THE CONSUMPTION OF ADS: A PRAGMATIC APPROACH TO THE USE OF TELEVISION ADVERTISING

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores how television advertisements are used by viewers who identify particular ads as meaningful or personally significant. Previous examinations of the advertisement’s reception have found their source in "marketing" concerns for the ad’s most efficient use in promoting sales. More recently, social theorists have approached advertising as a significant source of social meaning, examining how ads supply symbolic use value to objects by portraying the object as an important component in desirable human relationships.

Using theoretical tools from Leiss, Kline, and Jhally's Social Communication in Advertising, this examination studies the advertisement as a cultural artifact, used for specific, individually determined purposes by viewers. To examine this potential use, the study of the meaning of household objects by Csikzentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton is adapted to explore the meaning of ads in a small case-study involving ten participants who are asked to discuss their selection of three "personally meaningful and significant" ads.

Three possible uses are discussed; the ad’s role in promoting a product or service, the ad’s role in providing its consumer with sense of membership and individuality in the social group, and the ad’s use in the individual’s cultivation of goals occurring through what John Dewey defines as "aesthetic perception and reception".

The very personal and meaning-filled interpretation of particular ads (included in the appendix) uncovers their significance to viewers in terms of how and what they deem personally meaningful. The interviews provide strong
evidence of the importance of studying the advertisement as not simply a vehicle for increasing sales, but a powerful influence and object of social communication of which the individual plays a pinnacle role.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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DEDICATION

To my Mother and Father,

who will always best exemplify the value of hardwork, creativity, and humor.
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CHAPTER I
THE CONSUMPTION OF ADVERTISEMENTS: ADVERTISEMENT'S USE
BY TELEVISION AUDIENCES

Advertising plays a particularly important role in providing one's sense of place in the universe of social events and artifacts making up modern industrial society. The advertisement's prevalence stems from its manifest purpose of informing consumers of goods available in the market place, but its importance lies in its ability to confer objects with meaning, and the significance of these objects in the human communication process.

The continual evolution of the advertisement has rendered it an important object of contemporary communication on its own, as well. Focussing at different times on the material and symbolic qualities of objects by inspiring and creating varying needs of the consumer, the advertisement has itself become a fertile venue for meaning creation and communication. In its role of articulating and portraying the possible meanings of things to the consumer as part of a cultural system, the advertisement has taken on the object's ability to facilitate discourse. This necessitates a re-examination of the ad as not simply a medium through which consumer objects are made meaningful, but meaningful in its own right.

The audience's attention and use of the television advertisement is a key component in a complete understanding of the significance of the ad in this role, but has not yet been sufficiently addressed. While the advertisement's impact on its audience's consumption patterns and habits has been studied, the audience's wider use of the ad, in particular its aesthetic perception and the attention paid to it by the audience member in the pursuit of goals, remains
unexamined. It is believed that an examination of these elements will provide a much clearer understanding of the possible role played by the advertisement in providing its "consumer" with a sense of both individuality and membership in society.

The need to examine the audience's relationship to the advertisement in terms of its use, and a way of approaching this use will be presented in this chapter. It will begin by examining the advertisement's role in providing objects with meaning by which they become part of the human communication process. The ad's development from purveyor of product information to entire style of life will be explored with the use of cultural frames for goods identified by Leiss, Kline, and Jhally (1986). Their discussion of the double symbolic process, the relationship between the advertisement as perceived by its producers and the audience who consumes the advertisement, will also be explored. A definition of audience and use will then be provided. And finally, a pragmatic approach to understanding the television audience's use of advertising will be introduced in the context of the definitions set forth.

Meaning and Modern Consumption

Study into the relationship between consumption and culture has benefitted from the multi-faceted interest and approaches of academics in the fields of anthropology, social psychology, consumer studies, and communication studies. Inquiries into the consumption process have been traditionally limited to examinations of what and how much we buy, and were dominated by marketing concerns to increase sales. More recently, social theorists expanding on the work of Levi-Strauss, have moved beyond this limited focus to examine the
significance of the object in creating, organizing, and maintaining categories of
culture. Levi-Strauss introduced the idea that the use of particular objects was
not necessarily predetermined by a physical need, but instead influenced by its
socially created, symbolic significance. This became a solid base upon which
others including Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood (1978), Marshall Sahlins
(1976), Leiss, Kline, and Jhally (1986), and Grant McCracken (1988), have
built. All look upon goods not as simply insuring physical subsistence but as
"making visible and stable the categories of culture" (Douglas and Isherwood,
1978;59), and see the object's importance lying not in how it is to use, but
how it is to think (Douglas and Isherwood, 1978).

Studies of materialism in traditional and contemporary cultures clearly
document the use of goods in organizing categories of economic class, social
status, familial membership, gender, age, occupation, and lifestyle. In his classic
work Theory of the Leisure Class, Thorsten Veblen found in what would become
modern industrial societies, a strict observation of economic differences between
classes, and the expression of wealth through the unproductive consumption of
goods (1899; 69). In more recent studies of consumption and culture, Grant
McCracken traced the blurring of traditional markers of economic status with
the gradual adoption of "unproductive" consumer activities at various economic
levels, including the purchase of goods not essential for daily survival, the
purchase of goods one might produce one's self, and the availability of items
traditionally acquired only through the inheritance of wealth. McCracken also
documented the expression of wealth through consumption by two affluent
Vancouver communities, one a traditionally wealthy group, and the other
enjoying newly earned wealth in their very different expressions of status
through interior design and family heirlooms. The study originally undertaken by
Pratt (1981) identified the "Shaughnessy" group, characterized by a traditional point of view, old money, private school education, and classical tastes in its interior design; and the "West Vancouver" group, characterized by a more modern point of view, new wealth, public school education, and more fashion-conscious tastes. McCracken sees the Shaughnessy group adopting a very traditional method of signifying their "old money" heritage through antiques. He sees this practice resembling the Medieval English use of patina, the discoloration of metal objects with time, communicating the physical quality of age and the symbolic quality of "higher" family membership. The West Vancouver group was seen as more sensitive to fashion, and less concerned with signifying their ties through tradition. This is attributed in part to their perceived individualism and need to express their status as personally achieved through hard work and aggressiveness (McCracken, 1988:42).

The expression of familial membership through objects can be exemplified with both traditional and modern practices. The North American Native practice of identifying family members by grouping them into animal clans, and representing these clans on totem poles, and the modern practice of restricting gifts of money to family members, both demonstrate the use of objects to represent family ties.

Categories of gender, age, and occupation are often clearly delineated in contemporary culture with the use of consumer objects. The use of clothing is particularly effective in signifying these differences. While clothing may not consistently mark differences between male and female, as Sahlins notes, "rules" of clothing use allow females to appropriate male dress into their wardrobes while men are traditionally limited to male garb (Sahlins, 1976:179). Older members of many lifestyle groups are also restricted in their choice of dress to
more conservative styles, and practical use often restricts the choice of occupational clothing. But often the shared cultural understanding of "who wears what" provides a most effective means of distinguishing individuals on the basis of gender and age, as well as one's interest in participating in culturally determined rules of dress.

Another way in which meaning creation through consumption practices has been explored is through the expression of creativity through the purchase of goods. Marshall (1983) coined the term "expressive consumption" to describe the response of individuals to the loss of creative expression through productive means. He sees consumption as a site on which the individual can express his or herself. This results from the cultivation of the individual as audience of a continually changing array of cultural images, logically appropriating these images through consumption to express their own individuality.

In his examination of human needs in the high-intensity market setting, a market economy in which there is a very large number of commodities available to a large number of people, William Leiss explores the importance attributed to consumer goods in satisfying needs, and the broader function of consumer practices in providing political stability within and between social systems (Leiss, 1976; 6). He develops his discussion of the relationship between objects and need by recognizing that while the object plays a key role in meeting basic physiological needs for shelter and food, there exists a wide variety of ways in which satisfaction of these needs can and have been achieved. The human propensity to continually confer meaning and significance, involves the continual mediation of these needs by cultural factors. In his examination of the role played by culture in determining needs, what the individual identifies as the minimum requirements humans share to maintain physical and mental health;
and wants, subjective and continually changing desires reflecting personal idiosyncrasies, Leiss argues that at the most basic level, "objective necessities of human existence are filtered through diverse culturally defined means of possible satisfaction" (Leiss, 1976; 62). He suggests that with the increased number of influences and choices in satisfying need created in the market place, the possibility of identifying and meeting needs and wants can be greatly confused.

Material and Symbolic Qualities of Consumer Goods

There remains, despite the inability of contemporary market-based society to satisfy needs and wants with the appropriate consumer product, what anthropologists have identified as the "making sense" capacity of consuming and using objects. However confused the consumer, or ill-matched her or his needs and chosen paths to satisfaction, the chosen objects of consumption works within human interaction to identify, solidify, exclude, and impress.

In describing the object, and its importance to social interaction, two categories of characteristics have been identified. The object’s ability to both satisfy needs and convey meaning originates in material and symbolic qualities. An object’s materiality is the physical characteristics as well as traditionally assumed uses of the object that result in its operation and use in a limited number of ways. The symbolic meaning of an object is unlimited and fluid, determined on the basis of culturally conferred codes, or by culturally recognized meaning creators (such as advertisers) who interpret the object’s design and the meaning it could hold in the context of ensembles of goods. The ensemble represents a group of objects conferred with similar or complementary meaning which evolves within continually changing communities of consumers. These
communities are referred to as lifestyle groups, taste cultures and market segmentations, and their formation and manipulation has been recognized by advertisers and marketing professionals as central to the practice of contemporary marketing. The evolving advertising strategy which led to the identification of lifestyle groups, or totems has been discussed by Leiss, Kline, and Jhally as a development of cultural frames, and will be explored further on in this chapter.

Through a variety of mediums, but most significantly advertising, objects have been embued with a special power to create and re-present meaning. Contemporary advertising is particularly successful in weaving together ensembles of goods within the context of specific human emotions and desire, and placing these into attractive settings. What results is an intricate meaning system of contemporary symbols with which they may organize their understanding of their cultural environment. The rich collection of ideas and images that results provides the advertisement's audience member with a variety of elements with which to unpack, interpret, and re-interpret these ideas and images within their own particular individual and social environment. If these meaning-filled components are attended to and used by audiences, the object originally promoted may no longer hold a prominent place in the viewer's comprehension of the advertisement. This may mean that the audience member may attend to, and perhaps eventually acquire objects other than the ones specifically promoted in the advertisement, or develop a new appreciation or symbolic use for objects they already possess as new meaning is attributed to it through the ad. Or, as will be developed in this thesis, the ad's own symbolic imagery developed through the use of objects in human interactions may become central to the audience. The ads presentation of family life, spontaneity and
fun, or sexuality might also become central in the audience's perception of the ad, circumventing the message that the product advertised is a necessary part of these experiences.

The role of the ad has been recognized by social theorists as not limited to strictly encouraging consumption, but a "privileged form of social communication" (Leiss, et al., 1986; 3). Investigations of how meaning is derived from the ad can begin to move beyond the advertisement's association with the object it promotes, but using this important element in the history of its development and its role in the communication process, study the ad as meaning creator in its own right.

It will be argued that the advertisement, a medium through which the object is made meaningful, has become a very important object of contemporary communication on its own. Leiss, Kline, and Jhally (1986) have reviewed the history of how goods have been framed by advertising, in particular the cultural context in which advertising was positioned. These cultural frames, as they will be briefly explored, have clearly demonstrated that advertising messages have evolved from simply providing the audience with information about the product, to projections of what the audience could become with the use of the product, to currently creating and portraying a variety of idyllic contemporary, consumer lifestyles. The advertisement's portrayal of desirable human relationships achieved through the use of specific ensembles of goods that define certain lifestyles, means that the advertisement may not only bring specific products, but whole styles of living to our attention. Lifestyle advertisements may not only work to compel the purchase of one particular advertised product, but also educate its audience of the many different ways of participating in attractively portrayed lifestyles. Beyond initiating the purchase of goods, the ad provides an involved
meaning system to which many come in search of placement in society. The cultural frames provide the development of the ad that contributes to this proposed use.

The Cultural Frames

Users of objects have become familiar with their material and symbolic attributes in different ways. In earlier societies, individuals became acquainted with the meaning carried by objects through traditionally entrenched culture and custom. The rapid change of contemporary society has meant long established tradition and custom could no longer be depended upon to inform individuals of the uses of objects (Leiss et al, 1986;277). Advertising quickly replaced custom and tradition in this role, setting forth in a variety of evolving ways how goods function materially, as well as symbolically by creating a particular cultural context, or frame, for its use. These cultural frames as identified by Leiss, Kline, and Jhally illustrate how the object is presented to the consumer in advertisements from 1890 to 1980. The cultural frames present the evolution of advertising as the use and development of a variety of advertising strategies that result in the sophisticated and multi-layered nature of contemporary advertising and their use. Evidence that today's advertisement does not simply provide information about a consumer product, but also contains a fine-tuned system of culturally and personally significant messages, demonstrates the need for further study into how these messages are received and used by their audiences.

Promotion of goods during the period of 1890-1925 dealt to a great degree with the material characteristics of the product, including its quality, potential
uses, and benefits of use to the consumer. The first frame identified by Leiss, Kline, and Jhally is labelled "Idoltary" as it is characterized by veneration of the object. The use of the object's material attributes in its promotion is seen as limiting as the potential significance of the object to the consumer is only as diverse as its limited material characteristics. As it would soon be discovered, attempts to move beyond the product's limited or even non-existent capabilities resulted in its flagrant misrepresenting of the product.

During the second "Iconic" phase, occurring between 1925 and 1945, the object began to acquire symbolic values through the use of suggestion, metaphor, analogy, and inference. For objects to take on new symbolic qualities, it was necessary for advertisers to shift their focus of attention from how the product was used, to what that product could mean subjectively to the potential user. Products were placed in contexts exemplifying predominant values such as modernity, family integrity and status (Leiss et al., 1986:284), but the object's power was limited to reflecting these shared societal values. The third phase (1945-1965) labelled "Narcissism", would see the object acquire more power, not simply reflecting socially validated values, but actually acting symbolically on behalf of the user to communicate individual worth to others. Certain goods became associated with social standing and sexual appeal, as well as individually-savored experiences like luxury, belonging, and security.

The final stage identified by Leiss, Kline, and Jhally is labeled "Totemism". While previous advertising appeals are still presented, the advertising message is more carefully developed and directed to appeal to distinctive subgroups in society. Finding their roots in political mood, economic conditions, recreational trends, as well as fashion, style, and taste, these distinctive but fluctuating groups simultaneously influence and are influenced by
their portrayal in various media. Objects continue to act as means of expressing one's relationship to others and the environment, but with the object's appeal strategically modeled and remodeled to insure its value to various groups at various times. The ad's focus on various lifestyle groupings, with its wealth of defining objects, practices, settings, and attitudes also means that the advertisement's audience is provided with a wider variety of ways with which new meaning can be created.

The cultural frames provide a means of viewing the relationship between goods and people by examining advertisements and advertising strategy in a cultural context. But as important as the advertisement is in reflecting at different times the promoted meanings of goods, as well as exemplifying predominant societal values and beliefs, the consumer interprets this message and potential uses of the object it promotes in varying environments and situations; physical, psychological, and social. These varying factors often result in different interpretations of the advertising message than what was envisioned by advertisers and producers.

The Double Symbolic Process

The existence of two distinct influences in the ultimate significance of the advertisement has been labeled by Leiss, Kline, and Jhally a Double Symbolic Process. The advertiser's conception of how the ad message, in conjunction with other promotional components such as product design and marketing strategy will be interpreted, is one side of the double symbolic process. Symbolic references created and used by advertisers come from familiar social, topical events, current trends, and literary and historical happenings. New elements are
also included, and with the use of new media technologies, images are presented that are familiar enough to be relevant to a large number of viewers, but slightly ambiguous to involve the wide diversity of viewers in actively personalizing the message. The actual interpretation of the advertisement made by its consumer is the other side of this process. How the advertisement is attended to and understood, and what is done with the ad's message is, to a large degree, dependent on the individual's personal interpretation of his or her needs within the larger social context, itself fluid in nature. As it has been pointed out, these needs are often constructed in relation to consumption practices and levels in one's community, and how objects are used in establishing categories of culture and expressing selfhood. But there are other factors which make the advertisement significant beyond its ability to relate goods to desirable images, encouraging the purchase of the good to achieve a desirable position within an ever-present hierarchy of social status on the basis of what we own. Aside from the ad's main objective to move products off shelves, if indeed it can be established that ads actually perform this function, the advertisement's rich network of imagery means the ad itself can be looked upon as an important means by which we come to understand our place in society, and what we believe makes us unique within it.

The audience's selective use and appropriation of the complex advertising message is essential to recognize. The advertisement, much like the object it promotes, can be consumed and used in a variety of ways. Given the audience's important role in the advertising process, this side of the double symbolic process deserves more careful study.
Audience and Use

To begin the discussion of how the audience has been conceived, the use of the term audience should be briefly outlined. The audience here represents the body of listeners or viewers who are reached by the television advertisement. The individual receiving the ad is an audience member. The idea of advertisements having audiences may be somewhat contentious in view of the traditional conception of the audience as those who have actively chosen to attend to a particular entertainment form or message. The theatre audience, for example is a group who have actively sought out a play or musical event, and thus makes up its audience. In contrast, the audience of the advertisement is often viewed as submitting to the ad involuntarily, and is often inattentive to its content or message. It is appropriately named the audience, however, as it is a group of television viewers to whom a particular message is directed. This conceptualization is particularly appropriate here in light of the recent emphasis on identifying market segments which began around 1965, when television was forced to target specific types of audiences desired by advertisers in order to compete with other media offerings better access to local and specialized markets (Leiss et al., 1986). These smaller groups of consumers, grouped by advertisers on the basis of economic, social, and demographic factors, are believed to result in and reflect similar consumption patterns.

It will be proposed in this paper that the advertising audience uses ad messages, and an understanding of how the ad is used by different audience members will be sought. This is another potentially contentious assumption that needs clarification. Use implies that the ad message is employed for the accomplishment of a purpose, or that the ad is appropriated and manipulated
toward a specific purpose. Those coming from a marketing perspective would not disagree with this idea, as they would suggest that the ad is employed by television audiences to inform them of goods and services available in the market place, recent improvements in products and the range of prices. Advertising is utilized, in this view, to improve the consumer's quality of life.

Critical assessments of advertising's role in society argue advertisements are not used by television audiences, but by large corporations. This position, best articulated by Ewen (1976), suggests ads are used to insure the continued prosperity of a small few in economic power by placating dissatisfaction of the not so fortunate masses by portraying idyllic lifestyles, falsely appearing within reach of the average consumer. The audience in this case is not seen as actively using the ad message toward their own particular ends, but passively absorbing its message uncritically.

Both views neglect important considerations. The marketing perspective clearly neglects the problematic nature of the advertising industry's objectives, carefully hidden from the audience's view. These are that the perpetuation and acceleration of the market economy neglect the dangers of encouraging that all facets of human satisfaction be sought in the market place through consumption, and the environmental dangers that overproduction inevitably brings (Leiss, 1976). Critics of advertising neglect the individual's capacity for sorting through the fantastic promises of advertising within their own situation and realm of experiences. The advertisement's promise for a better life is not swallowed whole, but selected or ignored, then possibly re-interpreted in light of factors that include previous experience, economic flexibility, and appeal. The actual purchase of the object being promoted may or may not occur, based upon conditions that may be entirely removed from the advertisement's perception by
the audience. Regardless of the advertisement's ability to stimulate sales, it calls
to the audience for its attention. From his or her choice to attend, to the
meaning that may be derived from the advertisement message, the audience
member plays an important, individually initiated role in the advertising
process. While there exists a variety of reasons why a particular advertisement
might be "consumed" by an audience, given its particular demographic
composition, the knowledge that television viewers selectively attend to
advertising does suggest a more involved use of the ad is taking place.

This discussion of advertising use will also attempt to identify the process
of meaning creation at the level of the individual audience member as part of
a larger community which continually influences personal perceptions and
actions. Social theorists including Levi-Strauss and Leiss, have identified the
problem with attempts to separate between individual and social influences in
the creation of meaning. We continually monitor our own behaviour and other's
through socially conferred codes and pre-established, yet flexible roles. How we
are influenced by these standards, and how these standards are made to
accommodate changes over time, are monitored through the process of
interpretation and self control motivated by individually perceived goals. This
idea, as explored by Rochberg-Halton (1979) is based upon our ability to attend
to our environment selectively and process what we deem important in order to
realize some intention. Whether this intention is in fact shared with others is
not as important as its selection and interpretation determines the dynamics of
self- consciousness, determining what a person is by constituting in the act of
identifying goals his or her self. Clearly, in selecting objects which take on
special meaning, the individual rarely sees cultural, social, or communal
influence determining choice, but rather attributes choice to individuality.
It is also believed that the act of "consuming" advertisements, like objects also demonstrates the attempt to realize some intention. The potential uses of an advertising message have not been explored in advertising or audience studies. The development of tools set forth by Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton to examine the meaning of household objects to individuals will be explored here for applicability to the task of identifying the meaning of advertisements to audiences.

Limitations of Traditional Audience Studies

With the recognition of advertising's important role in formulating one's sense of self and member of society, attention has turned toward a search for tools in understanding this relationship. Several schools of thought have contributed to various understandings of the media audience and reception to environmental messages more generally, but none acknowledging the audience member's extensive range of possible uses of the media.

The media audience has been examined primarily in terms of how media "affects" thoughts or behaviours of the viewer. Although various theoretical tools have been developed to approach media effects, they are often limited as they neglect, at different levels of their development and use, the audience's perception of their independent and sometimes intentional use of media messages. In attempts to understand the relationship between media message and the receiver, examinations of media effects have focused on such issues as types of media forms or technologies (ex. television vs. print), specific audiences of these forms, levels of exposure, nature of exposure, types of content, tests for particular effects, and impacts. The object of these examinations has been to
understand the nature and role of media in basic social psychological processes, such as the formation of values, identity, attitudes and goals (Leiss et al., 1987; 6).

What has resulted, however, is a relatively, short-sighted vision of media use, concentrating on its harmful, anti-social influences. While visions of an overpowering direct effect of media have not been substantiated, and models accommodating other forms of social mediation have been adopted; the examination of what shapes the individual response to media remains focussed on the media itself, not its audience's use of the message it transmits. The assumption that individual thought and behaviour are based on information and models provided in media material is evidence of this. Audience or viewer-based studies would, perhaps, view media as one of several considerably influential sources of information, or perhaps go so far as to view media use as mediated not only by social factors, but by the individual audience member's perception of choice in media use. Avoidance of the issues of individual selection and choice of media has occurred for several reasons, but primarily because examinations of individual motives are not seen as lending themselves to the task of developing prescriptions for what media critics view as the ill effects of media. However, the isolation of individual perceptions and use of media messages such as television advertising may provide a much needed re-orientation for media researchers, perhaps uncovering the audience's own reasons for accepting or rejecting the unrealistic world portrayed in television ads. Of vital importance in understanding the power of media messages lies in uncovering how such messages are selectively interpreted in terms of the individual's understanding of her or his placement in society.
Those examining reception and use of different types of environmental information, like advertising, have been limited in their attempts to discuss its use by audiences for various reasons. Psychological tools currently in use emphasize scientific methods, separating human experience as quantifiably measured, from everyday, qualitatively lived experience. And the ever-present debate between those acknowledging only quantifiable behaviour and those concentrating on human cognition, including the hidden subconscious, has not resulted in the development of theoretical tools with which both behaviour and understanding can be legitimately studied as equal contributors to the communication process. How this discrepancy has been approached by marketing researchers will be discussed in the following chapter.

Cultural Studies Approaches to the Audience

A very successful challenge to previous unsuccessful examinations of the audience is provided by cultural studies; which seeks to understand the everyday experience of society's members by studying their interaction with cultural products, values, and attitudes. In its rejection of "culture" as limited to the tastes and practices of an elite, studies of popular culture organizes the everyday, lived experience of the "masses" into subcultural groups, concentrating on the social group experience in relating to objects as signs of membership. Dick Hebdige (1979), in his examination of subculture and the significance of style concentrates heavily on describing the process "whereby objects are made to mean and mean again as style in subculture".

The role of media is a central focus of cultural studies in this process. With the use of theoretical tools established by Marx and the Frankfurt School,
cultural studies approaches examine how cultural forces are used in determining access to political and economic resources between various groups in society. Given this objective, the media audience is often examined in terms of its vulnerability to messages that allow the entrenchment of certain cultural restraints effecting the access to power. This focus precludes study of the audience member as most audience members' perceive themselves; active participants in the construction of meaning and personal significance of media messages. However false the audience member's own understanding might be viewed within a cultural studies paradigm, the audience member believes his or herself free to choose meaning within the range of messages meaning made available. The audience member's subsequent reactions to the information available through the media is what ultimately determines its significance.

Cultural Studies does begin examining this process by approaching the use of commercial products and messages by subcultural groups. Hebdige (1986;6) examines reactions to "Americanization" in Britain between 1935 and 1962 and the role of advertisements in this process. He sees ads providing an attractive "mythic America" to British audiences through rich iconography which was assembled and reassembled by different groups in different ways. How these ads were used by individuals in the slow process of accepting objects and attitudes previously associated with the unpopular "American Way" were examined with detailed ethnographic studies exemplifying the individual's response to social trends. In another study exploring the choice and use of media messages, Ian Chambers discusses consumerism as providing a source for the "translation of an androgenous flux of consumerism into specific shapes...turned into the secret language of style" (1986;6). The study of the individual's perception of freedom in the consumption of media messages may better equip cultural studies
theorists in isolating what the individual identifies as the range of personal meaning available through media forms such as advertising, and the significance this personal meaning plays in their everyday lives.
Functionalism and Audience Studies

Functionalism has served as the traditional approach to mass communication studies within the discipline of sociology. Finding its roots in Darwin's theory of evolution, functionalism views society as made up as interacting units, and inferences that like organs of the human body in good health, the social body could operate optimally with an understanding and careful maintenance of its component parts. This theory does not accommodate for change and evolution of culture, but is more contentious in its underlying acceptance of current conditions, and defence and maintenance of the status-quo. Functionalism's very adaptable nature, and its accommodation of both human and environmental factors, has made it widely used despite this criticism. Its adoption by those studying mass communication is due to its ability to incorporate the role of media into the environmental experience of the individual, as well as the high status it confers on mass media as a major influence on the lives of its users.

Uses and Gratification models evolved from the functionalist belief that audiences purposefully approach media in search of human experience and knowledge. Whether its contents were unconsciously and uncritically absorbed by audiences, as was first believed by those who compared the force of the media to a hypodermic needle in its homogenous infusion and outcome, or mediated by social and environmental factors, audiences were viewed as seeking out media with the expectation of being informed, provoked, or entertained. In seeking an understanding of what audiences wanted and what media exposure did to them, American mass communication scholars, often in co-operation with the media industry, studied characteristics of the audience, demographic and social,
patterns of use, levels of exposure, and dissemination of information. The underlying assumptions of the mass communication researchers was that media played a necessary role for society and individuals in gratifying needs such as the communication of societally shared values. This meant that potentially dangerous values were also communicated, and in order to insure the positive, functional role of media, the dysfunctional elements must be understood and controlled.

While advocates of the uses and gratification approach would have a difficult time shaking its association with functionalism, specifically who decides the values and portrayals of power in human relationships that are disseminate, there are elements in this approach commonly found in popular culture studies, psychology, and market research. To varying degrees, the audience is acknowledged as an active participant in the meaning making process, and use of mass media is believed to be goal directed within a particular social environment. Individual audience members are seen as important sources of understanding the media's significance given the influence of ever-present cultural forces mediating goals. And important "uses" of media, including surveillance, entertainment, socialization, diversion, and identification, are common concerns with the various theoretical perspectives. Uses and Gratification approaches may, in fact, be useful for cultural theorist if underlying assumptions that communications is systemic and that self-generated need is the criteria for utilitarian judgements of communications can be shaken (Carey and Kreiling, in Blumler, 1974:227). But while wider application of Uses and Gratification approaches may be hotly debated, some of the most useful assumptions they sets forth are already shared by practitioners of oppositional theories, making them a significant contributor to the study of how
audiences use television media.

Humanistic Approaches to the Audience of Advertisements

In psychology, humanism was seen as an important alternative to behaviouristic models of human behaviour. Rejecting research findings from animal studies, humanistic researchers chose research topics believed to be meaningful in terms of human existence, and not selected solely on the basis of their suitability for quantification. Subjective, internal experiences are the focus of humanistic studies, with overt behaviour playing only a minor role in the task of understanding how meaning is created and maintained.

Humanistic psychologists have typically been critical of the treatment of humans in Western society, viewing its market based organizations as rendering the individual alienated, oppressed, and forced to conform to a system in which technological and growth is valued over that of humans. While charged with confusing scientific with philosophical learning, and with falling outside of the "science" of psychology, humanistic approaches provide an important balance to mechanistic views of human behaviour that arise in market research studies. In addition, humanism provides a base on which social theory approaches of person's interaction with contemporary cultural influences, such as advertising, can be built.

Humanistic views have been shared and cultivated by cultural and critical studies. Closely connected to the Frankfurt School of cultural critics studying social structure, Erich Fromm wrote extensively on the role of media and commercial culture using Fruedian and Marxist perspectives. His hope was to isolate the notion of human's essential nature arising in materialist settings,
and encourage a productive orientation amidst the massive cultural push to consume. Fromm saw this as possible with the individual’s realization of his or her potential to improve society. What evolved from his work was the development of a social psychology theory built on selected elements of psychoanalysis, the role of libidinal structures in providing the society's structure, through authority and the subsequent effects on the socio-economic environment (Jay,1973;93). Humanistic approaches do contribute to the study of consumption in providing a purposeful direction and an understanding of the individual’s potentially constructive use of messages within consumer culture. But Fromm’s approach does not provide the means by which more specific media uses, both productive and unproductive can be understood, making it a limited tool in examining ways in which media messages can be used toward more positive, desired ends.

A Pragmatic Approach to Advertisement Use

Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1981) examined the symbolic qualities of domestic objects, focusing on that meaning to the individual as part of a social system. They describe the potential significance of things as realized in a process of actively cultivating a world of meanings, which both reflect and help create the ultimate goal’s of one’s existence. Social mediation is central in the process of cultivation, and is viewed as capable of repressing and sublimating the original subconscious impulses that are beyond the process of representation.

In their examination of the meaning of household belongings of people, Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton describe the significance of things to
persons occurring through three modes, aesthetic quality, attention, and goals. These elements of transaction originated in the sign theory of C.S. Peirce (1935), but were also noted to fit into psychological paradigms, such as Ernest Hilgard’s division of meaning into cognition, affectation, and conation, or understanding, feeling, and will (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, 1983;175). While psychology traditionally concentrates on cognition, all three dimensions are essential for an understanding of the meaning of things to the people who appropriate them. They are examined by Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton in the aesthetic experience in valuing art objects, the channeling of attention, and the cultivation of attention into goal seeking and development of a hierarchy of goals. These modes of connecting object to person that result in a meaning-filled appropriation of that object by the user can be used to approach the relationship between ad and audience.

Aesthetic qualities are believed to involve the experience of a distinct "perception" or active receptivity to an object so that qualities may modify previously formed habits or schemas. The perception of a particularly meaningful painting of waves falling on a beach, for example, could result in an aesthetic experience changing how one watches waves fall on the local beach. This view of perception, from John Dewey’s 1934 work *Art as Experience* does not exclude any type of experience from evoking an aesthetic experience for the individual. Given the wide range of objects and experiences capable of evoking an aesthetic experience, this study will explore the meaning of television advertisements in terms of the aesthetic experiences they may evoke.

Perceptions leading to aesthetic experiences are contrasted with recognitions, another potential cord binding an individual to an object or advertisement message. Dewey describes recognitions as a falling back on some previously
formed interpretive schema or stereotype when faced with an object or message. Both perceptions and recognitions suggest means through which the television viewer could be connected to an ad. The marketing industry incorporates both experiences in its attempts to gain its audience's attention. Designer Raymond Loewy acknowledged both experiences in his MAYA principle. Successful design in the Loewy tradition meant *Most Advanced Yet Acceptable*. It is surprising then, that those examining the influence of advertising have not yet fully explored the study of aesthetic meaning to audiences. Its study is viewed as difficult; in the words of Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, "neither mental nor physical, subjective nor objective, but belong(ing) to specific situations or contexts and form combinations of transactions between the organism and the environment" (188;1983). But despite its elusive nature, the aesthetic perception and recognition of elements contained in the ad is critical to understanding its ultimate meaning to audiences.

However attention is channeled is another key mode by which persons and things, or for our purposes, advertisements, are brought together. The attention of viewers is captured through various advertising techniques, including such tricks as heightening certain bands of sound frequency to make the ad sound louder, obnoxious and insulting announcers, and the use of such attention grabbers as telephones ringing, doorbells, and children fighting. What is of greater interest, however, are those elements of the ad which are voluntarily attended. This attention may have been motivated by recognition or novelty, but ultimately demonstrates one's individuality through the choice of what to attend. Concentrated attention on objects creates what is described as flow, the focusing of energy toward a goal. Flow experience with goods are characterized by a loss of ego or sense of self, as in the experience of a good book or movie,
and the perception of the experience as intrinsically rewarding. It is doubtful that any ad could lead to a loss of one’s sense of self over the ad’s short 15-30 second presentation, but what was intrinsically rewarding about the viewing experience might be identifiable, as well as, how the viewer describes her or his level of attention to the ad message, and what form this attention takes.

The ultimate goals of transactions with objects was Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton last mode through which person and thing were connected. This final mode results from the first two modes of relations between persons and objects; the perception of the unique intrinsic qualities of the object and channeling attention toward that object. The personal goal that takes shape in this process comes about as a result of adaptation, or socialization from a particular cultural environment, as well as personal habits (1983:188). But nurturance or rejection of a particular goal is done by the individual. The perception or recognition of particular qualities held by an object or ad message, and focussed attention on it, results in some perceived outcome by the individual. Family photos provide the sense of belonging, reinforcing the belief in family preservation and continuity, where plants and paintings may provide the sense of being in touch with nature, or give one a sense of place in the natural world’s environment.

The importance of the cultural environment in this context is that it facilitates adaption or socialization, acting as a rule for conduct, and as a result has a purposive influence (Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981:188). The advertisement, like the houseplant or the family photo, has been viewed by social theorists as an influential agent of socialization. But given the various ways it might be interpreted by the audience, it could also be viewed as an
object with individual uses, purposefully used in informing one of his or her place in the world. While the world as portrayed on television differs significantly from the real world, the advertisement works by informing its audience of how to interact successfully in one's community with the use of certain products. But in addition to this central purpose, the ad can also demonstrate the function of certain roles, attitudes, and values in human relationships, either maintaining or breaking down these understandings in the mind of its viewers. How the individual audience member uses the ad toward these ends could be examined as the goal of advertisement use, aiding in the clearer understanding of the advertisement as social communication.
CHAPTER II

THE MEANING OF ADVERTISEMENTS: MARKETING AND SOCIAL THEORY APPROACHES

Objects have been demonstrated to play an important role in how we organize the categories which come to comprise not only our sense of membership in a cultural group, but also individuality within that group. Through the object's material and symbolic qualities it becomes not simply a tool for performing a task (a hammer which drives a nail), but a symbol of a culturally shared conviction (hard work and perseverance), or an individually cherished memory (a parental lesson in driving nails without hitting fingers).

The appropriation of these symbolic elements in the television advertisement is done in the hope of peaking our interest, maintaining our attention, and allowing the transfer of the feeling evoked by scenes of the hardworking, rugged individual, or the family workbench, to the advertised brand-named product. Tony Schwartz examines the importance of involving the audience in the meaning-making process in his book *The Responsive Chord*. He examines the process through which the advertising audience is connected to resonant themes in the ad; those holding significance for the ad consumer when she or he recognizes within it personal meaning or fodder for creative thought. Schwartz goes further, suggesting that "since T.V. and radio commercials and print ads have no meaning in themselves, it makes little sense to research them," (1972:58). While the careful design of ads, and the attention paid to targetting them toward specific groups would lead many to question Schwartz's assertion, it is the meaning found or created within the individual consumer of the ad, within his or her cultural environment, that ultimately determines the
significance of the advertisement.

A way of examining this meaning is being sought by both the marketing community and social theorists who view this study as a unique opportunity to capture the interaction of media messages and audience in communicating social and personal meaning. Advertisers have untiringly unearthed, recycled and created themes and images, targeting these to increasingly segmented audiences in the attempt to evoke those feelings that might be pinned to a product and result in its purchase. But as the previous chapter sought to demonstrate, and most in the business of advertising are aware, there is no direct evidence that even the best advertisement will result in the purchase of the product promoted. Readings of the advertisement's themes and images and the anticipated behavioural results are unpredictable, and vary greatly between the ad creator and audience. The ad message, if attended to at all, is received in a variety of contexts, with a variety of intentions, and used toward a variety of ends. The transfer of a specific message from advertiser to audience is further compounded by the rich meaning imbedded in contemporary lifestyle advertising.

This chapter will explore how the meaning of advertisements has been approached by marketing researchers and social theorists, and will develop the parameters within which meaning will be explored in the case study to follow. The underlying hypothesis that will focus the discussion of the various approaches taken is that images in advertising, like the objects they represent, make visible and stable categories of community, as well as provide the individual the opportunity to creatively explore his or her sense of individuality and community through the interpretation of particular advertisements. The case study will attempt to provide modest evidence that this use of advertising takes place, as well as suggest criteria that could be used in future study.
To begin, two important categories of analysis will be established, the person and the community. Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton's definition of the person, the community, and the interaction between the two, for use in examining the meaning of cherished household objects will be used here. The person is defined by the ability to experience self-awareness and exercise self-control. As awareness of the self is open to change and correction and is never known directly, self-control motivated by goals becomes the quantifiable marker by which selfhood can be identified. Self-control is unique for each individual as it stems from what that individual attends to and what form that attention ultimately takes, and is experienced as an enjoyable state of inner order (1981:10).

A social system is a predictable pattern of interactions among persons made possible by shared structures of attention. These may occur as a result of intentionally cultivated common values, ideals, or interests, but do not result in homogeneity within the group, as attention in most situations is structured differently. Aside from particular situations where selfhood is temporarily forfeited for the goals of the crowd (Moscovici:1985), the Self is in a continual state of construction and modification by the individual.

"Self-actualization" or mental health is achieved, according to Csiksenmyhalyi and Rochberg-Halton, when the person is able to cultivate his or her own desires, the goals of the community, and the laws of nature, and is able to reconcile these patterns to establish a temporary structure of order out of randomness. There are problems with this view. The goals of the community, particularly the goals of modern capitalist society, are legitimately viewed by critical social theorists (Ewen,1976; Leiss,1976) as being at odds with the goals of the individual as they might exist in non-profit oriented societies. Many
theorists, beginning with Karl Marx, have documented the loss of self in the form of alienation, occurring in social structures which force the division of the individual from his or her labor. And as it becomes increasingly impossible to ignore, the natural environment we inhabit is unable to accommodate the current rate of production, use, and disposal of objects as it occurs in the high intensity market setting.

What will be considered here, however, is the importance of personal desires and goals in relation to community values and environmental constraints, which result in a personal sense of continuity and order. Whether these goals find their source in unique individual experience, or society's various hegemonic devices, which make serving the profit system one's first logical priority if the tension between the two forces is not recognized, the perception of oneself as an independent, active force has enormous importance for understanding the interactions between persons and their environment through communication. It is possible that the opportunity to discuss reasons for the choice of particular advertisements as meaningful may demonstrate the possible role of advertising in providing a medium through which personal and social identity is cultivated and expressed. The components of personal and social identity that will be explored in the case study are what elements in the ad constitute the experience of perception and recognition, and the possible goals that result from the transaction between ad consumer and advertisement.
Meaning in Marketing

Market researchers have always viewed the potential consumer of products as the determining factor to the advertisement's success. While unable to determine "how ads work" or, given the many intervening variables, "if ads work", the consumer's perception of the advertisement has always been of the utmost concern. In contrast to Dewey's conceptualization of perception as part of aesthetic experience, consumer behaviour studies within the discipline of marketing have studied perception as the process by which an individual selects, organizes, and interprets stimuli into a meaningful and coherent picture of the world (Schiffman & Kanuk, 1987:174). The questions and solutions consumer behaviour poses in its research are directed at how the perceptual processes can inform those providing goods and services of consumer habits in the searching out, purchasing, using, evaluating, and disposing of what they offer. While consumer behaviour could be studied for use toward a variety of ends, findings are most often used by the "seller" to attempt to more successfully intercept the "buyer" at various stages of consuming to increase the purchase of goods and services.

Two levels of perception are most often discussed in consumer studies: physical or sensory experience and cognitive processing. Sensory experience is understood in terms of how different types and levels of visual and auditory stimuli are perceived. The best known study of sensory perception in the area of marketing is that of subliminal advertising, examinations of the possibility that audiences could receive messages that register at an unconscious level as significant but are not consciously perceived. Subliminal advertising has been viewed by most as questionable in effectiveness and certainly holding little value
for advertising considering the much richer and suggestive imagery that regular pictorial ads contain today.

Consumer cognition is considered in terms of the selection, organization, and interpretation of advertising and product stimuli; how the raw sensory data is put together by the individual to construct a meaningful message. Consumer messages are viewed as mediated by expectations (resulting from stereotyping and generalizations) and motives (expressed in selective exposure and attention, and the consumer’s self image). While there exists an almost limitless number of ways raw sensory components can be put together, common experience limits the messages that result, giving rise to appeals directed at fairly consistent groups known as market segments, and specific types of appeals, such as those addressing one’s need to belong, one’s interest in celebrities, or one’s faith in scientific or medical endorsement.

While these considerations can be used to begin investigations of the perception of T.V. ads by audience, they are unable to explain what they mean, given the audience member’s unique position of reception. The inability of consumer studies to predict the ad’s meaning in relation to its interpretation and use, specifically in terms of subsequent buying behaviour, is apparent in its conceptualization of the consumer as capable of a composite of known psychological functions, sensory and cognitive, and unknown functioning, contained deep within the psyche. Referred to as the Black Box, study into the psychological significance of ads and their personal use is deemed impossible to access, measure, or understand.

More recently, the study of perception has concentrated on the role of human emotion in hopes of understanding the ad’s influence on buying patterns
as a replacement to studies of cognitive processing of ad messages, affect has been more directly linked with brand preferences and the intent to buy measure. The focus of these examinations has been assessing the relationship between the attitude toward the advertisement \((A_{ad})\) construct on brand attitude \((A_{b})\), with a strong positive relationship supported (Machleit and Wilson, 1988:27). The \((A_{ad})\) construct has included an increasingly specific variety of affective categories, using tools such as Zaichkowsky's Personal Involvement Inventory (1985) and Abelson et al's Emotional-Feeling Scale (1982).

A study conducted by Machleit and Wilson (1988) used Abelson's scale to study the relationship between attitudes toward the ad and brand familiarity, and the effects of repetition on this relationship. They found that attitudes toward the ad had a significant influence on attitudes toward the product when subjects were unfamiliar with the brand. In the case of subjects being familiar with the product, it was believed that the level of brand familiarity moderated this relationship in a way that decreased the ad attitude influence on product attitude.

A very different approach to affective responses to advertising was taken by Aaker, Stayman, and Hagerty (1986). They identified the inadequacy of information processing or cognitive models of advertising and sought to establish the importance of affective or experiential responses of audience members through quantifiable methods. The researchers used a "warmth monitor" which required subjects to move a pencil down paper while viewing a commercial, moving it to the left or right to reflect how warm her or his feelings are at any given time. The warmth monitor had four scale anchors, from the right; emotional (moist eyes), warmhearted, neutral, and absence of warmth. This self-report measure was accompanied in their study by the measurement of skin
temperature, believed to reflect changes in arousal, and sensitive to advertising stimuli (Kroeber-Riel, 1979). Both measures correlated positively and were successful in discriminating between ads perceived to be warm, humorous, irritating, and informative. The researchers went on to use these measures to investigate specificity and volatility of warmth, sequencing effects, warmth and ad/brand attitudes and warmth and recall. While the researchers were able to support their hypothesis, the warmth monitor was found to have several limitations. It could only measure one construct at a time, the respondent needed to learn how to use the measure, and as with any subjective scaling method, there were interpretation difficulties associated in part with individual differences in interpreting anchors and ability accurately to record felt warmth.

Personal significance in these two studies was defined in very limited, yet quantifiably measurable terms toward a very limited purpose, that being the prediction of purchasing behaviour. Others in the field of marketing research have ventured to explore personal significance in broader, more qualitative ways but with the same goals in mind. The need for those in marketing to explore psychological meaning found in advertising has been examined by Friedman and Zimmer (1988), who recognized the necessity of better understanding audience reactions to advertisements given their various backgrounds and experiences. They also acknowledge that audiences derive meaning from and ascribe meaning to the advertisements that they consume (1988:31). While the authors of this study wish to expand marketing’s understanding of the audience’s processing of ads, specifically the impact of subjective perceptions and affect on consumer behaviour, their framework can be used to inform investigations of advertising broader role in social communication.
Outlining research done in the area of perception by psychology, sociology, and consumer behaviour, Friedman and Zimmer categorize perceptual meaning into three types: lexical or semantic meaning, philosophical meaning, and psychological meaning. Lexical meaning addresses the relationship between words and referents based on convention, and is examined in communication based studies of advertising with the use of semiotics. Philosophical meaning focuses on the concept-referent relationship, equating meaning with rational knowledge. Psychological meaning is defined as a person’s subjective perception and affective reaction to stimuli and is believed to be those elements which are expressed in an individual’s verbal description of the degree and direction of the message’s affectivity (Friedman and Zimmer, 1988:32).

The study of psychological meaning for these market researchers provides a richer, more powerful construct for the study of consumer behavior, including the processing of advertising. For the social theorist, psychological meaning is the essential element in understanding the role of the person in determining the ultimate significance of social communication. The approach of Csikzentmyhalyi and Rochberg-Halton is important in that it attempts to combine study of lexical, philosophical, and psychological meaning of objects, with the important role played by the object in its everyday use.

Studies considering psychological meaning use components which can be categorized as salience (relative importance), commonality (degree to which they are shared), tangibility (degree to which they reflect the tangible and/or intangible attributes of the stimulus being perceived), and context (Osgood, 1952; Osgood, Suci, & Tannenbaum, 1957; Szalay & Deese, 1978). Friedman and Zimmer organize these components into a framework of psychological meaning in which the advertisement is received by viewers as bundles of tangible attributes.
(size, colour, brightness), perceived through the senses, then construed as meaningful based on individual, social, and situational characteristics.

This meaning is organized conceptually by the individual with the use of cognitive association and abstraction, and attributed with other intangible attributes such as modern, sexy, or exciting. Figure One illustrates this process.

In establishing the usefulness of their framework, Friedman and Zimmer cite the work of sociologists James Carey (1975) and Herbert Blumer (1969). Carey shows communication to involve the construction and maintenance of a meaningful cultural world which serves as a control and container for human interaction, while Blumer acknowledges meaning as the result of individuals’ learned experience through the ongoing process of social interaction. Both clearly
support the view of the authors that both individual and social experience are essential considerations in attempting to uncover meaning.

Two methodologies for uncovering meaning were explored in the Friedman and Zimmer study: continuous, free, stimulus-bound one word associations and open-ended questions with written responses. While word association techniques appear to provide a simple way of tapping core subsets of meaning, interpreting responses is notoriously subjective, and a major problem associated with written responses is the heavy reliance on the writing skills and enthusiasm of the subjects involved. But while the methodologies chosen may be viewed as lacking in their ability to measure psychological meaning, the framework of psychological meaning that is presented is in this study is useful in identifying the components that work toward the creation of meaning in ad consumption, and suggest entry points for more in-depth study of the enormous and complex project of exploring the meaning of ads.

**Meaning in Social Theory**

Social and Critical theory, and Cultural Studies, all found within the rubric of Communication Studies, also place great importance on how the audience derives meaning in its interaction with media forms. While critical theory concentrates on the unequal distribution of power in society, Social Theorists have begun to cast their nets more broadly to examine the construction and maintenance of meaning at all levels of society, beginning with the individual. Social theory approaches to popular culture, for example, have approached meaning by examining meaning creation and behaviour through ritualized acts of subcultural groups in society (Laba, 1987). The significance of
style to subcultural groups, as explored by Hebdige (1979), clearly demonstrates the importance of acknowledging psychologically based meaning creation as part of the cultural meaning that results. While stylistic differentiation is most often utilized to identify those belonging to specific groups, (Mods, Skinheads, Hippies for example) fashion becomes an important vehicle through which members are identified as unique individuals, both as a part of the group and a distinct member. Simon Frith explores this in his study of consumption among working class youth in Britain. He writes of early rock audiences that they "must be differentiated not just in terms of how they listen but what the music means to them" (1983:215). Music provides an important means of not only distinguishing peer groups from each other, but also individuals within groups and those hoping to create their own identifiable "label". One male youth Frith interviews described himself in terms of styles he liked, but also clearly indicated he did not get carried away with fashion, proudly submitting that he was described by a "typical mod" by the unique title of a "stylist" (1983:216).

Marshall's examination of consumption as a site for individual expression also identifies an important personal use of fashion. He sees the market place as providing the individual with the opportunity to select and often re-organize elements of style and fashion (Marshall, 1983) This expressive consumption of goods suggests that the expressive consumption of images in advertising could take place as well.

Capturing the consumption and interpretation of images at the level of the individual is difficult for many reasons already discussed. As a result, social theorists have concentrated their efforts on understanding meaning through media content rather than its meaning to audiences. Semiotic and Content Analysis clearly hold many advantages over more personal subjective based
reporting methods, highly specific and unverifiable in nature. Despite these obstacles, there is a need at this point to re-examine self reporting methodology and individual interpretation to understand meaning. A very successful study using self reporting was the examination of the meaning of household objects by Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton. Their rationale and methodology will be briefly examined for application to this study of the meaning of advertisements.

The Meaning of Things

The study undertaken by Csikszinmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton examined the use of household belongings as symbols by which persons identified individual and socially significant characteristics. More specifically, it was hoped that the project would address issues of how people adapt to the urban environment through signs and symbols. The study was comprised of a sample consisting of 141 males and 174 females and included children, parents, and grandparents of 82 families living in the Chicago suburb of Rogers Park. Participants were interviewed in their home with open-ended questions and checklists. Questions dealt with what objects in the home were special, why they were special, what it would mean not to have the object, when the object was acquired and which room the object was located. Participants were also required to complete a shortened form of the Jackson Personality Research Form, while interviewers noted the contents and style of the living room. Categories and classifications used in organizing the results were taken directly from interviewees responses and explained what participants saw in terms of those conceptual categories that were the most meaningful and relevant. The researchers were successful in uncovering "the role of objects in people's definition of who they are, of who they have been, and who they wish to
become" (p. 10).

The concept of cultivation became the predominant theoretical tool with which they understood the data collected. Cultivation, as refined by Rochberg-Halton (1979) is the "application of philosophical pragmatism to a theory of culture...emphasizing how meaning involves an active process of interpretation oriented towards goals" (p.xi). They concluded that the potential significance of things is realized in a process of cultivating a world of meanings, which both reflect and help create the ultimate goals of one's existence. An important element in this concept is the object itself. The pragmatic approach that is taken sees the "object as an essential element of the interpretive sign process, which constitutes meaning, and makes possible a broader approach to the meaning of "things".

Through personal report, the study examines the interaction between community and individual through the identification of meaningful objects and personal goals which are reflected in descriptions of their significance. While ethnography based studies may not satisfy those who favor tighter control over experimental conditions to ensure reliability and validity in their research finding, this study does show the value of ethnographic research in establishing criteria by which meaning and subsequent behaviour might be more rigorously studied. It could also be argued that the value of studying the meaning-making process does not lie in the ability to predict future behaviour or the basis of meaning-making patterns as the market researcher may aspire for, but in a more thorough understanding of individual moments of signification and individual control over the use of cultural artifacts such as television advertisements.
Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton saw objects used as bits of information with recognizable identities in their subjects' consciousness. Often patterns of object-meaning were discernable, qualifying objects as signs or representations of an entity, quality, physicality, or thought. Differences in the meaning objects held were understood in terms of cultivation, the unique centering of one's meaning creation with the ultimate goals of one's existence. Commonalities were understood in terms of social influences like status.

"Attitudes, behavior, and household objects form an ordered sign system that structures and is structured by the selves of those who derive their identity from the same social class...One's position in the social order is an integral part of who one is, the sign of status are important ingredients of the self. But they certainly do not exhaust all the meanings of objects for people." (p. 18)

The unique human propensity to confer symbolic meaning is seen as leading the individual to convey feeling and attitudes through the surrounding environment, often outside the immediate situation. The authors write, "By freeing sensations from their immediate environment, one can achieve greater self-control and greater control over the environment." By freeing the objects from their every day, taken for granted environment, the symbolic use is often unleashed for the user. The interviewing process concentrating on specific meaningful objects provided the participants the opportunity to re-examine and articulate the value those objects held beyond their every day material use.

The symbolic qualities of household objects were examined toward a variety of ends. Exploring Freud's suggestion that there exists within us a subconscious inner conflict, the authors suggest that unacceptable desires not permitted to materialize in behavioural expression might instead become attached to the symbolic qualities of objects. "Objects may lend their semblance to the preconscious," they write, "which projects meanings into them to neutralize part
of the repressed energy of the psyche" (p.23). Perhaps a little more easily substantiated is the ability of objects to convey signs that express qualities of the self. Objects are viewed as important extensions of both the physical and psychological self; the spear, for example, providing both the symbol of strength and the physical means by which it is expressed. The use of objects to confer status is another widely recognized bind tying people to things. Status provides the individual within his or her social group respect, consideration, and the envy of others, as well as the opportunity to set the standards and norms by which others will act or respond (p.29). Status, if effective, focusses attention towards action that provides these highly valued social resources. As earlier discussed, different objects are used by different social groups to express status within that group. The object’s symbolic qualities are used to integrate social groups as well as differentiate between its members. This has also been explored in the previous chapter.

Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton confirmed the symbolic use of objects with the participants of their study. Most noteworthy to the authors was the diversity of objects and range of meanings found within them. They suggested that this finds its source in the intense need to differentiate oneself from the surrounding community; one of the ideals of the community of modern life (p.240). They note, however, that differentiation, originality, and individuality as goals in themselves lead to fragmentation and nothingness (p.240). It might be argued that how one constitutes one’s own uniqueness is inseperable from her or his social environment and significant others. One’s perceived uniqueness is very rarely sought with the intention of severing all social ties, but instead building new or different social connections. Only in rare cases does intentional differentiation completely alienate individuals from all of the social groups.
within their community.

The authors of this study believed that their subject's relationships to the objects found to be meaningful reflected the goals of American culture: novelty for its own sake, pure individuality, the passion to possess people and things briefly (p. 240). On a more positive note, goals expressed also highlighted the importance of the family. Much like studies which examined the effects of television violence on children, this study's look at materialism and the family did not find a consistent negative causal relationship between the two. Objects were as often the embodiment of family bonds of remembrance, respect, and love, as they were the unfulfilling practices of seeking "the immediate gratification of needs conditioned by the consumer culture" (p.242).

One's relationship to the object itself was often deemed meaningful because it resulted in enjoyable sensations or interactions. Stereos were able to redirect attention into the pleasing patterns of music and lyrics, while children's bicycles provided the opportunity to acquire a new skill and the freedom of speed in movement. The authors saw the pleasure of using objects in this way as capable of providing scaled-down models of how it feels to live in terms of different sets of goals. Like social systems such as art, religion, and science, objects may become more than symbolic to reflect the ultimate goals of culture (P.245). Marshall McLuhan briefly explored the chance that ads would someday become more than symbolic as well. In one of his several television interviews, McLuhan suggested that the involving richness of television advertisements may make the purchase of the goods they promote unnecessary. In a similar vein he writes in Understanding Media of the advertisement's careful inclusion of goods into the attractive portrayal of modern life styles to make consumption the component neccesary for achieving it. Here he suggests that the ad may make
itself obsolete by effectively training the consumer that satisfaction results from a purchase of something.

In this study, however, the authors were able to identify two very observable ways in which people used objects to satisfy needs. The use of objects was characterized as instrumental or terminal. Terminal materialism is consumption for the sake of consumption, "a fever that consumes all the potential energy it can get access to" (p.231). Instrumental materialism is the possession of things which serve goals that are independent of greed itself and have a specific limited scope within a context of purposes (Csikzentmihlyi and Rochberg-Halton, 1978). The two categories of rationale for consumption suggest that the individual purpose of materialism should form the ground of its criticism, rather than materialism itself, according to the authors. They acknowledge the important symbolic function that objects provide their users, while still condemning wasteful use which threatens our depleting natural resources. How we could be led to consume instrumentally, rather than terminally clearly presents a problem, however, as a conservative, but meaningful use of objects often appears to run contrary to the goals of capitalist society which depends on increased production and consumption to maintain its health.

The advertisement is viewed as a critical link bringing products and consumers together. Yet despite its sophistication in terms of both production and message, its success is questionable, and its use unpopular. Advertising has long been seen as an expensive, annoying interruption; creating senseless need for new products and perpetuating incorrect and damaging societal beliefs concerning age, sex, and power. Studies examining the advertisement, particularly messages regarding social relationships it presents, are sharply critical of this
meaning. Few, however, have explored its meaning to its audience members. The case study to be proposed here will attempt to provide a small snapshot of how ads are used by 10 of its consumers, with the use of tools and assumptions arising from Csikzentmihlyi and Rochberg-Halton’s work.

Perception, Recognition, and Cultivation of Goals

A case study will be used to explore if and how meaning is constituted in the viewing of television advertisements. Ten participants will be interviewed in-depth about their choice of three television advertisements as "meaningful or personally significant" using the pragmatic concepts of perception, recognition, and cultivation of goals. How these tools will be used and quantified of use in this study will be developed in this section.

In his 1934 work *Art as Experience*, John Dewey identified aesthetic qualities as important in linking art and the individual together. As it has been explored in Chapter One, aesthetic experience is equated with perception of the inherent qualities of the object or situation which involves prior habits of convention or interpretation, but does not depend on these for its meaning (Rochberg-Halton, 1986:32). Aesthetic experience is felt rather than known, and is neither exclusively subjective nor objective, but is present in the immediate qualities of the contemplative experience itself. The active receptivity that perceptions of aesthetic experience result in, is defined by Rochberg-Halton as uncontrollable inferences resulting from feelings, reactions, and thoughts that inform us in our interactions with the environment.
Perceptions are contrasted with recognitions as solely dependent on previous habits of interpretation, and considered "arrested perception" in which all meaning occurs within the bubble of cultural convention and without the same type of feeling experienced (p.33). While Dewey views recognitions as "an-aesthetic" because of their inability to provoke real feeling without association with other objects or people, the study of how people find meaning in household objects found that objects were most often associated with memories rather than recognized for their intrinsic qualities (Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981:177). This considered, along with the importance of resonance, or personal association with images in advertising, led to the inclusion of recognition as part of the signification process in this study. While recognitions may not result in the experience of the object or idea as unique, they do indeed provide completeness in regard to their inseparable association with individual goals.

Dewey feels that any interaction with objects or ideas can result in the experience of aesthetic perception. A rock, he writes, if capable of thought and emotional experience, might enjoy elements of aesthetic perception in its trip down the hill if it were looking forward to the eventual outcome, was interested in what it meets along the way, and was interested in its speed, pattern and potential obstacles. Aesthetics for Dewey is the experience of appreciation, perception, and enjoyment; not necessarily in the interaction itself, as often experiences with the environment are not enjoyable; but more satisfaction in the ability to take in the experience and express personal control in adapting to it. He writes that "under conditions of resistance and conflict, aspects of the self and world are implicated, qualifying experience with emotion so that conscious intent emerges." (1934:35).
There was no doubt that for many the importance of household objects goes beyond intended mechanical uses to encompass the experience that Dewey describes. Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton clearly establish objects as laden with personally symbolic and significant meaning, emotion, and intention. Stuffed toys were channels through which loneliness, joy, and uncertainty were expressed and released. Pictures were strong links to family long since passed away and reminders of current familial obligations and rewards. Stereos were able to release their users from the worries and frustrations of work, and provide a sense of immediate interface and control with its mechanical functioning.

The cultivation of goals is viewed by Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton as the eventual result of one's interaction with his or her environment. Through the process of socialization and personal habit, unique intrinsic qualities take shape within the individual, guiding personal convictions and acts. Rochberg-Halton describes this process of cultivating goals in pragmatic terms as the entrance of concepts into logical thought at the gate of perception, and their exit at the gate of purposive action. The home was found to be the place where ultimate goals could be cultivated, sheltered from intrusions of public life (p.122). Goals were not found to be explicitly stated, however. One's individual short-term aims and long-term aspirations were articulated through their descriptions of the meaning of things to them in the context of "personal" and "social" lives.

An attempt to identify perception, recognition, and goals through the uses of advertisements will, perhaps, indicate at various levels where the individual places his or herself in these important human groupings. The objective of this case study is to test the suspicion that ads provide their viewers with the opportunity to explore his or her own sense of individuality and community
through the ad's interpretation and study, testing the ad's ability to "make visible and stable categories of culture" for its viewers. To establish that this type of use is taking place, it will be suggested that the ad could hold personal meaning for the viewer, and that this meaning can be articulated in a verbal interview situation. Rochberg-Halton's development of Pragmatist John Dewey's conception of aesthetic perception and recognition, and his own theory of cultivation will be used as a basis for this study's definition of meaning.

Interviews with participants regarding specific advertisements in the case study will attempt to identify if perceptions and recognitions are articulated and, if so, how they are described. What will also be examined is the process through which these experiences are felt and articulated. It may become evident that despite the fears of critics that ads are consumed without evaluation, audiences often exercise a very constructive personal control over the consumption of ads. Even the experience of unpleasant or unpopular advertising involves the audience member in evaluating their convictions against those presented, with conscious intent the result.

The interview will consist of two parts: the viewing of the ad for general comments regarding what made it "meaningful" to the participant in terms of specific moments, scenes, or production components which were considered noteworthy, and the administration of an open ended questionnaire, which will explore particular elements of the advertisement including the object advertised, social interactions within the ad, production, setting, and information provided. The questionnaire and responses will be provided in the Appendix.
CHAPTER III
ADVERTISEMENTS AS PERSONALLY MEANINGFUL: A CASE-STUDY OF
THE USE OF ADS

Advertising may represent contemporary market society's most expensive
and economically far-reaching purveyor of creative images, emotion, and fantasy.
Its dubious effects on the sale of services and products has become an
increasingly prevalent topic of research, and yet the development and use of
advertising methods continues to grow. With the noticeable absence of hard
evidence of the efficacy of advertising, discussion of its use has quickly turned
to the more ethereal realm of advertising's legitimacy and significance in terms
of its emotional appeal. A recent Maclean's article (Feb. 27 '89) discussed this
new focus in the marketing profession as a new push to "connect with
consumers through powerful images and feeling". Emotion is viewed as the most
common platform of understanding, according to Terrence O'Malley, president of
Vickers & Benson Advertising Ltd. The "Psychology of Cozy Feelings" is seen by
Ray Verdon, President and C.E.O. of Nabisco Brands Ltd. as the ultimate
selling tool.

Questions raised by social theorists surrounding the significance of
advertising as social communication must begin to take these new advertising
strategies into account. This study will examine the reception of advertising's
emotional appeal by studying the ad as potentially meaningful and personally
significant to their consumers. The previous chapters established the groundwork
for this task by outlining the symbolic use of objects in representing categories
of culture, including gender, family membership, income, occupation, and
"lifestyle". The significant role that advertising plays in casting objects in
specific symbolic roles was discussed. The design and direction of ads toward specific cultural groups, as demonstrated in Leiss, Kline, and Jhally's last cultural frame "Totemism" called for an exploration of the reception and potential use of these messages by audiences. Chapter Two provided a brief synthesis of how marketing and social theorists have begun to study the meaning of ads, including the role of emotion. The current emphasis on involving carefully identified groups of consumers emotionally in the promotion of the product calls for new attempts to more fully understand the ads decoding by audiences and the ads use as social communication. This chapter will explore the findings of the case study which attempts to probe the personal meaning and emotional salience of advertising as a privileged form of social communication.

Background to Case-study

The case study was designed to approach a very elusive area of the communication process; the decoding of advertising messages in terms of their personal significance to audience members. As earlier discussed, studies into the understanding and significance of social messages have often concentrated on the message as it is constructed and influenced by social forces; in the case of advertising, advertisers and marketers whose objective is to sell, and the market based society of which they are apart. The reception of these messages has been logically assumed to fall into similar lines. Its audience, as part of a market-based society with personal yet socially influenced interest in participating in the system, accepts and responds to advertising messages by choosing to buy particular products. But the audience is also believed to
internalize images of sexual, racial, and economic power, along with "images of well being" that are portrayed in the ad.

This study will attempt to widen the discussion of "decoding" by audiences to include "uses" of advertising images. The advertisement will be examined as a cultural artifact which, like the object it represents, has a material and symbolic use. Its material use, limited by its physical design and intended purpose is to promote the sale or use of objects by associating the object with desirable and attractive images. Its symbolic use is only limited by the imaginations of creators and the viewers, who each bring to the task of making the ad meaningful very different experiences, preferences, and intentions.

The ad, while studied as the medium through which the object is symbolically cast, is itself a cultural object that can function in both intended and unintended capacities by those it is directed toward. A number of research questions, stemming from the study of ads as social communication have led to this focus. These are:

1. What is the relationship between the advertisement as personally meaningful and significant and the product or service it promotes?
2. Do advertisements provide its consumer with a sense of membership in society and particular social groups, as well as a sense of individuality within that group?
3. Do particular advertisements hold for its consumers what might be characterized as "aesthetic perception" reception and themes that demonstrate the individual's "cultivated goals"?

With these questions in mind, the case-study was designed to explore how advertisements are construed as meaningful by ten television viewers. The
participants were casual acquaintances of the author, ranging in age from 20-51 years old, five women and five men. Five participants were students who had taken a university course using the Leiss, Kline, and Jhally text, but were not familiar with the Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton work (although it was referred to in the class they attended). Two participants were not attending University at the time of the interview. While there was no intention to use a representative sample from a wider population as the discussion of results was not intended to include any type of generalization to larger populations, the varying degree of interest in watching television among the participants, and more significantly, the widely divergent range of interests and choices of ads that were chosen for the study, satisfied the author's concerns that the discussion of findings would not be irrelevant to others interested in audience interpretation of media.

Several methodologies were combined in the design of the case study. In keeping with the theoretical influence of social anthropologist Berger and Luckman, (1966) who examined subjective meaning as an important determinant of culture, and the role of others in the construction of the "self", the participants personal identification of meaningful persons, events, objects and advertisements in verbal responses to questions were taken at "face value". Unlike the Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton study which provided the foundation the current study, responses were not interpreted with the use of other theoretical tools. The verbal responses that were elicited from the questionnaire, and re-viewing of the chosen ads were taken to be direct evidence of the research question, that being, what, if any, personally significant meaning does particular advertisements hold for particular viewers.
The interviewing method, which included the participants' own selection of ads that were to be discussed was designed in the hope of utilizing both ethnographic and marketing interviewing techniques. The "ethnographic interview" was believed to offer the least contrived or artificial environment in which subjects could discuss phenomenon under examination. Participants in the case study were chosen because they had an already established, comfortable conversational rapport with the author on the subject, but the social relationship was not so close as to threaten honest responses. Every attempt was made to avoid an experimental lab environment during the interviews by establishing the role of the participants as a partner in investigating the research question, which was broadly stated at the beginning of the interview as "what is the possible personal meaning advertising holds for television viewers?"

More important in involving the participant as research associate in this project was their involvement in defining the study's terms of reference, "personally meaningful and significant advertisement". An essential element in determining the personally perceived significance of particular advertisements to participants was to have each define for her or himself "personally meaningful and significant" in relation to the people, events, objects, and advertisements they identified as part of their personal experience. These definitions will be discussed in this chapter.

The interview also hoped to simulate the marketing professions common use of in-depth interviews. Advantages of this technique are seen as not confining participants to yes or no answers. The interview takes the form of a conversation in which a truer picture of the participants feelings about the ad may emerge (Kleppner,1984:347). It is also believed that marketing approaches
have much to offer the Social Theorist in answering how significance is established in the "high intensity market setting".

As earlier described, participants were asked to find 3 television ads over a four evening period that they felt were "meaningful and personally significant". Some participants expressed concern that they were unsure what was meant by "meaningful and personally significant", and whether or not advertisements could be such a thing. Others had no difficulty with the instructions, and often had an ad in mind that would be applicable for the study. All participants were informed that they were to define "meaningful and personally significant" for themselves and that this definition would be discussed in the interview.

Advertisements from which participants could select for the exercise were limited to those shown on the major American and Canadian networks (excluding auxiliary cable offerings such as MuchMusic) on a Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday evening (5:00-11:00) in mid-January. This was to facilitate collection of the ads by the author, although it did limit participants' selections as the ads selected might not have represented those most meaningful to participants, as well as in one case, requiring a participant to watch television simply for the purpose of collecting his advertisements for the study. Advertisement consumption, as a result, was removed from the participants' regular viewing experience somewhat, although in all but one case, participants reported that they located ads they felt genuinely fit their own definition of meaningful and personally significant. When asked if their attention to the selection of ads was influenced by the purposes of the study (either stated by author or assumed by participant), all but one stated that they had noticed and thought about the ads they selected prior to involvement.
The selected advertisements were re-viewed in the interview after the beginning section of the questionnaire. Participants were asked to "talk the interviewer through" the ads selected, pointing out noteworthy images, people, activities, and objects. This often involved reviewing the ad several times.

Two of the ten participants were chosen as "control" participants. This selection occurred as a result of the authors inability to tape-record the ads they had originally chosen. In order to test the level of personal involvement, and ideally personal meaning in the ads, the control participants were shown three ads that were randomly selected from the bank of ads selected by others, and three selected by the author.

The questionnaire was designed with several purposes in mind. The first section took a similar form to the questionnaire used by Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton in their study of the meaning of household objects. Questions required the participants to identify people, events, activities, religious affiliations, hobbies, clubs, and objects that played important roles in their lives. These questions played a dual role in establishing the type of answer required (personal experience and feelings vs. factual knowledge about advertising) and provided a point for comparison between the meaning of advertisements and influences perhaps more directly felt in their lives. Before beginning discussion of advertisements, participants were required to provide a definition of "meaningful and personally significant" with these influences in mind.

The second section of the questionnaire looked at each participants' advertisement viewing habits, the selection of the ads for the study, ads that participants dislike, and the relationship they saw between the advertisement and the product it promoted. It also probed their symbolic use of objects and
their own perceived placement in broader cultural groups.

The selected ads were then viewed and the meaning of those ads discussed. A high amount of repetition was built into the ad in the hope of approaching similar areas from different angles, however, given the length of the interviews, questions which evoked repetitious answers were often dropped. Some questions were not seen as applicable and were dropped as well.

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<td>Participants and Selected Advertisements</td>
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*Ads were randomly selected from those selected by other participants.
Table 1 represents the participants by sex, age, choice of ad, and reason for selecting the ad as "meaningful and personally significant". General reasons for selections are categorized as stemming from:

1. General interest in the product
   - "who is going to buy the product just because the box is easier to open?"
   - "I worked for the Bank of Nova Scotia...and I know it. I refuse to deal with them."
   - "I have had personal experience with Otrivin...and whenever I hear the word I think of pain."
   - "It makes you look at what the movie is all about."
   - "I imagine (the cereal) is better than those trash, sugar coated cereals."
   - "I find it revolting, untrue, and nonsensical."
   - "I am conscious of weight and stuff like that. It appealed to me immediately."

2. Attention to product/ad symbolism
   - "I like that "it doesn't matter what you wear". I can identify with the concept."
   - "They are really plugging into a mentality there so women spend hundreds of dollars on their hair."
   - "They are just out there to have a good time."
   - ". . . It glamorizes cleaning the house."
   - "Its so sexist...it has everything, alcohol, sex, bodies."
   - "They are the new generation, urban, romantic, beautiful."
   - "...nature protects the kittens...Johnson's Baby Shampoo protects your eyes."
   - "It plays on an image of what I would like to obtain; tradition and success."

3. Advertisement production elements and copy
   - "They don't rig the question. It's a very subtle way of proving their product is better."
   - "I like the music, although the backdrop is phony."
   - "The song is really good. Its cute and catchy."
   - "I like the jokes and the colour. I like the ideas of collage and the humour."
   - "good Elvis imitation and humorous lyrics."
   - "They used computer generated graphics to make the mouths move. It was extremely impressive for such a little record store."
   - "Superficial. I wouldn't sit down and say this is a good ad."
   - "Visually it is very interesting."
   - "They are trying to be cute."
   - "Its funny and different."

4. Personal Experience (aesthetic reception or recognitions)
- "Its a nice ad. I love children. (They are) so sweet, they remind me of my cousins."
- "I've tried skiing before."
- "Its typical of my friends."
- "This is where we are coming from."
- "This one makes me smile. It deals with the family. It makes me feel good."
- "Its a very comfortable setting for me."
- "I like this ad because it reminds me of my aunt."
- "I've been there. They are all scenes that I am interested in and remember."
- "It just leads me to be crude. I find it sexually arousing."
- "The kid is adorable.... I think its cute. It kind of reminds me of my cousins."
- "I like the character."
- "Shows that me and my friends aren't unique. There are other people out there like us.

Advertisement and Product

The advertisement's primary function is recognized as informing consumers of the goods and services that are available in the marketplace. Advertisements "work" by transferring images of status, youth, security, and general well-being to the objects they promote. If indeed this results in increased sales of the product advertised is ultimately up to the consumer who can attend to and act upon the ad in a number of ways, one of which is purchasing the product. While purchasing the object may not result from viewing the ad, the product still plays an important part of the advertisement's interpretation. What was uncovered here is that the meaningfulness of advertisements does involve its ability to provide resonant frames of reference, ways of understanding the perceived behaviours, intentions, and expectations of others and of the self in society. Amidst the rich imagery that is presented in contemporary television advertisements, the object it promotes plays a pinnacle role in this interpretation.
The almost ubiquitous practice of directing advertising appeals to specific, well defined target groups suggests that market researchers anticipate that audiences will selectively attend to ads which use products and "images of well-being" (Leiss et al., 1986) that speak specifically to their own interests, lifestyles and concerns. The other side of the "double symbolic process" through which ads are perceived to be purposeful, involves the audiences' use of ads in this way, but through personal experiences with which they interpret the ad message.

The case-study did provide some evidence that the participants selectively attended to ads for products directed at their own demographic groups. However, the participants' recognition of how advertising misrepresents them as individual members was also uncovered, suggesting very different uses of the advertisement than the market researcher may have anticipated.

In several cases, the choice of advertisement as meaningful could be seen to correspond with the ads intended demographic category in terms of age and sex. As a complete demographic\psychographic profile of the participants was not done, nor were the advertisers of the chosen ads consulted as to who they wished to address, it was impossible to suggest if their "target market" was reached in this study. But as Table 1 indicates, many ads do seem to have found their logical audience.

In very few cases did participants express their intent to buy the product promoted in the ad they chose as meaningful. In one case, the ads chosen were for products that the participant had already purchased, although elements of the ad that qualified it as meaningful were not
directly related to the products themselves. The only explicit, but somewhat confusing expression of interest in patronizing businesses with advertisements rich in imagery was put in this way,

"Sometimes, if I had the money to choose a good ticket to travel, if I saw a nice ad on T.V. or in the cinema, I would choose that airline that promises more glamorous lavishing, because if I am going to spend that money in that case or on a car, I would go for what the ads say, knowing that the car might be a bad design, or the airline might be really shitty, but I would just go for it, you know, because of the experience, because if that is what they're promising, I go for the experience. Unless I've had a bad experience. And I don't go for brand names.

Participants often noted that they did not plan on buying the product because of the ad, but the ad did associate certain values and activities they shared and enjoyed to certain products. In discussing the Budweiser Beer commercial, for example one participant explained that maybe having a great car does improve one's chance of having a good looking girl-friend, but he did not feel that he really wanted a great car. His car, he felt, said something very different about him; that he was artistic and that he took pride in things because it was well looked after. Another participant recognized the unrealistic portrayal of career women in a shampoo ad, but also found the images of the beautiful, successful, and ambitious women very attractive, and stated that she was able to relate to the images herself.

"I can see myself in a few years, even though they were business women and I go to school...having to leave the apartment feeling like I have to look like I just walked out of a salon. I felt really kind of "whoa, I can relate to this" like its a weird ideology. It was really real."

A randomly selected Air Canada ad held particularly strong significance for a control participant, who saw it representing all of the
values he aspired to; "Its where I want to be. Its the kind of image that I admire." When asked if he would use Air Canada because of the ad, he was not sure, stating that other factors would probably come into play.

A non-drinker expressed his interest in beer commercials this way;

"I would like to enjoy alcohol. I don't usually drink. Its not a moral problem, its just that my body doesn't like it. Yah, I wish I could hear the sound of a bottle opening, but I could get that with Coke or Pepsi, and feel it opening and cold and nice."

In several interviews, participants recognized and discussed the discrepancies that existed between what was rationally known about the product and the company that produced it, such as the it's health value or it's responsibility as a corporate citizen, and their own feelings about the ad imagery and products. In discussing a Safeway ad that she felt was particularly attractive, a participant stated,

"Its just something you can fall into. Its soothing. God, its a commercial for a multi-national corporation, you know! Its sick. I caught myself, I was getting engrossed ad and I was thinking,"This is so nice" but then its just Safeway trying to incorporate the family ideal into what its supposed to stand for."

Another participant stated,

"Overall, the commercial is kind of neat because it makes me feel good, yet on another level they are using this whole thing about parents and grandparents and family and not necessarily for a product that is good for you."

Of Petro-Canada's highly recognized "good citizen" advertising which accompanies a television series they helped finance, one participant stated,

"...they were pretentious in what they wanted to do...they wanted to say so much and yet they were so boring and they spent so much money. I don't like that one. A stupid speech about being Canadian. I'm not one to put that down, but its stupid to do it that way."
Two participants stated that while advertising did not directly influence what they would buy, it was a strong determining factor in what they would not buy. One ad mentioned by a female participant was for Beeman’s Gum, in which attractive women are shown, with the product noticeably absent. A detergent ad which suggests that it is the "kid’s job to get messy and the mom’s job to clean it up" was also mentioned as one which would discourage purchase of the product. The participant who noted this ad attributed its insulting nature to both the copy writer and the company that manufactured the product; "I go, "Who the hell writes this. Where are the brains of that company?" I really do."

In examining the relationship between the ad as meaningful and the product it promotes, it is clear that for the participants of this study the product is an essential part of the significance for them, but actual consumption of the product is not. The significance lay in the imagery and meaning systems of which the product plays a role. But its use was not required for the imagery to be made meaningful. The best examples of this are the choices of a beer ad, hair care products, and Air Canada ad by participants who value the images they present of cool refreshment and sexuality, beauty and success, and business prowess and power, but did not express a desire to own or use the products or services to which these attributes were attached.

The advertisement’s communicative power does seem to lay in its ability to "frame" personal and cultural experiences in terms of what experiences and goals are either personally or socially deemed as desirable, and the necessary conditions for the full experience of these desired experiences. For example, attractive sexual partners and good looks are
acknowledged as things to be valued in society, but not necessarily things
that the participants personally value for themselves. Further investigation
of this could uncover reasons for these types of responses and probe to a
greater degree how personal expectations and values differ from what
people perceive to be the expectations and values of others in society. It is
suspected that "ideal" lifestyles as presented in media such as television
advertising is broken down and reinterpreted to become apart of what the
individual perceives as her or his own picture of a desired existence.

While it was not explicitly stated by participants, it was suggested
that companies with really good ads might be rewarded for their efforts
with the participant's business. A participant who was impressed with the
high production values of an ad for a small record store stated that the
ad could convince him to go to the store. As the ad contained little but
artists on album covers mouthing the words to a song with the use of
computer generated graphics, the "convincing" did not appear to stem from
rational appeals in the ad, but rather the choice of the participant to
patronize the store on the basis of the quality and novelty of the ad.

All participants appeared to express a sense of control and expertise
in their selection of ads as meaningful. Those noted as disliked ads were
often of low production value and used unsophisticated appeals, such as an
ad for used cars in which the dealer talks to an old stuffed dog.

"First, they have this stupid man shouting at you, ..and they
have hired a crew, they've gone (to the lot) show you a couple
of cars, do a panoramic of the place, then put a couple of signs
up while the guy shouts in the back. I hate that shouting."

Ads which appeared to use outright deception and manipulation were
often noted as unpopular. Several participants noted that they "tuned ads
out" unless they were looking for information on specific products. Three advertisements that were noted to have prompted the purchase of products they promoted were ads for stereo equipment (ad provided information regarding price), polyunsaturated oil, and bran cereal. These were not ads that were chosen as meaningful and personally significant. But despite the attempt to ignore ads for products they were not interested, one subject noted,

"I realized ads have become more and more of a drain for me. ...I don't watch ads at all, because I have a remote control I flick, or I tune out. But at the same time, subconsciously, I know every commercial on T.V. When I started watching them, I realized I know all of these commercials. I was almost surprised that I knew what was going to happen next, I knew what the dialogue was. There was this familiarity to it. So I started watching and thinking, "what does this mean to me?" And it was a really hard question to answer."

These very involved and critical interpretation of the advertisement and the intentions of the advertiser call for a second look at the "double symbolic process" with which Leiss, Kline, and Jhally have sought to explain the intricate process through which the advertiser constructs an ad with various goals and intended interpretations in mind, and ad consumer interprets and uses this ad toward their own personally defined ends. The advertisements that were chosen in this study as "meaningful and personally significant" often required interpretation by the participants that went beyond simply fitting the advertisement's "images of well being" into the participant's own aspirations and goals. Participants often initiated a one-sided dialogue with the advertiser in respect to images they believed were misrepresentative, false, manipulative, or just felt wrong to them, and what they felt were the reasons for the use of these images. Advertisers were also directly acknowledged as responsible for high quality, attractive,
healthy images. It will be suggested that the advertisement consumer's sophisticated knowledge and interest in advertising's design and production needs careful acknowledgement as a part of the "double symbolic process", the relationship between the ad as it is produced and ad as it is consumed and interpreted. In no other media form is the intent to change the audience's behaviour as explicitly acknowledged by its producers, or recognized by its consumers.

While many of the elements of production are hidden from view, the audience is fully aware that the ad is strategically presented to persuade them to buy. This understanding exists side by side with the consumer's need to express his or herself as individuals through the consumption of objects, and the need to communicate individuality, in part by maintaining personal autonomy in the choice of consumer items. This is reflected in part in discussions of the advertisement's personal meaningfulness to individuals. The initial recognition and use of images and objects as expressing individually beginning in the 1950's and is captured in Leiss et al's cultural frame of narcissism.

It is with a general knowledge of economic, marketing, and fashion influences, the clear recognition that the ad's ultimate goal is to increase sales, and the need to recognize and reflect one's own individuality that advertisement consumers approach the imagery presented in the ad. We do so well equipped to reinterpret the ads "images of well being" toward our own goals, but also able to participate in the exchange of the image as a commodity at a different level. While half of the participants of this study were already aware of the critique of advertising through their use of the Leiss, Kline, and Jhally text, and acknowledged elements of the critique in
their discussions of the ads, interpretations of the advertisement involved placing it within the participant’s personal meaning system. At this level it appeared that their relationship with the ad and the product or service it promoted was often one of exchange. Like the purchase or use of object or service the ad represents, the consumer is offered the chance to consume pleasing images that are invested with value at both a cultural and individual level. In exchange for a pleasurable experience, the advertiser could be rewarded with the consumer’s self conscious attention to the product and perhaps sale. This could explain the apparent "effectiveness" of particularly popular advertisements in increasing sales.

Social Membership and Individuality

Douglas and Isherwood wrote that the significance of the object is in "making visible and stable the categories of culture" (1978:59). The possibility that ads could perform a similar function, specifically in providing its consumer with a sense of membership in society and particular social groups, as well as a sense of individuality within groups, was also investigated in this case-study.

Expressions of the importance of being a part of a group were noted among the younger participants in the study, and not surprisingly, these were associated with ads directed at young people, including Foster's Beer and Juicy Fruit Gum. In describing what types of values and ideals they think are expressed in the ads they had chosen, two participants stated:

"(In the Foster's) fun loving, easygoing, relaxed, kickback; that's what I enjoy doing. Maybe I wouldn't go to a pub for a beer, but at a friend's place...if I drank beer. You don't need alcohol to have fun, but sometimes. And it tastes good. You just keep
"(In the Juicy Fruit ad) They are just out there having a good time. The gum didn't really affect me. It's just a bunch of friends together having fun. And in the Foster's ad, it's just a bunch of people not really caring what other people think about them. I love this scene. It's typical of my friend, just going down the street not caring about what other people think. They (the ads) are meaningful because they show that me and my friends aren't unique. There are other people out there like us."

Far more common was the expression of individuality in association with meaningful ads and promotion. The Foster's Beer ad, which was mentioned by four participants, two of which chose it as meaningful and personally significant, also conveyed to participants the importance of "being yourself". In describing what they first noticed about the Foster's ad, these participants noted:

"She's got all those bears along her neck; and he's got that wild hairdo, and what they say is that it doesn't matter how you cut your hair. They have every walk of life there....It shows you everything, from masculine to feminine to unusual. You've got your sweet wimp and your wild girl on the dance floor and the wild dress, that's bizarre. And it exists, and what they are saying is that it doesn't matter. We have a common bond; they saw it as Foster's, but its that we're all human. That's the way I see it."

"It's "I-am-me" and what you think of me is none of my business. I like it because of the music and the attitude."

When asked how she would change what objects say about her to others, the first respondent quoted above noted that she would like to be more flamboyant, more fun and individualistic;

"It would show more strength, because you aren't following the status quo, even though you are, but you aren't. I think I could be a bit more independent, more self assured."

The second respondent that chose the Foster's ad as meaningful felt that what made her different from her peers was that she is an
"I am me. And a lot of people like to be like the group. I don’t mind being with the group, but if I don’t want to follow something I won’t."

A participant that noted the Foster’s ad in the interview, but not as personally meaningful, stated that,

"The message of the Foster’s ad is that it doesn’t matter what you wear, and I can really identify with that concept."

He also noted in the interview that individuality was very important. In discussing what objects say about him, he states,

"Clothing is important. (Mine) say that I’m not a conformist. And my car, I am very proud of my car. It’s not part of the consumer society, its sensible."

In contrast, the participant who was shown the Foster’s ad and had not chosen it as personally meaningful stated that nothing was meaningful in the ad, "the connection wasn’t there."

Individuality was clearly of importance to a respondent who chose ads which were not meaningful because they portrayed individuality, but rather for the "smart little stories" they told. In discussing significant objects, activities, and events, he expressed his need to be individualistic in several ways.

"I’ve never felt comfortable belonging to a group. For me, its something about my personality, I don’t feel compelled to join a group."

"I like watching T.V. because it shocks people, you are not supposed to watch T.V.. I have a hobby. I like cassettes. If I could I would just buy tapes. I buy three or five a week. Pop tapes. Nothing classical, pop, vulgar, low class music. They represent a lot of the things I feel and do, no matter how stupid they are."

"I wear pins because they are different and we are not supposed to wear them."
The ads chosen as meaningful by this participant did not directly reflect the importance he placed on individuality, but his choices did recognize advertising for their aesthetic value in portraying humour, sexuality, and romance. This may suggest that the ads in this case were used in a different way to demonstrate the participant’s individuality through in his choice of unique ads rather than recognizing ads that make the expression of individuality the explicit theme.

When asked about the effect of advertising on actual purchases, another expression of the need for individuality came from a male participant who stated that,

"... I will not buy Pierre Cardin or Leo Chevalier. If I want initials on my pockets they will be my own. I will not buy anything with someone else’s name on it. I don’t know why that is, it is just something about me. I think that tells you a lot about me."

In discussing his meaningful objects, a participant expressed his thoughts on how he differed from the typical portrayal of others in his demographic group.

"I don’t own an outstanding number of things. I have a small quantity of high quality items. Maybe I am abnormal. I don’t quite fit into the ordinary mold. I don’t blow all my money on lots of stuff. But when I buy something it is something special, but I don’t overspend. I think I am hard to categorize. I’m not part of the Yuppie Syndrome. I don’t own a BMW."

Another subject has no problem with the Yuppie classification. When asked if she sees herself as belonging to an identifiable group in society, she responded that,

"(I would be classified as) a low class Yuppie. I want to be a high class Yuppie."
But in expressing her interest in an ad for Value Village, she relayed that it was meaningful to her because it was impressive to see someone promoting a store that wasn't all glitzed up, and that a non-traditional type model was used.

In examining the potential use of advertisements in providing its consumers with a sense of membership in society and particular social groups, as well as a sense of individuality within that group, tools from both marketing and social theory could be utilized. In an overview of marketing studies of emotional responses to advertisements, Friedmann and Zimmer (1988) emphasize the role that psychological meaning plays in determining the advertisement's significance. Their conceptualization or framework of psychological meaning in interpreting advertisements (Figure One, chpt.2) identifies the components involved in this process, including attributes of the advertisement, perceptual elements and experiences, and context. While the resulting behaviour or understanding has not been represented in their diagram, it is assumed that a better understanding of what results can assist the advertiser in predicting the effectiveness of his or her advertisement in terms of sales of the product it represents. What would interest the social theorist is what the resulting behaviour or understanding reveals about the participants organization of social and cultural events.

The current study was designed to better approach the interests of the social theorist by presenting questions about what events, objects, and relationships were important to media audiences, and how the meaning they found in advertisements compared with these other more directly significant components of their lives. The importance of both social
interaction with others and the recognition of others of their own individuality was uncovered. The Friedmann/Zimmer marketing framework may be used at some point to uncover that given the individual’s attitudes, gender, class, or situation, a particular ad may or may not peak his or her interest in a product on the basis of its ability to symbolize its owners individuality to others. In contrast, what was uncovered here was the importance placed on individuality by participants through their selection of ads that espoused individuality as a desirable attribute and their expression of individuality through their choice of particular ads. Much like the use of pins, or jewellery, the Foster’s advertisement symbolizes for its consumer that "I am me"; the pin being a longer lasting, but perhaps transitory symbol of this conviction, and the ad, a collection of fleeting images but arguable as effective in representing similar meaning when it is articulated to another.

Much like evidence uncovered by Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, ads, like the objects that they represent, appeared to provide extensions of their users. The carefree and silly behaviour of a group in an advertisement for gum, held personal significance for a participant who felt it established that kind of activity as acceptable. The portrayal of career women leaving for work, while recognized as exploitive, was also seen by a participant as one she could someday see herself living, and indeed something she would aspire to. And another participant recognized in a Pepsi ad other personally desirable traits: urban, romantic, and beautiful.

The most valued and acknowledged social group in the ads chosen as meaningful and personally significant appeared to be the family. Family scenes evoked memories of grandparent and picnics, young cousins, and
funny aunts, perhaps reflecting both the personal salience of family experiences and as Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton suggest, the cultural value placed on the family unit.

Aesthetic Perception, Reception, and Cultivation of Goals

The initial question that determined the design and direction of the case study was if particular advertisements hold for their consumers what might be characterized as "aesthetic perception and reception", ultimately demonstrating "cultivated goals" of the individual ad consumer. It was believed that if the experience of "aesthetic perception and reception" as it was examined by John Dewey, and used by Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton in their study of the meaning of household objects, could be found in the choice of television advertising, evidence that advertising does hold meaning that involves its occasional use as symbolic markers of social membership, individuality, and personal goals for its consumer could be more clearly established. The fascinating but problematic reality of examining objects or advertising in terms of aesthetic experience as it was originally defined, is that unlike interpretation that involves evaluation of the product's material function, or of the ad message as communicating expressions of solidarity or individuality through the use of objects advertised, there is often no identifiable source or referent from which true aesthetic experience comes.

Perhaps it was fortunate, then that despite the author's suspicion that advertising could be recognized as meaningful for its aesthetic value, no participants used the ad in this way. For several participants, ads were
carefully described in terms of their emotional value. While description of the ads may have at times resembled what has been identified as aesthetic experience, they did not actually evoking a distinct perceptions or active receptivity which resulted in modification of previously formed habits, or schemas (Dewey, 1934). Ads did, however, capture strong emotional and physical experiences, and were recognized to contain pleasing visual techniques (the use of collage), humour, sexuality, romance, and success.

As many of the advertisements chosen as meaningful were capable of evoking powerful emotional feelings for participants, it might be useful to re-examine how and if Dewey's concept of reception might be more useful in understanding the interpretation of media such as advertising into the individual's own frames of reference.

In defining "Meaningful and Personally Significant" in terms of persons, events, activities, and objects in their lives, the participants of the case-study most often cited memories of the past and the experience of emotional feeling as determining what was meaningful to them. Those who cited memories as important in defining what was meaningful for them put it these ways;

- "It reminds me of a place or something that happened there"
- "Memory, the feeling that is attached to something."
- "It has to effect my emotion, strike a chord with me, something that has happened in my life. If it makes me happy or sad or something."
- "They bring back memories of close friends. The things are often left behind from friends when they leave, symbols of them, I guess."
- "Memories of events they are linked to, linkages to the past. I believe that if you want to change the picture you must look at the present, and in order to look at the present you must know the past. Linkages are important."
- "Experience connected with something. If a friend gave me
something that I hate, I probably wouldn't give it away, I wouldn't even hide it away. Its the thought."
- "To use (the technical term), if I experience something really emotional or intellectual that resonates with something in my past that was important to me, whether it be emotions or values."

Two participants linked what was meaningful to them with function.

"In terms of objects, something that lets you do something, certain material objects are requirements for certain lifestyles."

"(Things) that are useful and help me create a moment, like the tapes I play when I want to be dramatic, when I want to cry or dance or be over-happy, or over-excited. Also (things) that help me relate to other people, to make people understand why I fell this way or another way."

Another participant felt that an object's ability to directly gratify his sense of self defined what was meaningful for him.

"I guess that the things that are meaningful to me are things that gratify my own, as opposed to gratifying someone else's needs. I guess its kind of an egocentric thing. I like reading (my term papers) and looking at the mark and it's my creation, you know what I mean? Anything that constitutes meaningfulness is something that has a direct sense of gratification."

One participant who identified his original art work as meaningful, defined meaningful objects as those that could be appreciated for their aesthetic qualities.

The purpose of examining how objects were defined as meaningful and personally significant was to compare this meaning with that of particular ads, and to investigate if these meaningful ads were used or interpreted in ways that resembled the use or interpretation of meaningful objects. In selecting meaningful and personally significant advertisements, memories of family members, places, and activities were often evoked and noted by participants.
"Its a nice ad. I love children. (They are) so sweet, they remind me of my cousins."

"I’ve tried skiing before."

"It’s typical of my friends."

"This is where we are coming from."

"This one makes me smile. It deals with the family. It makes me feel good."

"It’s a very comfortable setting for me."

"I like this ad because it reminds me of my aunt."

"I’ve been there. They are all scenes that I am interested in and remember."

"It just leads me to be crude. I find it sexually arousing."

"The kid is adorable.... I think it’s cute. It kind of reminds me of my cousins."

"Shows that me and my friends aren’t unique. There are other people out there like us."

One participant was skeptical that any ad could constitute something meaningful and personally significant to him.

"My definition of meaningful can’t really be applied to an ad. Meaningful to me is something that has a lasting impression. I have a hard time remembering an ad from a week ago." (And the Collector’s Cove Ad?) "I remember that one. That was an ad that would convince me to go into the store. Its personally significant to me because I am involved in the business, and to see a small company that can rival the larger ones in producing an ad, that’s meaningful."

While recognizing the use of "quality" as an advertising appeal, one participant stated,

"(The ad) is talking about quality of life, trust, peace of mind - its soft sell, but its an approach I like."

In discussing their feelings on the acquisition on objects, in relation to meaningfulness of its image and use, two subjects very clearly pointed out that
the value of objects they hope to attain one day was not in the object itself, but in the working toward it and achieving goals, of which the object was only one part;

"A lot of it is frame of mind. (We) turn around and say the chair is the object, but the actual thing we are striving for is obtaining the chair, the effort you put into it, the desire to put the effort into it. I don't see stuff in advertisements this way."

"Obtaining my goals will make me happy, but who knows if the objects I get will make me happy. (Its) the goals you set."

One participant did not distinguish between obtaining objects and achieving goals.

"With patience comes all good things. So to acquire it when I want it, no (I can't). But I set goals in terms of what I can achieve. If there is something I want, I know that it may not be within my immediate plans and I don't get frustrated."

Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton used the concept of cultivation to understand the relationship between the object, its user, and the broader social environment, and while aesthetic experience, from which it was originally believed to result was not in evidence in the interpretation of ads as meaningful, it is still a useful concept in understanding the meaning of ads in terms of the goals identified by the participants.

As noted earlier, the cultivation of goals is a process of interpretation and self control motivated by end goals rather than origins. This is seen as the result of human's ability to focus attention selectively in the pursuit of goals, and establishes structure out of potential randomness. This structure is experienced by the individual as "self actualization" or a comfortable consistency between they way they understand things to operate and the way the world is.
The individual's role in this process stems from the recognition of her or himself as a distinct and active component in the overall structure of society, and more importantly, his or her ability to choose, often independently from others those things which take on significance and meaning in their life. Whether this is or is not the case, is not as important as the perception of this freedom to choose where one's attention and energy will be invested.

The choice to attend to a particular advertisement, in this study as potentially "meaningful and personally significant", is the most basic expression of the individual's role in the significance of advertising in society. For a variety of reasons the individual attends to an advertisement, and then may evoke or reinterpret particular parts toward a variety of purposes. While this case study artificially set this process in motion, individuals regularly discuss, or contemplate advertisements for their own purposes, which often include amusement, information, debate, or remembrance.

This study provided evidence that ads, like the objects they represent are also used in a process of cultivating goals. In discussing significance of particular ads, personally identified values such as humour, quality of life, achievement and power, beauty and success, and the support and love of one's family were all identified within the interpretation of the 30 second television advertisement. While discussion of the ad as provoking unique perceptual experiences were noticeably, but not surprisingly absent, ads were used by many participants as vehicles through which memories of prior experiences and personally cherished convictions were articulated and linked. And most noteworthy is this construction of personally relevant meaning often at the same time as the critical interpretation of the ad by the viewer is occurring.
The experience of aesthetic perception and its relationship to the ad as a meaningful and goal related expression of its user could be approached in a different way in this study. Dewey and Rochberg-Halton both used art work as their reference point in understanding the aesthetic experience. The very different value placed on advertisements and their very different use might require that the full experience as it was defined in these studies be modified for application to objects less culturally valued in society. We do not seek the aesthetic experience as it was originally proposed by Dewey in the consumption of ads, nor is this experience hoped for by the advertiser. What is perhaps of more value to both producer and consumer of the ad is the experience of novelty or more often resonance for the purpose of directing the viewer's attention toward the advertised product. But despite the less involving nature of this experience, the ad might still be seen as capable of both reflecting and helping to create goals of one's existence, requiring a focused energy in its interpretation. Evidence of this experience comes in the discussions of meaningful ads as relating to the ultimate goals and priorities of the participants in relation to other meaningful elements in their lives. The ad becomes a tool with which an outcome is indirectly sought; the fond reminder of a favorite aunt, a message evoking the conviction that quality is still important, the portrayal of the corporate man at the top, the public sanction of fun, carefree behaviour among friends, and the message that it is o.k. to dress differently because according to the makers of Foster's beer, "its what's inside that counts."

Given the careful consideration of the ad in terms of the desirable images it presents and its critical evaluation as a ploy to sell a product, the idea that the ad's interpretation can involve an aesthetic experience could be re-examined.
For many of the participants of this study, locating three meaningful and personally significant ads involved the careful consideration of a number of factors. In developing aesthetic perception as a theoretical tool, Dewey describes as similar, emotional process of interpretation, evaluation, use, and control, resulting in a sense of satisfaction stemming from the individual's personal ability to adapt to the situation, or fit the new information into their own understanding of the way things work in life. This experience often occurs in conjunction with resistance and conflict for the individual in the evaluation of possible outcomes and the conscious intent that emerges.

An "aesthetic attitude" might then be in evidence in the experience of finding meaning in the advertisement as it occurred in this study, and the everyday process of making sense of advertising. Particularly in this study, evaluation and interpretation of the ad as meaningful and personally significant involved for most of the participants some understanding of ad production and intent, and in many cases involved a critical evaluation of the ad along with its evaluation and interpretation as personally relevant. In many cases, ads are simultaneously contested by the individual for its unrealistic or incorrect messages, and also recognized as portraying and shaping personal goals and priorities through the use of attractive images.

The final step in this process of finding meaning in the ad is the individual's perceived control over how that ad image will influence behaviour and belief. With this understanding at hand, no doubt involving a much more thorough study of the ad consumer's use of, or reference to the ad in interpreting everyday situations, the advertisement's much deeper significance in shaping society's discourse and behaviour can begin.
CHAPTER IV
THE STUDY OF ADVERTISING AS SOCIAL COMMUNICATION: NEW DIRECTIONS FOR MARKETING AND SOCIAL THEORY

The objective of this investigation was to examine the advertisement's role as what Leiss, Kline, and Jhally have described as a "privileged form of communication" in societies in which the buying and selling of products is central to their organization and operation. The access to material goods in contemporary industrial societies provides the ultimate criteria by which power and influence is distributed. To varying degrees, members participate in this process by allocating their resources toward obtaining various consumer goods and services, first out of the need to survive, then more significantly to mark their place in a society in which what one owns is understood to be directly involved in one's value to others. The advertisement plays a critical role in the process of bestowing value on things and ultimately people by creating attractive portrayals of the object used symbolically to improve the life of the user in some way.

The main focus of inquiry was if indeed consumers of the ad interpreted it as personally meaningful and significant to them. Ten participants discussed the reasons for their choice of three ads as meaningful and expressed varying degrees of personal involvement with the ad message, ranging from the selection of an ad as meaningful for its convenient timing for the purposes of this exercise, to an ad which the participant felt meaningful due to the degree to which it insulted his intelligence, to an ad which portrayed everything one participant wanted to become in his life.
This final chapter will attempt to pick up any loose ends, particularly in regard to the application of this type of investigation to broader, perhaps more significant questions about the role of advertising in society, and the important need for social theorists undertaking this enquiry to approach it from an interdisciplinary perspective.

The development of advertising to its current form as a detailed recipe for the creation of numerous and continually evolving styles of life has been documented by Leiss, Kline and Jhally as occurring through the linking of objects to their potential users with different types of appeals, framed by cultural experience. From the earliest use of ads as presenting the product in terms of its use value, to the product representing social values, then to the product holding interpersonal expression, and finally to the product as marker of a social group, the ad has been seen as the important link connecting the object and the consumer. The actual use of particular advertisements in this examination suggests that this may occur, but the ad's interpretation also involves the application of its imagery to other personal objectives as well. Through the interpretation of advertisement as a collection of objects, people and settings, the ads were found to be meaningful for reasons which might not directly involve the product being promoted. Meaning was also found to be constructed from the ad's broader social implications and the perceived impact of advertising on society. This indicates the importance of studying the advertisement in direct relation to the consumer's conception and expression of self, as well as the ad in relation to the consumer's conception of society as a whole.

Examinations of the role of advertising in the establishment of meaning and behaviour must take these considerations into account. The study of the
dangerous or unwanted influences of in society must accommodate these three levels using theoretical tools that best approach each. At the level of the individual, it may become evident that advertising is most threatening to particular groups in society, such as teenagers, whose sense of self is in the process of development, leaving them more dependent on self worth that comes from the approval of others, or at a cultural level as Stuart Ewen historically documented, ads may be viewed as an overpowering cultural force for immigrants who have left behind traditional markers of identity and self-worth and turn to consumption for a substitute. Advertising attempts to provide this valued social approval by promoting the purchase of goods that are carefully linked with images recognized as valuable in society. But the interpretation of these messages is conducted by the individual with varying degrees of personal significance attached.

This study has demonstrated the consumption of the advertisement to provide markers of personal and societal value. In the participant’s description of how particular ads were viewed as meaningful and personally significant, the product promoted was identified as a key component to the ad’s overall meaning, but often it was only one of several vehicles through which attractive imagery was organized to be re-interpreted through the participant’s own values and goals. In other words, the audience does not simply interpret the ad by linking the product to images of well being, but also interprets the images of well being linked to the product. The ad’s consumer may not necessarily accept an ad’s suggestion that driving a sexy car will make one sexier, but instead accept the advertisement’s definition of sexuality, and that that type of sexuality is a valued attribute in society, one by which he or she is judged or should judge by others. There is also evidence that the individual often
distinguishes his or herself from the wider social group. One might not necessarily accept what society deems sexy or valuable but defines such attributes in opposition to the more widely accepted norm. This suggests advertising use as a medium through which personal values are evaluated against commercially created or reflected values, perhaps strengthening personal values for the individual rather than surplanting their own values with others. In either case, the advertisement is used as an involved system of images and meanings of which the product plays some part; if not in its actual purchase and material use, then in its role as a symbolic purveyor of what is valued in human relationships.

This has particular importance for those regulating advertising's unwanted consequences. It is at this level at which the ad might be examined for its unwanted social "effects". As discussed in the Leiss, Kline, and Jhally text, critics of advertising appear to have misdirected their charges that ads are used by producers as a manipulative tool, "controlling the marketplace by creating false needs in consumers (1986;16). Evidence that the ad consumer first awards the ad varying amounts of her or his attention, then may carefully reinterpret and evaluate the ad's claim, leaves charges that the ad creates demand unsubstantiated. However, ads may indeed work to encourage the individual to turn to the marketplace for fulfillment through products they feel may communicate to others their worth.

In respect to the advertisements of dangerous substances, such as tobacco and alcohol products, this examination provides further evidence that the advertisement itself does not encourage consumption, but instead provides an attractive portrayal of use that along with images of use in television shows, movies, books, and art work, which forces its inclusion into the enormous
object/image pool from which we, as meaning creators, pull out symbolic meaning in the communication process. Banning the positive presentation of dangerous goods in advertising would be a major step toward discouraging its use by consumers, although banning the product on the basis of its danger to users and cost to society would be the only way in which the object would not be reappropriated for its symbolic significance by new users in the future.

From a marketing perspective, this study adds further evidence of the need to question the effectiveness of the advertisement in promoting a particular product. As illustrated in the cultural frames, the connection between the object promoted and the user has become less direct with the gradual inclusion of other elements in the advertisement, including cultural values, personal desires, and social categories. With the advertisement's development as a form of cultural information, its message "why you should buy brand xyz" was communicated in increasingly subtle ways, gradually relying more and more on the ad consumer to interpret the positive images in the ad and come to his or her own, personalized reason to buy. But with this development has come the opportunity for the ad to be interpreted without acknowledging the intended "star of the show," the product or brand being promoted.

Instead of investigating the effectiveness of the ad in terms of what "images of well being" could most effectively promote the object it is designed to sell, the market researcher, like the social theorist, might focus his or her inquiries on how the ad is used and interpreted in its everyday material and symbolic presentation, how the consumer evaluates its worth, and finally if and how the ad results in a change of opinion, brand, or product.
If the advertisement consumer does indeed self-consciously reward the advertiser for a "good ad" by considering a purchase, as it has been suggested here, the advertiser might consider a different focus in designing the ad. The objective of the advertisement might be seen as "public relations"; the positive representation of the company or product to potential consumer. At some point it may become evident that there are rewards in presenting not simply emotionally satisfying images, but images that communicate positive action toward environmental concerns, substance misuse, and the misrepresentation of disadvantaged groups in society, satisfying the consumer's need for positive emotional experiences and their concerns for the "effects" of advertising and their sophisticated understanding of how advertising works.

Many major corporations have indeed made this recognition, and the advantages of using "Social Issues" and co-ordinating their public relations and advertising campaigns is hotly discussed in trade magazines like Marketing (Jan.23/89). The advertising industry's acknowledgement of its active and often critical evaluation by audiences is also evident in its recent trend toward self-reflective and ironic ads. Humor is an important tool in making allies of sophisticated television viewers who may not swallow the outrageous portrayals of how particular consumer products can vastly improve the lives of their consumers, but do enjoy a good laugh, and appreciate the intelligence attributed to them in the design of the ad.

As it has been argued throughout this thesis and its social theory based predecesors, ads aren't just about buying, but how we use them to organize our understanding of life in market intensive society. Discussions of the meaning of ads demonstrate that both personally desirable and unpopular or insulting images recognized within the advertisement play a role in this process. Ad
images found to be attractive by participants here have a special place, however. For whatever reason it appeals to the consumer, such images become a particularly salient medium through which values and goals can be identified, reminding their user of not only the symbolic use of objects in expressing their placement in society, but their own priorities as individual members. Whether it be an attraction to particular people in the ads, the humor, production elements, messages they feel strongly against, or the reminder of others, the advertisement does indeed channel both individual and social meaning, demanding its further study and use as privileged form of social communication.


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Advertisement Viewing Habits

1. Who are the three people who have made the most difference in your life? Why?

   My mother - she was the closest figure I had for years and years and she was an accomplice, because of the situation that we lived in, we were together where she worked. We were very much against that world in social situations. A friend of mine in New York, we grew up together, and we went through all the problems of teenagehood. We defined our relationship together, what it meant to be a friend, between ourselves; it is very strong, and it's now what we have. Another friend - its more long term and I'm also very interested.

2. What holiday and events during the year are most special to you, and why are they special?

   My Birthday! It shows how traditional I am about my birthday. I try to be depressed a week before and say that nobody likes me, no one loves me or is going to give me a little present - I don't know what you'd call it - masochism? And then on my birthday there is always more than one person who says hello and gives me a little present or something. But not any other. Not even Christmas.

3. What are the things you do with your closest friends? How would you feel if you didn't have these friends? Do you wish you did more, or other things with your friends?

   I talk a lot, giggle a lot, superficial talk - I value that. And conversation. I do a lot of activities by myself. Its amazing how much. We exchange recipes over the phone (laughs).

4. Would you say you are a religious person? Why?

   Yes, Not traditionally, I can't I would be - if I were allowed in but I don't meet the standards of the Catholic church. The Catholic church can be very human, but it can be very stupid. It puts some very stupid regulations on our lives - but as a faith, yah, I am religious

5. Do you participate in any clubs, organizations, or associations? Which ones? Do you see any other members outside of these meetings? (No. and frequency)

   Org.  Activity  Frequency  See members outside?
No I've never felt very comfortable, particularly in North America, belonging to a group just because of a name. Excuse me, some people really appreciate AA, but just because I'm alcoholic - I'd like to join because of the people. For me, it something about my personality, I don't feel compelled to join a club.

6. Do you have any hobbies or collections? Why do you like these things?

Well, what was my hobby is becoming more, maybe my profession. No I like watching T.V. because it shocks people, especially in our circle - you're not supposed to watch T.V. - Oh yes, I have a hobby. I like cassettes, I call it my vice. I buy tapes. If I could I'd just buy tapes. I buy three or five a week. Pop tapes. Nothing classic, Pop, vulgar, low class music. Because it is music, it is interesting, its down to earth, I enjoy it very much, its amusing, its down to earth, I identify, it represents alot of the things that I feel and do, no matter how stupid they are, I'm not putting value on it.

7. If you had the time and money to do anything you wanted, what would you do?

I would do theatre. I would travel and find the most interesting trends in theatre and apply them. I would write, produce, direct, but never act. I find theatre is getting lost. And it is very good, yes it is good. I would attach a value to that. It is good.

8. What objects do you own that you would describe as meaningful and personally significant?

(Points to Pins) Some pins, because they are different and because they are jewelery and we are not supposed to wear it. I am very jealous of my tapes. They are ornaments. I like having a lot of pencils and pens, to be able to choose among them, because I find them slick and useful and practical. I like fashion and everything but I don't buy things for their meaning, I just like them.

9. Why are these objects "meaningful and personally significant" to you? ... So you would define "meaningful and personally significant as... (rearticulate)

They are useful and they help me to create a moment, like the tapes that I play when I want to be dramatic or over dramatic, when I want to cry or dance or be over-happy, over excited. They help me release a lot of energy, in different cases. And the pen as well. I can use it for writing, I think they give me status, (laughs) because they have nice traits, nice lines. I'm not sure that meaningful and personally significant
are really the related, but I can use it, they go hand in hand. I
don't believe in status symbols, but I can use it. The music in
my tapes is very much alive, and its not just music but it is
integrated into how I am feeling at that moment or something, or
what I am thinking. Alot of the things I have to do at school
have to do with music; every time I get a new idea I have to
listen to some shmaltzy music or disco or whatever to get a
feeling, if they are personal. Also it helps me to relate alot
to other people, so make people understand why I feel this way or
another way. With music I think alot of the ways I am I can
express through music (ex) Sad music, what my friend calls
shmaltzy, its very much an outlook on life in terms of what is
dramatic, what is the idea of romantic, over-romantic, corny and
the value of being corny, and it is very defined, because I know
that they are things that for a long time have been put down.
Just as long as they survive

**Selected Advertisements - General**

10. Did participating in this study make you look at ads in a
different way? How?

Will it sound pretentious if I say no, because I have always
watched ads with alot of interest, not just because I have taken
courses here, but because I enjoy them so much. I read in one of
my text that they are "smart little dramas" and I thought it was
so true. Yah, they are very smart, sometime they are nothing but
that, they aren't even intelligent or brilliant. they are smart
little dramas, they are interesting because it is amazing how
much they show the background of many people, our common
background of all of us who live here in North America. I'm not
over intellectual, don't get me wrong. I can look at both sides.
But definitely when a Pepsi ad comes on, with the Pointer sisters
I enjoy it very much, the rhythm, the colour, the lighting, the
people shouting; its very volitive. That's my first reaction and
I allow myself that. I would feel a pompous fart and very
pretentious and very pretentious if I put myself in such a mood
every time an ad comes up I would want to analyze it. I hate
that. I want to feel the whole thing.

11. Did you notice the ads you have chosen the first time you
saw them, or did they catch your eye after several viewings?

Some of them. I like dynamic ads. I like the idea. But
some others I noticed because they were pretentious in what they
wanted to do like the PetroCanada ad, they wanted to say so much
and yet they were so boring and they spent so much money. I
don't like one. A stupid speech about being Canadian, I'm not
putting that down, but its stupid to do it that way.
12. Do you normally attend to ads while you are watching T.V.? Is there a particular time you notice ads? A particular type of ad?

13. What kind of ads do you dislike?

I think the right expression is low production values. The classic - Abbotsford used cars. First they have this stupid man shouting at you, you never see him, and then they show you, they have hired a crew, they've gone there and shout a couple of cars, done a panoramic of the place, and then they put these signs up while the guy shouts in the back. I find them, I'm sure they are just as expensive as the others, they just don't care how they are put together. They just want to say what they are selling and the price and they shout it all at you. I hate that shouting, shouting out of context. I don't mind it in a story. But they don't have a story. There are some with the owner, they sell fridges and stuff and she is always with them, and they are trying to be funny and they aren't. It's so aggravating.

14. What were the product brand names associated with the ads you chose to discuss today?

Wendy's, PetroCanada, AirCanada (very slick, the office takes off, I like that because it allows me to dream you can be an executive) Budweiser, (I remember all beer ads - they are like a piece of erotica, always the idea of macho macho and the female female, and they are so obvious- that doesn't mean I agree with the violence behind it if there is any, but they are fine for their purpose

15. Do you feel that advertisements influence your purchases of certain products? Of certain brand names?

Sometimes, if I had money to choose good tickets to travel, if I saw a nice ad on T.V. or in the cinema, I would choose that airline that promises more glamorous lavishing, because if I am going to spend that money in that case, or on a car, a good car, I would go for what the ads say, knowing that the car might be a bad design of the airline might be really shitty, but I would just go for it, you know, because of the experience, because if that is what they are promising I go for the experience. Unless I've had a bad experience. Not for brand names. I don't buy those things. I have a lot of nice things but they are second hand. Then I enjoy them. But I don't have the money or interest. Not even if I had the money. It's built in already. I've never bought things for the brand. I wish I had that, the money and the good taste to dress up in Armani or something but I can't, I'm sorry. (laughs)
16. What was the last ad that you can think of that prompted you to purchase the product it advertised? What was the brand-name?

Nothing. It's all stuff within my purchase power.

17. What things make you happy?

Socializing. I feel that I've done something. It makes me really happy. No objects. When I see a good sitcom. Movies are to long. But a good sitcom. I don't know, it sort of renews my faith in life, because a lot of things are stereotyped, not from the imagination, I feel good when I see a good one like Rosanne, 227, and the Golden Girls. I know they are terrible, but I love them and some talk shows as well.

18. Are you able to acquire the things that you want? Do you feel that you would be better off with things you are not able to acquire at this time?

Yes. A lot of things I want are things I need, but the things I dream of, of course not. Yes some trips, they just demand a bit more effort. I wouldn't be better off.

19. What do you think the objects that you own say about you?

That I am very superficial, yes, when the see a lot of things that I really do like. I don't know if I am wrong, but the first impression at least. I would think that I am wonderful. I am very deceiving. It's not being good, I may be at one moment charming and nice and then over time discover all the pulses and moods I have. So I am deceiving, but genuine.

20. Would you like this to be different? How?

That I am very secure - self assured and self confident, because I'm not although I am, and that is the problem, it is in the contradiction where the problem lies. I can't say I'm a very vulnerable person and not self confident, but I am, and I'm not, but I am. I wish that people don't see the contradiction, because they get confused. They don't understand, because I am very flashy, I like flashy things, I like attracting attention, being the vase in the centre of the coffee table, but then people get another side that is shy and hostile, and not nice, but everything is so contradictory, and that is what I don't want people to see. I want people to see another side- I tend to objectify myself but sometimes it is wrong.
21. Do you see yourself as belonging to an identifiable group in society? Which one(s)? Would you like this to be different? How?

Depends on the situation. I find myself identifying with one minority or another. I am a minority because I am Latin American, and with them I am a minority again because I am Gay, or I am a University student, or something. If I identify with one group then I isolate myself from other groups, I would become my own elite, and no one would follow me. So I'd rather identify myself with everybody, although there are definitely groups I can't identify with. Rowdy men, violent men, I don't mean to be pretentious or infer I am an intellectual, but men who make jokes, not just about sex because I make jokes about sex, but violent men - o.k. I've got it. I can't feel comfortable around people that don't like me.

Selected Advertisements - Specific

22. What did you first notice about this ads? What caught your attention?

1. I like this - They are so - its so sexist. Its all men, all handsome men - the women are only secondary. I just leads me to be very crude. I like it. I find it sexually arousing. Its all those jeans and miniskirts and water spilling and all these erotic things. I think of cold beer on warm skin - to inflict that. And the water as well. Oh I love it. Music is rock. It has everything - alcohol, sex, bodies, music, bodies and bodies. I've always liked beer and alcohol ads - that doesn't mean I am condoning what they say. But I like them

2. I like urban romantic stories. The choice of a new generation. They are the new generation, they're urban, romantic, beautiful. I think its the most traditional type of romance, but they just put it in the city. Its very corny, its perfect and they drink Pepsi. I like those stories along the lines of the Big Chill and Pretty in Pink, all the sort of rivals of romanticism from the 50's in the movies. Its very old fashioned, but its good. Its not sexist or bad but a normal story of two people in love.

3. I like the jokes, the colors. I love it when they present food in commercial photographs. And you think this (the food) is such garbage. I find it really amusing. I like the idea of the collage and the humour. I find it naive as in the naive kind of painting - infantile like a kid putting things together like a joke or a rhyme or rhythm
23. What kind of mood was created for you in viewing this ad?

1. The fuck mood, that's basically it
2. Corny
3. Funny

24. Is this meaningful to you for any particular reason?

1. I feel it gives me alot of room to identify with me and macho, me the great dick, me handsome, me young, very sexually aggressive. It is very violent.
2. I feel we all have, and I'm not being pejorative, our petty love stories in the city. We go and have a romance. I feel that has happened to me. Not exactly with Pepsi or with that outfit, but we like them. We tend not to talk about them. Because they are embarrassing and corny, but we cherish them

25. What are people doing in the ads that you notice? Are these things that you enjoy doing?

1. I enjoy what the ads mean, but not what they are doing. I don't play pool, or I don't go about splashing girls or splashing me or splashing cars, I don't go putting the accelerator down in the car. They show all of these things.
2. Same thing
3. Its like buying postcards for my friends. I chose a colorful one. Just because of that. It doesn't mean anything at all.

26. Have you been in situations like the ones portrayed in these ads? Where they pleasant or unpleasant?

Only if I imagined they were similar. I've been out on a Saturday night and I've had a couple beers to feel drunk. But just imagined they were like that.

27. Do you see activities portrayed in ads that you haven't participated in, but would someday like to?

Idea of two people in love and they are going to buy Pepsi and they meet at the corner store in the city in winter. Yah I'd like to be in the situation. I don't think we give ourselves the room or time to be as corny as we should. I like it. Nothing in the Bud ad because I feel uncomfortable and I feel threatened and I reject it very much. I wouldn't want that.
28. What types of values and ideals do you think are expressed in the ads that you noticed? Do you feel these reflect your own? Which ones?

1. The classic type of machoism, sexism, discrimination because of age, gender, money. They are potent so to speak. In that context what ever is positive gets obscured by the feel of violence. If there is love in those ads it is so irrelevant.
2. Romantic its so underrated and trivialized and its a beautiful idea, and I don't mind people trying to sell pop with it.
3. Nothing

29. How is this ad meaningful and personally significant to you?

1. sexual motivation, not because of those people but because it is erotic, because you have skin as well and you are a sexual being, but not the personal. It doesn't put me there on the screen. No it puts me there in the sense that it is sexual.
2. Love story
3. I just like it. It is very plain and random. I chose to like it.

30. What is it about the ad that you were attracted to?

1. sexuality 2. melodrama 3. visual, funny

31. Is there anything about the (first, second, third) ad that you find particularly innovative or new?

1. No 2. one in a series 3. no just slapstick

32. Is there a particular person that appeals to you in this ad? Why?

1. Not intended to you just see bodies
2. I like the protagonists. I find them cute and nice and young. Well dressed.
3. the people are clowns

33. Is this person doing something that you have done yourself and and enjoyed? Do you admire what this person is doing? Why?
34. Is this person doing something you would like to do, but haven't. What has blocked your way?

Perhaps enjoying alcohol. I don't usually drink. It's not a moral problem, it's just that my body just doesn't like it. I used to drink much more - I had many more dreams, I could get a hold of my dreams and enjoy them. But now, it's not that I am old, but my body just resents it now. Yah, I wish I could hear the (sound of a bottle just opening) but I could get that with Coca cola or Pepsi and a feel it opening and cold and nice

35. What kind of feelings do you have when you watch this ad?

Faithful, the ads are promising, something to believe in. And fun, playful

36. What do you think makes you different from your peers?

Are you assuming that I am? I am tempted. I feel I am different but I don't want to admit how. I think I'm less repressed than alot of men and not just because I am guy, even other gay people. I don't know if I am different. I can't tell that.

37. Are there people in the ads that you find attractive?

Why are they attractive to you?

Yes. they are stereotyped. Males, bearded and young girls very slim, well dressed. They have the kind of bodies I think I am supposed to like. Same for the second one. The third one they are just objects put together and they are funny. I laugh when I see the huge German dressed up for the "wunderbar" but that is just a stereotype.

38. Is there a "label" that you would use to describe the people in your ads?

Middle America, Urban youth, clowns
2nd in general terms - a stupid problem and then you realize it is very stupid, petty.

39. Does this ad remind you of situations that you have been in? Did you enjoy them?

no. They are all very american
40. Does this ad remind you of your childhood? How?

The 2nd one — Life in the city — it's a very lonely life in many ways. And they have a stupid fight and get back together. I get the impression that it was shot in the big city. We are very alone and we have to stick together. And romanticism.

41. Does this ad reflect for you a personal outlook on life, or philosophy?

No, I don't think so.

Age: 25

Sex: male

Profession: student

Approximate number of hours of television viewing a week: 5
Advertisement Viewing Habits

1. Who are the three people who have made the most difference in your life? Why?

stepbrother- more than brothers but friends
senior supervisor- worked hard, but made you think
employer at community resource centre (worked there as an employment counsellor, accommodated illness)
Mother- don't be afraid to explore something
Father- so conservative he went the other way

2. What holiday and events during the year are most special to you, and why are they special?

Summer holidays last year - family got together after a long time

3. What are the things you do with your closest friends? How would you feel if you didn't have these friends? Do you wish you did more, or other things with your friends?

Dinner, conservative- eclectic group, enjoys conversation
Doesn't plan activities- play it by ear.

4. Would you say you are a religious person? Why?

Not religious in terms of organized religion, but does have a philosophy

5. Do you participate in any clubs, organizations, or associations? Which ones? Do you see any other members outside of these meetings? (No. and frequency)

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<th>Org.</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>See members outside?</th>
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<tr>
<td>On board of directors of B.C. Parkinsons Association. Kwasin Neighborhood House, asked to be on board. Has retired from other assoc. Have to shift gears from time to time. Plays racquetball</td>
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6. Do you have any hobbies or collections? Why do you like these things?

Collects Teddy bears ranging in size from 2in to 18in. Orig many years ago but started collecting a few years ago. Used to look at them in Toyland. Wife put two and two together. Picked up old ones at garage sale\flea markets. Old beat up Teddy bear is a true friend; never answers back, always keeps a confidence, always there to discuss problems, never drinks your beer. Also has other things, trying to slow down. Teddy bear chosen because of his name. Knows history off bears. Stryk(?) bear from Germany- would love to have it but $1000. Always
knew interested in history. Other things, Indian Pipe, smokes incense, Had it since he was ten. Terracotta soldier — new from Chinatown.

7. If you had the time and money to do anything you wanted, what would you do?

Travel; phototour of Kenya and Tanzania. Tran-Siberian railway, stand on the Great Wall of China. Lousy photographer. Wife says he hates people because they are always fuzzy in pictures.

8. What objects do you own that you would describe as meaningful and personally significant?

Teddies, brass Indian, bone letter opener from great grandmother 80 years old. Never use it, sits in a special place. Books, out of date but connected to something else. Will always have them. Strollers geoscience, physical geography first book wife ever gave him. Not into subject but meaningful. Issamov book for 50 cents.

9. Why are these objects "meaningful and personally significant" to you? ... So you would define "meaningful and personally significant as... (rearticulate)

Memory of events they are linked to, material in them (book) makes him think of something else (academic-books as resource) Letter opener not used, but special, has place of honour; linkage to past. Believer in if he wants to change the picture he must look at the present, in order to look at the present he must know the past. linkages important.

Selected Advertisements - General

10. Did participating in this study make you look at ads in a different way? How?

Yes, normally ignore it, most insulting to the average person (whatever that is) ads chosen meant more to him than the average run of the mill; for example, car commercial make mind go off; computer goes off, shuts them off. Attends to ads

11. Did you notice the ads you have chosen the first time you saw them, or did they catch your eye after several viewings?

PeakFreans 2nd time, Jonathan 1st more and more insulting, DND ad 1st time.
12. Do you normally attend to ads while you are watching T.V.? Is there a particular time you notice ads? A particular type of ad?

I'm not going to say that they don't influence my buying, when I'm ready to buy something. I start to look at the ads. Likes humour.

13. What kind of ads do you dislike?

Ad that talk down to people. The current hard sell ads - someone should drop a T.V. set on their head. BCTel quality, has static on telephone. Paying for these ads when I have the crackle. We don't have the quality.

14. What were the product brand names associated with the ads you chose to discuss today?

PeakFreens, Jonathans Furniture, DND, commercial recruitment.

15. Do you feel that advertisements influence your purchases of certain products? Of certain brand names?

Victor Kiam Shaver (vibrates) problems shaving, was going to look at one after Christmas - got one under the tree. Did the trick. T.V. ad brought it to his attention. Saw interview with Victor Kiam. That's him you see in the commercial. When they first set the ads up they were going to do them in London for some reason and they introduced the president and he said "Look I'm not trying to put this guy out of business, but when I say I bought the company that's who they are going to see. No problem with them using actors, so I was will to take a look at them because a) they brought them out and b) you have the man himself standing up for the product.

16. What was the last ad that you can think of that prompted you to purchase the product it advertised? What was the brand-name?

can't think of brand name that he changed to because of the commercial. Buys clothes at two places; Eatons and Tip-Top Tailors because they have good and better service. Always refitted right. May look in other stores, but buy them there. I will not buy Pierre Cardin or Leo Chevalier - If I want initials on my pocket they will be my own. Will not by anything with someone else's name on it. I don't know why that is, it is just something about me. I think this tells you a lot about me. Looks for good quality. Saw a great sweater. Perfect, but someone's name was on it - that was it. Had the cash hot in my hand that moment but no - that's just particular to me.
17. **What things make you happy?**

Small things, good weather, sunny — that's great. It makes me happy. A good session in the library doing research — finding the material. Getting that feeling when you are writing a paper and you know it is good. Carrying through a game on the racquet ball court — that's a high, because I actually am a very competitive person, and to go back to the novice level I thought would be very difficult, but no, because I am out there to have fun, and I can laugh at my mistakes. That's something — to keep one's sense of humour.

18. **Are you able to acquire the things that you want? Do you feel that you would be better off with things you are not able to acquire at this time?**

Yes, a lot of it is frame of mind — yes, we turn around and say the chair is the object, but the actual thing we are striving for is obtaining the chair, the effort you put into it, the desire to put the effort into it. Can't think of an ex. of this. Doesn't look at stuff in advertising this way. Wants a computer, will have one. Not sure when. Doing plodding research. When I really need it I will go out and know what I want. No — my friends car died. Bought a new, cheap model. When he was showing me the car he said "You know what really makes me said about this car? When I look at it I think of all the nice dinners and wine buried in this car" and I see his point.

19. **What do you think the objects that you own say about you?**

Yes I do, whether that is good or bad. See this is why I mentioned my teddybear collection and the things I refer to as my toys, we all have this side of our nature, and I include myself in this, that for many years it was yes I know all about this but I don't do this (not judging others on the basis of their objects) I am 35 years old — well I think this is wrong. We should have the strength of character or confidence in ourselves to say to someone "that's my teddy bear collection" even if you are 51 years old. So what. It's fantastic.

20. **Would you like this to be different? How?**

n\r

21. **Do you see yourself as belonging to an identifiable group in society? Which one(s)? Would you like this to be different? How?**

I have what I call an eclectic taste, for example my own age group is the hardest group I can think of to identify with. I don't want to sit around watching t.v. or ride around in an R.V. all the time. And I won't wear a baseball hat. I like rock (I'll watch Good Rock'n Tonight on t.v) and I like the opera and the symphony. All kinds of literature, all kinds of art — that
means I can sit down and talk to anyone, even 9 year olds, and we were talking to one another. I told them I was here before colour t.v. even before t.v. And I can talk to 80 year olds. But I have a hard time with my own age group. I suppose I am a bit of an academic, because I can talk to anyone up here. Grossly clumping people I would say I am an academic. I have problems with people with closed minds. I don't care about socio-economic groups. I have middle class values. I'll always carry them. But generally I'm just common ordinary, just like my blood group

Selected Advertisements - Specific

22. What did you first notice about this ads? What caught your attention?

1. Its a bag of ordinary cookies (they use to compare it with) They don't attack Dare or Christie- that is so phony-you can do anything that you want-rig the question. The bag of Peak Freeen's is out of focus and on the side. You watch him and his dog, your attention is rooted. Whoever set up the ad knew exactly what he was doing. This is a very subtle way of proving their product is better. I like the character. I like him in the whole series of commercials. Its importance is that it is humorous. You don't have to go through all the statistics and stuff which is just a bunch of jargon anyway. It doesn't attack another product and the dog is a nice touch. I also like the one with the kid in the highchair.

2. I like the music although the backdrop is phony. The voice-over and agricultural scenes are believable. Whether or not the cereal tastes very good I have no idea. I don't care to try it. I have my own cereal.

3. I find it revolting, untrue, nonsensical. Reserve is one day a week! The training there that they show you - I'm an ex-serviceman, and I went through 26 weeks of basic training -7 days a week. When I see this, what makes me so mad is that the government is saying they have to cut back on so many things and they spend money on on something that is so stupid. I tell people that I am a hawk. I'm not really, I'm a peacenik. But if you give them the toys they will want to use them. At a time when we are trying to get detante, I laughed at this but it was a disgusting laugh. I'm down on government ads.

23. What kind of mood was created for you in viewing this ad?

1. humour 2. mellow 3. disgust

24. Is this meaningful to you for any particular reason?

1. No, I liked the approach I don't buy them - and I know all about cookies, I'm the original cookie monster
2. I suppose, and I can't tell you why other than that I was based in Europe, I am biased to the European view. It's not as hard sell, there is more of an eclectic view, we seem to be more of a puritan branch here. I just connected.

3. I looked at it from my own military experience, this is just worthless, a govt' waste at a time that the govt' is saying they don't have money for social services. And I'm a taxpayer and that bothers me - this way its being spent.

25. What are people doing in the ads that you notice? Are these things that you enjoy doing?

1. yah, I'm a great couch potato, and I have sat with friends and ate a box of cookies, although we don't have a dog, but we have a cat who likes choc. chip cookies.

2. scenes in there I felt at home in. Memories came back. When I was 18. It was such a good time - a time of exploration.

3. I think of thing I did in the service and the amount of time it took - I call the reserves the Saturday night soldiers. A bit harsh but it is a waste of time.

26. Have you been in situations like the ones portrayed in these ads? Where they pleasant or unpleasant?

n\r

27. Do you see activities portrayed in ads that you haven't participated in, but would someday like to?

n\r

28. What types of values and ideals do you think are expressed in the ads that you noticed? Do you feel these reflect your own? Which ones?

1. Quality, they look at themselves as a quality product. They have the seal of approval from the queen. Hard to get

2. Quality of life, vs product in the p.f. ad

3. Old war mentality. Yes I like quality. I don't like trying to do a first class job with third class equipment. Quality of life is a term that can't be defined as it changes over time, and it changes with the type of experiences you have over time, also gives you a sense of peace of mind - that's why the DND ad makes me so made - if we are searching for this - and you can get them in the same commercial block. What kind of messages are they trying to send.

29. How is this ad meaningful and personally significant to you?

1. On a commercial basis I like humour presented in quality terms, its meaningful because it doesn't downgrade another product - I may think product X stinks, but I don't want someone telling me that on t.v., I'll form my own opinion.
2. Talking about quality of life, trust, peace of mind — its sell-sell but it's an approach that I like.
3. Hard sell, makes me think of something — there's a person servicing an aircraft. Would you want to fly in that aircraft? I wouldn't.

30. What is it about the ad that you were attracted to?

I never really looked at the people closely enough and the DND ad just turned me off — they could have been absolutely beautiful but under that banner — I didn't notice.

31. Is there anything about the (first, second, third) ad that you find particularly innovative or new?

Peak Freen series — the way they are put together, such simple ideas that they put together — like the technique of having the box out of focus and following his hand like turning pages in a magazine, and you focus on it — a simple technique but very well done.

32. Is there a particular person that appeals to you in this ad? Why?

I like the guy in the P.F. ad. He's a latent comedian. He makes the whole experience fun and if you go out and buy P.F. that's the bonus. I won't say I buy them. He's the type of chap I'd invite to one of my party's they are mostly academics but they have a lot of humour.

33. Is this person doing something that you have done yourself and enjoyed? Do you admire what this person is doing? Why?

34. Is this person doing something you would like to do, but haven't. What has blocked your way?

35. What kind of feelings do you have when you watch this ad?

36. What do you think makes you different from your peers?

37. Are there people in the ads that you find attractive? Why are they attractive to you?

38. Is there a "label" that you would use to describe the people in your ads?
39. Does this ad remind you of situations that you have been in? Did you enjoy them?

I think that the people in the cereal commercial are like the people you'd find on commercial drive during Italian days.

40. Does this ad remind you of your childhood? How?

41. Does this ad reflect for you a personal outlook on life, or philosophy?

We all have our biases as long as they aren't damaging to other people, and those are bigotry and racism. Have an open mind, explore, be open to things. I had the most amazing experience a no. of years ago the greatest I've had in my life - I was working in the Arctic and I was standing right up at the Aurora Borealis, the northern lights and I was lucky to ave that experience, few people do, and I was able to enjoy it, I can bring it back, the tingling feeling, and those are the type of things that we should aim for - some are intangibles some are very tangible. We are far to materialistic, although I love material things too, but to use those things as what they really are, that is tools, that make life a little easier. Too many people walking around with straight faces, not even any humour in their eyes. We have to get the humour back - I don't know where we lost it, because I know our grandparents had it but the current group has lost it. Everyone from 25-50. There are some many people that say to me "I am so bored" ad then when you ask them to do something on Wed. night they say "I can't I've got something on television. I say, go back to your t.v. and be bored. The humour of the peak freeen, the search for quality of life in the Muslix commercial, and I suppose the DND ad make me want to search out quality in life even harder after viewing it to stop the need for that type of ad. I did go on last years peace march, and for and for an old hawk that's a long way to go.

Age:
51
Sex:
Male
Profession:
student (grad)
Approximate number of hours of television viewing a week:
10hrs (hockey, Designing Women, Startrek, Newhart, Street Legal, News and The Journal)
1. Who are the three people who have made the most difference in your life? Why?

   My partner - she has the greatest amount of influence over this part of my life. My mother and father, whether you like it or not - the have the most influence over the formative years of your life.

2. What holiday and events during the year are most special to you, and why are they special?

   vacation - it's a heck of a lot more fun than work

3. What are the things you do with your closest friends? How would you feel if you didn't have these friends? Do you wish you did more, or other things with your friends?

   outdoor things. I wish I had more time to do them

4. Would you say you are a religious person? Why?

   no, I have trouble believing in physics.

5. Do you participate in any clubs, organizations, or associations? Which ones? Do you see any other members outside of these meetings? (No. and frequency)

   Org.            Activity            Frequency            See members outside?
   B.C. Federation of Naturalists, Burnaby Natural History Society, British Columbia Waterfowl Asoc.

6. Do you have any hobbies or collections? Why do you like these things?

   We collect art. Art would be a hobby and a collection.

7. If you had the time and money to do anything you wanted, what would you do?

   Retire and enjoy athletic and outdoor activities, collect more art, travel.
8. What objects do you own that you would describe as meaningful and personally significant?

Art and things that are given to me by people.

9. Why are these objects "meaningful and personally significant" to you? ... So you would define "meaningful and personally significant as... (rearticulate)

Memory, the feeling that is attached to something; sometimes thing are meaningful for their aesthetic appreciation

Selected Advertisements - General

10. Did participating in this study make you look at ads in a different way? How?

No

11. Did you notice the ads you have chosen the first time you saw them, or did they catch your eye after several viewings?

Yes

12. Do you normally attend to ads while you are watching T.V.? Is there a particular time you notice ads? A particular type of ad?

Yes because I am involved in advertising, I notice the ones that are creative and out of the ordinary

13. What kind of ads do you dislike?

Boring, trivial ads, that involve no imagination

14. What were the product brand names associated with the ads you chose to discuss today?

(Note we are getting to the tough questions) Tide, Mr. Clean, Lucky Lotto and Collectors Cove in Victoria.

15. Do you feel that advertisements influence your purchases of certain products? Of certain brand names?

To a very small extent. Again to a small extent. Few and far between
16. What was the last ad that you can think of that prompted you to purchase the product it advertised? What was the brand-name?

An ad for polyunsaturated cooking oil. And Bran cereal. (Couldn't remember brand name)

17. What things make you happy?

Doing things that I enjoy doing with people I enjoy being with. Outside. Not too many things (objects) make me happy. I suppose art

18. Are you able to acquire the things that you want? Do you feel that you would be better off with things you are not able to acquire at this time?

yes, with some planning. No I wouldn't be better off.

19. What do you think the objects that you own say about you?

We don't own an outstanding amount of things. We have a small quantity of high quality items. Maybe we are abnormal. We don't quite fit into the ordinary mold. We don't blow all our money on lots of stuff. But when we buy something it is something special, but we also don't overspend. I think we are hard to categorize. We aren't part of the Yuppie Syndrome. We don't have a BMW; we don't even own a VCR.

20. Would you like this to be different? How?

No

21. Do you see yourself as belonging to an identifiable group in society? Which one(s)? Would you like this to be different? How?

no.

**Selected Advertisements - Specific**

22. What did you first notice about this ad? What caught your attention?
1. I only watch the news, so the ads I chose were during this time period. I chose the Tide commercial because I thought it was really stupid. It was a very short ad - with no product claim. All that they were selling was that their box was easier to open. And I thought that was really dumb. Who is going to buy a product (just) because the box is easier to open? That really struck me.

2. In the Mr. Clean ad, the family comes home and the place is in a mess. and they have to clean it up. The father in the ad, who is presumably the strong, father character who does all the hard work, goes out to get a vacuum cleaner, and while he is gone the so called weaker members of the family clean up the house instantly, without raising so much as an ounce of sweat, simply by waving a bottle off Mr. Clean in the air a few times, and the house is sparkling clean. I have a hard time believing that using Mr. Clean so greatly reduces the energy required, and it glamorizes cleaning the house and then when the husband comes home, all the work has been done by the weaker members of the family, and they don't even have a speck of dirt on them.

3. I like that ad. It kept me entertained with humourous old clips and a good Elvis imitation and humorous lyrics. I liked that one.

23. What kind of mood was created for you in viewing this ad?

The first two were insulting to the intelligence. I enjoyed the last one, it wasn't demeaning or insulting to people. It was humorous and upbeat and different. I don't buy lottery tickets anyway, but at least I didn't hate the lottery company because of the ad.

24. Is this meaningful to you for any particular reason?

There again is the question of meaningful and I'm not really sure what you mean. My definition of the word meaningful I can't see applied to an ad. Meaningful to me is something that has a lasting impression; weeks, months, and I am having a hard time remembering ads from two weeks ago. I don't think they are very meaningful.

25. What are people doing in the ads that you notice? Are these things that you enjoy doing?

Tide ad had no characters, Mr. Clean ad no one is working but the house is getting clean, and in the lotto ad they are all slapstick clips, all seem to involve bodily injury.

26. Have you been in situations like the ones portrayed in these ads? Where they pleasant or unpleasant?
No, but I have successfully opened a box of detergent, however we don't buy Tide

27. Do you see activities portrayed in ads that you haven't participated in, but would someday like to?

no

28. What types of values and ideals do you think are expressed in the ads that you noticed? Do you feel these reflect your own? Which ones?

Laziness in the first too; getting something for nothing—especially the Lucky Lotto. They all are that basically that you don't have to work.

29. How is this ad meaningful and personally significant to you?

There was an ad for Collector's Cove in Victoria, and they had old album covers, and they used computer generated graphics to make the mouths move, they were all singing the same song; the Beatles sang a couple of lines. It was extremely impressive for such a little local record store, I was really impressed with the amount of production that went into it; the lyrics and melody line fit in. A really professional ad.

(Would that approach your definition of meaningful) Yes, probably. I remember that one. That was another ad that would convince me to go to the store. It's personally significant to me because I am involved in the business, and to see a small company that can rival the large mega-buck international corporations in producing an ad—that's meaningful.

30. What is it about the ad that you were attracted to?

31. Is there anything about the (first, second, third) ad that you find particularly innovative or new?

The last ad I described. Their production technique.

32. Is there a particular person that appeals to you in this ad? Why?

No

33. Is this person doing something that you have done yourself
and and enjoyed? Do you admire what this person is doing? Why?

No

34. Is this person doing something you would like to do, but haven't. What has blocked your way?

no

35. What kind of feelings do you have when you watch this ad?

negative feelings for the first two, humourous, and impressed.

36. What do you think makes you different from your peers?

I think everybody is different from their peers. I'm just a different collection of molecules. It all boils down to internal chemistry and environment

37. Are there people in the ads that you find attractive?

Why are they attractive to you?

No

38. Is there a "label" that you would use to describe the people in your ads?

Fake

39. Does this ad remind you of situations that you have been in? Did you enjoy them?

40. Does this ad remind you of your childhood? How?

Collectors Cove, the old albums.

41. Does this ad reflect for you a personal outlook on life, or philosophy?

No

Age: 36

Sex: male

Profession: Senior Management (Sign Production)

Approximate number of hours of television viewing a week: 10
Advertisement Viewing Habits

1. Who are the three people who have made the most difference in your life? Why?

   My Mother - We are very close, she shows me all the good things in life. She is a very happy person. We have lots of fun together.
   My Brother - He's always there for me, we're almost the same age. He's coming to visit me tomorrow.
   My Aunt - She's very close to me, she shares very interesting things with me. She's a very interesting woman. She does really neat things with her life and I am always on the periphery, I'm always there, I tag along on trips and I'm part of her life.

2. What holiday and events during the year are most special to you, and why are they special?

   Christmas. We celebrate Ukrainian Christmas, well, we celebrate both. All my family is together. I have a very large extended family and its a time for sharing and having lots of fun. Especially the Ukrainian one, you don't have to worry about gifts and that, its a better excuse to have a party; get together and talk and visit and eat and stuff. I also love birthdays. I just love them. All the attention. I love having everyone around and having a good time. Mothers Day as well, because its spring and all of the flowers...

3. What are the things you do with your closest friends? How would you feel if you didn't have these friends? Do you wish you did more, or other things with your friends?

   Talk, long deep conversations. Go for walks, I hope to move downtown soon. Doing fun things; going out drinking, dancing. I like drinking with my friends. There the only kind of people you can drink with. Not really. I can do anything with my friends. If there is something special then I have the kind of friends that will make the effort because I'm interested in it. I'm interested in it so they are interested in it. So I get exposed to a lot of different things through them and they get exposed to things through me.

4. Would you say you are a religious person? Why?

   Not really. In a non-organized sense I have some spiritual inclinations.
5. Do you participate in any clubs, organizations, or associations? Which ones? Do you see any other members outside of these meetings? (No. and frequency)

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Org. Activity</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>See members outside?</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Student's Union.</td>
<td>I was heavily involved in the Ukrainian community before I left home. I'm planning on getting involved here.</td>
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6. Do you have any hobbies or collections? Why do you like these things?

In a way I collect picture frames and pictures. Of family and friends. I like pretty things. Aesthetically there is that, but they mean more...what makes the pretty is the memories also...they are dear to me and I am never alone. I'm always surrounded by people and memories.

7. If you had the time and money to do anything you wanted, what would you do?

I would spend a few months in Japan and travel around there. Japan has always intrigued me. There is something very exotic about it. And then I would buy a chalet in Lake Louise or in the mountains for me and my family so we could meet up there every Christmas. Who ever makes the first million, we've all vowed that it has to go toward the family ski chalet somewhere.

8. What objects do you own that you would describe as meaningful and personally significant?

This ring. It's my Grandmother's wedding ring, some of my clothes. My clothes are very personal in that shopping was always sort of therapeutic for me. I've never been shopping alone. My mother and I always went shopping together on Saturday afternoons as my reward for going to Ukrainian School. So now that I have my friends out here and my mother I go with them. Shopping is always a fun thing, and I buy things on impulse or for a specific reason so when I wear it I remember the original time that I bought it. I've got a real memory for that kind of stuff. Again, my picture collection of family and friends, in photo albums and frames. (How do you choose your frames?) They catch my eye when I am shopping. I like pewter ones and the porcelain too, Depends on the picture. Some frames don't call for a frame at all.
9. Why are these objects "meaningful and personally significant" to you? ... So you would define "meaningful and personally significant as... (rearticulate)

To use a David Marshall term, if I experience something really emotional or intellectual that resonates with something in my past, that was important to me, whether it be emotions or values, or even by a specific time. Sometimes something can be personally significant even by its smell, because I'll recall something. Or because of the values that were bestowed on me as a child. I remember one... its all part of socialization. Things that you deem important or have been socialized to deem important.

Selected Advertisements - General

10. Did participating in this study make you look at ads in a different way? How?

Actually yes. Ever since I started taking communications, ads have become more and more of a drain for me. I realized this when I was watching these ads for you that I don't watch commercials at all, because I have a remote control I flick, or I tune out. But at the same time, subconsciously, I know every commercial on T.V. When I started watching them, "I know all of these commercials!" but I was almost annoyed that I had to pay attention. I was almost surprised that I knew what was going to happen next, I knew what the dialogue was, that there was this familiarity to it. I realized that I have seen this commercial a thousand times before, and I just always flicked it or tuned it out. So I started watching and thinking, "What does this mean to me?" And it was a really hard question to answer.

11. Did you notice the ads you have chosen the first time you saw them, or did they catch your eye after several viewings?

Actually, these ones, two out of three I probably noticed the first time, because the two are oriented towards my audience group, young to middle aged women.

12. Do you normally attend to ads while you are watching T.V.? Is there a particular time you notice ads? A particular type of ad?

No, I would have thought yes because I am aware of them, but the reality is that I don't.
13. What kind of ads do you dislike?

The poll ads, the editorial ads, they really bug me. The Anacin commercials are so stupid. The "4 out of 5 doctors recommend this" that sort of thing. I hate all the soap, detergent ads, because they are always so stereotypical of women. It's like the little kid, and "Moms rely on Borax" What about Dads? The one yesterday the goes "Being a kid's a dirty job but someones got to do it. Just like Dad goes off to the office, I have to get muddy, and my mom has to clean it up." And I just go "Who the hell writes this," or not even that, I want to know where the brains of that company is, I really do. I'm sorry, but if I'm having children my husband is doing the laundry (laughs). I would be really offended.

14. What were the product brand names associated with the ads you chose to discuss today?

Weight Watcher's, Salon Selectives, and Safeway.

15. Do you feel that advertisements influence your purchases of certain products? Of certain brand names?

Yes, I won't buy Beeman's Gum, cause I hate the commercial. Sometimes, this is really weird, when I moved out of the house and was on my own, I really had no idea what I was buying, detergents and stuff, so I asked myself "Well, what do I need? I guess I need some Mr. Clean" Why would I think that when I'm going to buy some detergent? When you are walking past rows and rows of laundry detergent, you seriously hear the commercials in the background, and you are trying to make some kind of consumer choice and you hear all this stuff going on. This is strong, but this is milder, especially when you buy pop, there are real images associated with different soft drinks. (Do you buy pop on the basis of these images?) I don't know, I can't say. But for a time there I was so disgusted by Pepsi's ad campaign that, they were trying to beat out coke, that I said to heck with them. Don't be jerks about this whole thing, be innovative, take a different approach. I'm a Coke drinker, I don't know if that says something.

16. What was the last ad that you can think of that prompted you to purchase the product it advertised? What was the brand-name?

Maybe it would be detergent. It was ABC.
17. What things make you happy?

My family, and my close friends. Sunshine, long walks on fall days, skiing, the ocean. (Any objects?) Yes (laughs) Expensive things. I like jewelry, pictures, artwork, plants. My apartment is such that it is mine and mine alone. It makes me happy. I really enjoy my privacy.

18. Are you able to acquire the things that you want? Do you feel that you would be better off with things you are not able to acquire at this time?

Yes. Yes. I'd be better off with a car.

19. What do you think the objects that you own say about you?

Warm, cosy, loving, welcoming, friendly, comfortable. Very traditional. Even though I have some modern stuff, you know, Ikea. It's what you do with it. I have a Ukrainian embroidered pillows on my strange looking chairs that are half way into the floor.

20. Would you like this to be different? How?

No

21. Do you see yourself as belonging to an identifiable group in society? Which one(s)? Would you like this to be different? How?

Yes, woman, its a minority group, and I feel very strongly about women's issues, I'm very conscious things like that. I belong to a group called students, I also belong to an invisible minority, Ukrainians. That's a very big part of me, something that sometime's I'm forced to deny. There is no real venue for it in mainstream Canada, and its always been cultivated in different spheres that have been cultivated since I was young, and they are not here.

Selected Advertisements - Specific

22. What did you first notice about this ads? What caught your attention?

1. It's funny. I first noticed that these clothes are moving and there were no people in them. It was amusing. That was the appeal. It was funny and different.
2. The first line is "these women look like they just walked out of a salon." And I think, yah, I wish! I just...(laughs) I say to my hairdresser "yah it looks great, do you want to come over ever morning and do it this way?" I think they are really plugging into a mentality there so women spend hundreds of dollars to keep their hair right and everything, and its also capturing that "just out of the salon look". I think they've got a real market there. The opening line caught my attention, and then you see these three absolutely gorgeous women.

3. It's a really nice one. The little girl with the flowers caught my attention and she's running. I love children, Maybe I should have told you that earlier. And the pictures and everything and my little cousin as well, she's just so sweet and she reminds me of them, she's their age and the flowers are so pretty. Its just something that you can fall into. It's kind of soothing. God, its a commercial for a multinational corporation, you know. It's sick. I caught myself, I was getting engrossed and I was thinking "this is so nice" and then it's just Safeway trying to incorporate the family ideal into what it's supposed to stand for.

23. What kind of mood was created for you in viewing this ad?

1. That one was funny and very hopeful, yes it is really hopeful. It looks so easy, you know just kicking up, it's going to be fun, its going to be a joke for you, and your dancing around. There are sexy clothes, fun clothes, and your saying, loosing weight and looking great is really fun. Fun, upbeat, hopeful.
2. It was a fairly relatable situation. It was ordinary, everyday mood.
3. A nice mood, a good mood, it made you feel happy and warm towards it.

24. Is this meaningful to you for any particular reason?

1. I'm very conscious of stuff like that, feeling and looking good, having to watch your weight and stuff like that, and so it appealed to me immediately because of what it symbolized. And then the whole idea I mentioned earlier about it being fun and easy, you know, out on the dance floor.
2. because the women, I can see myself in a few years, even though they were business women, and I go to school, but I can see myself in a few years having to leave the apartment feeling like I have to look like I just walked out of a salon. I felt really kind of "whoa, I can relate to this" like its a weird ideology. It was really real, I guess that's what I mean by everyday.
3. It brings up special feelings. It has the innocents of being a child. It was really meaningful, and also the farm scene. I spent alot of time on the farm with my cousins and stuff and the whole idea of the farm life, its beautiful and its peaceful, and
25. What are people doing in the ads that you notice? Are these things that you enjoy doing?

1. There wasn't really people, but it was implied that they would be dancing, jumping, doing activities. And that is something that I would enjoy doing, and do do. You want to enjoy all the years that you have.
2. Leaving the apartment in the morning, I could kind of relate going to school in the morning or see myself being in the position of having to go to work like that.
3. Yes, they are embracing each other.

26. Have you been in situations like the ones portrayed in these ads? Where they pleasant or unpleasant?

27. Do you see activities portrayed in ads that you haven't participated in, but would someday like to?

1. No
2. Yes, someday I'll be off to work like that. (My feelings toward it) were pretty matter of fact. I don't know if you can label them good or bad, it was just kind of "yay, whoa, sure". So I guess in a way they were alittle bit negative, from the whole women's perspective, all the expectation on women to come out looking like they just came from a salon, with gorgeous hair, and gorgeous figures and a thousand dollar suit. And coming out of gorgeous apartments as well, I mean I say, there is abit of reality in that, but it is very hyper-real, it is very contrived. Its still has its positive side. Getting up in the morning, facing the day, its a beautiful day, you feel great, you look great, you're going to a great job.
3. I think like I mentioned before.

28. What types of values and ideals do you think are expressed in the ads that you noticed? Do you feel these reflect your own? Which ones?

1. Weight Watcher's the value of looking good and feeling good in a superficial way, because its linked with the Quick Start Program. You can get into the whole fun aspect, are you doing this for yourself, you get this plug at the end which shows you its just a big business, you just have to try and keep up, you know, its not really a pleasant way of life, trying to keep up with this crazy ideal. Its all very superficial.
2. Again, there is the two sides of the coin, what plane to
evaluate it. Sometimes you just get annoyed. But on a personal level, the values were work hard to look good, accomplish; it was kind of a progressive ad. They were all business women, all young, all successful. The values would be looking good. Achieving that Salon look.

3. Love, family, togetherness. (Do these reflect your own?) Yes, the Safeway one, the Salon Selective, yes; and the Weight Watcher's, I'd have to say yes. I really do, I get caught up in it. And I buy the product.

29. How is this ad meaningful and personally significant to you?

1. The Weight Watcher's it was fun, and energetic and lively, and it was personally significant because I seek those things. Its the whole idea of staying in shape, eating well, living the good life.
2. It is personally significant because I can relate to it. I see myself in the position of those women, striving for success the way they seem to.
3. It brought back warm feelings of childhood and children that I know and love, flowers and warmth, nature.

30. What is it about the ad that you were attracted to?

1. The music and the colour.
2. The initial dialogue, the women themselves, the scenario, coming out of their house, successful and the way they look.
3. The atmosphere, and the children in the ads, the entire atmosphere with the children and the flowers.

31. Is there anything about the (first, second, third) ad that you find particularly innovative or new?

1. The Weight Watcher's ad was fun and different.
2. The women were all professionals, going out to work. That was new.

32. Is there a particular person that appeals to you in this ad? Why?

The little girl.

33. Is this person doing something that you have done yourself and and enjoyed? Do you admire what this person is doing? Why?
34. Is this person doing something you would like to do, but haven't. What has blocked your way?

Yes, the women in the Salon Selectives leave the house like they just left the salon (laughs). I very rarely do that. They are off to a good job, dressed for success, that's something that is tempting.

35. What kind of feelings do you have when you watch this ad?

1. Upbeat
2. Empathetic, in that I can relate to the situation, I can feel the situation, in that I can project myself into the situation.
3. Warm.

36. What do you think makes you different from your peers?

My family experience, my experience in the Ukrainian community, the sense that I belong to forty different people, I come from a large extended family and we share everything, that type of idea. I have a very strong sense of who I am and where I came from. I have a very deep commitment to my family, probably alot deeper than...I talk to alot of my friends nd they are Wasps, and they just don't have it, they don't really relate to it. I've been away from home for five years and I still get phone calls from my parents four times a week. They can't have it with their friends. I tend to have that kind of relationship with my friends, I expect it all, that unconditional sense of love and they are capable of having it with their friends, but it is different. The realm of the family and the realm of their friends is very different for alot of my friends.

37. Are there people in the ads that you find attractive?
Why are they attractive to you?

The women in the Salon Selective ad by every measure of society, and to myself as well. The little girl, the father figure.

38. Is there a "label" that you would use to describe the people in your ads?

The women in the Salon Selectives ad you'd almost want to say Yuppie. And in the Safeway, homespun, traditional.

39. Does this ad remind you of situations that you have been in? Did you enjoy them?

Yes, the music in the Weight Watcher's ad makes me think of being on the dance floor, the Salon Selectives, waking up to face
the day, coming out, hoping that you look good, dressed for success, that kind of ideal, and the Safeway ad, their embrace, with a loved one.

40. Does this ad remind you of your childhood? How?

yes, the Safeway one.

41. Does this ad reflect for you a personal outlook on life, or philosophy?

Yes, all of them, actually. Weight Watcher's how you have to strive to keep your life upbeat, keep yourself thin, to keep yourself attractive. Same with the Salon Selectives, that you have to work for success. Well, that's my own projection into the ad. What they are saying is that you don't have to work at it, that you can have it right out of the bottle, right? I would never buy that shampoo. Its kind of neat. The Safeway ad—again the feeling is above and beyond Safeway, because I know this this big multi-national company, I don't hold it in much esteem, but the whole projection of the images, what they are trying to create, the atmosphere they are trying to create is very attractive, one I can relate to.

Age: 20

Sex: Female

Profession: Student

Approximate number of hours of television viewing a week: 14-20
1. Who are the three people who have made the most difference in your life? Why?

My Mother - We are very close, she shows me all the good things in life. She is a very happy person. We have lots of fun together.
My Brother - He's always there for me, we're almost the same age. He's coming to visit me tomorrow.
My Aunt - She's very close to me, she shares very interesting things with me. She's a very interesting woman. She does really neat things with her life and I am always on the periphery, I'm always there, I tag along on trips and I'm part of her life.

2. What holiday and events during the year are most special to you, and why are they special?

Christmas. We celebrate Ukrainian Christmas, well, we celebrate both. All my family is together. I have a very large extended family and its a time for sharing and having lots of fun. Especially the Ukrainian one, you don't have to worry about gifts and that, its a better excuse to have a party; get together and talk and visit and eat and stuff. I also love birthdays. I just love them. All the attention. I love having everyone around and having a good time. Mothers Day as well, because its spring and all of the flowers...

3. What are the things you do with your closest friends? How would you feel if you didn't have these friends? Do you wish you did more, or other things with your friends?

Talk, long deep conversations. Go for walks, I hope to move downtown soon. Doing fun things; going out drinking, dancing. I like drinking with my friends. There the only kind of people you can drink with. Not really. I can do anything with my friends. If there is something special then I have the kind of friends that will make the effort because I'm interested in it. I'm interested in it so they are interested in it. So I get exposed to a lot of different things through them and they get exposed to things through me.

4. Would you say you are a religious person? Why?

Not really. In a non-organized sense I have some spiritual inclinations.
5. Do you participate in any clubs, organizations, or associations? Which ones? Do you see any other members outside of these meetings? (No. and frequency)

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<th>Org.</th>
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<tr>
<td>The Student's Union.</td>
<td>I was heavily involved in the Ukrainian community before I left home. I'm planning on getting involved here.</td>
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6. Do you have any hobbies or collections? Why do you like these things?

In a way I collect picture frames and pictures. Of family and friends. I like pretty things. Aesthetically there is that, but they mean more...what makes the pretty is the memories also...they are dear to me and I am never alone. I'm always surrounded by people and memories.

7. If you had the time and money to do anything you wanted, what would you do?

I would spend a few months in Japan and travel around there. Japan has always intrigued me. There is something very exotic about it. And then I would buy a chalet in Lake Louise or in the mountains for me and my family so we could meet up there every Christmas. Who ever makes the first million, we've all vowed that it has to go toward the family ski chalet somewhere.

8. What objects do you own that you would describe as meaningful and personally significant?

This ring. It's my Grandmother's wedding ring, some of my clothes. My clothes are very personal in that shopping was always sort of therapeutic for me. I've never been shopping alone. My mother and I always went shopping together on Saturday afternoons as my reward for going to Ukrainian School. So now that I have my friends out here and my mother I go with them. Shopping is always a fun thing, and I buy things on impulse or for a specific reason so when I wear it I remember the original time that I bought it. I've got a real memory for that kind of stuff. Again, my picture collection of family and friends, in photo albums and frames. (How do you choose your frames?) They catch my eye when I am shopping. I like pewter ones and the porcelain too, Depends on the picture. Some frames don't call for a frame at all.
9. Why are these objects "meaningful and personally significant" to you? ... So you would define "meaningful and personally significant as... (rearticulate)

To use a David Marshall term, if I experience something really emotional or intellectual that resonates with something in my past, that was important to me, whether it be emotions or values, or even by a specific time. Sometimes something can be personally significant even by its smell, because I'll recall something. Or because of the values that were bestowed on me as a child. I remember one...its all part of socialization. Things that you deem important or have been socialized to deem important.

Selected Advertisements - General

10. Did participating in this study make you look at ads in a different way? How?

Actually yes. Ever since I started taking communications, ads have become more and more of a drain for me. I realized this when I was watching these ads for you that I don't watch commercials at all, because I have a remote control I flick, or I tune out. But at the same time, subconsciously, I know every commercial on T.V. When I started watching them, "I know all of these commercials!" but I was almost annoyed that I had to pay attention. I was almost surprised that I knew what was going to happen next, I knew what the dialogue was, that there was this familiarity to it. I realized that I have seen this commercial a thousand times before, and I just always flicked it or tuned it out. So I started watching and thinking, "What does this mean to me?" And it was a really hard question to answer.

11. Did you notice the ads you have chosen the first time you saw them, or did they catch your eye after several viewings?

Actually, these ones, two out of three I probably noticed the first time, because the two are oriented towards my audience group, young to middle aged women.

12. Do you normally attend to ads while you are watching T.V.? Is there a particular time you notice ads? A particular type of ad?

No, I would have thought yes because I am aware of them, but the reality is that I don't.
13. What kind of ads do you dislike?

The poll ads, the editorial ads, they really bug me. The Anacin commercials are so stupid. The "4 out of 5 doctors recommend this" that sort of thing. I hate all the soap, detergent ads, because they are always so stereotypical of women. Its like the little kid, and "Moms rely on Borax" What about Dads? The one yesterday the goes "Being a kid's a dirty job but someones got to do it. Just like Dad goes off to the office, I have to get muddy, and my mom has to clean it up." And I just go "Who the hell writes this," or not even that, I want to know where the brains of that company is, I really do. I'm sorry, but if I'm having children my husband is doing the laundry (laughs). I would be really offended.

14. What were the product brand names associated with the ads you chose to discuss today?

Weight Watcher's, Salon Selectives, and Safeway.

15. Do you feel that advertisements influence your purchases of certain products? Of certain brand names?

Yes, I won't buy Beeman's Gum, cause I hate the commercial. Sometimes, this is really weird, when I moved out of the house and was on my own, I really had no idea what I was buying, detergents and stuff, so I asked myself "Well, what do I need? I guess I need some Mr. Clean" Why would I think that when I'm going to buy some detergent? When you are walking past rows and rows of laundry detergent, you seriously hear the commercials in the background, and you are trying to make some kind of consumer choice and you hear all this stuff going on. This is strong, but this is milder, especially when you buy pop, there are real images associated with different soft drinks. (Do you buy pop on the basis of these images?) I don't know, I can't say. But for a time there I was so disgusted by Pepsi's ad campaign that, they were trying to beat out coke, that I said to heck with them. Don't be jerks about this whole thing, be innovative, take a different approach. I'm a Coke drinker, I don't know if that says something.

16. What was the last ad that you can think of that prompted you to purchase the product it advertised? What was the brand-name?

Maybe it would be detergent. It was ABC.
17. What things make you happy?

My family, and my close friends. Sunshine, long walks on fall days, skiing, the ocean. (Any objects?) Yes (laughs) Expensive things. I like jewelry, pictures, artwork, plants. My apartment is such that it is mine and mine alone. It makes me happy. I really enjoy my privacy.

18. Are you able to acquire the things that you want? Do you feel that you would be better off with things you are not able to acquire at this time?

Yes. Yes. I'd be better off with a car.

19. What do you think the objects that you own say about you?

Warm, cosy, loving, welcoming, friendly, comfortable. Very traditional. Even though I have some modern stuff, you know, Ikea. It's what you do with it. I have a Ukrainian embroidered pillows on my strange looking chairs that are half way into the floor.

20. Would you like this to be different? How?

No

21. Do you see yourself as belonging to an identifiable group in society? Which one(s)? Would you like this to be different? How?

Yes, woman, it's a minority group, and I feel very strongly about women's issues, I'm very conscious things like that. I belong to a group called students, I also belong to an invisible minority, Ukrainians. That's a very big part of me, something that sometime's I'm forced to deny. There is no real venue for it in mainstream Canada, and its always been cultivated in different spheres that have been cultivated since I was young, and they are not here.

Selected Advertisements - Specific

22. What did you first notice about this ads? What caught your attention?

1. It's funny. I first noticed that these clothes are moving and there were no people in them. It was amusing. That was the appeal. It was funny and different.
2. The first line is "these women look like they just walked out
of a salon." And I think, yah, I wish! I just...(laughs) I say to my hairdresser "yah it looks great, do you want to come over ever morning and do it this way?" I think they are really plugging into a mentality there so women spend hundreds of dollars to keep their hair right and everything, and its also capturing that "just out of the salon look". I think they've got a real market there. The opening line caught my attention, and then you see these three absolutely gorgeous women.

3. It's a really nice one. The little girl with the flowers caught my attention and she's running. I love children, Maybe I should have told you that earlier. And the pictures and everything and my little cousin as well, she's just so sweet and she reminds me of them, she's their age and the flowers are so pretty. Its just something that you can fall into. It's kind of soothing. God, its a commercial for a multinational corporation, you know. It's sick. I caught myself, I was getting engrossed and I was thinking "this is so nice" and then it's just Safeway trying to incorporate the family ideal into what it's supposed to stand for.

23. What kind of mood was created for you in viewing this ad?

1. That one was funny and very hopeful, yes it is really hopeful. It looks so easy, you know just kicking up, it's going to be fun, its going to be a joke for you, and your dancing around. There are sexy clothes, fun clothes, and your saying, loosing weight and looking great is really fun. Fun, upbeat, hopeful.
2. It was a fairly relatable situation. It was ordinary, everyday mood.
3. A nice mood, a good mood, it made you feel happy and warm towards it.

24. Is this meaningful to you for any particular reason?

1. I'm very conscious of stuff like that, feeling and looking good, having to watch your weight and stuff like that, and so it appealed to me immediately because of what it symbolized. And then the whole idea I mentioned earlier about it being fun and easy, you know, out on the dance floor.
2. because the women, I can see myself in a few years, even though they were business women, and I go to school, but I can see myself in a few years having to leave the apartment feeling like I have to look like I just walked out of a salon. I felt really kind of "whoa, I can relate to this" like its a weird ideology. It was really real, I guess that's what I mean by everyday.
3. It brings up special feelings. It has the innocents of being a child. It was really meaningful, and also the farm scene. I spent alot of time on the farm with my cousins and stuff and the whole idea of the farm life, its beautiful and its peaceful, and the land type of thing. In the end that's what came in. First
it was the child and the flowers and then it was the bigger picture, with the farm, coming from the Prairies I also found that meaningful.

25. What are people doing in the ads that you notice? Are these things that you enjoy doing?

1. There wasn't really people, but it was implied that they would be dancing, jumping, doing activities. And that is something that I would enjoy doing, and do do. You want to enjoy all the years that you have.
2. Leaving the apartment in the morning, I could kind of relate going to school in the morning or see myself being in the position of having to go to work like that.
3. Yes, they are embracing each other.

26. Have you been in situations like the ones portrayed in these ads? Where they pleasant or unpleasant?

27. Do you see activities portrayed in ads that you haven't participated in, but would someday like to?

1. n\a
2. yes, someday I'll be off to work like that.(My feelings toward it) were pretty matter of fact. I don't know if you can label them good or bad, it was just kind of "yah, whoa, sure". So I guess in a way they were alittle bit negative, from the whole women's perspective, all the expectation on women to come out looking like they just came from a salon, with gorgeous hair, and gorgeous figures and a thousand dollar suit. And coming out of gorgeous apartments as well, I mean I say, there is abit of reality in that, but it is very hyper-real, it is very contrived. Its still has its positive side. Getting up in the morning, facing the day, its a beautiful day, you feel great, you look great, you're going to a great job.
3. I think like I mentioned before.

28. What types of values and ideals do you think are expressed in the ads that you noticed? Do you feel these reflect your own? Which ones?

1. Weight Watcher's the value of looking good and feeling good in a superficial way, because its linked with the Quick Start Program. You can get into the whole fun aspect, are you doing this for yourself, you get this plug at the end which shows you its just a big business, you just have to try and keep up, you know, its not really a pleasant way of life, trying to keep up with this crazy ideal. Its all very superficial.
2. Again, there is the two sides of the coin, what plane to evaluate it. Sometimes you just get annoyed. But on a personal level, the values were work hard to look good, accomplish; it was
kind of a progressive ad. They were all business women, all young, all successful. The values would be looking good. Achieving that Salon look.

3. Love, family, togetherness. (Do these reflect your own?) Yes, the Safeway one, the Salon Selective, yes; and the Weight Watcher's, I'd have to say yes. I really do, I get caught up in it. And I buy the product.

29. How is this ad meaningful and personally significant to you?

   1. The Weight Watcher's it was fun, and energetic and lively, and it was personally significant because I seek those things. Its the whole idea of staying in shape, eating well, living the good life.
   2. It is personally significant because I can relate to it. I see myself in the position of those women, striving for success the way they seem to.
   3. It brought back warm feelings of childhood and children that I know and love, flowers and warmth, nature.

30. What is it about the ad that you were attracted to?

   1. The music and the colour.
   2. The initial dialogue, the women themselves, the scenario, coming out of their house, successful and the way they look.
   3. The atmosphere, and the children in the ads, the entire atmosphere with the children and the flowers.

31. Is there anything about the (first, second, third) ad that you find particularly innovative or new?

   1. The Weight Watcher's ad was fun and different.
   2. The women were all professionals, going out to work. That was new.

32. Is there a particular person that appeals to you in this ad? Why?

   The little girl.

33. Is this person doing something that you have done yourself and and enjoyed? Do you admire what this person is doing? Why?
34. Is this person doing something you would like to do, but haven't. What has blocked your way?

Yes, the women in the Salon Selectives leave the house like they just left the salon (laughs). I very rarely do that. They are off to a good job, dressed for success, that's something that is tempting.

35. What kind of feelings do you have when you watch this ad?

1. Upbeat
2. Empathetic, in that I can relate to the situation, I can feel the situation, in that I can project myself into the situation.
3. Warm.

36. What do you think makes you different from your peers?

My family experience, my experience in the Ukrainian community, the sense that I belong to forty different people, I come from a large extended family and we share everything, that type of idea. I have a very strong sense of who I am and where I came from. I have a very deep commitment to my family, probably a lot deeper than...I talk to a lot of my friends and they are Wasps, and they just don't have it, they don't really relate to it. I've been away from home for five years and I still get phone calls from my parents four times a week. They can't have it with their friends. I tend to have that kind of relationship with my friends, I expect it all, that unconditional sense of love and they are capable of having it with their friends, but it is different. The realm of the family and the realm of their friends is very different for a lot of my friends.

37. Are there people in the ads that you find attractive?

Why are they attractive to you?

The women in the Salon Selective ad by every measure of society, and to myself as well. The little girl, the father figure.

38. Is there a "label" that you would use to describe the people in your ads?

The women in the Salon Selectives ad you'd almost want to say Yuppie. And in the Safeway, homespun, traditional.
39. **Does this ad remind you of situations that you have been in?**
   Did you enjoy them?

   Yes, the music in the Weight Watcher's ad makes me think of being on the dance floor, the Salon Selectives, waking up to face the day, coming out, hoping that you look good, dressed for success, that kind of ideal, and the Safeway ad, their embrace, with a loved one.

40. **Does this ad remind you of your childhood? How?**

   yes, the Safeway one.

41. **Does this ad reflect for you a personal outlook on life, or philosophy?**

   Yes, all of them, actually. Weight Watcher's how you have to strive to keep your life upbeat, keep yourself thin, to keep yourself attractive. Same with the Salon Selectives, that you have to work for success. Well, that's my own projection into the ad. What they are saying is that you don't have to work at it, that you can have it right out of the bottle, right? I would never buy that shampoo. Its kind of neat. The Safeway ad-again the feeling is above and beyond Safeway, because I know its this big multi-national company, I don't hold it in much esteem, but the whole projection of the images, what they are trying to create, the atmosphere they are trying to create is very attractive, one I can relate to.

Age: 20

Sex: Female

Profession: Student

Approximate number of hours of television viewing a week: 14-20
1. Who are the three people who have made the most difference in your life? Why?

A political science prof because he taught me to be critical of politics and his lectures were interesting and compared with other political science courses I took, his was the only one that took issue with the gov't; I have a lot of respect for him. He got into trouble with the government. But I have an awful lot of respect for him.

My paternal grandmother, she died a few years ago, but remember her as very kind and gentle; I don't think she ever yelled at me, and she had a wonderful cat and a very comfortable house.

A man I knew in New Zealand, and that's all I'm going to say about that.

2. What holiday and events during the year are most special to you, and why are they special?

Any long weekend. Actually the Folk Festival, because it is an opportunity to see people I haven't seen in a long time, and some of the people I've known for ten years. They are people that I worked with on my crew so you see the progression of their families - from no babies to six of them, and it's an enjoyable weekend because the music is great, and it's relaxing and the people you admire - you sort of become a groupie (laughs).

3. What are the things you do with your closest friends? How would you feel if you didn't have these friends? Do you wish you did more, or other things with your friends?

Eat, go to the movies, just enjoy their company. I wish we did thing that are less lethargic.

4. Would you say you are a religious person? Why?

To some extent - I follow the religion I believe in but I don't stick to it. I don't adhere to it strictly.

5. Do you participate in any clubs, organizations, or associations? Which ones? Do you see any other members outside of these meetings? (No. and frequency)

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<th>Org.</th>
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<th>See members outside?</th>
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<td>Student Committees,</td>
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Now? I'm trying to get in with the Edmonton Folk Festival, things mostly musically oriented, and politics.
6. Do you have any hobbies or collections? Why do you like these things?

I've been trying to collect jewelry from places that I go to so I have earrings and stuff from places that I've been. Also, pottery and clothes. I like them because I can put on my earrings from Hawaii and I can say "I got these at a really good sale and I got them in Hawaii," and they bring back memories for me. It's not like I just went to the Bay and got them for $1.49, although I would remember that too - but that they bring back memories. It wasn't like this when I started buying pottery, but now when I go some place, I try to look for something made by the local potters, and I notice things that are similar and different about them, which is sort of interesting.

7. If you had the time and money to do anything you wanted, what would you do?

I would plan a great big, round the world trip, where I wasn't in a rush to do anything. Even though I had the money it doesn't mean that I'd go the luxurious route. I think I would just go at my own pace and the way I would want to.

8. What objects do you own that you would describe as meaningful and personally significant?

The jewelry more so than the pottery.

9. Why are these objects "meaningful and personally significant" to you? ... So you would define "meaningful and personally significant as... (rearticulate)

I guess it goes back to that I can put something on and it reminds me of the place that I got it, or what happened there. It's sort of an ego thing to - when someone asks me where I got a broach I can say "when I was in New Zealand..." (laughs).

Selected Advertisements - General

10. Did participating in this study make you look at ads in a different way? How?

Yes, it made me more... when I was in television I watched ads carefully because I was involved in the production process and since getting away I just watched them like any average type person, so I watched them more carefully, although I do watch ads.
for their technical elements. So it did make me look at them more carefully, particularly, why is this significant to me, and I had a hard time finding any.

11. Did you notice the ads you have chosen the first time you saw them, or did they catch your eye after several viewings?

The Value Village and the Peak Freen yes, although I don't know whether it was because of the commercial or because I tend to like the Peak Freen series of commercials. I think their series of ads is really excellent. I think the New Zealand one, the Quantas (I'm not sure - that's telling isn't it?)...the first time I just heard it, I didn't really watch it. But the next time I watched it more carefully.

12. Do you normally attend to ads while you are watching T.V.? Is there a particular time you notice ads? A particular type of ad?

Yes. I don't think s. because I watch ads.

13. What kind of ads do you dislike?

That's easy. There is a commercial running now for Finesse Shampoo, or some kind of salon formula shampoo where these three women come out of their apartments and they say something like, your hair will look like this, and you know darn well that it's not going to. I mean like... So ads that are saying something and you know that it isn't true, when they stretch the truth. Some of the ads like for the Brick Warehouse. Sure they are memorable, they are made that way, but I find them more bothersome than anything.

14. What were the product brand names associated with the ads you chose to discuss today?

Value Village, Peek Freens, and Quantus, for New Zealand.

15. Do you feel that advertisements influence your purchases of certain products? Of certain brand names?

I don't think so. They make me aware that there are alternatives to what I am presently using. Price is what determines it for me.

16. What was the last ad that you can think of that prompted you to purchase the product it advertised? What was the brand-name?
When they advertise a sale on clothes or something, then I would make an effort to go to the sale, but that's all really. Its more that ads provide me with information about alternatives that I might not know about. It doesn't necessarily mean that I would go and buy the product.

17. What things make you happy?

Right now living by myself because it is really quiet. Sleeping in. I think because I have moved so many times I tend not to get attached to objects. Some of my pictures. I don't know if they make me happy but I am attached to them.

18. Are you able to acquire the things that you want? Do you feel that you would be better off with things you are not able to acquire at this time?

Not always. Well, I think if I had the money to acquire some things I would be happier, but that doesn't necessarily mean that I would be happier with the products. It would be nice to have the luxury to have the products.

19. What do you think the objects that you own say about you?

I guess that I am nostalgic, things remind me of things, like I have some jewellery from my grandmothers. Maybe that I have some style and that I don't like to spend money if I don't have to.

20. Would you like this to be different? How?

I would like to be able to afford high quality things

21. Do you see yourself as belonging to an identifiable group in society? Which one(s)? Would you like this to be different? How?

Oh probably, a low class yuppies. Yes I want to be an upper class yuppies.

Selected Advertisements - Specific

22. What did you first notice about this ads? What caught your attention?
1. I like the setting. You have the cute little dog. It's a comfortable setting and the way it is lit. I don't like the line you are what you eat, because that would make me not want to buy the cookie. It's a very comfortable setting to me, the overstuffed couch and the dog, it's just very comfortable. How could you not love the dog, especially wagging his tail. It has humour in it too. The dog looks so dopey.

2. I like this ad because it reminds me of my aunt. The hair colour, the glasses, and the way she is acting, she has a daughter who she is not really making fun of but imitating. I saw it a couple of times and I really liked the humour in it, then I noticed that she really reminds me of my aunt. Even just the way she acts. My aunt is heavy, although not that happy—that could be her in the commercial.

3. I've been there, I've seen that. I've been there. They are all scenes that I am interested in and remember. It's an interesting approach too, using the Koala bear, which is used to promote Australia, and the airline.

23. What kind of mood was created for you in viewing this ad?

1. The actor is very soft voiced, and the way it is set. I thought that was a comfortable looking ad. You sort of get the feeling that you could go into his living room and put your feet up on the table, he just wouldn't care, he'd be there with the fish and the dog and the Peak Freens.

2. Humorous

3. Sort of a quiet. I actually watched it to see what pictures they used. And there is a picture in that a friend of mine who is a photographer took a picture that is very similar to that. And I have a postcard of it.

24. Is this meaningful to you for any particular reason?

1. It reminds me of my grandmothers house

2. It reminds me of my aunt

3. I have been there

25. What are people doing in the ads that you notice? Are these things that you enjoy doing?

Yes eating (laughs). And the guy in the Peak Freen ad is sort of sitting around which is sometimes really nice. Not do anything. I try not to make fun of people (laughs). There really isn't anyone in the NewZealand ad.

26. Have you been in situations like the ones portrayed in these
ads? Where they pleasant or unpleasant?

Yes, in the Peak Freen ad being in the house; laughing with or at my aunt. And I was in New Zealand.

27. Do you see activities portrayed in ads that you haven't participated in, but would someday like to?

I'd like to be with that man (PF) (laughs). In his cute little dog and his fish - I know its awful (laughs).

28. What types of values and ideals do you think are expressed in the ads that you noticed? Do you feel these reflect your own? Which ones?

Sincerity in the PF's, just the way he is dressed very comfortably. How could you not trust this guy. He doesn't look like the type of guy that would sell you bad cookies. I don't think the others had what I would consider values. I'd like to think that (that value) reflects my own.

29. How is this ad meaningful and personally significant to you?

The Value Village ad was sort of a take off on Roseanne; she's sort of a popular character now. It was sort impressive to see someone promoting a store that wasn't all glitzed up, although I'm sure the lady tried. I think that's what attracted my attention at first, that they used a non-traditional type model. And I don't remember ever seeing still photos being used in ads before.

30. What is it about the ad that you were attracted to?

The guy in the PF ad is attractive, and the Value village lady - well, she doesn't appeal to me but, she reminds me of my aunt.

31. Is there anything about the (first, second, third) ad that you find particularly innovative or new?

No

32. Is there a particular person that appeals to you in this ad? Why?

33. Is this person doing something that you have done yourself
and enjoyed? Do you admire what this person is doing? Why?

34. Is this person doing something you would like to do, but haven't. What has blocked your way?

35. What kind of feelings do you have when you watch this ad?

   1. Warm, comfortable, relaxed.
   2. The humour, it gives me the feeling that I'm laughing at the lady I'm laughing with her. She is making fun of the daughter and making fun of herself.
   3. Nostalgic feelings. I was there.

36. What do you think makes you different from your peers?

   I think I am more of a loner than many of them are. I'm not sure whether that's accurate or not.

37. Are there people in the ads that you find attractive? Why are they attractive to you?

   Mr. Peak Freens

38. Is there a "label" that you would use to describe the people in your ads?

   Fun, Homey

39. Does this ad remind you of situations that you have been in? Did you enjoy them?

   Yes, enjoyable situations - the NewZealand ad, and the Peak Freens because it reminds me off my grandmothers house.

40. Does this ad remind you of your childhood? How?

   Yes the Peak Freens and the Value Village.

41. Does this ad reflect for you a personal outlook on life, or philosophy?

   Yes, the Value Village. We like to laugh at ourselves and other people too. I like a comfortable setting, nd I'd like to do more traveling.
Age: 32
Sex: Female
Profession: Grad Student
Approximate number of hours of television viewing a week: 30
1. Who are the three people who have made the most difference in your life? Why?

  grandmother - she was a great role model for a grandmother, she was very strong and involved, she had a very strong sense of family, but she had concern for other issues as well
  husband - for being a friend, instilling a sense of intellectual confidence that I wouldn't have before, and most of the time being an incredibly supportive individual. We've had to support each other both financially and emotionally at different times, through some hard times, it's just knowing there is someone there that you can argue things out with
  former professor - a sense of having someone that I could go and talk things out with. A very supportive person. A lot of it tied into mutually respect for what you do. Respect people as individuals - and the three have this.

2. What holiday and events during the year are most special to you, and why are they special?

  Christmas - it goes back to a sense of family. The sense that one should hold onto traditions, even if they don't fit into your lifestyle. To be together and share, not just presents but food and fun. And for me personally, it meant a lot to my Dad, and when he died Christmas kind of lost something, he really made it. For everyone it was a very special time. Again it came from his mother. It was a special time and this just sort of followed through.

3. What are the things you do with your closest friends? How would you feel if you didn't have these friends? Do you wish you did more, or other things with your friends?

  Talk and argue. I always think that if you can't argue with your best friends then...you don't have to look for consensus with your friends. With close women friends out for dinner and shopping. Just relax. For me it's most important to have friends that you can really talk to.

4. Would you say you are a religious person? Why?

  Not in the sense of organized religion.
5. Do you participate in any clubs, organizations, or associations? Which ones? Do you see any other members outside of these meetings? (No. and frequency)

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Always. I've noticed that when I'm not involved in some organization or cause I get really bored. Now I am involved with the (student organization). That's it for right now. I kind of go through cycles where I get involved and it takes a lot out of me and then I decide I have done my bit and move on to something else. But they tend to be similar, making people's lives better.

6. Do you have any hobbies or collections? Why do you like these things?

I collect elephants. Not the real thing. That's interesting too because I never realized why I was so enamoured with elephants until a couple of years ago when my mother sent me my baby cup, a little silver plated thing, and its got elephants engraved all around it. I had never thought of that. And I like plants. I like to know how to look after them. Elephants are really beautiful animals. And there are problems with elephants and I really feel for them. Right now in Africa... Their only natural predator is man. Some laws on poaching have been put in place, but it's created a problem because the herds are growing in size. You offset that with the people, and they want and need more land to feed themselves, so there is a really horrible problem happening. You still have poaching because the ivory is so valuable, and the problems that the farmers are having, so they are forced to slaughter a whole herd, which is amazing. But they are strong. When it comes right down to it they really don't want to harm anybody.

7. If you had the time and money to do anything you wanted, what would you do?

Travel - Ireland, I can't think beyond that. Not just a week or two but actually go and live there.

8. What objects do you own that you would describe as meaningful and personally significant?

A lot of little things that people have given me, friends and family, especially the things given to me by my grandmothers. That's always the significance of something that I hang onto. Its rarely something that I buy myself. If it gets broken or thrown out it doesn't really seem to matter, but if it is something from someone, like a tea cup or stuff from my grandmother...
9. Why are these objects "meaningful and personally significant" to you? ... So you would define "meaningful and personally significant as... (rearticulate)

experience connected with something. The relationship with my grandmothers, or a good friend. If a friend gave me something that I hate, I probably wouldn't give it away, I wouldn't even hide it away. It's the thought.

Selected Advertisements - General

10. Did participating in this study make you look at ads in a different way? How?

yes and no. I know a lot about the production of ads so I always tend to look at ads with an appreciation of the kind of work that goes into them. I separate this from whether or not I like the content. I tend to literally appreciate the kind of subliminal message that might go out in some kinds of ads. Even if it ticks me off. One ad that I hoped would come on the night that I looked for ads - boy could I talk about this one - was for hosiery say Dim, the one with the bull fighter. And I watched that one and my immediate impression was, "My God, where is MediaWatch when you need them?" But at the same time really appreciate what it takes to put something like that together and have a very overt message that is obvious to anyone - that is to sell the stockings, and underneath that trying to figure out who is the audience here and what are they selling - they are selling sex. An ad man years and years ago said that sex and kids can sell anything, and it disturbs me that there are women out there that will respond to that. It really disturbs me and it tells you a lot about me. I can't avoid the idea that there may be some truth to it. The whole thing, with the men sitting around the table makes me ill. But part of that - when I was talking about experience - I have studied Greek myths and I look at it one aspect of it from Greek mythology and that's where I go into it. Somebody doing that commercial has that background and they are using it to sell stockings. The minitour and Dionysian who served the God. (laughs)

11. Did you notice the ads you have chosen the first time you saw them, or did they catch your eye after several viewings?

12. Do you normally attend to ads while you are watching T.V.? Is there a particular time you notice ads? A particular type of ad?

I don't think I do consciously, Unless its really well done, whether I like it or not. Anything with cats I notice. Anything to make my cat happy. Mostly if I am vegging out in front of the T.V.
13. What kind of ads do you dislike?

I think some pay far more attention to trying to sneak an idea in. The ones for cars, and cat food, and Ikea - they are pretty standard in my mind. You have the product and a cute commercial. The car commercials I never look at. Unless you are really conscious of the symbolism, the colors and things like that, they are only offensive in that you wish they weren't there. But others, like the hosiery one, anything trying to sell specifically to women, they go beyond simply annoying me. They make me ill. Because they still feed into the stereotype, and regardless of whether there are women out there that feel that way I just feel that they continue to promote something that shouldn't be. Oh, selling aspirin to bring down a child's fever. Drives me crazy, because it's a product designed to mask what may or may not be going on with the child. If they have a fever and you immediately give them aspirin then you have no idea what's going on with the child.

14. What were the product brand names associated with the ads you chose to discuss today?

Bank of Nova Scotia, Otrivin

15. Do you feel that advertisements influence your purchases of certain products? Of certain brand names?

They certainly influence what I won't buy. It's hard to say. The cat food I watch because I have a cat and I love cats, and I am obviously always in the market for something different and something that the cat can eat that might be better for her. But the only influence that they do have on me is that I will go into the supermarket and pick it up to see if indeed I can buy it for my cat. Most of them I can't. If I'm bored with my present breakfast cereal I will pick it off the shelf to take a look at it and think "Oh this is the one that I saw" and I look at what it's made of. If it passes then I buy it.

16. What was the last ad that you can think of that prompted you to purchase the product it advertised? What was the brand-name?

Cat food - Fancy Feast. Gorgeous ad. I started to see the ads and they were cute, anything with cats is cute, and it occurred to me that it was probably too expensive because of the ad. That was set up by the ad. They are incredibly small cans, and I wouldn't buy it because even my cat isn't worth that, but I did pick it up to look at the nutritional information and discovered I can't feed it to her anyway, on a regular liked it,
but I did buy it once (and discovered the cat liked it. (laughs)

17. What things make you happy?

I don't know if objects ever make you happy. Some of the things I own that I talked about before - sometimes I'm physically oriented to just go and pick something up and it makes me happy and the orientation is to go and feel it. It holds good memories. Having a really good discussion with a friend or colleague, I go away feeling that that was worth while.

18. Are you able to acquire the things that you want? Do you feel that you would be better off with things you are not able to acquire at this time?

Not always. Not necessarily. Having my own home - I think about frequently, especially when things go wrong in my present rental accommodation, but then it occurs to me all the head aches that go into owning your own home, and it all gets associated with having the money to acquire the things that you don't have. And every once in a while I get introspective and think to myself "yah, but things ain't so bad right now" I have my husband and my friends and a family that cares. Its nice to have a new skirts once in a while. That makes me happy. (Laughs).

19. What do you think the objects that you own say about you?

That I am a pack rat. I get into discussions with my husband once every six months about cleaning up the file cabinet and I hate doing it because I always think someday this article might be useful. I don't know what that says, but... maybe tat I have a sense of tradition because a lot off the stuff I own is very old. But then if you saw my furniture that I acquired about 18 years ago I realize I get really settled with them. Maybe my tastes have changed, I get oblivious to what it looks like. I just look at a room and ask "is it comfortable?" Seriously, I look at a room and ask can people come in and sit down and be comfortable regardless of whether there is a rip in the back of the couch (that you can't see anyway) or that the old lady that lived in my house had terrible taste in wallpaper? And I talked to a really close friend and she said she feels the same way. That at some point it just recedes into the background and it never occurs to you that someone else might notice that its kind of bizarre too. I just like where I am living to be comfortable

20. Would you like this to be different? How?

no
21. Do you see yourself as belonging to an identifiable group in society? Which one(s)? Would you like this to be different? How?

over 40 (laughs). I think I'd be really surprised if people started telling me I belonged to this group or that because I don't. And I don't spend a lot of time thinking about it.

Selected Advertisements - Specific

22. What did you first notice about this ads? What caught your attention?

1. First I worked for the bank of Nova Scotia for four and a half years and I know it. I vetoed opening an account with the (organization she is affiliated with) because I refuse to deal with them. I don't care if they are convenient. None of the banks impress me for having worked with one and also having dealt with them. They are in business to make a profit like any other corporation and the whole focus one the customer...well they don't really care about you.

2. There again, I've had personal experience with Otrivin. And when ever I hear the word I just think of pain. I've had to use it on occasion because I have an ear problem when I'm flying. I was told to try it. First of all it isn't work that well and then I didn't even really need it. But it is very very painful. It is an especially strong, strong solution and it just burned my sinuses. And never have done this before- sitting down to watch the ads for a specific purpose, I never noticed how many of the same kind of ads are on in one evening. This is the worst one because its the one I've had the worst experience with, but there is a hold series of them with different brand names that all deal with sinus congestion. I have problems with the nasal sprays. A few years ago they came out with studies of how addictive they were. It just annoys me that there is one more thing that pharmaceutical companies can make money off of. And we do rely far too much on these things.

3. This one just makes me smile. The grandparents and children. It has very little to do with the cereal. What I do like about it is the promotion by one of the big food outlets that it is more nutritious than CornFlakes, but I haven't pulled it off the shelf to look at the actual sugar content. But there is another one, the same kind of cereal that has been out for years and years and not promoted, I suspect that if I took them both off the shelf that one would have a far lower sugar content, so I'm trying to figure out..who they are selling this to, if its to kids and it has a high sugar content it isn't good for them. You just create another situation for the kids to get addicted to more and more sugar buying this stuff that they like because there is a high sugar content, not because it is good for them. But over all, the commercial is kind of neat because it deals with the family thing. Its pleasant and it makes me feel good,
yet on another level they are using this whole thing about parents and grandparents and family and not necessarily for a product that is good for you. I like the European setting.

23. What kind of mood was created for you in viewing this ad?

   1. Anger
   2. It doesn't make me angry it just makes me wonder about that kind of promotion.
   3. A nice pleasant mood.

24. Is this meaningful to you for any particular reason?

   1. I worked for it and I hate the corporation.
   2. I've had to use this product, so it was an experience.
   3. Probably an experience that I've had - either a direct experience or wishful thinking.

25. What are people doing in the ads that you notice? Are these things that you enjoy doing?

   Playing on swings. I still enjoy that. (laughs) That's an interesting question. I never really thought about what they were doing because I just shut off. I notice the family.

26. Have you been in situations like the ones portrayed in these ads? Where they pleasant or unpleasant?

   Certainly in the first. I don't have children but things don't change, family picnics and stuff. I've lived in the country. So even though I haven't had the European experience the warm sunny days, the feeling of family sitting around and eating.

27. Do you see activities portrayed in ads that you haven't participated in, but would someday like to?

28. What types of values and ideals do you think are expressed in the ads that you noticed? Do you feel these reflect your own? Which ones?

   I'm not sure about the Otrivin. The other two family. I'm not sure about the differences between the ScotiaBanking and the Muslix. The ScotiaBanking is very American, the typical young family, playing on the swings everyone having a good time. The Muslix one I don't get the impression they are the people who own the fields so much as they represent the peasantry. That's why I
keep coming back to the European feeling, they could be the owners, but that's the association with the food - that good food comes from the regular ordinary working people. Good solid European peasant stock. Which interestingly is part of what appeals to me in the ad because of the peasant stock in me. I believe in basic food.

29. How is this ad meaningful and personally significant to you?

30. What is it about the ad that you were attracted to?

Not attracted to the first two, the third because of the way they put the ad together. The lighting, whole emphasize on good nutritious food, all the generations, from little kids up.

31. Is there anything about the (first, second, third) ad that you find particularly innovative or new?

no

32. Is there a particular person that appeals to you in this ad? Why?

I liked the idea of the integration of everyone in the last ad.

33. Is this person doing something that you have done yourself and and enjoyed? Do you admire what this person is doing? Why?

34. Is this person doing something you would like to do, but haven't. What has blocked your way?

35. What kind of feelings do you have when you watch this ad?

1. anger 2. I never want to hear it again 3. warm sunny pleasant.

36. What do you think makes you different from your peers?

Which peer group? That's a tough one. If I looked at students in general, when I run into people that don't have the same sense of political involvement as I have. I do have this. Age sometimes, sometimes I am really conscious of this. It doesn't bother me but sometimes when I have arguments with people that are really younger I am conscious of the fact that I have
years of experience that count for the way that I feel, but I try very hard not to think of it as being better. With people in my same age group, most are students so I don't feel there are alot of differences.

37. Are there people in the ads that you find attractive? Why are they attractive to you?

The older people, if I was to really push it, it might occur to me that there is a connection with my grandmothers.

38. Is there a "label" that you would use to describe the people in your ads?

no

39. Does this ad remind you of situations that you have been in? Did you enjoy them?

The ScotiaBanking, but I probably wouldn't have noticed the swinging when I watched the ad

40. Does this ad remind you of your childhood? How?

The Scotia banking, again.

41. Does this ad reflect for you a personal outlook on life, or philosophy?

Not the first two. Obviously the Muslix one must, somehow. The family. I have to admit that for the sometimes hard political line that I take on things that there is always this romantic I can't seem to get rid of. I wish more of us were like that. Just involved in the family before anything else and have a healthy life.

Age: 40
Sex: Female
Profession: Grad Student
Approximate number of hours of television viewing a week: over 30
Advertisement Viewing Habits

1. Who are the three people who have made the most difference in your life? Why?

   my fiance - she showed me how to be more aggressive
   my mom - she always taught me to be nice to my enemies

2. What holiday and events during the year are most special to you, and why are they special?

   There used to be few, like Christmas, get together with the whole family, and there were the gifts, but now that I've grown older it just becomes another day, at least for now. Maybe later on we'll get that back. There are key events in my lifetime—like when I graduated from college and got my certificate of academic studies, that was important. When I got to speak for the Rotary Club in Ottawa in grade 12. I met with Trudeau. I was the top salesman for a company and they gave me a trip to Venezuela and I got an award. When I was in grade 7 I won an award for being the most improved student, and I won an award for making a film. These are things that are to me important because things like New Years and Easter are not really important to me. For me, these are important to me.

3. What are the things you do with your closest friends? How would you feel if you didn't have these friends? Do you wish you did more, or other things with your friends?

   I like to talk. What I find most enjoyable with my friends is having debates and discussing things, getting into good discussions. For that reason, over the years I've restricted my acquaintances with people, because there are a lot of people that you can't talk to. That would be the most important thing I like sharing with other people. The second thing I guess is just socializing. Yes, especially now that I am in school it is difficult doing things. They feel left out or I feel that I am leaving them out. Before went back to school it seemed like everyday we were doing things. Now I never see them. A good friend of mine that I've had for over ten years, I have only seen him two or three times over the last few years. We would go out drinking or other things to do. Just things to spend time together. One thing that I should point out is that I hate sports. So I would not go to a game or play a game or join a team.

4. Would you say you are a religious person? Why?

   Good question. I believe in God but I have my reservations about the Catholic church. But at the same time, I surprise
myself how bound I am to the church. there have been occasions where I have gone into a church and its like I get the sensation that I am doing something very wrong and I have to get out of there. Someone might ask me to go to their church and I usually refuse. Its kind of like a given. I'm catholic. But I rarely go to church.

5. Do you participate in any clubs, organizations, or associations? Which ones? Do you see any other members outside of these meetings? (No. and frequency)

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6. Do you have any hobbies or collections? Why do you like these things?

I like music. I play the guitar. I have this thing of mine that I want to do, because of my family history. Its very difficult to find out who is who and what is what so before I die anyway I want to set up a family tree to determine where my origins come from. And I guess I find as I grow older its more important to me to know, to build a tradition. To make it more institutionalized. To say this is who I am, this is where I come from, to have a good understanding of my environment. That's something that is always on my mind, to try to figure out how to approach this. Other than that school takes up all off my time. I enjoy writing, I guess its like a hobby. When I have to write a paper, I enjoy going to do the research and writing it. I like it.

7. If you had the time and money to do anything you wanted, what would you do?

Probably make more money. A dream of mine is to die a corporate man. I guess I've been, very early, seduced by the sense of power. I used to have a Political Science professor, big black man, who used to start the first lecture talking about power. And he would say that one of the key to politics, and he used to say POW-er. When he would write it on the board you would sense that he was about to break the chalk when he wrote the word. So I guess that is everything that goes along with being a corporate man, having the sense of setting directions, of being able to be the one who sets the agenda. So if I had the time and money I would probably invest it in future development. And then I would travel around the world.
8. What objects do you own that you would describe as meaningful and personally significant?

My computer. I love organization. It sort of demands to be organized. My guitar, because it is the opposite, it allows me to let out my artistic freedom, its the opposite of being a rigid organized, disciplined person. And pictures, photos and stuff of the past, my parents when they were young and my grandparents. To get back to my dream of being a corporate man before I die, where I come from there is the whole notion of power. In Chile and South America it is very obvious the people who have power and those who don't. So its almost a struggle to gain some sort of power. Plus before I left you would see people in uniforms, shooting guns. I guess it had an impact on me.

9. Why are these objects "meaningful and personally significant" to you? ... So you would define "meaningful and personally significant as... (rearticulate)

Hmm, how would I find a computer meaningful. I guess that the things that are meaningful to me are things that gratify my own, as opposed to gratify someone else. My term papers are meaningful. Some of them I get good marks in, so I guess its kind of an egocentric thing. I like reading them and looking at the mark and it's my creation, mine -you know what I mean? You get a sense of power and control... this is what I did, and anything that give me that kind of feeling is meaningful to me. Sometimes I get into trouble, like when I talk to my fiance, I don't really listen to what she is saying, but I demand attention when I am explaining something that is mine, and I guess its the way I've been brought up that the man is more important than the woman but the other thing is that for me, anything that constitutes meaningfulness is something that ha a direct sense of gratification.

Selected Advertisements - General

10. Did participating in this study make you look at ads in a different way? How?

What's made me look at ads in a different way is two thing, one when I became a sales person for a company for a few years my mind was sort of channeling toward ways of getting people interested. And so from that point on, back to '85, I'd go through them and think "oh, that's great, that's fine, that's really good" and be critical. And the other thing is classes in communication, which further channels my attention, but because of this particular study, no.
11. Did you notice the ads you have chosen the first time you saw them, or did they catch your eye after several viewings?

The ones that I enjoy watching I noticed right away. I liked the Dentine one at the beach, ClubMed (saw them at theatres) and Pepsi. I also like the British Airways ads, really high production, the first time I saw it I thought it was an ad for "Close Encounters of the Third Kind, ll", and the other one was the Conan the Barbarian. Those were really good. And the Apple Computer one.

12. Do you normally attend to ads while you are watching T.V.? Is there a particular time you notice ads? A particular type of ad?

I don't sit there looking for ads, but if one catches my attention, and I see it coming on, then I'll watch it.

13. What kind of ads do you dislike?

I hate detergent commercial. There is nothing to them, they don't entertain me. I know they are selling a product but they don't entertain me. Everything seems to be a put on. Car ads, the odd one I enjoy but most I can do with out. And the "lets go out and ask the people" ads. I guess that's why I hate detergent ads. I hate those. (switches to ads he likes) I liked the old Army and Navy ads where they would catch the people coming out of the store and ask them if they shopped at Army and Navy. Anything seductive. The Dentyne ad, where there is quick clips, it keeps your attention. It makes me tune into them a bit and ask "what's happening here, lets try to figure this out." Those are the ones I like the most.

14. What were the product brand names associated with the ads you chose to discuss today?

15. Do you feel that advertisements influence your purchases of certain products? Of certain brand names?

No, I find that my criteria for buying products is not based on ads, but it represents something for me. For example, a car. The ideal car for me would be a Mercedes Benz. But it is something that goes along with the image that I wish to attain, rather than the ad on T.V., although you never see ads for Mercedes Benz on T.V. anyway. But the brand names and stuff-no. Sales people, when I go in and they say "This is great quality" or relatives or friends, but strictly for the ad, no.
16. What was the last ad that you can think of that prompted you to purchase the product it advertised? What was the brand-name?

The only thing, and again this isn't really because of the ad but the sales they have at the end of the year. But that has become a bit of a tradition. It's not because of the ads. No.

17. What things make you happy?

My own success. Pictures.

18. Are you able to acquire the things that you want? Do you feel that you would be better off with things you are not able to acquire at this time?

Yes, I think that's because I realize that with patience comes all good things. So to acquire it when I want it, no. But eventually. Yes, but again I like to consider myself a practical person. I set my goals in terms of what I can achieve, within a certain period of time and not set impossible goals. I have 5 year plans, I'm finishing the first and that was to complete university, oh, and the other was to go to Chile, and I have accomplished those two. I don't set goals that I can't achieve, so that if there is something that I want, I know that it may not be within my immediate plans and I don't get frustrated.

19. What do you think the objects that you own say about you?

I would like them to say that I am mature, in the sense that I am the type of person who respects other people's point of view and am very patient, tolerant, smart, that would be the word. (How do your objects say this about you?) Well my glasses, they were a conscious purchase. Usually it's the way I dress when I go out. In the school environment it's very casually, I try to base all of that on my behaviour rather than on objects, things that surround me.

20. Would you like this to be different? How?

No

21. Do you see yourself as belonging to an identifiable group in society? Which one(s)? Would you like this to be different? How?

I find myself in a state of transition from one who wants to change the world and make it a better place to live; refuses to
see exploitation, so on and so forth, which constitutes about
half of me, and the other side, which is becoming the dominant
one is the type who recognizes institutions in society, respects
them, know that the are a force, but understands that the only
way to achieve anything is to enter and work with them from
within. Not knocking on the door outside.

Selected Advertisements - Specific

22. What did you first notice about this ads? What caught your
attention?

(Note - because I was not able to tape his choice of ads, I
chose 3 ads randomly to discuss)
1. (B.C Tel - Got a Friend-Young Woman) superficial - I wouldn't
sit down and say this is a good ad
2. (Budweiser) -
3. (Air Canada - Executive Class) I like this one. Visually its
interesting. You don't know what is happening and then all of a
sudden you see the whole office lift into the air. Its neat. It
plays on the image of what I would like to obtain. Also that
mystic music in the back. The whole atmosphere, that this is
something of tradition, you really get a sense of this.

23. What kind of mood was created for you in viewing this ad?

I could walk right past them. They had no impact on me at
all. The Air Canada ads is something more in-depth. You go
(sighs).

24. Is this meaningful to you for any particular reason?

Nothing meaningful in the first two ads. The third, it
describes what I'd like to be.

25. What are people doing in the ads that you notice? Are these
things that you enjoy doing?

Nothing caught my attention in the first two ads. The
third, I guess what really catches my eye is to see the guy
behind the desk and he gets up and walks toward the window. I
don't even pay too much attention to her coming in. Its just tat
particular scene of him looking out over the world.
26. Have you been in situations like the ones portrayed in these ads? Where they pleasant or unpleasant?

The second definitely not. In the first the lady is sitting reading something and the dog comes up behind her. It's very peaceful. That's the only thing I remember.

27. Do you see activities portrayed in ads that you haven't participated in, but would someday like to?

The third ad. His being able to be an executive behind the desk, taking off.

28. What types of values and ideals do you think are expressed in the ads that you noticed? Do you feel these reflect your own? Which ones?

   1. Family, keep in touch.
   2. Good times, superficial. Have a beer with your friends.
   3. Institution, its very symbolic, managing it, tradition, patience, the whole image of this person slowly getting up. Success.

29. How is this ad meaningful and personally significant to you?

   1. Its not meaningful because I don't really have that kind of closeness. It doesn't really relate to me. The connection isn't there.
   2. Its the type of lifestyle that I wouldn't follow. Wild parties. There's no connection to that.
   3. Its where I want to be. Its the kind of image that I admire.

30. What is it about the ad that you were attracted to?

31. Is there anything about the (first, second, third) ad that you find particularly innovative or new?

Nothing in the first two. In the Air Canada, the whole thing. The office lifting into the air.

32. Is there a particular person that appeals to you in this ad? Why?

   the corporate man.

33. Is this person doing something that you have done yourself and and enjoyed? Do you admire what this person is doing? Why?
34. Is this person doing something you would like to do, but haven't. What has blocked your way?

35. What kind of feelings do you have when you watch this ad?

The third one... this is probably exaggerated now, but to a lesser degree when I watch that ad, its like listening to an inspiring piece of music and that whole sensation that goes along with it. I guess now that I think about it when I watch, maybe to a lesser degree, but it is there. It inspires me.

36. What do you think makes you different from your peers?

My practicality, my patience.

37. Are there people in the ads that you find attractive? Why are they attractive to you?

Again, the corporate man in the Air Canada ad.

38. Is there a "label" that you would use to describe the people in your ads?

39. Does this ad remind you of situations that you have been in? Did you enjoy them?

40. Does this ad remind you of your childhood? How?

Not really

41. Does this ad reflect for you a personal outlook on life, or philosophy?

Those surrounding the "corporate man"; Responsibility, institution, and tradition.

Age: 20

Sex: Male

Profession: student

Approximate number of hours of television viewing a week: 10
1. Who are the three people who have made the most difference in your life? Why?

My mom and my stepfather - because of their values and their way of being, their way of bringing us up. They are always very open and we are open to do what we want to do. They have their own beliefs, but we are welcome to choose the way we want. They are really open to what ever we want, although they will tell us what they think. Another person would be my best friend from high school because she was always a best friend. It was a different kind of relationship. We were always very different, but together we could do anything.

2. What holiday and events during the year are most special to you, and why are they special?

I like Christmas because I get to go home and be with my family. And there is a thing we have at home called Sea Capers where you go back and your whole high school is there and everybody that you have ever known.

3. What are the things you do with your closest friends? How would you feel if you didn't have these friends? Do you wish you did more, or other things with your friends?

We talk alot and just go out and be crazy. Just being wild, not having any barriers, just having a really good time, we don't really care what other people are thinking about us, we're just having a good time. So what if we look weird, we're enjoying ourselves. We'll do everything, we'll sit in my room all night and have a hoot or go out shopping. Not really, because I have such a range of friends and I have all different opportunities to do things.

4. Would you say you are a religious person? Why?

I don't follow a strict religion, but I'm not an atheist or anything.

5. Do you participate in any clubs, organizations, or associations? Which ones? Do you see any other members outside of these meetings? (No. and frequency)

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I participated alot in highschool but here I don't have as much time. I'm on the residence union, and I usually play volleyball. I usually do as much as I can.
6. Do you have any hobbies or collections? Why do you like these things?

I guess you could count my T-Shirt collection. (laughs) I have about 45 t-shirts. I guess my hobby could be playing volleyball. I guess I like t-shirts because they are comfortable and no matter where you go you can always pick up a t-shirt. I buy them wherever I go.

7. If you had the time and money to do anything you wanted, what would you do?

I'd travel. I'd get some of my friends and just go anywhere. I'd like to go the Egypt some time. I've already done a fair bit of traveling, but I'd also like to go to Scandinavia.

8. What objects do you own that you would describe as meaningful and personally significant?

I have little things that people have given me. Like a teddy bear my mom made when my sister was born, and pictures, I have a lot of pictures. The bring back memories of close friends. The things are often left behind from friends when they leave they leave behind little things, symbols of them, I guess.

9. Why are these objects "meaningful and personally significant" to you? ... So you would define "meaningful and personally significant as... (rearticulate)

Something that brings back memories, something that effects you. It can bring back memories, it can make you think about things.

Selected Advertisements - General

10. Did participating in this study make you look at ads in a different way? How?

Well I chose two of the ads just because I really liked them. It made me look at ads more, because I found that when I was doing this I had to remind myself to watch them because I don't really pay attention to them that much.

11. Did you notice the ads you have chosen the first time you saw them, or did they catch your eye after several viewings?

The Foster's one I noticed before, and the others I hadn't noticed before.
12. Do you normally attend to ads while you are watching T.V.? Is there a particular time you notice ads? A particular type of ad?

no.

13. What kind of ads do you dislike?

The ones that tell you how to be a better person. Like "you are not a good mother if you don't buy this diaper brand. Ads where the people talk funny, Like the one where the guy comes on and says "if you are in a motor ve-hic-al accident.." Where people look strange and they don't seem to fit in.

14. What were the product brand names associated with the ads you chose to discuss today?

Foster's, the movie "Mississippi Burning" and Juicy Fruit Gum.

15. Do you feel that advertisements influence your purchases of certain products? Of certain brand names?

I guess they do, but I usually buy the cheapest thing on the shelf. Sometimes I'll see it and think "yah, I saw this on T.V., but it doesn't necessarily mean I'd buy it. If I had more money I might buy them. The brands I buy I have usually heard they are good, or Mom buys it, so I'm not sure. If its a new product, I might try it once.

16. What was the last ad that you can think of that prompted you to purchase the product it advertised? What was the brand-name?

no

17. What things make you happy?

My friends and family, when I'm healthy and happy. When I look at pictures I get happy, but other than that...

18. Are you able to acquire the things that you want? Do you feel that you would be better off with things you are not able to acquire at this time?

Most often. No not really.
19. What do you think the objects that you own say about you?

They probably say that I'm a happy, easygoing person and I don't get too caught up in things. Cause I have a lot of just crazy stuff in my room, like a jumping frog and frogs that stick and birds that peck. That I'm a pack rat.

20. Would you like this to be different? How?

No, I'm happy how I am.

21. Do you see yourself as belonging to an identifiable group in society? Which one(s)? Would you like this to be different? How?

Not really. I can see myself not belonging to some groups, like the one at home we call the "buffy" group, the hippie types. We've always called them Buffs, they aren't really hippies, they are 80's type hippies. And the heavy metal, punk rockers.

Selected Advertisements - Specific

22. What did you first notice about this ad? What caught your attention?

1. They are just out there having a good time, the gum didn't really affect me, it's just a bunch of friends together having friends. I've tried skiing before.
2. You see just a bunch of people not really caring what other people think about them. You got the girl with the teddy bears all over her, and the guy making fun of the Army sergeant when he walks by. I love this scene. It's typical of my friends, just going down the street not caring about what people think.
3. This one I found very powerful because it makes you look at what this movie is supposed to be about. What was happening. The way it snaps on, the drum beat in the background. It's more of a powerful thing; it makes you look and think about it, what was happening, making people more socially aware, like this is where we come from.

23. What kind of mood was created for you in viewing this ad?

1. Happy, we're outside having a good time.
2. Another happy, we don't really care.
3. Subdued, shocking. It brings you down.
24. Is this meaningful to you for any particular reason?

Not really, its just meaningful because of the images. That's for the first two. The last is meaningful because it really made me stop and think about society.

25. What are people doing in the ads that you notice? Are these things that you enjoy doing?

1. They are out having a good time skiing, and skiing is something I'd like to do better.
2. They're just being themselves, that's what I like to do just be myself.
3. Nothing here I'd like to be doing (laughs).

26. Have you been in situations like the ones portrayed in these ads? Where they pleasant or unpleasant?

The Juicy Fruit one, and the Fosters, yah. That's just me and my friends.

27. Do you see activities portrayed in ads that you haven't participated in, but would someday like to?

Not really

28. What types of values and ideals do you think are expressed in the ads that you noticed? Do you feel these reflect your own? Which ones?

1. Foster's; its I am me and what you think of me is none of my business.
2. Not sure there are any in this one.
3. Its showing you what people's values used to be. The segregation, and Racism.
   The Foster's one. Not the Mississippi Burning one (laughs).

29. How is this ad meaningful and personally significant to you?

They are meaningful because the first two show me my friends and I aren't unique. There are other people out there like us. And the Mississippi Burning shows you what was happening.
30. What is it about the ad that you were attracted to?

1. The attitude in the ad. Everyone having fun.
2. The Foster's, the first time I saw it I thought it was a milk commercial. I guess it was the music and the attitude.
3. It was the sound track and the images, the beating in the background.

31. Is there anything about the (first, second, third) ad that you find particularly innovative or new?

Not really. Every loves the Foster's one. I guess its kind of new because it has people that are in funny situations.

32. Is there a particular person that appeals to you in this ad? Why?

not really

33. Is this person doing something that you have done yourself and and enjoyed? Do you admire what this person is doing? Why?

34. Is this person doing something you would like to do, but haven't. What has blocked your way?

35. What kind of feelings do you have when you watch this ad?

1. good, happy, same for the second.
3. its a very different. shocking, sit down and watch this and be quiet.

36. What do you think makes you different from your peers?

I guess one thing is that I like to be an individual. I don't like to go into a certain clique or group. I am me. And alot off people like to be like the group. I don't mind being with the group, but if I don't want to follow something, I won't.

37. Are there people in the ads that you find attractive? Why are they attractive to you?

They are good looking people, that all.
38. Is there a "label" that you would use to describe the people in your ads?

Crazy people (laughs). In the Foster's you have your wrestlers and your bar bunch, and you have the geeky guy (I love his ears) and then your construction workers and gang at the end.

39. Does this ad remind you of situations that you have been in? Did you enjoy them?

the skiing, and the Foster's, the end scene when they are walking down the street.

40. Does this ad remind you of your childhood? How?

Yes

41. Does this ad reflect for you a personal outlook on life, or philosophy?

yes, that you can be who you want to be, and let's have a good time, as long as you don't hurt anyone

Age: 20

Sex: Female

Profession: student

Approximate number of hours of television viewing a week: 15