Constructing the Environmental Spectacle: Green Advertisements and the Greening of the Corporate Image, 1910-1990

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Within the advertising community and within parts of the environmental movement, the "greening" of corporate consciousness has been touted as evidence that environmental concerns are general in nature and affect all social actors equally. Moreover, this same phenomena has been cited as evidence that market-based solutions to environmental problems are possible. A proliferation of "green advertisements" is cited as evidence that businesses will respond to any increase in consumer demand for more "natural" or "environmentally friendly" products. The increase in the number of such ads is construed to reflect a healthy process of de-centralized market-based adjustments to new environmental imperatives. This paper challenges these allegations. Using a survey of over 500 newspaper and magazine advertisements from the periods 1910, 1930, 1950, 1970 and 1990, the paper argues that the use of natural imagery by business to sell products is nothing new, and that corporations and advertisers have always attempted to associate their products with

those elements of the natural world viewed as beneficial in the eyes of a majority of the consuming public. What the survey does reveal as "new" in the 1990s is the desire of companies to create corporate images which are environmentally friendly or benign. This contrasts sharply with efforts to construct or manipulate public images of business from earlier decades which were more likely to associate business with the "leading edge" of consumptive, nature-defying, modernity.

The Corporate Construction of the Environmental Spectacle[1]

The sociological content of the real and the natural has long been noted and analyzed.[2] The actions of government, of individuals, of groups and of nations to deal with the environmental crisis are all equally effected by the perceptions each holds of the natural world and the relations existing between it and society. How the natural world is perceived is a social construction, subject to changes in social consciousness and to manipulation by those social institutions and interests Enzenberger has labeled as the "consciousness industry."[3]

The exact contours of this "industry" are debatable. Some, like Lefebvre, Marcuse or Foucault, would argue that the ideological legitimation of social relations is embedded in the structures and discourses of each and every society and extend from the largest to the smallest social relations and institutions.[4] Others argue that only specific social entities and actors are involved in the reproduction of social relations and dominant or paradigmatic discourses. Some focus upon the educational system,[5] or the reproducers of the prevailing aesthetic sensibility in terms of both critics and creators.[6] Others focus upon the means of communication and look especially hard at the nature of the media and the role of advertising in the creation of mass culture and mass consciousness in the modern era.[7] While not delving into the larger question of the effects of advertising on popular consciousness or examining the complex interactions which exist between this and other systems of cultural reproduction, this paper assumes that advertising, at minimum, represents an attempt by a powerful social actor—business—to manipulate and alter popular sentiments and beliefs to its advantage.[8] While it may not always be successful in this endeavor, there is no question that billions of dollars are spent in the belief that the public spirit can be bought.[9]

Advertisers are involved in the construction of social realities and, even more so, in the construction of social spectacles.[10] These spectacles or realities so constructed have taken different forms and

have utilized different metaphors and differing analogies drawn
between corporations, their products, and popular beliefs. In the
contemporary period, one such spectacle has been constructed around
the environment and ecology in the form of the "greening of the
corporation" and the development of green advertising.[11] This
"greening" process is thought to have originated through a
combination of corporate and public self-interest. It is argued that
corporations are responding to changes in consumer tastes and must
adapt to meet the new market for environmentally friendly products,
a process which also opens up new markets for new products and
thus represents both a challenge and an opportunity for business.[12] It
also is argued that corporations have developed a new environmentally
protective ethos in order to offset the increased demand from the
public for more effective regulation of environmentally sensitive
industries by promoting their image as responsible corporate citizens.[13]
Regardless of the putative causative factors at work, it has been
nowhere established that this "greening" has actually occurred. Even
more significantly, no one has established that this is indeed a "new"
or "recent" phenomena. In fact, our longitudinal survey reveals that
very little has changed in the use of nature to sell products, and since
at least 1910, businesses have consistently attempted to associate their
products with aspects of the natural world. They have done this by
creating analogies between their products and "nature," by appeal to
the "natural" properties of their products, by using natural objects
symbolically, and by forging product identities through close
association with animals or other natural objects.

　　　　While little has changed in terms of product association with
nature and "the natural," in the case of corporate image advertisements,
there has been a major shift since 1970. During the past twenty years
companies have begun to portray themselves as nature's caretakers:
environmentally friendly, responsible, and caring. This has resulted
in the use of more scenes from nature to promote companies such as
Alcan, Dow, and Alcoa, and an almost total elimination of the factory
and machinery visuals which were standard fare in the corporate
image ads of the 1950s. Some corporations apparently advertise in
this way in the hopes that negative associations (aluminum smelters
with polluting emissions, for example) can be at least muted.

　　　　Others apparently wish to picture themselves as "friends" of
the environment in order to share in current public approval for
environmental causes. In a 1991 advertising campaign Ramada
International showed a woodsy outdoor scene superimposed upon a
hotel interior. The caption beneath the picture explained that Ramada

employees sought to preserve the earth's resources. This rather strained association provides a good example of a shifting aesthetic. In this case what a business feels is attractive to potential customers is not only service, comfort, or modern convenience, but also some vague assurance that their employees share an environmental sensitivity with a larger public. This also reflects a general disenchantment with progress and modernity on the part of the public and a growing tendency for business to now associate itself with a "post-modern" public sensibility.[14]

At present, businesses choosing to portray themselves as "friends" of the environment generally do so using pastoral imagery with their smokestacks well out of sight. This is a trend which has its beginnings in the 1970s. Before that time, industries, investment companies, and other businesses used factory scenes to inspire confidence in a company's ability to produce and progress. Hewitt-Robins, Goodyear, and General Electric all used ads during the 1950s showing massive projects which visibly transformed the landscape. By 1970, industrial plants and factory smoke were associated with pollution, and businesses began aligning themselves with environmental concerns. By 1990 factory images were clearly negative ones, and the emphasis on "saving the environment" had produced overall a "kinder, gentler" corporate image comprised of children, flowers, birds and trees. Alcan's 1990 ads picture quiet, residential streets or a slice of apple pie, while the Canadian Nuclear Association shows a child's hand holding a green leaf. Clearly, neither wishes to be entirely associated with "modernity" and all of its technical, industrial and scientific trappings. Such an approach is an attempt to minimize public perceptions of a "problem." Alcan stresses the fact that aluminum is recyclable and is thus a type of renewable resource, while the Canadian Nuclear Association points out that the nuclear industry uses "uranium to produce electricity without causing acid rain or adding to the greenhouse effect."

It is important to make a clear distinction here in terms of corporate image ads and ads which promote a service or a product. What our survey found in essence was a movement away from technological imagery towards natural imagery when the ad was attempting to promote a corporation. In such ads, business is clearly not associated with environmental problems: furthermore, great efforts are made to portray business itself as "natural" as flowers, animals, and children. This is a significant difference from advertisements of the 1930s and 1950s when corporate image ads made frequent use of nature-defying technology.

As far as product advertisements are concerned, there is little evidence for any new "greening." A wide variety of products now as in the past are promoted by association with positive images of nature. Exceptions to this are special products which are advertised as "cures" for certain natural hazards, and which in the process might use images of a "hostile" nature. Such products include tires, cold medicine, hay fever pills, paints, and sealants. An additional, somewhat novel exception, has also emerged recently in respect to those who sell "environmental services" and the idea that environmental problems can be solved through the application of new technologies. Problem-solving is still very progressive and modern, at least in terms of advertising imagery. For example, Stone and Webster portray computers and sewage disposal systems and point out that they offer a "unique blend of engineering, scientific, project and construction management capabilities" to their customers. A Pulp and Paper Industry of Canada advertisement shows a group of scientists in white lab coats as well as a chart of the dioxin molecule. The thrust of the two-page spread is to show how advanced research sponsored in part by the pulp and paper industry will solve the problems of dioxin contamination. Unlike the approach taken in the Alcan advertisements, the pulp and paper advertisements stress the fact that it is through a thoroughly modern approach, using advanced scientific research and technology, that the "environment" will be protected. Such ads, however, are in the minority, as are advertisements which use negative images of nature to sell a product.

Methodology/Database Description

The database utilized in the study records the contents of print advertisements found in popular North American magazines in the years 1910, 1930, 1950, 1970 and 1990. Pertinent information detailing the media source, readership, and circulation was recorded for each advertisement along with information on the advertiser, the product advertised, the intended target of the ad, and the symbolic and imagic content of the advertisement itself.[15] Although the issues were selected at random from the years and journals isolated, only those ads which included some kind of figurative or illustrative representation of some aspect of the natural world were analyzed. An effort was made to accumulate approximately 100 ads from each decade with greater representation given to advertisements from 1990. This greater representation was made to accommodate two concerns: this is the decade about which most claims of the "greening" phenomena have

been made, and the choice reflected the fact that since 1970 the trend for advertisers to "target" different audiences in different specialized magazines has accelerated. (Surprisingly, this variety in terms of audience targets did not result in significant variations in terms of an overall positive use of natural imagery to sell products. Car advertisements in *Time* or climbing shoes in *Sierra* rely equally on positive images of nature as a means to sell a product.) Fewer advertisements were included from 1910 since most observers place the commencement of the modern era of mass advertising either during or after the First World War.[16] All of the figures presented in the Tables below have been culled from this database.

The number of ads selected for content analysis in each year and the newspaper, journal, and magazine sources of the ads are indicated in Table I below.

TABLE I : DATABASE CONTENTS BY DATE PERIOD

	ADVERTISING SOURCES	TOTAL ADS
1910	*Ladies Home Journal, Atlantic, Busyman*	43
1930	*Macleans, Atlantic, Time, New Yorker, Ladies Home Journal, Chatelaine*	98
1950	*Atlantic, Macleans, New Yorker, Time, Chatelaine, Newsweek*	105
1970	*Atlantic, Newsweek, Macleans, Chatelaine, Sports Illustrated*	99
1990	*Time, Macleans, Atlantic, Explore, Campus Canada, Independent Energy, Utne Reader, Canadian Geographer, Leisure, Economist, Sports Illustrated, Ladies Home Journal, Natural History, The Science Teacher, Canadian Defence Quarterly, Chatelaine, Family Circle, Stratford Beacon Herald, Coupon Clipper, Science and Children, Ski Canada, Toronto Star, Globe and Mail, Environmental Science and Technology, Canadian Musician, World Development, l'Actualite, Reader's Digest, Garbage, E Magazine, Seasons, Business Quarterly, Harvard Business Review, Equinox, Sierra, Buzzworm*	155
		TOTAL 500

SOURCE: Michael Howlett and Rebecca Raglon, *Green Advertising Database*, 1991

The first question addressed in the study pertains to the novelty of "green" advertising. Adherents of the "greening" hypothesis assume that utilizing natural or ecological images to sell products is a relatively new phenomena; that is, one which has appeared and escalated in use within the last two decades. Such a view has been used as "proof" of a growing societal concern for the environment, and more contentiously, as "proof" that business has the flexibility and wherewithal not only to respond to the crisis but to provide leadership and solutions.[17] As the data presented in Table I illustrated, however, this is not the case. Advertisers have been associating their products with natural images and symbols virtually since the inception of mass print advertising.

Some argue that it is not simply an association with nature which is new, but rather the use of positive associations. That is, it is possible for advertisers to argue that in the past either products were shown overcoming natural deficiencies or consumers were urged to use a product in order to create "naturalness." What is new in the "greening" process is an effort on the part of advertisers to no longer compete, but rather to "collaborate" with nature. A closer look at the ads, however, again reveals that this is not the case. Advertisers in the past made appeals to both the "natural" aspects of their products, and also made claims that their product improved or enhanced nature. The same sorts of appeals are still made today.

Data on the positive and negative associations with nature found in the survey sample are provided in Table II below. As the figures show, the percentage of advertisements utilizing positive natural imagery has remained quite constant since 1930. Thus, the development of "green" advertising in itself cannot be considered to be a recent phenomenon, either purely in terms of the frequency of appeals to nature or in terms of the positive tenor of those appeals. While there is some evidence that the number of appeals to positive aspects of nature has increased since 1970, the percentage of such positive appeals has always been very high. It is interesting to note this steadfastness in the positive presentation of nature, particularly when content surveys of advertisements suggest an overall increase in "negative appeal" advertising occurred during the early 1920s.[18] Such steadfastness, indeed, suggests that nature has long been associated with positive feelings, at least in the North American context.

TABLE II
IMAGERY AND TYPE OF ASSOCIATION 1910-1990

Total Natural Image Ads		% Positive	% Negative
1910	43	100	0
1930	98	90	10
1950	105	93	7
1970	99	87	13
1990	155	99	1
TOTAL	500	94	6

SOURCE: Michael Howlett and Rebecca Raglon, *Green Advertising Database*, 1991

Selling Nature and the Natural

Elements of nature have long provided humans with the symbols and metaphors that have helped order and explain the world, and these symbols and metaphors are extraordinarily resilient, long-lived, and in some cases at least, seem even to transcend specific cultural and linguistic borders. Some theorists speculate that such symbols and metaphors derive purely from custom, and thus are quite fanciful, while other suggest that there is a structural explanation. The cultural use of natural symbols challenges the idea that there is ever "one" nature humans gaze upon.[19] Those concerned with relativism are more likely to emphasize structural underpinnings. In either case, however, it is fairly evident that metaphors drawn from nature are extremely long-lived, slow to change, and readily understood. Even in an urban setting, for example, barnyard metaphors and similes still abound (he acted like a pig) long after direct experience has been severed. In a survey of half a dozen ancient and modern European languages, Norrman and Haarberg concluded that certain natural objects are always understood in the same fashion regardless of cultural and linguistic diversity. Wherever curcurbits are grown, for example, they have always been associated with humor and fertility.[20] There may be a dozen different ways to say "cucumber," but given the physical properties of the vegetable, it is always associated with coolness.

　　　　Certain associations are well known in literature: youth is associated with springtime or age with winter. Children are frequently symbols of innocence while flowers speak of love, death, resurrection and in the case of the lowly daisy, "freshness." Rocks are steady, sands shift, water refreshes and purifies, and so on. The point here is

that natural symbols and metaphors are among any culture's most easily understood ones. That does not mean that they are necessarily "correct" or "uni-dimensional"—the "rock" which can symbolize great strength and steadiness can also symbolize death and destruction to a ship at sea—but it does suggest that metaphors drawn from the natural world tend to be long-lived and their meanings widely accessible. Because they are so accessible, it is not surprising that advertisements make frequent and steady use of them. For example, a mountain peak is used to represent a "challenge" in an ROTC recruitment ad and for the same purpose in a variety of sporting goods advertisements. Children are often used as natural symbols for innocence and trust, and as a shorthand for family responsibility. Water is another way of conveying "freshness," while wide-open spaces (particularly in car ads) speak of "freedom." Sometimes product associations are based upon long-standing folk wisdom about nature, as when the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce likens the growth potential of franchise investments to the breeding potential of rabbits, and Continental Bank plays with the idea of a "nest egg."

While these instances of specific uses of images to convey specific messages are plentiful, by far the majority of the cases involve something more amorphous, that is, the desire on the part of the advertiser to create an association in the minds of the consumer between a product and some pleasant experience of sensation. The association between sexual imagery and various products is well known and well documented, but less has been done in terms of similar associations made between consumer goods and the natural world. In some cases use of natural imagery to sell a product is straightforward: leisure clothing meant to be worn outdoors is pictured in that setting. In the vast majority of cases, however, the nature/ product relationship is dubious: tobacco, cigarettes, cars, alcoholic beverages, feminine napkins, even companies producing high-tech products have sought to associate their products with the natural world. Nature, like sex, is almost universally appealing, and has been used to sell almost everything at one time or another.

Because nature, for the most part, is viewed in a positive light by most consumers, it should not be surprising that many advertisers have sought to associate it with their products by whatever means they can. So not only do advertisers use the well worn "language of nature" when they show a daisy next to a woman's shaver, they also attempt to associate their products with natural beauty by simply placing them within a natural setting. In addition, advertisers have also long made appeals to the consumer based on the "naturalness"

of their product. In this case advertisers seem to be insinuating that their product is an actual part of nature. Food and food products especially have always been extolled for natural freshness, flavor, purity, and goodness. The Banana Grower's Association makes the point in a 1930s advertisement that bananas are a "natural food." Iceberg lettuce promotes "radiant health" and "youthful vigor" according to the Western Growers Protective Association. Quick cooking Wheatena is made from wheat as "nature made it" while Baker's coconut "is the distilled essence of the tropic sun, itself." In 1910 the Burnham and Morrill Company advertised canned codfish "fresh from the ocean to you" while Heinz Ketchup assured readers it was "nature's best." The appeal to natural taste, natural goodness and purity has remained consistent throughout the century. This is also the case with women's beauty products. While beauty aids such as lipstick were not in wide use in 1910, a peachy complexion still required Craddock's Blue Soap or Ivory Soap which was 99 and 44/100's per cent pure. Mascara, eyeshadow, lipstick, and hair coloring have always been promoted on the basis that they can provide a "natural" look.

Thus it can be seen that green advertising is not a "new" phenomena, and as such, should not be interpreted as part of businesses' "response" to environmental problems. There are certain variations in the content of the ads which shed light on the problematic relationship between consumerism and the natural world, but placed within this context, the idea of the "green" product can be seen to have a long history. In fact, greening may be nothing more than another step in a long, on-going process which seeks to convince the public that a world composed of consumer goods is "natural." Here there arises a subtle but very real difference: in the past, consumers demanded products which were "natural" because they were construed as beneficial for humans. New urbanites wanted to be reassured that the food on the table was as fresh and wholesome as what they had eaten on the farm. This persistent demand for "natural" goodness could be interpreted as a last-ditch effort on the part of people radically separated from nature, to forge some sort of link with the natural world, no matter how meager. So nail polish is described in terms of earthy autumn tones and hair dye brings sunlight to the hair. This is certainly familiar terrain. Now, "natural" refers not only to products for humans, but has been extended to include "green" products which are supposedly good for the earth itself: toilet paper, detergents, and cloth shopping bags. Given the close relationship between the concept of "naturalness" and consumer products, it should not be surprising to find that what is "natural" has become an ever

expanding field. Aluminum, plastics, gasoline, and yes, even pollution itself is now part of the new green world depicted in recent advertisements. Mohawk leads the way towards an "environmentally friendly" gasoline, Candu reactors preserve and protect nature, and in the ultimate irony, disposable diapers are transformed into soil enhancers which are good for trees.

Corporate Image Advertising

While green product advertising is not new, not all advertisements sell products. Some, of course, sell the companies themselves. How have these "corporate image" ads fared in the "greening" process?

Although companies have always attempted to foster "goodwill" through community sports sponsorships, charitable donations, and the like, they have resorted more and more frequently to the use of paid advertisements to promote their images, interest, and views since the early 1960s.[21] Although the use of corporate image ads attempting to portray companies as environmentally friendly or responsible was noted by the early 1970s,[22] as the figures in Table III show, this phenomena was increasing in the 1950s and continued to increase in the 1990s.

TABLE III

INCREASES IN CORPORATE IMAGE ADVERTISEMENTS
1910-1990

	Total Ads	% Products	% Corporate Image
1910	43	93	7
1930	98	89	11
1950	105	71	29
1970	99	73	27
1990	155	71	29
Total	500	77	23

SOURCE: Michael Howlett and Rebecca Raglon, *Green Advertising Database*, 1991

The reasons companies undertake corporate image advertisements are manifold and extend to appeals directed towards employees, prospective recruits, the financial community and prospective investors, consumers and members of the public, or

governments and prospective regulators.[23] In the modern era, large scale corporate image advertising is usually undertaken in the effort to offset adverse social or political movements which threaten long-term corporate autonomy or profitability.[24] Here, of course, the reality of the phenomena of "green advertising" emerges from behind the hype. It is not especially directed towards new green products and green markets, nor simply towards a new green corporate goodwill. Instead, it should be seen as green advocacy advertising; with large companies attempting to convey their sense of environmental responsibility and their capacity to deal with existing environmental problems without additional government regulations.[25]

Evidence of this motivation can be gleaned from a more detailed analysis of the content and images utilized in the 117 corporate image ads contained within the survey sample. As the information presented in Table IV suggests, substantial shifts in corporate images have occurred not because of a new "green" interest in nature. Rather the new corporate image has been constructed by distancing business from industrial, technical, or scientific imagery. Companies who continue to use such imagery are marketing themselves as problem-solvers, using a time-honored, progressive, modern ethos to illustrate their capacity to deal with environmental problems. By far the most characteristic approach of the past twenty years is to assert that there is no problem, and one of the ways of doing that is to suggest that the corporation and its products are helping to make the world a more "natural" place.

The shift in some of these images also suggests some underlying shift in concerns: pastoral scenes were the preferred nature images during 1930 and again in 1950. By 1970, however, wilderness preservation and endangered species were "environmental" issues and corporations responded by picturing themselves as friends of the wilderness. The increase in stylized, fragmented depictions of nature used in the 1990s reflects attempts to make the most general and neutral statement possible about the range of concerns known as the "environmental crisis."

TABLE IV

CHARACTERISTICS OF CORPORATE IMAGE ADVERTISEMENTS
1910-1990

	Number	% With Positive Imagery	Predominant Aspects of Nature Employed
1910	3	100	Wild or Pastoral Animals (Stag/ Sheep)
1930	11	73	Pastoral Water Scene (Ocean/ River)
1950	31	87	Domesticated or Semi-domesticated Animals (Birds/ Cats/Horse/Cow)
1970	27	83	Jungle or Forest Habitat/ Ocean or Polar Scenes
1990	45	100	Stylized Animal/ Plant Depictions
TOTAL	117	90	

SOURCE: Michael Howlett and Rebecca Raglon, *Green Advertising Database* , 1991

Conclusion: Consumerism, Mass Culture and Nature

This study has investigated the phenomena of "green advertising" and the "greening of the corporate consciousness" in contemporary North America. It has focused on the study of print advertising as providing an archival record, or artifact, of shifts and changes in popular culture and business attitudes. It has uncovered evidence of significant continuities and significant changes in the efforts of a powerful social actor—business—to associate its products and itself with positive popular evaluations of natural phenomena.

The study underlines an important methodological aspect of the study of the social construction of meaning and the construction of social, political, and cultural spectacles. That is, as Edelman pointed out in the context of his analysis of contemporary American politics, an historical perspective is required to avoid a fascination with the glare of the present and discern the hand of powerful social actors behind manipulations of its interpretation.

For the observer...who focuses upon historical change rather than the kaleidoscope of publicized events, there is far less in the most widely publicized political language than meets the ear or the eye. While most political language marks little change in how well people live, it has a great deal to do with the legitimation of regimes and the acquiescence of people in actions they had no part in initiating.[26]

As the present work suggests, this is no less true of interpretations of nature and the environment than it is of interpretations of more obviously social activities such as elections and political campaigns. The study has revealed the extent to which any "greening" of business and society has involved not products, as those coining the terms have alleged, but rather corporate images. As the historical record of twentieth century print advertising revealed, companies have always attempted to associate their products with whatever positive attributes of nature existed in consumer's minds. The study also revealed the extent to which business in contemporary North America is now attempting to portray itself as a responsible, environmentally friendly, citizen.

Edelman has argued that attempts by a powerful social actor to alter interpretations of its actions and its public perception will involve the attempt to re-legitimate its self-interest through association with popular symbols and icons. The historical survey carried out above provides evidence that this is indeed the case with the environmental spectacle. As Eder and Offe have argued, an interest in long-term environmental sustainability has emerged in popular culture.[27] The environmental spectacle, to a great extent, is the manifestation of the desire of corporations to legitimate their activities by aligning themselves with this element of the popular consciousness.

[2] See Peter Berger, *The Social Construction of Reality* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1966), Neil Evernden, *The Social Creation of Nature* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1992). More generally, see George Lichtheim, "The Concept of Ideology" in History and Theory 4(1) 1964 pp. 165-195.

[3] Hans Magnus Enzensberger, *The Consciousness Industry on Literature, Politics and the Media* (New York: Seabury, 1974).

4 Henri Lefebvre, *Everyday Life in the Modern World* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971); Herbert Marcuse, *One Dimensional Man* (London: Abacus, 1964) and Michel Foucault, "History, Discourse, and Continuity" in *Salmagundi* 20, 1972 pp. 225-248.

5 Pierre Bourdieu, *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture* (London: Sage, 1990) or Jean Francois Lyotard, *The Post-Modern Condition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984).

6 Theodore Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory* (London: Routledge, 1984); Peter Burger, *Theory of the Avant Garde* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984); or Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction* (London: Routledge, 1984).

7 Marshal McLuhan, *The Mechanical Bride* (New York: Vanguard, 1951); W. Leiss, S. Kline and S. Jhally, *Social Communication in Advertising* (Scarborough: Nelson, 1990); Mike Featherstone, "Lifestyle and Consumer Culture" in *Theory, Culture and Society* 4, 1987 pp. 55-70 and Stuart Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness* (New York, McGraw Hill, 1976).

8 Charles Sandage, *Advertising Theory and Practice* (Homewood: Dorsey, 1979) and Wolfgang Haug, *Critique of Commodity Aesthetics* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1986).

9 Harold H. Marquis, *The Changing Corporate Image* , (American Management Association, 1970) and Stan Sauerhaft and Chris Atkins, *Image Wars: Protecting Your Company When There's No Place to Hide* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1989).

10 Murray Edelman, *Constructing the Political Spectacle* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988). For a history of the idea of commodity as spectacle see Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle ,1851-1914* (Standford: Stanford University Press, 1990).

11 B.E. Klein, "The Selling of the Green" in *D&B Reports* Sept-Oct, 1990 pp. 30-33 and William K. Reilly, "Business and Environment 1984" in *Vital Speeches* April 1984 pp. 380-385.

12 See Joseph M. Winski, "Green Consumer: Concern for Environment No Fad" in *Advertising Age* Sept. 24, 1990 p. 24.

13 See Ted Schrecker, "Resisting Government Regulation: The Cryptic Pattern of Business-Government Relations" in R. Paehlke and D. Torgerson eds., *Managing Leviathan: Environmental Politics and the Administrative State* (Peterborough: Broadview, 1990).

14 On the controversial concept of "post-modernism" see Charles Jencks, *What is Post-Modernism?* (New York: St. Martins, 1989); Jurgen Habermas, "Modernity Versus Postmodernity" in *New German Critique* 22, 1981 pp. 3-14; Joseph Margolis, "Postscript on Modernism and Post-Modernism Both" in *Theory, Culture and Society* 6, 1989 pp. 5-30; and Frederic Jameson, "Post-Modernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism" in *New Left Review* 146, 1984 pp. 53-92.

15 For discussions and work utilizing similar sampling methodologies see Sut Jhally, *The Codes of Advertising* (London: Routledge, 1990) esp. Chapter 5 and Erick Howenstine, "Environmental Reporting: Shift from 1970 to 1982" in *Journalism Quarterly* 40, 1987 pp. 842-846. More generally, see O. Holsti, *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities* (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1969).

16 Christopher P. Wilson, "The Rhetoric of Consumption: Mass-Market Magazines and the Demise of the Gentle Reader, 1880-1920" in R.W. Fox and T.J.J. Lears eds., *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History,1880-1980* (New York: Pantheon, 1983) pp. 39-64; Mason Griff, "Advertising: The Central Institution of Mass Society" in *Diogenes* 68, 1969 pp. 120-137; Stuart Ewen and Elizabeth Ewen, "Americanization and Consumption" in *Telos* 37, 1978 pp. 42-51; and Raymond Williams, "Advertising: The Magic System" in R. Williams, *Problems in Materialism and Culture* (London: Verso, 1980) pp. 170-195.

17 This view is frequently examined by both critics and boosters of "green consuming. See for example, Debra Lynn Dadd and Anne Carothers, "A Bill of Goods?: Green Consuming in Perspective" in Christopher Plant and Judith Plant eds. *Green Business: Hope or Hoax?* (Philadelphia: New Society, 1991); Liz Levy, "Caring for the World is a Going Concern: Environmental Protection as an Advertising Theme" in *Marketing* 16, 1989 pp. 9; Sharon Begley, "The Selling of Earth Day: Marketers See Green in the Greening of America" in *Newsweek* March 26, 1990 pp. 60-61; Anonymous, "The Greenest of the Green" in *Marketing* March 28, 1991 pp. 22-23; and the special issue of *Advertising Age* January, 1991 on "The Green Marketing Revolution".

18 D.B. Lucas and C.E. Benson, "The Historical Trend of Negative Appeals in Advertising" in *Journal of Applied Psychology* 13(4), 1929 pp. 346-350 and Ewen pp. 35-39.

19 Marjorie Hope Nicolson, *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory: The Development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite.* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1959).

20 Ralf Norrman and Jon Haarberg, *Nature and Language: A Semiotic Study of Cucurbits in Literature* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980).

21 On the rise of corporate image advertising see Philip Gold, *Advertising, Politics, and American Culture: From Salesmanship to Therapy* (New York: Paragon House, 1987) pp. 131-138 and James G.

Gray, *Managing the Corporate Image* (Westport: Quorum Books, 1986) On the development of corporate advocacy advertising see S. Prakesh Sethi, *Advocacy Advertising and Large Corporations: Social Conflict, Big Business Image, the News Media, and Public Policy* (Toronto: Lexington Books, 1977) esp. pp. 7-56.
22 See Charles E. Ludlum, "Abatement of Corporate Image Environmental Advertising" in *Ecology Law Quarterly* 4(2), 1974 pp. 247-278.
23 See George A. Flanagan, *Modern Institutional Advertising* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1967) and Harold H. Marquis, *The Changing Corporate Image* (New York: American Management Association, 1970).
24 Sauerhaft and Atkins, *Image Wars: Protecting Your Company When There's No Place to Hide* (New York: John Wiley, 1989) and John W. Riley and Marguerite F. Levy, "The Image in Perspective" in John W. Riley ed., *The Corporation and Its Publics: Essays on the Corporate Image* (New York: John Wiley, 1963) pp. 176-190.
25 In Sethi's classification scheme, this kind of advocacy advertising is that in which the sponsor's identity is exposed but not its immediate interests in the subject of the advertisements. See S. Prakesh Sethi, *Handbook of Advocacy Advertising: Concepts, Strategies and Applications* (Cambridge: Ballinger, 1987).
26 Murray Edelman, *Constructing the Political Spectacle* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988) p. 106.
27 See Klaus Eder, "The Cultural Code of Modernity and the Problem of Nature: A Critique of the Naturalistic Notion of Progress" in J. Alexander and P. Sztompka eds., *Rethinking Progress* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990) and Claus Offe, "Challenging the Boundaries of Institutional Politics: Social Movements Since the 1960s" in Charles Maier, ed. *Changing Boundaries of the Political* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) pp. 63-105.