN POPULAR CULTURE

Essentially this means that the people who are in charge of formulating communications strategies should not fall into the trap of making assumptions. Clausen (1994) argues that, although strategies are mostly beneficial, they can be detrimental when they become a crutch for the business, rather than a business aid which facilitates an understanding of the market.

Consequently, marketing and advertising people should always be aware of the changes happening in the marketplace and adapt communications strategies to suit those needs. For example, in the eighties and early nineties, English was perceived as being more acceptable than any other local language. With the changes in society however, being Black has become de-stigmatized and there is a marked move towards maintaining traditional customs and language in the home (Sales House Research Groups, 1994).

This perhaps explains the success of advertising campaigns such as Iwisa maize Meal, which uses the Lobola system as the basis for its creative concept. Although the client was initially reticent about flighting such a culturally specific campaign, post-testing results showed that it was one of the most liked campaigns by the target market (Naidoo, 1994).
4.8.3 BUSINESS AND POPULAR CULTURE

Oosthuizen (1994) argues that businesses and advertisers alike make the mistake of following trends rather than setting them. It is a risk, he says, which few companies are prepared to take, but those who do inevitably reap the results and become market leaders in their field.

This is as true of communications strategies as it is of business. Rather than being prepared to take a risk, clients prefer to follow the safe route which follows advertising trends rather than ones which set trends.

Although it may seem impossible to predict which trends will be popular and which ones not, this is by no means an impossible feat. Faith Popcorn (1991) predicted a number of trends which she argues will make or break marketing campaigns during the next ten years in America. She argues that American society is going through a social revolution which is not being considered by researchers or advertisers.

For example, although the most desirable target market in America are college graduates who are earning in excess of $75,000 a year, marketers fail to take into consideration that there is a growing trend for such consumers to opt out of the corporate rat race in order to lead more fulfilled lives on lower salaries.

Thus, before a trend or Popular Culture is able to gain momentum, marketers should take cognisance of the possible outcome of such a trend in order to utilise it to its fullest extent.

"Trends are predictive because they start small, then gather momentum. If you can connect the dots between the inception of a trend and the impact it will have on
your business, then you can fine-tune your product to fit the trend. As each trend builds and makes its way through the marketplace, it increases its hold on the consumer." (Popcorn, 1991:25)

4.8.4 POPULAR CULTURE, DISEMPIERMENT AND RESISTANCE

This is the point which is probably the most important if Popular Culture is indeed to be used as the basis for business and communications Strategies. It is insight into this consumer disempowerment and the nature of the resistance from which marketers can make their greatest discoveries about their brand and the manner in which it should be marketed.

This basically means that there is no winning recipe which will continue, like the proverbial goose, to provide the golden eggs. Even though using Popular Culture as a means with which to convince the target market to buy a specific brand and to continue buying it, we must remember that target markets change. That societies are dynamic organisations which are subject to a wide range of external influences and experiences of which marketers and advertisers can never attain a complete measure of surety.

And therefore, even though they are able to predict and follow trends which ensure the success of a specific brand, anyone who communicates with the consumer must always keep in mind that resistance and disempowerment may assume many guises and result in situations which may only become visible when it is too late.

Thus the task of the communicator is twofold, firstly to relay information to the target market in a comprehensive format so that they respond to it in the desired manner, and secondly to present the reality of the brand, the reality of every day
living to that same consumer in a fresh and innovative manner.

"Working from the strategy is the creative person's aim to find new language, both in words and visuals to present the product and its benefits to the consumer. For it is saying something that may not be unique, but in a unique manner, that makes great campaigns. . . Therein lies the task of every creative person - turning information into communication." (Marra, 1990:107 - 108)

CONCLUSION

It is clear that the communications strategy is much more than just that, it is as it were the lifeline which connects the consumer and the business strategy in order to form a successful marketing process. And in order for this lifeline to exist effectively, it needs to take into consideration the needs, perceptions and attitudes of the consumer at the same time.

In other words, the communications strategy cannot exist without some sort of input from the consumer. It presents simultaneously, a picture of the consumer and his or her attitudes, values and perceptions and a picture of the brand and its unique personality.

Furthermore it indicates the means which are used to reach the consumer, as well as the manner in which the communications campaign is executed so that it presents a unique view of every day living to which the consumer can relate.
This view should be present in all facets of communication, albeit promotional, corporate or advertising and is the lifeline through which Popular Culture can flow, from the consumer to the producer of the product and vice versa to create a relationship from which both parties are able to draw mutual benefits.

In the next chapter the communications strategy, or textual discourse if a number of specially selected advertisements, covering a range of media, will be examined in order to ascertain whether Popular Culture is indeed being implemented as part of the communications strategy.
CHAPTER FIVE

AN ANALYSIS OF POPULAR CULTURE, VALUES AND ADVERTISING IN A POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapters the South African market before and after apartheid was examined, Popular Culture within the context of our changing society, and its place within market strategies.

In this chapter all these issues will be examined, contextualising them in terms of contemporary advertising taking place in South Africa (or which has taken place in the recent past). The investigation will cover a wide range of media, and indeed, the author will make every attempt to cover most of the major above-the-line media used to reach South African target markets. These include Television, Radio, Press and Outdoor formats.

Firstly the term 'value', and how it is relevant to our discussion will be debated. This is important to the discussion as this chapter will focus primarily on analysing and evaluating contemporary advertising texts. The term 'value' will consequently be relevant in terms of the manner in which the texts have been selected and the manner in which they will be analyzed.

Then present a brief rationale for the manner in which the ads under discussion have been selected will be presented, as well as the method of analysis utilised. Popular Culture in this
instance will be the determining factor, together with the execution and meaning of the advertisements under discussion.

This will enable the author to draw conclusions about the role Popular Culture plays in advertising strategies and the consequent execution of advertising campaigns.

5.1 THE CONCEPT OF VALUE

The entire human perceptual process is dominated by value judgements. In fact, this subjective process is so part of human nature that it has become almost indiscernible.

Fekete writes:

"No aspect of human life is unrelated to values, valuations and validations. Value orientations and value relations saturate our experiences and life practices from the smallest established microstructure of feeling, thought and, behavior (sic.) to the largest macrostructure of organizations and institutions. The history of cultures and social formations is unintelligible except in relation to a history of value orientations, value ideals, goods values, value responses, and value judgements, and their objectivations, interplay, and transformations."

(Fekete, 1988: i)

The term value is even more relevant to advertising when one considers the relationship between the consumer and the advertising text. Without 'value' or value judgements, brand advertising as we know it could not take place, as it works from the principle of choice. The preference of one product over another and one brand image before its competitors. This process of choice calls for the making of value judgements from consumers on a day to day basis, when faced with
advertising, promotions and a tangible relationship with the product.

But, although this may create the perception that the term is in fact a simple one, this is not the case. Although we make value judgements every day almost without thinking, the process is an ambiguous one on almost every level - theoretical, intellectual and practical.

"No serious discussion of the question of value can proceed very far without encountering one form or another of the conflict between absolute and relative value, a conflict traditionally polarized by those who, on the one hand, believe in the need for, and the possibility of, norms and values which are unconditional, objective and absolute, and those, who on the other, accept the unmasterable historicity, heterogeneity and cultural relativity of all values." (Connor, 1992: 1)

What Connor is describing is essentially a conflict between values which are modern on the one hand, and postmodern on the other, in that the one espouses absolutist values in terms of culture and the latter claims that all culture has some sort of value. He goes on to say that in this sense value can be thought of in the Derridean sense of différence in that the arrival of ultimate value is always deferred, as ultimate meaning is. But also because of the inherent reflectivity of the evaluation process in which each and every value will always be subjected to evaluation itself. And, within the context of advertising, any brand preference has the potential of being changed as the inherent values of the brand are constantly reassessed by its target markets.

If one were arguing from a modernist point of view, the very texts which are under investigation would be regarded as...
having little or no value, in that they form part of a culture of consumerism which is regarded as being contrary to the ideals of 'high' culture.

However, in the postmodern epoch, all cultural texts possess inherent value. This does not necessarily mean that all cultural expressions enjoy equal status. Within their specific categories some expressions are superior to others. What postmodernity therefore suggests is that all types of discourse have equal value in terms of their signifying practices within a society. What is necessary is to determine their functional value in terms of the context within which they exist.

Foster (Storey, 1993) differentiates in this instance between a postmodern culture of reaction and one of resistance, suggesting that the latter has more value in terms of specific contexts than the former. A postmodernism of reaction in this case would be one which latches on to mainstream culture without questioning it whilst a postmodernism of resistance both attacks the modernist stance and reactionary postmodernism at the same time.

It will become clear from the ensuing analysis that a similar dichotomy exists within advertising texts, one which espouses a global 'western'Popular Culture and those which draw its connotative codes from a more specific local image pool.

Modernist thinkers would maintain the advertising forms part of a 'mass' culture which has no value as it espouses a repressive ideology which is not representative of reality. It has become clear though that the 1990s is most certainly an era which has embraced a postmodern consciousness and moved away from the Marxist rhetoric.
The dominant ideology of which the Marxists speak has lost its power to some extent in that it is being subverted by its consumer markets to suit their tastes. Rather than leading to an Orwellian reality in which a global mass industry has robbed people of their individuality, it has restored it in terms of offering the mass market what it wants, when it wants it. The proof of this lies in the economics of the mass market. Those suppliers who do not comply with the wishes of their target markets will lose share as their consumers search elsewhere for their requirements.

In the South African situation however, market diversity seems not to have been taken into consideration when planning and executing campaigns, that which fills the brand with a sense of value has been taken as a generic quality rather than a specific, unique to the market for which it is targeted.

Although advertising texts in contemporary society enjoy a status which is on a par with that of other cultural texts, which may previously have been classified of part of a 'high' culture, some texts are still regarded with higher regard than others. It is upon asking the question "what makes one text better than another", that value judgements become even more ambiguous and ill-defined. This is perhaps more true of advertising in South Africa than any other cultural artefact, as 'value' in advertising seems to be regarded in distinctly main-stream westernised terms.

But in the same breath one may also argue that the divide between a culture of Afro-centrism and Euro-centrism is one which exists only the minds of a few. That the advent of a mass global society has resulted in a cultural discourse which differs on many levels, but still shares essentially the same values and perceptions. For example, the manner in which cinematic or television reality is portrayed adheres to an
almost generic sense of style which is recognised by people regardless of whether they are members of an advanced first world society or those belonging to a more deprived third world one.

The author would like to suggest that value judgements are made within the context of a variety of experiences: the first being personal experience. This factor is the one which cannot be monitored. Personal taste may differ form person to person and may be the result of a range of diverse experiences and perceptions which have been fostered through his or her life. These experiences are entirely unique to the individual and form part of his or her frame of reference.

The second factor which affects the value judgement of people is that of social convention. The perceptions of beauty are an exceptional example to illustrate just this. Recently an outcry in the United States was started as a result of a series of Calvin Klein Billboards showing the 'waif' model of the nineties, Kate Moss. The outcry was noted when graffiti was sprayed over the billboards reading: "Feed me!"

The outcry was perhaps as the result of a trend in the 80s to move away from emaciated models to much more voluptuous girls such as Claudia Schiffer and Cindy Crawford. The point of this is to illustrate that the 'Twiggy' look of the sixties (which is epitomised by Kate Moss) has been condemned almost universally as ugly, undesirable and unhealthy.

Perceptual values which are established as the result of social convention may operate on a mainstream level, or within the parameters of what can be described as 'Popular Culture'. The latter being more limited but of vital importance when specific target markets are being approached. Thus, although Kate Moss is perceived to be too 'thin' to be regarded as
beautiful, there still exists a sector of the population which regard her as representing a concept which is culturally recognised as 'female beauty'.

*Historical perspective* is another factor which plays an important role within the establishment of perceptual preferences. This differs from social convention in that the historical perceptions of a group of people are instilled over a period of time, and it is this factor which differentiates a niche market in a country like Japan and one which exists within a South African context.

Historical perceptions are not only the result of what is happening in the present and has happened in the recent past, but that which shapes the very subconscious of a group of people. In South Africa, for example a culture of resistance, although less prominent, still plays an important role among the majority of people. This is as a result of years of oppression and the subsequent resistance which took place, a sense of resistance which is still extremely visible in some communities, and which has formed the very social structures of such communities.

This culture of resistance is one which can be understood on a global level in terms of the term 'oppression', but the specifics of that oppression remain entirely unique. Therefore the type of oppression that the Jews suffered at the hands of the Nazis cannot be compared to the type of oppression suffered by Black people in South Africa or Chinese people at the hands of their Japanese persecutors. The reason for the oppression may be a generic type of xenophobia, but the experiences are all different.

Historical perceptions will also influence, not only the personal day-to-day experiences of people, but also the manner
in which they assess cultural artifacts, such as advertisements, as they will draw on this social pool of knowledge which forms the basis of Popular Culture for their value judgements.

5.2 ADVERTISING AND VALUE

Advertising evokes diverse responses from its audiences and this can be regarded as an indication of its manifold values, in terms of society, of economy, aesthetics and the consumer — to name but a few.

In the previous chapter we discussed the function of advertising in some length, ascertaining that, in terms of the brand, the function of advertising is vital and that it consequently has great value in terms of sustaining and promoting the brand.

What we are interested in however, is not so much its economic, as its cultural and aesthetic value. And, regardless of criticism against the very discourse of advertising, the texts produced by the industry has an undeniable value in late capitalist consumer societies. In fact it has been suggested that advertising creates the reference systems for consumers in the 20th century so that there is a dynamic interplay between the reality which advertising represents and that which actually occurs in society (Leiss et al., 1986).

What gives advertising value in the mind of the consumer is not the fact that it represents choice (although this function does play a role), or that it sustains or promotes the brand. The value advertising holds for consumers is that it reaffirms their belief and value systems by metaphorically linking the product to a certain image which gives the brand added value.
in the mind of that consumer. To such an extent in fact, that he or she prefers to purchase one brand before any other.

Thus, although advertising texts do not represent a specific type of reality, its producers draw upon already established codes and reference systems which are recognized by their target markets and valued above other similar reference systems used by competing brands.

It is within this context that some brands can be seen as being more worthy than others. Fekete states that, if something is valuable or desirable, that there must be some aspect which makes it worthy of that status. In advertising that x-factor could consist of a number of things, such as price or exclusivity, but in most cases it will most definitely be the result of brand advertising. The metaphorical exchange of signs which sets one brand apart from another.

Scholes argues that all texts are fictional to some extent, but also that,"The real context is always present; the fictional one does not efface it but brings some aspects of it into particular focus for our scrutiny. All fairy tales tell us something about reality." (Scholes, 1982: 33)

And it is this reality which we are looking for in the advertising texts which are to be analyzed later in this chapter. The reality of Popular Culture, the signs and reference systems which are recognised and admired by the target market of a particular product.
5.3 CHOOSING AN ADVERTISING UNIVERSE

Choosing a universe of advertising texts to analyze immediately flings one back into the entire debate about value. How does one find a range of advertising texts which are representative of the South African industry without sacrificing the quality of those texts. Because, as has become clear from the preceding discussion on value, all texts do not necessarily exist on the same level.

In this case it is necessary to discern between different generic types of advertising. Examining texts such as retail or direct mail commercials for example, will be of little consequence to this investigation. The reason being that these specific texts adhere to a rigid set of codes which make them recognizable to the target audience. For example, an advertisement on television, or in the press for large retailers such as Pick 'n Pay, OK Bazaars, Checkers and even the new Spar commercials, are essentially similar in their construction.

The major differentiating factor in terms of press happens in the use of colour. Checkers 'owns' the colour yellow, Pick 'n Pay is blue and the OK is red. In television advertising these differentiating factors happen in the 'tops' and 'tails' segment of the actual advertisement. The OK Bazaars uses their comic strip figure whereas Spar uses celebrities such as Martin Baily to promote their service. However when it comes to the actual body of the commercial, the products are presented in the same way, the prices look very similar and there is virtually no distinction between the actual scripts. In fact in some instances the same voice-over artists are used, confusing the retail brands to an even greater extent.
Although the Spar group stayed with their strategy in which other retailers were parodied for some time, research eventually showed that the consumers were more interested in the entertaining tops and tails of the commercial and that recall of the actual products on promotion was very low.

Direct sale television uses codes which are as generic as the ones used by retailers, to the extent where they have become almost indiscernible from each other. A large portion of advertising is retail type advertising, which would have made tracking studies unfeasible as the research findings would have been slanted if a large part of the universe was left out of the actual process of analysis.

Advertising awards have been thriving for some time, both internationally and locally. "The Cannes Advertising Festival" is probably the best-known international competition. Locally we have a host of awards which enjoy great acclaim among advertisers and consumers alike. For example, TV One runs "The One Award" for television advertising, "The Plum Award" is given for retail excellence and "The Silver Quill" for excellence in copywriting.

The most prestigious of these are undoubtedly The Loeries which are awarded on an annual basis by people in the advertising industry to those commercials and campaigns which excel in one or more aspects. It covers all media, from promotional packages to television campaigns. The judges are drawn from people within the advertising industry and from a range of disciplines within that industry.

Consequently The Loerie Awards would be an excellent universe to use for analysis. It covers a period of almost a year's worth of advertising. In the second place the texts represented in the Loeries line-up were chosen by people
within the South African advertising industry, reflecting their values and preferences.

And in the third place all texts excel in one way or another. Thus they have value in terms of representing the views of the advertising industry and reflecting what is currently perceived as the best of the creative values and norms of that industry.

Some may argue that the Loeries are chosen by a select few who are not representative of the South African population, and furthermore that the few who choose the winners in each category do not promote a representative ideal. However one must not forget that advertising texts are not created within a one-dimensional context. The tension between the advertising industry and the consumer is one of the factors which need to be taken into consideration. Do the producers of advertising texts reflect the concerns and everyday experiences of their target markets, do they know and understand the Popular Culture of their consumers?

Other examples of South African advertising will be used to illustrate some points and the Loerie winners of 1993/4 will be utilised as a springboard from which to launch the analysis. The Loerie advertisements which won acclaim during this time were those which appeared and were flighted during the most radical period of transformation in South African society, just before the elections. The commercials used in other instances to illustrate certain points will be pertinent, not only to the time in which they appeared, but also in the context of a society in transformation.

The Loerie awards themselves are divided into very distinct value categories. Within each media category a Grand Prix is awarded. Loeries and special mentions are awarded to other
commercials which have been judged as having particular merit.

There are five very distinct categories within the Loeries: these are: Above-the-line (classic brand advertising), Below-the-line (promotional advertising and direct mail), audio-visual (presentations and launches), international television and craft (typography, writing etc). Each of the categories mentioned has a special jury consisting of experts in that field.

The commercials we are most interested in are primarily above-the-line advertisements which are highly brand-driven.

The winners in each Grand Prix Category (above-the-line) were as follows:

- **Television:** Kardies "Wild Thing"
- **Cinema:** Kardies "Wild Thing"
- **Radio:** De Kat "Nataniël"
- **Newspaper:** Nando's "Turkey"
- **Magazine:** Dr. Martens "Lacy Little Number"
- **Outdoor:** Dr. Martens "Graffiti"

A range of other producers and retailers won awards and received special mentions in each of the categories listed above. The products range from financial services to motoring accessories.

Altogether 2,255 entries were received from a total of 125 agencies, suggesting that the final advertisements and campaigns chosen were representative of the broader mass of what is being produced in the South African advertising industry at the present time.
This indicates quite substantial growth since 1978, when the Loeries were first awarded. Initially the awards were given only in the Cinema/Television categories, but have since grown to incorporate a wide range of above and below-the-line media.

Dr Ivan May, Loeries chairman in 1993 and 1994 comments:
"It is evident that our industry is already drawing on a wide range of African themes. In recent years, the Loeries have reflected the beginnings of an identifiable South Africaness in our advertising. The creative product of many agencies uses scenes, practices, traditions and modes of language and dress that are uniquely South African." (Williams, 1994: 10)

It is precisely these modes of signification which are of interest to us, and which we will analyze more comprehensively later in this chapter.

5.4 THE ANALYSIS CRITERIA

In order to identify the presence of Popular Culture within certain advertising texts, we will first, albeit briefly, revisit the premises made earlier about the nature of Popular Culture in South Africa.

When examining the advertising texts we will examine them within the context in which they appeared. However, what we need to keep under consideration is the nature of the context.

Culler writes that context is never given, it is produced by means of strategies of interpretation and is determined by events.

"Yet when we use the term context we slip back into the simple model it proposes. Since the phenomena criticism deals with are signs, forms with socially-constituted
meanings, one tries to think not of context but of the framing of the signs: how are the signs constituted (framed) by the various discursive practices, institutional arrangements, systems of value, semiotic mechanisms?" (Culler, 1988: ix)

Thus on one level we will deal with precisely this - how are the signs presented in advertising texts produced for a broader South African audience.

On another level however we will also examine the manner in which those signs function within the context of an advertising industry which is made up mainly of affluent white people. And on yet another level we will question the nature of value in these texts: as social documents, advertising practices and as creative work.

The methodology used will be rooted firmly within the semiotic field of enquiry. If we are committed to an investigation of the visual, narrative and musical codes happening in advertising texts, then an examination of the signs and structures within those texts is vital for greater understanding of the Popular cultural codes which operate within them.

5.4.1 SEMIOTICS

Semiotics is described as a study of the signs and codes which operate within cultural texts. It is regarded as the actual study of meaning and the creation thereof.

"Usually defined as the study of signs (from the Greek root meaning sign), semiotics has in fact become the study of codes: the systems that enable human beings to perceive certain events and entities as signs, bearing
meaning. These systems are themselves parts or aspects of human culture. . ." (Scholes, 1982: ix)

Semiotics has played a substantial role in structuralist criticism in the past, but has not lost its relevance with the rise of deconstructivist theories. Essentially structuralism examines the dynamics between the structures within texts whereas deconstruction examines the breakdown between meta-language and the text.

However, the study of signs remains relevant in that it enables followers of postmodern schools to examine the multiplicity of those signs in greater detail. The signs which occur within advertising texts are quite diverse in their nature and in terms of the role they play to create the overall text. The advertising text is multi-layered in that it presents, not only visual input, but also refers to social roles and the manner in which objects are used - consequently strengthening the metaphorical link between the product and the images which make the product into a desirable item with a specific consumer value.

Leiss et al. (1986) identify the existence of an (image pool) from whence all advertising images are generated. Therefore advertising always remains within the boundaries of good taste, and rarely exceeds the limitations of convention. Three characteristics are key to the existence of such an image pool: the first is that it redescribes reality in order to generate a feeling of well-being and happiness in order to market the product/brand effectively.

In the second place there is an element of ambiguity within the image pool as all codes which occur within commercials are regarded as being open-ended and therefore open to free interpretation.
And in the third place there is what is identified as 'fluidity', which means that, as a result of a wide variety of 'imaginistic play' there are no to the point paradigms which represent happiness or contentment to the consumer. Therefore interpretation is an on-going process in which the consumer attempts to meet the needs of his/her needs and experiences (Leiss et al., 1986).

In this manner the image-pool functions very much like postmodern language, both from the perspective of its producers and from the viewpoint of its consumers. The open-ended narratives at the same time parodies existing texts, yet denies absolute meaning from taking place. When we finally go through the process of analysis, this too must be kept well under consideration - that no meaning is absolute and final and that all texts will constantly be going through the process of recreating meaning within specific contexts. Meanings which may differ radically from those envisaged by the original producers of the text.

Thus, when we examine the given texts in the light of Popular Culture, these are the theoretical considerations which we need to keep in mind.

5.5 POPULAR CULTURE AND ADVERTISING - AN ANALYSIS

We will briefly look at winning commercials within each of the above-the-line categories, concentrating more intensely on those which have been awarded Grand Prix prizes. Furthermore we will utilise those commercials which have received either special mentions or Loeries to illustrate any particular arguments. Where necessary previous campaigns will be utilised in order to discuss the existence of Popular Culture within the semiological systems of a particular brand. The media from which we will draw our commercials include television and
cinema, radio, newspapers/magazines and outdoor hoardings.

Television and cinema advertising will be incorporated into one category as their production and therefore semiological styles are very similar, and furthermore because in both categories the Grand Prix Prize was won by the same commercial.

This will give us a relatively comprehensive overview of a range of campaigns. As has been said before, no advertising happens within a void. The author will draw on other examples, either of the same brand under discussion here, or other commercials which may have bearing on the discussion.

However, the main point will be to use the commercials which feature most prominently within each category, in other words Grand Prix winners, Loerie winners and Special Mention awards, and then to discuss them in terms of their coded systems. Finally we will attempt to determine whether or not they adhere, as a whole, to strategies which make use of Popular Culture, using the earlier discussed criteria as basis of this analysis.

It must be reiterated at this point that the analysis methods utilised here will be of a strongly humanist nature. In other words, the conclusions drawn are reliant on the author's experiences and perceptions of the market place as well as her extensive research into the nature of Popular Culture and Advertising texts.

At no stage should it be presumed that the analysis of these advertising texts are anything but subjective, bound by a time-frame which encompasses social and cultural factors from the entirely individual perspective of an author who happens
to be intimately involved with advertising and marketing.

5.5.1 TELEVISION

Unless one is involved intimately with specific groups in South Africa, a lot of what may be classified as being Popular Culture may be lost to the layman. However, it is my argument that Popular Culture occurs only on a very superficial level in advertising and the shared codes which are featured are often homogenous to such an extent that they could be understood on a global basis.

For example, the Grand Prix Loerie winner, both in cinema and television categories is virtually universal in its depiction of courtly love (See Figure 1). In this case the ostrich becomes the metaphor for the courting couple. The male ostrich performs highly ritual dances for the lady ostrich of his choice, but to no avail. Only when he presents her with a card from Kardies does he achieve some sort of success, and in the final frame the female ostrich is depicted with ostrich chicks.

There are a number of codes at work within this commercial. The first, and probably most important, is the background music - "Wild Thing" from where the commercial also derives its title. The music seems almost incongruous set against a typically African landscape, which is described in the copy as being around the Oudtshoorn area.

All of the elements I have described so far, link up with the overall Kardies strategy. In a previous commercial, "When a man loves a woman", an equally well-known piece of music was used in lieu of copy. However the music of "Wild Thing" exists within a very specific context. Unlike the "When a man loves a woman music" which is slow and romantic, the music of "Wild
Figure 1: Kardies "Wild Thing"

MUSIC THROUGHOUT:
The Troggs: "Wild Thing"

VIDEO:
Set in Outshoom, a typically African landscape—
with stark blue sky, dry earth and the occasional
shrub. The head of a young and frisky male ostrich
eventually enters the frame. He spots the lady of his dreams
and tries to woo her.

On his knees, he performs his ritual mating dance.
Her response is cool and he shakes her head.
He then dashes across the plains with daisies
in his beak. He offers them to her.
Again she shakes her head. He then presents
her with a card. She coyly bares her
eyelashes at him.
Success at last:
Fade to Kardies logo with pay off line:
Kardies say it best.

Cut to lady ostrich, now surrounded
with ostrich chicks.
"Wild Thing" is much more indicative of a type of youth culture which rebels against the norms and values of society.

At the same time however, the narrative depicted within the commercial itself leans to the traditional. The "happy ending" brought about by the introduction of a Kardies Card is one in which the female bird falls back into a traditional motherhood role, nurturing her baby chicks on her own. It is also interesting to note that the male bird in the sequence is the one who actively pursues the female bird, while she remains passive.

In the first commercial in the Kardies series, courtly love is depicted in exactly the same manner. The woman in the narrative remains passive and disinterested until the Kardies card is presented. This is a mainstream representation of the relationship between men and women.

We must keep in mind the following, that meaning can only be created through shared codes, of which courtly love may be one. In fact, I would maintain that courtly love, as depicted in that specific commercial is one of the great 'myths' of a global society.

Yet there are elements of Popular Culture to be detected in both the "Wild Thing" and "When a Man loves a Woman" commercial. However, in line with the policies of Hunt Lascaris who produced both commercials, the regionalism is latent to such an extent that it becomes universally recognised for what it is.

The Sales House advertisement entitled, "1994" (See Figure 2) is however much more relevant to the South African situation and incorporates a number of codes and strategies which were in tune with the Popular Culture at the time. It is important
Figure 2: Sales House "1994"

VIDEO:
Picture opens on blank screen. In sync with tribal drums, a sea of arms raise the black power salute.

SFX:
Faint crackle from an old recording. The voice of Martin Luther King breaks through:

"Free at last! Free at last! Thank God Almighty, we are free at last!"

Cut to two models in front of the flags of Zaire and Nigeria.

Title fades up:
Lagos, Kinshasa – 1960

MUSIC:
A choir starts to sing:

"Thula Sizwe, ubhlabalokhulala wethaba, uzo sindobela. Be calm nation. Do not cry, Our God will conceive."

Cut to four flag bearers each holding a corner of a large Tanzanian flag. Camera pans down.

A man is seated in front.

Title fades up:
Dar es Salaam – 1961

Cut to a woman supporting the flag of Kenya.

Title fades up:
Nairobi – 1963

Cut to a man standing on his own against a blank background. The flag of Zambia unfurls in slow motion behind him.

Title fades up:
Lusaka – 1964

Cut to two people seated. Draped behind them are the flags of Angola and Mozambique.

Title fades up:
Luanda, Maputo – 1975

Cut to a top shot of a woman supporting the flag of Zimbabwe. Camera pans down.

Title fades up:
Harare – 1980

At this point, we cut to an avuncular gentleman sitting on what appears to be the Speaker’s chair in parliament.

Title fades up:
Cape Town – 1994

The Sales House logo fades up.
to note that the commercial was developed just before the election, and continued to be flighted up to the inauguration of President Mandela in May.

Let us briefly look at the whole commercial to illustrate this point. The commercial opens on a close-up of hands clenched in the black power salute. Tribal drums rise up in the background. Over this, a recording of a Martin Luther King speech in which he cries out: "Free at last, free at last. Thank God almighty we are free at last!" This is followed by a choir singing a freedom song together with visuals of various models with flags of African countries which have attained independence during the last four decades, together with the year of independence and the capital of the specific country.

The final frame shows a black man in a setting which may be construed as a parliamentarian background, with the title: "Cape Town - 1994" and the Sales House logo. This is the last in an interesting range of commercials for the Sales House chain. Like the preceding commercials, the brand values of the chain is represented. The models look directly into the camera, depicting a sense of pride. The shots are stylized, almost static, and the lighting is rich and dramatic. Although the stylistic considerations remain well within the parameters of Sales House branding, it is the underlying codes once again which are of interest to us.

The codes are quite unique to the South African situation and the experiences of that target market. In the first place, the depiction of the black salute in the very first frame of the commercial constitutes a strong visual statement. The black power salute has become almost one with the culture of resistance which has existed in the townships since the late 1950s and early 1960s with the rise of the African National Congress. Although it may be read by other audiences as being
inherently reactionary, the black power salute is suggestive of unity and triumphant resistance to mainstream politics of the last 40 years.

The recording of Martin Luther King's voice also operates on several levels. It is not a 'clean recording', it sounds as if it is being transmitted on a wireless and evokes the impression that it is historical footage. The phrase "Free at last, Free at last. Thank God Almighty we are free at last!" is one which was adopted by the majority of South Africans in the period preceding the national elections. This was manifested by the appearance of various portions of that particular speech on, amongst others, t-shirts and netting in the back of minibus taxis.

Once again, these codes represent several things to the broader spectrum of the South African market. To one portion of the market it is a statement of collective unity and of a triumph over adverse social situations. Despite the fact that Martin Luther King is an American civil rights activist, what he is saying affects all people who have been oppressed because of racial inequality.

On the other hand however, it may be construed as a revolutionary cry by those who espouse the values of an apartheid society. And, in fact, the commercial evoked such adverse reactions that the company received a number of anonymous threats as well as requests for the commercial to be shown at political rallies.

At the time in which it was flighted, no flag design had yet been decided on for the new South Africa. Yet this too can be seen as a manifestation of the Popular cultural consciousness at that time. The issue of the flag was enjoying a great deal of exposure, and although the producers may have chosen to
show the old South African flag, the very absence of it at the end of the commercial makes a statement in itself. It reflects the potential of an open-ended conclusion to the entire process of liberation.

The freedom song which is sung throughout the commercial is another manifestation of the nature of the struggle in which the people of South Africa were involved. The political movements which operated within an apartheid South Africa make strong use of revolutionary songs and the toyi-toyi with which to voice their dissent. The words of the song sung by the choir reflect this inherent Africaness as well as recreating the sense of unity and sense of pride in the struggle. The words of the song link up with the Martin Luther King speech excerpt in that it is a cry to the nation to be calm as God will conquer.

In a time of great violence within black communities this was bound to make a strong impact on those who understood the actual words. On another level it works very much as African poetry, as ‘Nkosi Sikele i'Africa’ might, to evoke a strong sense of community and a great deal of national pride.

It is curious to look at a commercial like the Sales House "1994" one, as it would have been impossible to flight five years earlier. This is a factor which differentiates it so strongly from the Kardies "Wild Thing" commercial.

The Kardies commercial could have been flighted at any stage of South Africa's history. It has a virtually timeless concept which is universally understood. But, while it is conceptually strong, its reference system is empty in terms of the cultural context within which it takes place.
I would not like to suggest that all commercials which have codes that possess Popular cultural references are inherently political like the Sales House one. And indeed the Sales House chain have flighted subsequent commercials which have little or no bearing on the political situation. But whereas the Kardies commercial is an amusing text which tells us something about the interplay between the sexes, it tells us nothing about the society within which we are living.

It is interesting also to note that the commercial made for the so-called 'Black market' draws much more strongly from the image pool of South African Popular Culture than the "Wild Thing" commercial which is directed at a cross-section of the population.

The other commercials which won awards and received special mentions in the television category, and which also utilise the Popular Culture of the time with similar effectiveness, are the Nando's "Politician" commercial (See Figure 3). The "Politician" commercial once again plays on the political culture which was prevailing at the time of its flightings. However, this text truly is a parody of the entire situation, playing word games with terms such as "toyi-toyi" and "peri- peri", and blithely referring to "right-" and "left-wing" negotiation (Williams, 1994: 26). In this way the actual negotiations become a metaphor for Nando's Chicken. Thus the consumer recognises the political rhetoric of the time, subverting the sign of the politician so that it works on the level of secondary signification - becoming a parody of the negotiation process whilst selling the product.

The BMW 5 Series commercial entitled "Speed Skier" uses none of the subtleties of Popular Culture. Although it is a technically skilled commercial, the concept is not an original one.
Figure 3: Nando's "Politician"

BILLY PRINCE DRESSED AS A POLITICIAN:
Allow me to address the nation. To discuss the only option of satisfying all tastes.
For too long now we have been marinating in apartheid. But we must negotiate between the left wing and the right wing. For there is a middle ground. Butterfly cut and flame-grilled, without compromise. There is only one way to soar, Nando's. Chicken for the new South Africa. In the past we have been known to toy-toys. We must now learn to pen-pen.

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The original "Speed Skier" Commercial was first flighted in an overseas setting and then re-cut locally (See Figure 4). BMW advertising has been accused of similar actions previously. For example, the "Cornfields" (See Figure 5) ad which appeared on television and in the press, depicted the BMW logo impressed into a wheat field in the style of the circles which appeared in Britain and America. An overseas brand of beer advertised its product in exactly the same manner, and even the copy line "There is intelligent life down here after all" (Ayimes, 1993: 34) is precisely the same. It is impossible to argue that such commercials have any value in terms of reflecting the Popular Culture of a South African market, although the producers of such commercials may argue that BMW does not require any such inputs as its target market is essentially affluent and operates on different taste and value levels.

5.5.2. RADIO

The radio category in the Loerie awards is especially revealing. When one thinks about radio, one immediately thinks of the Black market. Despite rapid urbanisation, the most effective medium with which to reach Black consumers is undoubtedly radio. Furthermore the cost constraints of radio are marginal when compared to those of television for example.

When one takes into consideration that the majority of South African are semi-literate, then it would seem to be a logical step to advertise for the majority of the market on radio. Furthermore radio is perhaps the only medium (with the exception of outdoor hoardings) which enables advertisers to target markets very specifically. Spillage from television and magazines is incredibly high, although television commercials have a higher impact in terms of drawing consumer attention.
**Figure 4: BMW “Speed Skier”**

**SFX:**
Dramatic soundtrack throughout – a combination of FX and music.

**VIDEO:**
The commercial is shot against a backdrop of tall fir trees and breathtaking mountain peaks. (Blue color tones are reminiscent of BMW’s corporate advertising.) Opening sequences show World Cup Speed Ski Champion, Philippe Goitschel, walking with his skis over his shoulder. Titles come up over this sequence:

**PHILIPPE GOITSCHEL**
WORLD CUP SPEED SKI CHAMPION

With the use of intercuts of stopwatches being set and people talking into two-way radios, a mood of anticipation is established.

**ECU:**
We see Philippe’s aerodynamic, full-face helmet snap shut, his boots clamped tight into skis, gloves zipped close onto wrists, muscles tense under a streamlined body suit.

He takes up his position and launches off.
At high speed, we see Philippe speed past in profile; we track with him as he races past trees – the landscape blurs by; we see landscape elements reflected in his helmet; we see him from below – with clouds flashing past.
Camera pulls back to reveal that he is not skiing on the snow but is mounted on the top of a new BMW S series. The car broadsides into a dramatic handbrake turn and comes to a stop.

**MVO:**
At 233km/h Philippe broke all world speed ski records...

**ECU:**
Stopwatches are stopped. Cut to Philippe’s face, in extreme exhilaration as he lifts his helmet.

**MVO:**
Hardly surprising when you consider how he trained
Cut to wide shot to show car to best advantage. Dissolve to black screen with BMW logo and title: Sheer Driving Pleasure.

**MVO:**
The new 8 cylinder, BMW S Series
Figure 5: BMW "Cornfields"

Perhaps there is intelligent life out there after all.

In the guise of 26 judges (of earthly persuasion) who unanimously voted the BMW 316i Car of the year for 1993. Strange how such occurrences manifest themselves every time we launch a new BMW.

SHEER DRIVING PLEASURE.
When one takes all these factors into consideration one would expect more 'Black market' and cross-over commercials to feature in the Loerie line-up. This is however, not the case. There were six winners in the radio category of which two were Afrikaans commercials and another two undoubtedly directed to the 'White' market.

However, because of the fact that radio commercials are the best way in which to target specific consumer groups, the commercials which did win and receive special mentions featured a higher than usual manifestation of Popular Culture.

The Grand Prix winner was a commercial for De Kat magazine, an exclusive Afrikaans publication with diverse articles for so-called enlightened Afrikaans speakers. A second commercial in the series also managed to get a special mention.

Each commercial uses the voices and personalities of two well-known and controversial Afrikaans speaking performers. Cabaret singer Nataniël features in the first, and Soli Philander features in the second.

These radio commercials can be regarded as utilising Popular cultural texts for the following reasons. Both commercials subvert the Afrikaans language through the use of slang words and English phrases, which denies the established view of pure Afrikaans. The use of two well-known personalities who are slightly maverick undermines the traditional view of Afrikaans as the bastion of the nation even more so. And finally, both commercials self-consciously refer to the status of the language, acknowledging that it does not maintain the traditional point-of-view about Afrikanerdom.

In the "Nataniël" commercial he reprimands the consumer to purchase the magazine because: "...as dinge so aangaan
in die nuwe Suid Afrika (sic), vrek die taal nog en dan word De Kat nog 'n collector's item." (Williams, 1994:44) And in the commercial featuring Soli Philander he reiterates: "And don't think for one moment it's a whites only magazine, the whole thing is in full colour. So remember: Een Afrikaner - Een De Kat." (Williams, 1994: 46) This simply reinforces the fact that the Afrikaans language has facets which extend far beyond the old culture-bound stereotypes which were propagated by the National Party and in this manner reinforces the popular cultural status of the Afrikaans language as a whole.

The other radio commercials are mainly white-market directed and the Popular Culture featured within these texts are primarily rooted within this context. For example: the commercial for Ohlsson's Beer, entitled "Two Oceans" featured two characters, Hennie and Cyril (also featured in other Ohlsson's beer commercials). Once again the language they use in the commercial is typically South African, and the humour falls within the "van Der Merwe" category. Thus the reference systems within the commercial are uniquely South African and representative of a type of humour, specific to South Africa - yet one which remains within the parameters of the brand personality of Ohlsson's Beer.

Consequently it would seem that radio commercials are far more effective in portraying a specific type of South African reality, using the shared codes of a Popular Culture in order to communicate the benefits of the product. However, we must once again reiterate that the commercials featured in this instance are highly targeted at smaller groups of people which is also perhaps why they manage to convey the inherent contradictions between mainstream Popular Culture.
5.5.3. MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS

The Grand Prix winner in the newspaper category is a double-page spread for Nando's simply reading "Save the Turkeys" with the Nando's logo in the right-hand corner (See Figure 6). In the magazine category the Dr. Martens campaign entitled "Lacy Little Number" (See Figure 7) walked away with the Grand Prix prize as well as an award in the newspaper category.

Both advertisements are striking in their simplicity and rely on word-plays for the impact. The Nando's Chicken commercial consists of one headline against a deep red background which appears to have been painted on graffiti-style. The headline itself is reminiscent of graffiti which appears in urban areas.

But, what gives the advertisement its actual edge is the fact that it appeared during the Christmas season which is known for a period in which turkey, rather than chicken, is eaten. A small sub-head draws attention to this fact: " 'Tis a wise man indeed who partakes of flame grilled chicken this Christmas."

There are a number of codes at work in this text. The first is the context of Christmas which has a variety of connotations of festivity - but also negative ones, such as trees being sawn down for the festivities and the killing of turkeys in order supply the demand for this traditional Christmas meal.

The colour of the advertisement evokes the sense of Christmas with the strong use of red and green. But at the same time it is not really a classical Christmas advertisement which depicts the clichéd snowy scene. On one level then the advertisement functions within the mainstream conventions of Christmas advertising. The sub-head reinforces this positioning through its almost biblical phraseology.
Figure 6: Nando’s "Save the Turkeys"
However, on another level these signs are undermined by the use of graffiti, which may be one of the strongest forms of dissent within Popular Culture. Rather than using a type-face which promotes the Christmas spirit, the headlines is almost coarsely scribbled, in the style of graffiti art. The sentiment is one which confronts the culture of Christmas by maintaining that instead of turkey, Nando's chicken should be eaten at the Christmas meal. And of course the sub-head refers almost coyly to the 'wise man', one of the aspects of the nativity story.

Thus, on a mainstream 'westernised' level, the advertisement makes definite use of the codes of Popular Culture. However, on a local level it fails to do that. Although Christmas in South Africa is often celebrated with a traditional meal, more often than not alternative meals are consumed, more suited to the local Summer climate. Furthermore little or no cognisance is taken of the black market, which is one of the largest fast-food chicken consuming markets in the country. The reference systems used will work purely within the parameters of a very select target market who are able to understand the conventions of Christmas, and find humour within the transgression of the advertisement.

The "Little Lace Number" advertisement runs into similar problems (See Figure 7). Although the headline: "SURPRISE HIM IN A LITTLE BLACK LACY NUMBER TONIGHT" (Williams, 1994: 50, 64) is short and readable it does little for Dr. Martens boots in terms of the local market which consists primarily of a youthful lifestyle which has nurtured a type of off-beat Popular Culture which is rebellious and not mainstream.

Furthermore the outdoor campaign, which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter bears no relation to that of the print ads (See Figure 10). The headlines in both the
Figure 7: Dr. Martens "Lacy Little Number" and "Heaven"
winning advertisements and the text which follows it up reads:
"TELL HIM HE'LL FIND HEAVEN AT THE END OF THESE LEGS"
(Williams, 1994: 53, 65) are covertly sexual and bear little
or no relation to the Popular Culture of the youth market.
Once again the print ad for Dr. Martens can appear in any
publication in a number of countries without looking amiss. It
adheres to the basic principles of a global, other than a
local culture, taking little or no cognisance of the youth
market at which it is directed or the specific context within
which it has been developed.

All in all the print advertisements which were chosen in the
Loeries are global in nature. They rely, for the most part, on
a highly literate, educated audience to understand the nuances
behind them.

Some of the only magazine and newspaper advertisements which
contain some of the nuances of a local Popular Culture are,
once again, inherently political in their nature. The
controversial Democratic Party Advertisement entitled "Police
File" (See Figure 8.) draws attention to the fact that some of
the members of the ANC have had criminal convictions in the
past. The visual shows a television set with a head-line
"Police File" across it. The body copy expands on the crimes
of its opponents. It is true that the signs within the
advertisement may be understood on an elementary level by
consumers - however the historical context ensures that South
African voters may understand the advertisement more fully.
Furthermore the title "Police File", is not simply an
arbitrary one - it refers to a specific television programme
of the same name which carries a range of meanings for South
African market.

In the same way the African National Congress advertisements
refer to very specific perceptions about the market. For
Figure 8: Democratic Party "Police File"

SOME OF OUR OPPONENTS DESERVE A LOT MORE EXPOSURE ON TV.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY: PROTECTING YOU FROM THE ABUSE OF POWER.
example: the advertisement which reads: "AFTER APRIL 27 THERE WILL BE 20 WORKERS IN PARLIAMENT (AND THEY WON'T BE CLEANING THE FLOORS)" (See Figure 9), refers intrinsically to the African National Congress's close association in the first place with a 'working class culture' in South Africa. Furthermore it undermines the term 'workers' by stating that "they will not be cleaning the floors". This requires a certain knowledge about the nature of the Parliament before 27 April, and the nature of workers in this country. Thus the sign "workers" in conjunction with the context of "parliament" and the local elections becomes loaded with a range of diverse meanings which may be read as making revolutionary statements by those with right-wing leanings, to a declaration of freedom by those supporting the ANC. Furthermore the utilitarian message of the advertisement is strengthened by the simple design and almost conservative typography.

These are just two examples of the political advertising featured in the newspaper and magazine category which received Loeries and Special Mentions. However the majority of print advertisements featured within the context of these awards are still directed towards a primarily 'white' market which is literate and able to understand the nuances of some very culture-specific advertisements.

I must reiterate that, just because advertisements in this category fall within such a category of classification, it does not necessarily mean that a black market which may operate on a different reference system are in any way less important or less able to relate to print advertisements.
AFTER APRIL 27
THERE WILL BE
20 WORKERS IN
PARLIAMENT.

(AND THEY WON'T BE CLEANING THE FLOORS.)
5.5.4 OUTDOOR HOARDINGS

The last media category we will examine is the outdoor hoarding category. These include billboards, moving media (for example on buses) or any type of advertising which is presented in outdoor spaces.

The Grand Prix winner in this category was the Dr. Martens "Docs Kick Butt" campaign. (See Figure 10). A brief examination will show how it differs essentially from advertising produced for magazines and newspapers, and furthermore how the former does utilise the Popular Culture of a 'youth market' to advertise while the latter take little cognisance of this.

This campaign used a simple yet effective one with which to heighten awareness of Dr. Martens in the market. Dr. Martens, the boots themselves, operate within a range of reference spheres. On one level they are shoes which are hardy but relatively unattractive. Their main function is comfort. This is the site of their meaning on a denotative level. On a connotative level however they mean one of a range of things to the target market. First worn by Skinheads in Britain they may be associated with inherent racism and fascism. Also known as "bovver boots" within this context, they were so named because they were used to "bother" people with, or beat them up.

In the South African situation they are mainly known as cult boots worn by the youth market. For extended periods of time these shoes were only available when purchased at great cost from exclusive importers, or brought back from Britain directly. This increased the 'want value' of the shoes and boots as a desirable fashion item - they were not readily available locally, they contained connotations of
Figure 10: Dr. Martens "Grafitti"

Doc Martens
GRAFFITI - STAR WALL SITE.

The "Star Wall" was one of a number of sites identified in Johannesburg as suitable for a graffiti campaign. Initially, a "Docs Kick Butt" slogan and motif were introduced.

Over the next three weeks additional graffiti was introduced to the walls by the agency. This prompted students/members of the public to join in and add their own contributions (which was the intention).
recalcitrance and youthful rebellion and furthermore they made an anti-social statement.

However as soon as they were introduced readily into the market by major clothing retailers such as Edgars, the 'want-value' of Dr. Martens decreased. Rumours circulated that the Dr. Martens sold in these outlets were not 'real' ones and a further proliferation of Dr. Marten look-alikes perpetuated this perception. Soon other boots such as Skechers and Caterpillars became more wanted than Dr. Martens boots.

The Dr. Martens outdoor campaign ties up neatly with the original, 'cult' perception of the shoes. The advertising agency purchased a number of sites known as Star Walls and stencilled a motive representing the Dr. Martens boot on these walls with the byline "Docs Kick Butt" (Williams, 1994: 74). The stencil was recognizable as a Dr. Martens boot, because of its distinct styling, the label on the back of the boot and the yellow stitching which join the leather uppers and the sole. Yet on another level the motive functioned as a type of graffiti, often produced by skilled graffiti artists.

This is interesting as the advertisement did not function on the level of an advertising text in the minds of consumers. Instead it was regarded as the work of maverick graffitists. This perception was strengthened by the next phases of the campaign in which random graffiti was sprayed across the original stencil. It was at this stage that the "Docs Kick Butt" campaign became truly interactive, as various other graffiti artists from the broader public joined in with their contributions.

Thus this text worked on a variety of levels, always side-stepping the identity of a commercial piece of art. In using the Graffiti format, the advertisers drew upon an image pool
in which Dr. Martens are elevated almost to mythical status. They are more than simply shoes, they are a metaphor for youth, a movement away from mainstream convention and a touch of recalcitrance. In using the advertising text as they did, the advertisers drew on this mythical knowledge about their product (which had not been advertised in South Africa at all prior to that campaign) and wove an outdoor campaign around it which transcended the limits of advertising by entering the arena of a Popular youth culture on a primary level.

Furthermore, the success of this campaign was based on the fact that so-called 'alternative media' were utilised. In doing this, the Doc Martens campaign moved away from being mere advertising, to being a campaign which infiltrated a specific market, guerilla-style.

It is once again interesting to note, that, although this campaign may have been introduced in another country with equal success, it would not have had the same ramifications as Dr. Martens boots and shoes have been advertised at length in other countries. This means that although it is perceived as a valuable commodity, it enjoys none of the mythical status which had been built up around the brand in South Africa during the cultural boycott and directly following it.

The only other outdoor campaigns which received any special mention were those of 702 Radio which relies on clever puns and word games for its impact (See Figure 11). In order to understand the context within which the 702 campaign was generated we need to speak of the entire phenomena of 702.

The radio station 702 was established after the demise of LM Radio and was developed on an independent basis on a regional level (within the Gauteng area). in the early eighties when the airwaves were still controlled by the SABC this was almost
Figure 11: 702 "Unturned" and "Tell a Politician"
unheard of. Eventually 702 came up with its talk radio concept, which was popular in the United States and which allowed diverse people to freely air their points of view about a range of subjects - from the political to the social. In this sense Radio 702 can be regarded as moving into a 'Popular Culture' market in that it allowed its listeners to air their viewpoints without any fear of censorship which was stringently applied at that time. Consequently it became a strong medium within the popular sphere, allowing ordinary people to subvert mainstream perceptions by presenting another side of the coin, as it were.

The advertising for the radio station relies heavily on its history of promoting a culture which can be regarded as essentially popular and in which no issue was sacred. It uses primarily print and outdoor hoarding - recognizing that a great many listeners tune in to the station while they are driving in their cars, and subsequently making the station more visible. Consequently the hoardings are mainly found on the main thoroughfares in the Gauteng area.

The advertisements entered into the Loeries enjoyed a larger than normal political profile because of the elections. The "Tell a Politician" advertisement which was featured on bus shelter reads "Tell a Politician where to Get Off" (Williams, 1994: 75) - playing with the concept of the media (the bus shelter) which is where bus commuters 'get off' as well as the fact that many politicians have appeared on 702 talk-shows, allowing listeners to air their views.

Thus the advertising on the bus shelter draws attention firstly to the reference system of the shelter itself, and secondly refers inherently to a range of connotations about the nature of 702. The presentation of all 702 hoardings are highly stylized. The background is always black featuring a
short, bold headline with the 702 logo underneath it. It has been interesting to note that various local newspapers have reciprocated with outdoor advertisements which draw attention to the strength of print media, rather than radio.

The 702 outdoor advertising displays strong Popular cultural influences in that it is inherently self-referential—always suggesting that it is indeed the maverick radio station with no limits. In the second place it empowers listeners by remaining fairly unbiased in its advertising, allowing all viewpoints to enjoy equal importance. And finally, the advertising, whether it be political or simply branded advertising always refers in one way or another to current South African situations or the locale within which the advertising is presented. For example, the Unturned advertisement features an upside-down copy line which reads "Nothing is left unturned". This particular billboard furthermore sports two 'legs' which suggests that it has been ripped out of the ground and overturned. It is no coincidence that this outdoor hoarding happens to be in the middle of a construction site. In this way the billboard being upside-down is contextualised within the working of the construction site, and once again the advertisement is inherently self-referential—showing that not only its advertising, but also the points of view presented have the ability of being overturned.

Of all the media we have thus far discussed, outdoor hoardings are possibly the most comprehensively involved in the utilisation of a specific type of Popular Culture regardless of whether it is aimed at a specific market like the youth market or a targeted region like Gauteng.
CONCLUSION

From the above discussion we can come to a number of conclusions which suggest that, although Popular Culture is being implemented to some extent in South African advertising, often being combined with a 'Westernized' Popular Culture which operates on a global level, local referential systems seem to enjoy little or no visibility in local advertising texts.

South African advertising still operates within the context of two worlds. The one is a global First World culture in which generic 'Western' narratives and reference systems are used. The second is one which is directed primarily at highly-targeted markets such as the Youth markets or portions of the 'Black market' which use reference systems which draw upon Popular Culture which is unique to the South African situation.

The term 'Popular Culture' is notoriously open-ended. It may signify one of a range of cultural practices, from mass culture to folk art, even culture made by the people for the people. Storey (1993) argues that the term encompasses an 'empty' conceptual category which can be filled with conflicting definitions, depending on the context within which it is used. However, in this instance 'Popular Culture' is most certainly not an empty category in that it refers to the reference systems used by various sub-groups with which to make meaning of their day to day situations.

Like the advertising world functions on two levels, Popular Culture functions on many more. Each sub-group or target market displays various manifestations of a popular consciousness which may differ radically within specific targeted groups. Consequently there is no one meaning and no
one popular discourse which can be understood by all South Africans in essentially the same way.

Within the context of the Loerie awards, the majority of advertising produced for a South African market and which is perceived as having elevated value in terms of advertising texts, are still 'White' commercials produced for a global market by white agency people. So, although certain aspects of Popular Culture come to the fore in the advertising texts which we have discussed, they are still culturally specific. And although some of the agencies may promote an advertising practice which is culturally homogenous or integrative, this is not taking cognisance of a diverse market with a diverse range of human experiences.

Some media are more susceptible to the introduction of Popular cultural references than others. Most notably outdoor hoardings and radio. This is most probably because these media are able, with a greater measure of success, to target markets very specifically. On the other hand the manner in which these media have been used are indicative of truly creative lateral thinking which takes cognisance of codes which operate within that target market.

The dichotomy of a collective versus an individual consciousness also comes to the fore when we look again at the preceding analysis. Advertising for markets which concentrate primarily on individual consciousness are far more preoccupied with fulfilling personal gains, happiness and aspirations than those developed for a market with a collective consciousness. Note that certain markets display remarkably high levels of collective consciousness within the user-context of a specific brand. These may include youth markets, regional markets or even so-called black markets. This is not always reflected in the advertising although some
advertising displays this in its creative strategies.

Power plays a similar role in such commercials in that 'Black commercials' or 'youth commercials' are far more preoccupied with empowerment through personal pride and achievement whilst 'White' commercials are more pleasure and benefit driven. Thus, in those commercials which utilise the Popular cultural context of its target markets a fictional empowerment versus an actual disempowerment presents a strong rationalisation to support one brand before another.

Those commercials which succeed in incorporating Popular Culture into their texts are understood widely by the mass market, but within different contexts. In other words the reference systems are widely recognised, but interpreted differently according to the ideological perspective from which the consumer comes. In this way these advertising texts are truly postmodern in their make-up in that they combine diverse experiences which lead to differentiated readings.

These are the most important aspects which have emerged from the brief textual analysis of a variety of above-the-line advertisements and commercials. In the next chapter I will finally examine the implications these findings for a new South African market.
CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

The task set at the beginning of this study was to analyze the manner in which popular culture manifested itself in advertising texts produced for a new South African society.

Our discussions have covered a wide range of subjects covering the South African situation in terms of its transformation from a society in which inequality and repression was rife, to one in which relative stability, democracy and freedom reigns. Furthermore we have examined in detail the dynamics of popular culture, both within the theoretical context and within the South African situation.

Moreover we have examined the dynamics of the producers of advertising texts, namely the marketers of specific brands and their advertising agencies. Finally we analyzed advertising texts, using winners within the Loerie Awards as the universe for our analysis. Throughout this dissertation, reference was made to the changing paradigm in society, in theory and in the manner in which advertising texts are developed and creatively produced within the South African context.

The information used was gathered from a large base, using both local and international marketing and advertising sources as well as interviewing a range of people intricately involved in the advertising industry and therefore in the creation and production of advertising texts. Furthermore the author utilised her own experiences in the field advertising together with extensive research into the subject, to illustrate
certain points and draw conclusions about the nature of Popular Culture within the South African advertising context.

In this, the last chapter of this document, a brief summary will be given of the conclusions drawn throughout this dissertation. This will be followed with suggestions about the nature in which this dissertation may be used in future to investigate other issues pertaining to the relationship between Popular Culture and advertising in the South African context.

6.1. THE CONSUMER

The South African consumer is going through a period of transition, one in which economic empowerment is gradually being shifted from a white minority to the black majority. However, it would be a fallacy to assume that this change is an indication of the simplification in terms of segmenting the market.

Rather it signifies a greater diversification in terms of culture, language and lifestyle. Social change has made it vitally important to move away from the perception that a 'White' and 'Black' market consist of two distinct market categories which can be targeted separately and effectively.

However, in the same breath it is vital to note that the white and black markets as a whole can be differentiated in terms of their individual and collective consciousness. The author would like to argue that, although this differentiation may become less pertinent as the chasm between Black and White consumer lifestyle closes, it will remain part of a South African Popular Culture for some time to come.
Thus, although targeting markets in terms of racial differentiation has already been replaced to some extent by lifestyle segmentation, the issue of race in advertising will not disappear overnight. Essentially the new South African consumer comes from a background which is marked by economic, cultural and linguistic diversity. Furthermore s/he is the product of a market which can be described as being Third World in nature. This means that the market will be filled with pockets of consumers who are sophisticated and wealthy with Western referential systems, and at the same time, by a greater number of consumers who are impoverished and exposed to both African and Western influences.

6.2. THE ADVERTISERS

The golden years of the advertising industry are over. With an era of recession fresh in the minds of marketers and advertisers alike, and a market which shows an increased resilience to the lure of advertising, thinking on one's feet has become the watchword for a new era of advertising.

This is as true of the South African industry as any other. Rapid urbanisation and a competitive market will force advertisers to rethink their marketing strategies. The invisible barrier has been removed from 'White' shopping areas and those marketers who have originally been classified as 'Black' market specialists may find that they are losing their market share to other more aspirational brands.

The ivory tower mentality which was rife in South African agencies unfortunately still exists. The structures and principles applied to creative development originate from European and American companies. Although affirmative action has become a buzz word within business circles in the new
South Africa, there is still a lack of adequately trained and talented people who are able to relate to the needs of South African target markets.

Furthermore, the diversification of the media is another pall which hangs over the heads of advertisers in a new dispensation. Rather than enabling large brands to target specific markets with more impact, diversification means that it will cost more for large brands to maintain market share as they will need to advertise more over a larger media spectrum.

The diversification in media is not the only sign of malaise within the industry. Specialist media such as direct response marketing or promotional activities indicate that there is a movement away from advertising synergy and the promotion of the brand. Most of the larger South African agencies have followed this trend of diversification, establishing smaller sub-sections within their businesses in order to keep up with the demands of their clients. This simply means that, although agencies seem to be displaying positive growth from year to year, they are in actual fact, shrinking, as most of their resources are directed towards non-brand building activities.

Consequently the South African advertising industry seems to be following international trends rather than local ones - trying to compete with the First World agencies rather than meeting the needs of a developing nation.

All of the above factors will most certainly contribute to an agency culture which becomes less effective over time, resulting in crisis and the ultimate turnaround of the industry.
6.3. THE ADVERTISING TEXTS

The advertising texts which were discussed within the context of this thesis are already displaying some of the signs of an industry in crisis. The majority of texts which we looked at were devoid of any type of Popular Culture which could be described as indigenous and relevant to their target markets.

There was however, a small minority of texts which displayed creative ingenuity in terms of targeting their niche markets specifically, accurately and using instances of Popular Culture - whether it be in the copy line, the symbolic imagery or the media. Although this contribution is a small one, it is important as it indicates that there are advertisers and marketers who have taken cognisance of the South African context and who have fearlessly moved forward.

It is heartening in the second place as it proves that the advertising industry itself has taken steps to make texts more coherent and more relevant to their target markets - steps which only ten years ago would have been unheard of. Thus it is important to note, that although the advertising industry within the present time may not reflect adequate levels of comprehension about the South African market, that it too is changing. A change which may ultimately result in meaningful South African advertising.

CONCLUSION AND ADDITIONAL STUDY SUGGESTIONS

In marketing practices brands must remain stable but advertising is always a process which needs to adapt to the changes of the marketplace. The South African advertising industry is at present involved within a more turbulent period of such a process. Change is inevitable - in the manner in which commercials are conceived, produced and judged, and also
in the manner in which advertisers and marketers function and perceive their target markets.

Although the majority of South African advertising campaigns lack the necessary measures of Popular Culture within their creative execution to make them truly representative and relevant to their target markets - there are definite indications that this too, will pass.

South African society will remain within a period of transition for years to come, an indication of the postmodern state within which we find ourselves. In other words it will not subject its advertising texts to one fixed meaning or draw its cultural references from one central source. Instead it will remain polymorphous in all its signification processes and as such its cultural processes should reflect this.

Although this dissertation was written within a very specific cultural and historic context, it has the capacity for being the springboard for other studies relating to the issues of Popular Culture and advertising.

i. The issue of agency and marketing structures within a South African context could produce further results and conclusions about the nature of the creative process.

ii. Alternately one may wish to examine the status of transnational advertising. In other words one may want to examine the effect international campaigns generating from First World countries have had on the signification systems of developing nations such as South Africa.
iii. A study of the power relations within discourse and the effect it has had on South African advertising texts could produce results which may have an impact, not only on the nature of marketing but also on the manner in which information has been disseminated within an unequal society.

iv. Finally, as has been noted before, this study was conducted within the limitations of a specific historical time, and a comparative study which traces the development of Popular Culture and the manner in which it is used in future advertising texts could produce a range of theories about the changing nature of perceptions and signification within the process of advertising.
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