Design and Ethics:
Rationalizing Consumption through the Graphic Image

by

Leslie F. Becker

B.F.A. (The Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art) 1969
M.A. (University of California, Berkeley) 1997

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Committee in charge:

Professor Jean-Pierre Protzen, Chair
Professor C. Greig Crysler
Professor David Vogel

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Abstract

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Graphic designers make goods and services visible to a general public through images that produce desire, obliterate the ability to distinguish between want and need, often seduce the viewer into making an unnecessary purchase, and influence the identity of the consumer. It is argued here that although the recent environmental crisis is a crisis of excess in goods, it also is an excess in images that announce and promote these goods. The goal of this work is to make the designer responsible for honest representation, to learn what constitutes an honest image, and to learn how to evaluate the integrity of the image.

This project examines what graphic designers know, how images develop in relative isolation, and how they behave in circulation to produce consumer desire. Design has understood its ethical responsibility mostly as a material problem in terms of sustainability. This research confronts the role of the image itself as a significant instigator in that creation of excess. Young women were interviewed to determine the effects of images upon them. Images that depict a responsible corporation (especially

socially, environmentally, or philanthropically) were selected to determine what corporate responsibility *looks* like, what behaviors may be hidden by the image, and what designers need to do to create responsible representations. This will require that designers make images that do not misrepresent or mask questionable corporate behaviors. Images that depict a responsible corporation too often reinforce public perceptions of either what the corporation is most invested in, or what the corporation most needs to manage. The best way to instill a sense of responsible representation, or what I am calling corporate *visual* responsibility, is to embed the vetting of what constitutes ethical imagery within design pedagogy. After evaluating several methods of ethics, a method is recommended that is a hybrid of recent iterations of communicative ethics and casuistry, a case-based method. The broader goal is to integrate into design practice enquiry about the justness of representations in popular culture as these images are being developed and to have designers understand that their ethical responsibility is intrinsic to the images they produce.

This work is dedicated to my mother and my children,
but it is really for my grandchildren.

CONTENTS

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conscious and conscientious than mine has been, and I thank them for the joy that they have brought into my life over the long haul that is this project.

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Leslie Becker
Berkeley, California

Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Images and Excess

This project defines ethics for graphic design and develops a method of ethics to query the integrity of an image as it can be understood from its initial, internal life within the design process to its external, public reception. This requires development of the ability to decipher what it means to create an ethical image by using an efficacious method to evaluate the image. During the last decade of the twentieth century, the AIGA (American Institute of Graphic Arts) devoted a noticeable amount of time at their national conferences to discuss the question of design and ethics. Those who participated in the discussions had a sense of ethics that took the form of moral purpose and outrage. They did not reveal, however, either what constituted ethical knowledge or what it was specifically about the role of the designer that should point to a particular way to conceive of ethics within design practice. Most notable was the view that designers need to be concerned about the byproducts of their work, a thoroughly material focus and one that might be expected from a profession that routinely feeds artifacts to material culture. The questions that troubled graphic designers seemed to grow from an increasing public awareness that too much paper is being used along with the chemical components in inks that were identified as posing environmental hazards. Designers made images that were printed on papers, mostly ephemeral in use, and ended up in dumps. Defining what constituted ethical behavior for the graphic designer was understood as having been addressed adequately through the use of soy inks and environmentally responsible paper specifications. At first this seemed to be a logical, physical solution to what was perceived of and identified as a physical problem.

It is argued in this project, however, that through its combination of clever words and distinctive images, graphic design manipulates its audience. If it is reasonable to assume that much of the current environmental crisis is a crisis of excess, it is also reasonable to include designers in the culpable population because designers are heavily responsible for the production of desire in the consumer culture that feeds the production of excess goods. The image itself, irrespective of where it resides (paper or screen), should be interrogated as culprit.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

This project argues for a kind of ethical responsibility on the part of designers very different from one that results from the material byproducts of the profession. It is based upon the position that the power of the image taken both individually and perhaps even more importantly in concert, one with another, is the basis for the formation of values that ultimately contributes to less-than-responsible behaviors among a consuming public. The integrity of the image, particularly for what and how content is represented, rests upon the shoulders of the design practitioner. Despite its general impermanence, the work of graphic design needs to be viewed as having social and economic significance because its material manifestations are quantitatively substantial, qualitatively influential, and omnipresent in popular culture.

This work attempts to situate graphic design work within an ethical framework that relates directly to what graphic designers produce: images. Contemporary graphic design may be in a more productive tension with social disciplines[1] than the traditional discipline of art history. Graphic design typically lives in popular culture and simultaneously engages its audience linguistically and visually, relying heavily upon the orchestrated synergy of word and image. Insistent and persistent graphic images in popular culture—designed artifacts and design(ed) ideologies—insinuate themselves on the culture at large. The products of graphic design activities, however, responsible for the majority of images one sees on a daily basis, continue to be marginalized by the social sciences and mostly ignored by the newer programs in visual studies that grew out of art historical studies. James Elkins notes that these new programs are hard to define despite recent efforts to do so.[2] This project needs to be viewed in part as an argument for graphic design to develop its own scholarship if, for no other reason, than the discipline's significant social and cultural impact.

Borrowing from traditional art historical theorization of the image is at least partially problematic for design because of the distinctly unpredictable ways in which designed images live multiply in commercial culture. Easily reproduced, easily appropriated, and often having agendas that support and encourage consumer activity, the graphic design image is ephemeral and (generally) not "sanctified" by the voice of authority, the voice that universalizes artifacts often displayed in museums and has been challenged as essentializing in the writings of theorist Mieke Bal.[3] Yet popular, graphic images order a way of being/conforming/performing in contemporary culture and are under-represented in scholarship. This work addresses the ethical component of the graphic image. It asks what it means to make an ethical representation. What ought the designer know about the client to avoid collusion in a (mis)representation? What sorts of techniques are responsible ones to use when creating an image that has a fair degree of known artifice embodied within the image and words? What is the designer's responsibility to understand corporate behaviors that may be masked, either carelessly or intentionally, by its carefully constructed image? Simply stated, the designer must entertain the following critical self-evaluation: "Whom or what am I making look good?" and "How am I doing this?" This work is intended to reveal how and when such questions may be entertained, initially as a method that is integrated into design pedagogy. The ultimate goal of this work is that it is intended for routine integration into design practice, facilitated by the exposure to ethics during one's design education.

1.3 Some Background on the Interest in the Image

Materials, though important in the production of graphic design work, have never occupied a position central to what the profession did. Graphic designers typically and increasingly have been interested in the nature of the images and the power of the communications they designed. Although many graphic designers who shared an interest in design and ethics evidenced the best intentions and motives, little serious investigation has transpired into the questions surrounding what it means for design to be ethical. The physical detritus that results from conducting the business of graphic design, including concern for proper disposal of the increasing multitudes of outdated computer technologies and peripherals upon which graphic designers have become so dependent, seems to remain an ethically sufficient focus of concern for most of the profession. Despite the heavy pedagogical emphasis on concept development particularly in the recent work of graphic designers, the image itself seems to have resided in an ethical blind spot. So while the focus of designers has shifted to conceptual and even strategic thinking, the involvement of graphic design with the issue of professional ethical behavior has not looked at ethics beyond its non-material implications for design. This work is intended to bring to the center of the relationship between design and ethics that which has been central both to pedagogy and practice: the image, or what designers refer to uncritically as effective communications. During the earlier moments of environmental self-reflection, the question of whether or not the design was worth the paper upon which it was printed would arise—though it was not usually answered, or even asked, in a critical way. The worth of the image, as understood by the design community, seems dependent upon its ability to seduce a visually over saturated audience through its cleverness, uniqueness, or pure visual starkness.

Although this project examines the contents of the image as the topic for ethical enquiry rather than design's material attributes and lifecycle, this work is not intended to minimize the environmental ramifications of what graphic design produces. Rather it is intended to query, and perhaps recast, the consumer-focused image itself as contributor to the current crisis, especially when it has been applied in advertising campaigns and strategies created by graphic designers. Most consumers have been primed by images before making purchases.

Following an exploration of ethics in graphic design and methods of ethics as a formal inquiry, the project looks at the relationship between images and influence on the development of individual identity and how the image in popular culture contributes significantly to the production of desire. The image here is understood as affecting the ways in which identity is formed through an ongoing obliteration of the distinction between want and need. Young women, as historically defined in theoretical writings on the gaze, have long been the object (and subject) of attention. Mixed with images of celebrity unreality, vast networks of co-marketing, and image bombardment in a variety of media, the image(s) take on a coercive, value determining nature.

Although created in relative isolation within design practice, once in circulation, graphic images work in concert with innumerable other similar images, creating and perpetuating an urgency to consume. Concurrently, serious messages about the precarious state of the environment are evident, inescapable, and insistent in news media. More recently, messages of environmental concern are embedded within messages that simultaneously, yet paradoxically, urge the viewer to consume.

Many large corporations that continue to manufacture the products that are largely responsible for the environmental problem have had years of experience in presenting a controlled, corporate persona to the public. Early efforts (since the early-to-mid twentieth century) resulted in corporate identity programs that guaranteed uniform applications of corporate signatures, the controlled relationship between the corporate symbol and its identifying typography. What corporate identity programs are currently deemed to lack in spirit and visual personality now may be thought of as having been compensated by their high legibility. The clarity of typography, simplicity of logo imagery, and the consistent application of the two formal elements made literal reading easier than many contemporary graphics influenced by postmodernism and computer technologies. After the heyday of corporate identity in the mid-to-late twentieth century, and as more and more products were manufactured, sophisticated branding strategies evolved making the formal, legible signifiers of a corporation insufficient. Although the goals of the corporation have always been focused on profit (selling more products or services), branding claims to identify a corporation's "look and feel" in the hope of having an anthropomorphizing effect and projecting a distinct "personality" on the consumer's perception of a company and its products. As news stories about the depletion of the ozone layer cohabit with images that coerce the consumer to acquire more, the corporation appears to have had to reinvent its visible persona as a "caring" and "responsible" entity and provide a consuming public with visible evidence of its benevolence. Corporations have responded to the urgency of environmental and human rights problems by representing themselves as ethical, responsible citizens. As a result, the "branding of ethics" through carefully constructed images and words has become central to the way in which a public is meant to perceive the contemporary corporation as a responsible and concerned entity. This branding may assuage consumer guilt and perhaps, more importantly, the corporate guilt that in some instances is designed to obscure less than responsible behaviors although there is no real evidence that marketing a corporation as responsible enhances profits. As identity has been subsumed by branding and co-marketing strategies, corporations re-position themselves as caring-while-profitable institutions. Half-century old identity techniques have been used to wrap social responsibility into highly visible core values of the corporation.

The use of strategies and tactics to preserve and increase the consumer impulse begs the central ethical questions for graphic design. What constitutes responsible representation? This question has become increasingly pressing as corporations and their brands rush to present themselves as socially responsible citizens. This project addresses analyzes a select group of corporate images and offers a method to query what lies behind the representation. How the corporation presents itself visually and textually with respect to discrepancies between its internal behaviors (the concern of CSR, or Corporate Social Responsibility) and the external visualizations of products, goods, and/or services is a question of concern to anyone involved in the production of images tied to corporate profits. Focusing the question more sharply requires one to ask, what constitutes Corporate *Visual* Responsibility?

1.4 Research Method

1.4.1 Investigating Methods of Ethics

The initial work in this project required an investigation of several methods of ethics to begin to determine the possibility of developing a method, or a combination of methods, that might be applicable to the pragmatic requirements of the practice of graphic design. This means that the method needs to be both teachable and learnable within a relatively concise time frame and cannot be based upon extensive, formal knowledge of analytic philosophy. Other criteria for choosing a pragmatic method include the applicability of methods given the religious and cultural heterogeneity in the populations who would be exposed to, and expected to employ, these methods.

1.4.2 Examining the Seductive Image

The image is examined in two distinctly different ways: the image at the site of its production and the image at the sites of reception. First, an investigation of the internal life of producing an image is looked at through how design has been taught in western cultures since the mid-twentieth century; how corporate identity has operated; and how branding has evolved. Secondly, the image is understood from the points of its reception in popular culture. This includes how it is understood both singularly and in multiplicity, as a socially reinforced commercial message.

The examination of several genres of primary sources was involved in the research. A large group of images that may be categorized as seductive, consumer-based images in popular culture (ranging from print advertising to motion-based images) were collected and evaluated singularly and collectively as sources of pressure to consume and conform. Images included in this category were considered to have power over individual and/or group identity formation.

Interviews were conducted to determine how the identity of the viewer of images is formed in response to the images, along with the level of the circulated image to determine how it affects the recipient/consumer. Image repetition creates a reading of "factuality" and normativity, placing image producers in positions of power. How viewers respond to images is revealed in interviewee comments. Both desire to consume and the ability to affect one's identity are seen as possible, and not necessarily unrelated, responses to the image. Images are understood as a necessary component of a system that maintains the consumer trajectory of urban modernity and capitalism. Most graphic design practice is itself a business and, as such, part of a larger commitment to capitalism. The work here is intended to open a particular space for negotiating the ethical effects of that practice within a capitalist economy.

As a means to verify this influence of graphics upon the identity of the designer's audience, a group of twenty young women between the ages of eighteen and twenty-eight years of age were interviewed. They were located through a series of emails (and one chance encounter in a store) that were sent to a variety of colleagues and businesses, resulting in secondary and some tertiary referrals. Most of the interviews were conducted face to face, but a few were conducted by phone. The purpose of the interviews was to determine the nature of the response to contemporary images of women produced in magazines (although in some cases television and web ads were cited), to assess the pressure these young women felt from these images, and to learn whether or not certain images were viewed as offensive or problematic in some way. The interviews also helped to determine if there was a distinction between the literal knowledge about the technical manipulations done to the image and the emotional impact of the image despite this technical awareness.

1.4.3 The Corporate Do-gooder

Because the goal of this work is to determine what constitutes an ethical image, in order to narrow the set of images to be interrogated to a manageable size, a few highly visible corporations were selected for their apparent and intentional projects to position themselves to the public at large as socially responsible entities. The main examples in this corporate category come from Target, Dove (a Unilever brand), and BP, although some additional examples are presented in the text. Examination of the graphics used to position these corporations as socially responsible is analyzed in view of their respective tacit and/or explicit claims of social responsibility.

Although atypical as the focus of analysis, the primary sources under investigation are graphic images from popular, consumer culture that are mostly in the form of advertisements. Many secondary sources (i.e. newspapers) are from popular culture because this genre of resource tends to speak for/to a general public. A selection of mostly print images have been collected over a period of approximately four years with examples such as BP ads, Target advertising, Dove advertising, magazines, weekly newspaper circulars, and specialty mailers. *Lucky* magazine is a salient example of the connection between print materials and consumerism.[4] BP has been chosen because of its blatant claims of environmental concern. Target has been selected because of its brand recognition, design control, appeal to consumers at various income levels (for different reasons), and its absolute commitment to brand itself as a responsible member of the community. Dove products are presented with images of the average woman. All have agendas that may not align ethically with the images they project. The variety of examples presented is performative and intended to demonstrate the pervasiveness of socially responsible messaging at all scales of image production. They serve, as a collection of examples, as a testament to the phenomenon of mimesis, especially within contemporary consumer images.

1.4.4 A Proposal for Consciousness in Practice

Finally, a combined method of ethics is proposed for use in design education that is intended to embed a space for reflection about the potential effects of what the designer produces. Although this cannot be wholly known in advance, as images are produced in concert with particular words, examination of past experience with images, current social sensibilities, and a method for investigating the social life of the image may help the designer understand the possible ramifications of what is produced. The ethical component of this research selects from methods of ethics and offers an approach intended to be practical in pedagogical situations. The intention is that design practice reaps the benefits of early introduction to ethics when it is embedded within studies of image production by revealing, through strategic questions, the conflicts that exist throughout the multiple levels of the relatively short life of the image. For Schön, a good process within a pedagogical setting is one in which "the conversation with the situation is reflective."[5] Although the example he provides is an architectural one, it is useful as a model applied to ethical reflection in a similar effort to dislodge any non-reflective, rote habit both of producing and viewing designed artifacts. Finally, this project proposes a scholarly based, but pragmatically adapted, method of ethics that would be interwoven into studio pedagogy and ultimately would function as part of the working practice of a reflective graphic practitioner.

Creating images that produce desire to consume is a good part of what the designer does. The significance of the impact is multiplied through corporate graphic ephemera that affect individual and group identity of the viewers. The images for a single corporation's campaign are found across media and also live adjacent to similar images from other corporations. Individual identity is not understood to be fixed, but rather always changing as response to visual influence. Examining images that serve consumerism requires a model that is fundamentally different from, but incorporates, what has been theorized in non-design-oriented disciplines such as art history, semiotics, cultural geography, and critical theory. Singularity/multiplicity, circulation, mass reinforcement by similar images, and establishing (visually) the authority of the messenger affect how an image is understood. Multiplicity of the graphic image makes the usefulness of art-historical analyses somewhat limited, especially because these images live in the commercial space of popular culture.

Though current discourse has shifted away from the producer to new avenues of constituted meanings, to examine practice the producer remains central to this work.

Graphic images are not created in total isolation. They require engaging copywriters, illustrators, photographers who need cameras, computers and/or film, cosmetics, products for photo shoots that are other than the products featured, stylists, scouts, printers and finally, at the sites of reception, an audience. This is a vast and interdependent economy. It is still heavily gendered in favor of females being seen and males seeing, females purchasing and males profiting, but having been contested by feminist scholars and ethicists, new questions arise regarding appropriation of the gaze by women. The image will be viewed as an active site of influence that feeds consumer dissonance and dissatisfaction through idealized forms and repetition. The designed artifact is evaluated within a communication model. The sender is seen as designer plus client. The receiver is anyone who interacts with the message. The message is examined by itself and, in the larger scale examples, as a piece of a campaign, or adjacent to similar campaigns. Borrowing from a semiotic, art historical analysis[6] the image is ripe for deconstruction at the level of its components: photographic use of power, gaze, typography, and corporate signification. The goal is to make evident how the obedient consumer is constructed at the site of image creation through use of particular words and visual elements orchestrated by the graphic designer. While some design practitioners may occasionally allude to semiotics in constructing the image, they rarely do so in reading it.[7]

How words perform, what work they do (in concert with image), and how they reinforce consumer messages and influence consumer behavior are addressed. This investigation helps to situate the origins of visual/verbal consumer-directed messages and provides a theoretical understanding of how to frame influence. The work helps to clarify the unstable roles of the viewer and the viewed, deepening the understanding of how the urban dweller pictures him- or herself in response to contemporary, designed imagery. Understanding the growth, experience and sites of urban modernity and, most importantly, how modernity is represented to the public in the form of consumable goods, is central to understanding design's influence on popular culture.

The graphic image is repositioned as an object of moral consequence within a complex web of other images rather than as a piece of inconsequential ephemera. Central to this part of the research is revealing how power relations work in the shared culture that produces images and the culture that receives those images, including the production of mass unconsciousness. Hidden conflict exists between attempts to resist consumption and the unconscious subsuming by it. A Target ad, for example, is a complex site of feigned happiness through controlled photographic imagery, "promises" of happiness through consuming, corporate profits, clever design, sometimes-questionable factory conditions, and social competitiveness. The activity of the image is not understood to be either stable or one-directional, but rather a contested site with uneven power when understood across its multiple lives. Additionally, I am arguing that competing images actually comply with one another to construct advertising sites (such as magazines, store windows, point-of-purchase displays) as voices of authority in popular culture. Ultimately, the skills and knowledge developed among graphic designers, brand strategists, and marketing people is examined through primary resources as evidence, revealing that the corporation has appropriated the well-known strategies to brand itself as an ethical entity in the face of over consumption and news of environmental crises. Images are used to manipulate perceptions of corporate responsibility.

Ethics is examined within this project as a visible part of the contemporary corporate brand, but also reveals itself to be tied to (hopes for) increased profit as images of philanthropy are conditional upon the act of purchasing. How ethics is pictured is understood to relate directly to the nature of the goods or services provided by the corporation and exemplified in the brand. Professor C. Greig Crysler argues for the significance to the members of the "built environment profession" of texts and discourses in the professional journals he investigates in *Writing Spaces*.[8] His enquiry expands ways to apprehend a design discipline through its representations and beyond its physical artifacts. This project investigates the ethical nature of specific images and words while the forms of the actual artifacts are mostly incidental. It is argued here that circulating images matter to the design profession, especially economically and socially, both to the array of producers of the image, and to those who receive (and often are marginalized) by the images. The images are understood to be constitutive of identity that is entangled with consumerism, forcing image receivers into consumer modes. Producers are understood to be in asymmetric positions of power, particularly when images themselves are consumed across multiple venues.

This project begins with "Defining Ethics for Graphic Design," an evaluation of possible methods of ethics culled from analytic philosophy that may be useful in design practice. "The Arc of Image(s)" begins by examining the formal aspects of images and the mostly internal and somewhat private design specialization of creating the words and images that appear in consumer culture. It continues with an exploration of the external workings of images as they filter into public spaces and influence individual and group identities through the production of desire. "Visual Responsibility" contains case studies of images and campaigns that are based upon corporate philanthropy and social responsibility projects, querying the visible attributes and conditions of corporate philanthropy presented through the corporation's image, which brands ethics itself as a core corporate value. The project concludes with a proposal of a method for wrapping ethical reflection into the design process, initially as an integral part of design pedagogy that is intended to become integral to the design process and routine within professional practice.

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[1] Disciplines such as sociology, psychology, anthropology, and cultural geography are particularly related to design because design produces artifacts with which humans interact and to which they respond in some manner.

[2] James Elkins, *Visual Studies: A Skeptical Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 18.
Though some theorists argue for a broad collapse among media, Elkins resists this approach because, he argues, a "medialess future" is not evident in academic settings. (42)

[3] Mieke Bal. "His Master's Eye." in *Modernity and the Hegemony of Vision*, ed. David Michael Levin, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993), 379.

[4] *Lucky* bills itself as "The magazine about shopping" and more recently, "and style."

[5] Donald Schön, *The Reflective Practitioner* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1983), 79,

[6] Graphic design education at the Rhode Island School of Design, for the last quarter of the twentieth century, was heavily influenced by program chair Tom Ockerse's interest in semiotics (1973-1993). See the article by Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson. "Semiotics and Art History" from June 1991, *The Art Bulletin*, for a good analysis of semiotics.

[7] This is unlike Judith Williamson's process for examining advertising images in her 1978 text *Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising.*

[8] C. Greig Crysler, *Writing Spaces: Discourses of Architecture, Urbanism, and the Built Environment, 1960-2000* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 4.

Chapter 2: DEFINING ETHICS FOR GRAPHIC DESIGN

2.1 Situating Myself, Then and Now

My work on this project reflects multiple positions that I inhabit. As a design educator and design practitioner for more than 30 years, I bring a lived history to my current set of queries and reflections on ethics that have been brought into focus through my research into formal methods of ethics. The imbricated positions of practitioner and educator offer me a way to understand the enormity of the impact of my own formal design education at a particular time and place, having been trained under the influence of high modernism and in New York in the 1960s to practice design. Over the three decades of teaching design, I witnessed a major shift away from the focus of my own education that prepared me to master formal design issues and skills. I learned to talk about them as "correct" solutions and formulate explicit answers to defined design problems. Recently questions concerning this linearity of process and certainty of "solutions" crept into my awareness. We had learned to design as though there were no cultural antecedents or concurrencies that needed to be addressed in any way other than what was embodied within formal 20th century European design knowledge. We were expected to be inventive within rigid aesthetic confines, yet believing that we could (re)present the world in a never-before-seen way.

For many years, design publications and annuals reinforced the universal aesthetic through an almost clinical disconnect from anything that could be read as personalization. The process of learning rather tight graphic parameters was carried into practice and applied as solutions, with minor variations, to the needs of clients. It was difficult to decipher the ramifications of the univalent 1960s design pedagogy until 20 years later when the modernist canon began to crack. Theory, issues of alterity, and even regional design annuals invaded the certainty. In design pedagogy, meaning is taught to be associated with particular visual stylistic choices that are retained over time and, though attached to a historical timeframe, have lived with their stylistic (and linguistic) descriptors that remained bifurcated from the conditions of social and cultural production until visited years later. Rendered as non-neutral, graphic design choices become aesthetic, *learned* archetypes: Helvetica and simplified geometries are corporate; black and white photography is serious and journalistic; arrays of colors and typographies are interpretive and personal. Not only did we learn to make images within these confines, we also learned to read them within these confines. We had an absolute trust in what we learned, use(d) this knowledge in practice, and generally transfer it to the next generation of design students with little reflection. The explicit aspect of much current design pedagogy behaves today as it did in the mid-twentieth century, although stylistic changes occur regularly and mimetic cycles seem to be shorter and slightly more diverse.

2.2 Can ethics live inside the design business?

In recent years, the graphic design community has shown an interest in ethics that has manifested in several forms of response to the issue. However, little analysis of formal methods of ethics has been conducted to determine how ethics might function within the working life of the graphic design practitioner. Graphic design is a business and, more specifically, part of a service industry. Most design offices structure compensation for projects either as a fee for service, an hourly rate for service, or some combination of the two. When the issue of ethics was raised in the last decade of the twentieth century, it required designers to think about how ethics might fit within a time equals money paradigm. In addition to the aforementioned and obvious introduction of the use of more environmentally friendly papers and inks, the general response to design and ethics across design practice was to think about how design could be used as a social practice. This resulted in an increase in design writing on the topic of ethics and a series of competitions and exhibitions of work with content that is uncritically understood as socially relevant subject matter. This type of work usually is done for *pro bono* clients such as non-profits. More often than not, it is thoroughly marginalized within design practice and bifurcated from the daily work with "real clients" who pay the bills. The most troublesome aspect of this marginalized genre of design work is that rather than do what it intends to do as an act of public service, all too frequently it becomes "design for designers" and has been seen as low priority in practice and self-serving as publicity. Additionally, most designers who do this work and/or write about ethics have little to no formal understanding of the breadth and depth of ethics as a part of analytic philosophy. This project makes recommendations for pedagogy and practice after querying some of the formal methods of ethics.

2.3 The AIGA in San Antonio: The Origin of the Recent Question of Ethics in Graphic Design

Graphic Design's interest in ethics was manifest in a pointed way at the 1989 national AIGA (American Institute of Graphic Arts) conference in San Antonio, Texas. The title for the conference was "Dangerous Ideas," and was co-chaired by the late Tibor

Kalman, considered one of design's bad boys, and Milton Glaser, considered one of design's living legends. After the decade of the 1980s, a very prosperous one for many designers, the conference theme pitted those who apparently had become comfortable with their relationship to their business clients against those who were increasingly questioning what the effects were of the work they had been doing. Kalman, whose office M&CO. had achieved both design fame and financial success, was also a boisterous critic of his own profession.[1] He described the conundrum of his simultaneous-but-perceived-as-divergent positions in the following way. "I had this fierce scene with Paula Scher[2] where she screamed at me for half an hour, 'Don't shit where you eat!' Her argument was that I was trying to destroy the community that made me a success, that I was on the one hand taking profits from a community and having status and at the same time telling it what a piece of shit it is. That's exactly what I was doing. My quandary was that designers have been taught to be liars. They have been taught to use their skills—just like lawyers and accountants—to distort information."[3] Kalman knew this to be true about himself and may have irked some around him within the graphic design profession because he acted as if the acknowledgement of his own dissatisfaction, along with making it public, was a kind of dispensation. It was also widely known that Kalman had a Warholian flair for commanding attention through outlandish or startling statements and design work.[4] He was masterful at generating self-publicity—both through his edgy work and his hyperbolic statements, making him even further suspect among his colleagues. Although both Kalman and Scher, along with the many conference participants, were acting from their respective positions of personal moral outrage, no one bothered to define ethics. What ethics meant was evidently tacit. This may not be surprising if one thinks about the rapidity with which graphic designers produce work and the simple reality that their interest is literally, and often metaphorically, a surface one. A fair number of arguments have erupted during the course of national conferences that made it evident that no paradigm existed for evaluating ethics in graphic design practice.

Ultimately the conflict between Kalman and Scher was mostly useless performance because it was an interaction based upon blame, which remains an easy escape route to evade examination. Designers surreptitiously blaming clients for the questionable behaviors of the business world have become an all-too-common approach to avoid sharing responsibility with the client for responsible behaviors and, eventually, images. Looking back at the exchanges in San Antonio, one can develop ways other than the ineffectiveness of blaming in which to imbue the profession with a method for examining what it does and how it might change. This project imagines a shift in the designer's role with the client to a more active role than simply producing concept-driven images in exchange for fees. Scher's comments cast the debate as a set of unfortunately hyperbolic and binary choices, reflecting both a vast over simplification of the options available to the designer and an abdication of responsibility to decipher what those options might be.

For design practitioners, stopping "progress" on a project that has a client, a budget, and usually a deadline will require a shift in perception about the designer's role of responsibility. In order to carve out a time for some form of ethical deliberation to be built into design practice, any method used must meet criteria such as: efficiency, rigor, and proper inclusiveness. Inclusiveness requires the designer to expand understanding of the subject matter (the context area) of each project. Asking this of practice will be a difficult hurdle to overcome because project research in design is typically very efficient and, therefore, necessarily superficial due to financial constraints on time. Research shorthand is typical of the research conditions introduced in (especially undergraduate) pedagogy and seen later in practice. The best time to inculcate an awareness of investigating the discrepancies between reasonable and misleading representations is within undergraduate design pedagogy, so that the attempt to embed it early on as a value integral to the design process itself is more likely to succeed later on in practice. Ultimately the possibility of an embedded method of ethics for practice can serve to shift the culture from reacting to problems (such as BP's damage-control imagery) to playing a productive role in investigating and subsequently avoiding misleading representations. Such a shift also requires the designer to realistically reassess his/her role in the production of desire for goods that harm a wide range of targets from the self-esteem of young women to the landfills overflowing with useless plastic products and supposedly outdated electronic gadgetry. The designer, having learned of less than admirable behavior on the part of a client, may have to learn to say to that client, "This is an image with which I am comfortable. That one is not." Additionally, the designer who typically investigates competing images to distinguish the client's project visually from its competitors should begin to use this process of image comparison to understand the social impact of image genres that, taken together, behave coercively. It is difficult to rationalize a graphic campaign, regardless of how successful it may be (in terms of profits for the client or awards for the designer) when it has been designed to deflect attention from or alter perception of a knowable or, even worse, a known problem.

The authority of the commercial image still lingers from the kinds of images that were produced in service to corporations in Western Europe and North America since the mid-twentieth century. When designers and architects fled Europe in the mid-twentieth century, they brought with them to the United States a uniquely modern and revolutionary design aesthetic rooted in the anti-fascist politics of the earlier twentieth century. Entrenched in Bauhaus-dominated pedagogy, European faculty in American design schools seemed to forget their early idealism rooted in Modernism's utopian project and began to create an a-politics of design, mimicking the hollowness of what earlier they had resisted in design as strictly formal issues. Despite the flourishing of post-colonial and feminist theories, the late twentieth century did little to unhinge the dominance of the universalized, European-now-American design aesthetic that worked to promote the visibility of corporations that were seen as providers of a practical and necessary set of goods to the masses. German designers and French theorists dominated the artistic/intellectual landscape, holding design education in the United States captive for over half a century by Euro-centric pedagogy, often unreflectively finding form in modern and later post-modern aesthetics. These were evident in rote-like and predictable stylistic shifts in design from High- to Post-Modernism. And although design educators can neither explicitly define where design knowledge resides, nor how it is measured and evaluated, vagaries of what constitutes "good design" continue to find their value, at least tacitly, from Western notions of what might be most appropriately labeled design of power. For over half a century, design education has centered on certain formal attributes that have come to signify, and therefore value, the attributes of power, authority, hierarchy, corporate dynamism, and economic success. These attributes are evident in the work done by Paul Rand for IBM Corporation, and were part of his pedagogy at the graduate design school at Yale University. As Rand noted, "It is no secret that the real world in which the designer functions is not the world of art, but the world of buying and sellling."[5] The alliances between design and corporate culture in the twentieth century seemed to be a logical and responsible connection.

Information flowed from the corporation through the designer to the public. High quality corporate graphics are evident in a range of images from Modernist geometric symbols such as Geismar and Chermayeff's Chase Manhattan Bank identity to assumptions about the left-to-right direction of reading that has dictated graphic hierarchies in European and American design. For contemporary educators whose classrooms are filled with students from around the world, and particularly Asian students, these Eurocentric aesthetic assumptions could reasonably be problematized. Design pedagogy needs to question the morality of what and how values are constructed through images, making explicit what has been tacit for so long.

2.4 Graphic Design's Response to the Question of Ethics

Applied ethics can be simply defined as knowing what is the morally correct action to take in a particular situation. Designers tend to approach questions about ethics in much the same manner that the public at large would. For most, ethics, or at least what is considered ethical behavior, implies a tacit understanding that one knows what one should do. Rarely is there much reflection upon how one knows what to do, or even how one knows what one knows. During an early phase of this work, an investigation of methods of ethics yielded a deeper understanding of the possible ways to dissect and ultimately apply ethics-based knowledge to what must be conceived of as a mostly pragmatic discipline. It is the particular relationship between designer and client (in the form of meetings, discussions, program development, presentations, and revisions) that provides the setting for the designer to effect change. It is from the perspective of the designer that this project is undertaken and understood.

What might constitute a diligent response by graphic design with respect to the question of what it means to create images that have integrity? Following are several examples that typify how the graphic design profession has responded to the calls to attend to the topic of ethics. The responses range from the unexamined and personal, uncritical and gratuitous, to the sometimes self-serving. Most are dependent upon personal, tacitly held, and largely instinctive moral points of view that are unreflectively embedded within dominant religious, and subsequently, cultural values.

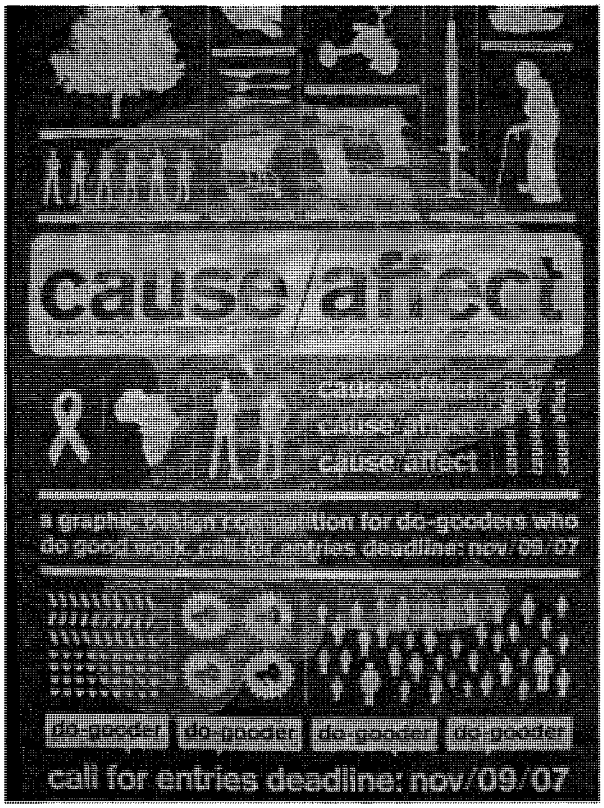
In the introduction to the text *citizen designer*,[6] Steven Heller refers to Milton Glaser's exploration of his own willingness to lie with his design. The list of Glaser's twelve steps ranged in egregiousness from using one's design skills to make something look larger than it actually is, to the extreme condition of designing an ad that promotes something whose use might result in death. It raised the question of making something look good that was dangerous. Although the focus was on the skill of the designer and the image resulting from that skill, the image, as an area of ethical investigation, seemed to be left unexamined. Additionally, the significant effect of graphic work is generally and primarily experienced through a large and contemporaneous set of images, despite graphic design's continued tendency to consider the image as a singular isolated and geographically unsituated event from its production to its reception.

Other articles and publications began to address the topic of ethics in design. *Adbusters* is one publication aimed at designers that has tackled issues that apply particularly to corporations and over-consumption. Adbusters describes itself and its mission, as shown on their web site, in the following way:

> ABOUT ADBUSTERS
> THE MEDIA FOUNDATION
> We are a global network of artists, activists, writers, pranksters, students, educators and entrepreneurs who want to advance the new social activist movement of the information age. Our aim is to topple existing power structures and forge a major shift in the way we will live in the 21st century. To this end, Adbusters Media Foundation publishes *Adbusters* magazine, operates this website and offers its creative services through PowerShift, our advocacy advertising agency.
>
> ADBUSTERS MAGAZINE
> Based in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, Adbusters is a not-for-profit, reader-supported, 120,000-circulation magazine concerned about the erosion of our physical and cultural environments by commercial forces...Our readers are professors and students; activists and politicians; environmentalists and media professionals; corporate watch dogs and industry insiders; kids who love our slick ad parodies and parents who worry about their children logging too many hours a day in the electronic environment... We want folks to get mad about corporate disinformation, injustices in the global economy, and any industry that pollutes our physical or mental commons.[7]

The problem with the *Adbusters* publication is that it preaches mostly to the converted and does not have competitive visual real estate at its disposal to really make a dent in the problems it identifies for corporate victims. Though it does provide certain types of information to its readers about less than admirable corporate behaviors, it doesn't get to those who make images in a way that actually intervenes and alters their working methodology. The work that Adbusters attempts to do is very similar to the "First Things First"[8] manifesto, first created in 1964 and signed by 22 designers and issued again in 2000. Both plead for a consciousness about rampant consumerism and design's integral role therein, but neither proposes any formal, systemic intervention to adjust what was identified 44 years ago as a problem.

Socially themed exhibitions and competitions, another tactic used to reach designers, unhappily tend to separate social relevance from routine practice and magnify the already rarefied design-for-designers category of work which enjoys such limited exposure. On the AIGA web site, under the heading of "Society & Environment," several types of socially relevant projects are listed. One is the "Get Out the Vote" Design for Democracy initiative that was begun in 2000. The site asks AIGA members to design non-partisan posters that will be supplied for use around the country to inspire people to vote. Quite different from the AIGA Design for Democracy revisions and recommendation to the ballots that were accepted by the U.S. Election Assistance Commission, asking a design audience to design posters as though posters are a solution to low voter turnout is simultaneously a self serving palliative and naïve.[9] Other AIGA initiatives, such as making the transportation symbol sets available electronically, not unlike the ballot initiative, really use design to make information accessible to wide audiences, but are mostly peripheral to commerce. These initiatives live in a section of the AIGA web site that is separate from the design and business sections of the site.



This call for entries for a graphic design competition in the fall of 2007 is typical of the relatively uncritical and self-congratulatory social responsibility efforts of the graphic design community.

For the "Sappi Ideas that Matter" competition, the paper company, Sappi Fine Paper North America, mailed out a series of tabloid size announcements promoting its grant program to support design for the "social good." The Sappi program awards substantial grants to designers who contribute their time to work on projects that help promote causes such as health, environment, and social welfare. The mailers list the five judges from the 2007 competition. Of the five, two were writers/educators and the other three were in marketing and sales or heads of firms that listed clients such as Nike, Estée Lauder, Southern Comfort, Coca-Cola, Dow Jones, Johnny Walker, Mattel, and Tommy Hilfiger. Some of the problems depicted in the mailers include topics such as homelessness, battered women, binge drinking and obesity.[10] In this case we have examples of three judges whose real professional lives seem dedicated to making major corporations look good. It seems reasonable to ask why someone who aestheticizes a soft-drink manufacturer (often talked about in the context of a possible source of the obesity epidemic) should be judging a competition that might be addressing the obesity epidemic. Within the confines of this eight-page mailer is evidence that social responsibility is not only marginalized, but also compartmentalized. Although the scale of the socially responsible work typically is small, at least *pro bono* efforts by designers for organizations that designers can help, most often through raising awareness of an organization and its mission, or by providing design services that assist an organization with its fundraising, seem worthwhile. However, the separations described reflect the ways in which this genre of design work almost always lives at the edge of practice. The problem with this type of work is that it takes the form of a bandaid. Although there is something admirable about trying to fix problems at local and smaller scales, it would be better, as this project argues, to bring legibility to the systemic problem of coercive images that have the most power in the culture at large.

Other examples of efforts by design to acknowledge ethics include the following. In a recent AIGA online survey in which the goal was to "Define the Designer of 2015," "Understanding ethics in practice" was listed last among thirteen choices.[11] Students in design schools across the United States are showing some interest in the topic design and ethics as the content for their design theses. Recently a masters student in advertising design from Syracuse University sent an email to the AIGA education community asking for feedback on her thesis project, a web site she titled "creative for a cause." The site was intended to be used by faculty as a resource to help address issues of social responsibility within the curricula for communications programs. Her site includes role models, case studies from educational institutions, and other resources such as publications. What the student fails to recognize, despite having provided a fairly good list of resources, is that relatively few design students and design faculty are pro-actively investigating materials that lie outside of their specific practice areas.[12] In fact, the design and communications programs that are situated within universities have the advantage of access to philosophy departments that might be a source of information and deeper understanding about issues of ethics. It is reasonable to conclude that the design profession's engagement to date with the topic of ethics has behaved metaphorically the way in which most designers work: on the surface (superficially) and under deadlines (quickly).

2.5 The Argument for Centering the Ethical Enquiry on the Image

The typical responses to ethics in graphic design, as described above, isolate the problem of ethics so that it does not impinge on the daily life of those who make images. In fact it is every image, including those made for large corporate clients that the designer creates for audiences large and small, that needs to become a candidate for query. Ethical behavior in design cannot be understood to be sufficient if it is only evidenced in work at the margins. The ethical image, I am arguing, is one in which corporate behaviors that live behind its graphically appealing visage have been satisfactorily vetted. If the central goal of this project is to determine how to understand what constitutes an ethical image, then the first task is to assess the methods of ethics that might work within the pragmatism that design practice would require of a method.

Howard Gardner (and his co-authors) in a recent text addressing questions of ethics and work quality, describe the choice to become a professional as a kind of agreement between individual and community. There is (generally) no public liability with graphic designers and, as such, there has been no consensus that graphic design is a profession, although it is often referred to as one and it does meet many of the relational and educational standards of profession. The authors describe "good work" as requiring a harmonious relationship between excellence and ethics. "People agree to provide needed services; the community agrees to compensate them for the services and recognize their right to perform those."[13] Nowhere in the effort to introduce ethics into design practice is there any suggestion that it is achieved at the expense of design excellence (in the formal, visual sense). In fact, most designers would consider providing design excellence to be central to acting with integrity as a design professional.

Recent scientific knowledge that certain actions have positive or negative effects that impact the entirety of humanity and its future also has become part of a general public knowledge. The public now has relatively little difficulty in understanding the potential for irresponsible and damaging behaviors when issues of the environment and global warming are concerned. This project queries the image and its impact in the production of certain kinds of desires (addressed in the following chapter) and assumptions about need, especially in Western societies since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. As the literal definition of need is blurred in consumer-oriented imagery, the image becomes a partially responsible cog in a variety of social problems. These problems include sexism and other issues of identity politics, along with the current, pressing environmental crisis that is a by-product of unchecked consumption that is at least partially responsible for less than desirable social forces. The focus of ethics for the graphic designer shifts from the obvious and material one to the role of the designer in the creation of the environmental crisis as the Pied Piper of desire. But thankfully, as Marshall McLuhan and Quentin Fiore have commented, "There is absolutely no inevitability as long as there is willingness to contemplate what is happening."[14]

2.6 Selecting from among the Methods of Ethics

"Ethics is not an ideal system that is noble in theory but no good in practice. The reverse of this is closer to the truth: an ethical judgment that is no good in practice must suffer from a theoretical defect as well, for the whole point of ethical judgments is to guide practice." [15] Despite Peter Singer's declaration of his preference for utilitarianism (which will be shown later to have severe limitations for the designer), his statement offers a useful constraint for thinking about methods of ethics that might work for design practitioners. His position that one's own interests, simply because they are one's own interests, do not indicate a hierarchical significance[16] is also a useful way to think about power in situations that involve conflict and is particularly applicable to discursive forms of ethics that might work in practice.

When asked "What ought to be done?" most designers are ready and confident in their ability to answer. However, when asked how they know what ought to be done, they rarely are able to provide an epistemologically satisfactory response. This is not surprising because the content of most contemporary design pedagogy, while occasionally addressing topics of social concern within the production of designed artifacts, doesn't offer a way for the designer to think about how it is that they know what ought to be done in matters of ethics. Design pedagogy cannot and should not shift from the majority of what it covers— teaching students to be practitioners engaged with the world. It is, however, intended that the need for a method of ethics that is functional and works within the bulk of studio process be acknowledged and embedded within influential pedagogy so that it ultimately emerges as integral to the practice of producing designed artifacts. Despite some overlaps in theologically based ethics, offering a method that is not derived from a particular and isolated set of religious teachings is one of several constraints in choosing a method. Finding a method that is inclusive of a student population that comes from diverse moral instruction becomes another constraint in developing a useful method.

Moral philosophy offers a large number of methods of ethics to help determine how one "ought" to act or what one "ought" to do in a particular situation. As a service business, design practice cannot ignore the constraints of efficiency imposed by the billable hours or fixed fees tied to a particular project. Practice-based pedagogies tend to emphasize rigor in the types of education that will serve the student well (i.e., producing employable designers) in his or her chosen design profession. Contemporary graphic design education generally consists of courses that provide formal design knowledge, technological skills, and a variety of other requirements that often depend upon standards determined by an institution's accrediting body. When deciphering a method of ethics that might work well for design pedagogy, an important criterion is the ease with which a method can be embedded within studio practice and consideration of how much formal *a priori* philosophical knowledge is to be required of faculty and students. A method, therefore, must meet the criteria that it can be acquired within the context of studio pedagogy and subsequently be applicable within practice.

Recent corporate images tend to contain philanthropic messages that are contingent upon purchasing something from that corporation. If a corporation approaches a designer to create images that make a direct connection between a philanthropic promise by the corporation that is dependent upon a purchase, what does the designer do? If the designer agrees to create some powerful image to serve the described end, the designer is put in the position of branding ethics by making images that show philanthropy to be intrinsic to the act of making a purchase. Contemporary culture has navigated around this ethical conundrum by positioning token virtues in a way that obfuscates more profound ethical violations. It is as though one takes comfort in the idea that one has done something beneficial as a direct consequence of having purchased a luxury item because a corporation has made some sort of charitable donation as a result of the consumer's behavior. The residual effect of having made a purchase with philanthropic strings seems to be that the consumer believes that he/she has "done good."[17] This action can allow the behavior to slide into another category that is conceptualized as a more rigorously ethical behavior because it can be understood as proactive, rather than simply a behavior that avoids harm. However, the rigor required on the part of the agent to do no harm is far more substantial than the tokenism of corporate visual virtue.

Despite the lack of evidence that such corporate (visual) virtue is actually profitable (and this equates with visible social responsibility not having promoted consumption), corporate designers and marketing professionals tend to be mimetic creatures. The real danger might lie in a corporation's *failure* to appear socially concerned. One might even consider the use of philanthropic images as a form of risk management to avoid negative consequences should a public notice the *lack* of commitment to cause-related marketing. Such copycat behaviors are within the predictable arc of mimetic content trends in the design of consumer imagery and not unlike the repetitiveness of categories of images (i.e., shopping by the calendar) that are addressed later in this project. Though not the direct responsibility of the designer, employees and consumers may receive a morale boost by association with an anthropomorphized company that appears to care. Corporations that trumpet socially responsible causes may just be spending their marketing budgets wisely—a recent iteration of image marketing to sustain the brand. *Not* marketing this message at this time may be damaging, even if marketing does no measurable financial good for the corporation.

Because so many of the images produced by designers are developed to encourage sales of goods, the writings of de Tocqueville help, in part, to explain the notion of access to material comforts as part of contemporary social life. For de Tocqueville, over indulgence and individual expectations for excessive material comforts are only possible in a fundamentally democratic state that offers at least the illusion of accessibility to a multitude of goods and a possibility for achieving wealth. For de Tocqueville, in aristocracies the poor do not entertain the possibility of attaining any form of material wealth. The tendency for self-interest and striving for the pleasures of material life, he suggests, are a function of the social equality he witnessed in the United States in the nineteenth century.[18] We seem to continue to live with illusions of potential wealth, thanks to the images of goods that signify status and appear to be within reach, despite the absence of what reasonably could be considered social equality.[19] Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, who understand the acquisition of goods as central to the communication of the social system in which people operate, provide a more current analysis of the role of always-new goods. "Douglas and Isherwood are primarily interested in the question why in our modern society new commodities shift in status from being unknown, then known but dispensable, into indispensable goods."[20] Marius de Geus's goal is to rethink over-consumption. He cites the Arts and Crafts ideal of well crafted material objects, not excessively decorated but pleasing and functional, as an 'economy of enough,'[21] and Aristotle's understanding (from Ethics) of moral excellence as a balance between the extremes of excess and "defect."[22] Technology, however, that makes images easy to create, distort, and readily available unceasingly thwarts the ideals of John Ruskin and Aristotle. Furthermore, it is likely that preoccupation with appearance remains a particularly gendered issue. The drive to own "the latest" is an image-induced ethical problem. If life today was lived more by the Victorian principles of John Ruskin, it might be possible to establish a marriage between functionality and appearance. Despite an insistence upon a high level of craft in the artifacts of his day, Ruskin did possess an overriding desire to control the working class and the role of women.[23] In his criticism of manufacturing cities, Ruskin cast dispersion upon the social development of men that seemed to accompany the development of the equally questionable goods they produced. Everything, he thought, was interconnected.[24] If alive today, Ruskin would have exploded with contempt for the proliferation of the scale and diversity of goods and the respective and questionable representations of those goods.

2.7 Why Virtue Ethics, Deontology, and Consequentialism Fail the Needs of Practice

Many approaches to ethics attempt to offer a lens through which to determine right actions. Design needs a method that will serve in deciphering and resolving a variety of image and word related problems and conflicts. As a business peopled with practitioners who have, for the most part, studied design at the undergraduate and/or graduate levels, the method needs to meet certain requirements of efficiency and applicability to someone not schooled in analytic philosophy. Part of the work that went into the choice of a method of ethics for use in design included an evaluation of major philosophical methods of ethics. The three methods that are reviewed here and determined not to meet the needs of design practice include virtue ethics, deontology, and consequentialism. Within each of these methods many fine-grained iterations exist, particularly as methods fall out of philosophical fashion and are later resuscitated in a newer form (i.e., virtue ethics). In addition to the three broad areas reviewed here as candidates for use in design, a wide range of moderate to radical feminist ethics has pervaded the various methods. In its most radical iterations, feminist ethics takes into consideration solely the needs of women. Feminist ethics has been particularly relevant to understanding complex issues of bio-medical ethics and conflicts that concern a woman's autonomy and control over her body. A vetting of feminist ethics is beyond the scope of this immediate overview. However, feminist points of view must necessarily be addressed within the selected method and particularly in the analysis of contemporary images because so many of these images appear in commercial graphics and result in heavily manipulated representations of women masquerading as almost documentary recordings of reality.

Virtue ethics is distinct from either deontology or consequentialism that share an almost direct and mutually exclusive polarity with each other. Virtue is distinctly different because it looks at ethics from the point of view of the person. What sort of person and, more specifically, what sort(s) of virtues must one possess, in order to do what is right? Virtue ethics, derived from Aristotle's conception of character, places the responsibility for right action on the individual agent. Contemporary philosopher Rosalind Hursthouse delineates the most rudimentary premises of virtue ethics as follows: "A virtuous agent is one who acts virtuously, that is, one who has and exercises the virtues…" and offers her definition of virtue as "…a character trait a human being needs to flourish or live well."[25] Part of her defense concerning right actions is that a virtuous person knows what the right action is.[26] Nineteenth century philosopher Henry Sidgwick defined more specifically the notion of right action as the response to rational process. There may, for example, be an impulse that results in an action to avoid pain or seek pleasure. It is possible to conceive of motivation to certain actions of this nature as "non-rational" (as opposed to irrational) because there is an absence of a period of consciousness, though consciousness would indicate the application of reason to processes of ethical deliberation.[27] It might be useful to visit the question of non-rationality in the context of consumer responses to imagery and question the absence of a period of consciousness that could intervene and potentially alter action. This moment of consciousness might affect the automatic (non-rational) nature of the pleasure seeking response.

Hursthouse, a proponent of virtue ethics, makes a link between virtue and eudaimonia, loosely translated as flourishing, but the source of much philosophical discussion with respect to its Aristotelian versus contemporary meaning. Some contemporary ethicists find difficulty in defining eudaimonia for contemporary culture and criticize it as too general to be of any real use. If, indeed, one aims at "the good," it must include analysis of desires, or what appears at first to be good, and what is, after critical evaluation, truly good.[28] For Christian theologians, and particularly Catholic theologians, once an individual has determined to live observantly (as opposed to living as a lay Catholic) he or she may find the push towards development of a virtuous character to be informed by specifically Christian choices. This would include investigating experience, Scripture, and (Christian) tradition in order to formulate "a Christian response" to an ethical dilemma.[29] This process is of significantly less value to the lay person or atheist. Other criticisms of virtue ethics include failure to have codified principles, its failure to provide a way to guide actions, and that it is agent rather than act focused.[30] Ethics, it is presumed, must be reflected in actions and not in beings—the central focus of virtue ethics.

One of the most obvious problems concerning virtue ethics is how one defines precisely what those virtues are and, in more fine-grained criticisms, how the existing virtues relate to each other as hierarchical or integral traits. Theological virtues include love, hope, faith, and charity, while the cardinal virtues include prudence, temperance, fortitude, and justice. Yet other virtues specifically counter the seven deadly sins of pride, greed, envy, wrath, lust, gluttony, and sloth. Virtue ethics has been a significant part of Christian theology, particularly since Thomas Aquinas, and has introduced virtues that may not be conceived as such either by non-Christians or by atheists. Hursthouse categorizes the dilemma between Christian and atheist thinking as a "disagreement about metaphysical facts" and she does not see a way to resolve this difference.[31] Christian ethicist, Jean Porter, offers a useful understanding of reason applied to action from Aquinas' *Summa Theologica* that might be a way to conceive of what work ethics does in practice. She notes that "there are three actions of reason, as it is applied to action which ought to be regulated by prudence, namely, to take counsel, to judge what one has discovered, and to command, that is, to put the results of one's deliberations into action. (II-II.47.8)"[32] In her effort to reconcile Aristotle's notion of practical wisdom with Aquinas' notion of prudence, she provides a very general guide for the process and goals of ethical deliberation.

Although it may be possible to discern a set of virtues that derive from a group that is gathered for the purpose of making an ethical evaluation of some artifact, it would seem rather difficult to come to such an agreement with ever-reconstituting groups of people. Even more problematic is the idea that virtues could be constituted on the spot, as opposed to the likelihood that parties would arrive at the table with *a priori* (likely divergent) sets of virtues. Virtues are understood to be learned over time and ultimately become evident in one's increasing tendency to do good. In pedagogy and practice it would be quite impossible to make a determination of just what those virtues might be that merit cultivation, and even more time-consuming to master those virtues, assuming they could be agreed upon. It is reasonable to expect that groups of design students or designers would represent tacitly embedded virtues from a variety of sources, including their respective religious or anti-religious backgrounds. These embedded virtues would presumably be in evidence already and revealed in various ways during the process of a deliberation, but a particular set of virtues could not be made central to the process in any efficient or workable way. Virtues might tacitly be subjected to enquiry in oblique ways during the process of examining artifacts. However, the process of selecting which virtues one must possess, and becoming virtuous in order to make right decisions, is itself a rather long process much the way Aristotle conceived telos as the process of becoming an idealized version of the self. Implied here is the pedagogical component of moral education, the development of the moral agent who "must know what he is doing when he judges or acts virtuously... The genuinely virtuous agent however acts of the basis of a true and rational judgment."[33] Some degree of moral education transpires during the act of ethical evaluation of a designed artifact, although this training cannot be presumed to be as central as virtue ethics would require it to be, either in its legibility (which virtues count as virtues), or due to the difficulty in vetting the virtue sets of the agents involved.

Deontology understands that certain acts (as opposed to character traits within a person or results from certain actions) are either morally right or wrong in themselves and that there is "no clear specifiable relation between doing right and doing good (in the consequentialists' sense)... "[34] It involves understanding what we ought to do, what constitutes our duty. Deontology requires that the agent always reacts from duty and not from consideration of the outcomes. This would make it morally right to act within the confines of a defined duty even if an outcome of that right action might bring harm to others. Some of the particular constraints of deontology occur in the form of prohibitions (what one ought not do), are "narrowly framed and bounded," and "narrowly directed...to the agents' decisions and actions."[35] Obligation is central to deontological systems, with the central distinction resting with the agent to determine what is permitted or not permitted.[36] While the deontologist might operate with the duty never to kill another, there are practical situations in which killing a single person might result in saving many others. If, for example, a gunman is entering an elementary school for the purpose of killing as many young students as possible and an agent knows this fact and has determined that the gunman can be stopped only if he is killed, what is the agent's responsibility? If the agent is operating under the duty that he is morally prohibited from killing any person, then it is morally wrong for that agent to kill the gunman, even if many children die as a consequence. Most reasonable persons would find the failure to avoid what can be labeled "intended harm" reprehensible, even if it would mean being viewed as having acted in a morally responsible way, deontologically speaking. With deontology, however, "the Right has priority over the Good."[37] Duty takes priority over outcome.

Kant is the source of much of deontology's force derived from his categorical imperative: "I ought never to act in such a way that I could not also will that my maxim should be a universal law."[38] Duty, for Kant, does not evolve from fear but rather from pure reason that is conceived as an internal process that is not a response to situational, external conditions. Moral concepts originate *a priori* in reason.[39] There is a fundamental presumption within deontology that knowledge of duty would be universally derived and coherent if one was acting of free will and fully rational. It is an ethical method that finds daylight in certain laws (i.e., in most societies it may have been immoral, but it is now illegal, to take the life of another). Deontology also presumes a consciousness with respect to intentions and foresight. Innumerable problems would arise in the not-so-simple attempt to define what constitutes reason and rationality and, ultimately, what constitutes duty. How might these attributes be inclusive of non-white male, western dominated cultures? Even temporal aspects of duty might be differently conceived in non-western culture. Problems with how deontology operates include letting agents off the hook by distinguishing between commission and omission. As Alexander and Moore note, "Holding a baby's head under water until it drowns is a killing; seeing a baby lying face down in a puddle and doing nothing to save it when one could so easily is a failure to prevent its death. Our categorical obligations are usually negative in content: we are not to kill the baby. We may have an obligation to save it, but this will not be an agent relative obligation … unless we have some special relationship to the baby… causings are distinguished from allowings."[40] The authors point to several glaring weaknesses in deontology. Perhaps most important are the obvious questions about what they refer to as the irrationality of duties that make the world morally worse, the seeming equalization of wrongs, and the possibility for acting out of duty resulting in horrific consequences (which do not apply theoretically here). Kant makes an exceedingly difficult demand upon the agent's moral reasoning in his requirement that one must "counter one's tendency to make exceptions for oneself."[41] It is unlikely that the level of moral reasoning demanded by Kant's position is possible for those in the design fields, many of whom have strengths that align with visual intelligences, rather than analytical intelligences.

Unlike deontology that aims at maximizing what is right, consequentialism aims at maximizing the good. By its very definition, consequentialism examines best outcomes as a way to determine what might be the correct action in a given situation. It must also be judged impersonally and not be partial to the interests of anyone.[42] "The most familiar version of consequentialism is utilitarianism, which in its classical form says that the best state of affairs from among any set is the one that contains the greatest net balance of aggregate human pleasure or happiness or satisfaction."[43] Other iterations of utilitarianism include act utilitarianism in which the correct act brings about the best results or rule utilitarianism in which the agent is obligated to act according to what is construed as the right rule leading to the best outcome. All utilitarian (and consequentialist) theories presume an ability to determine in advance of an action what the best outcome would be and that this knowledge reliably could be tied rather directly to a particular action. Because designers produce results in the form of artifacts (or strategies), it would seem at first glance that this method makes the most sense for design. It posits the notion that one can accurately anticipate and then measure the outcomes of an action (in this case, a design action that yields an image). Or, consequentialism may mean that a model be devised in which a designer works for the bulk of his or her professional life, perhaps making corporations such as BP look like something they aren't. Yet at the periphery of an income-generating practice, or nearing the end of one's professional life, one welcomes into his or her practice *pro bono* work for social organizations. As a result of the position that sufficient time and money have been accumulated to do socially responsible work, the designer has kept this genre of work at the professional margins and has also compartmentalized his or her understanding of responsibility. It is as though all the less than admirable work done prior to the work that can be categorized as socially responsible doesn't factor into the totality of what a designer has done. Consequentialist thinking allows the designer to split the occasional, admirable result from the entirety of a professional life that may, upon examination, leave significant questions about ethical conduct. It allows for the less than admirable work to be ignored. Making a corporation with less than admirable behaviors look good has become a means to an end: providing fees that fund an eventual, unrelated do-goodism. Work for BP has become a means to an end, allowing the designer involved to compartmentalize moral and immoral behaviors so that responsibility for collateral moral damage along the way is trivialized and inconsequential. It is also nearly impossible to predict the outcome(s) of most design actions with any sufficient precision on the broad scale of overall good that consequentialism would require. The idea of measurability to determine most good seems at once to be extraordinarily time consuming at best and impossible at worst. Additionally, it may leave some unsavory consequences in its wake.

Each of the above approaches is made more complex when the consideration of agent reasons is introduced. Is the person acting from his or own perspective or out of some relatively objective view of the world that includes the agent? Thomas Nagel describes the dilemmas between agent-relative and agent-neutral reasons in three ways. Autonomy indicates that the agent acts according to his or her own ends, deontological reasons arise from claims of others "not to be maltreated in certain ways,"[44] and agents in special relations to others may entail special responsibilities. Scheffler defines these special responsibilities as those that we have to some people and not to others. "In all of these cases, there is either something we have done or something the 'beneficiary' of the responsibility has done that is cited as the source of that responsibility."[45] These produce particular obligations but also imply that certain obligations, though not all, constitute a general (objective) condition of relationships between others. Korsgaard makes a case for intersubjectivity and defends a reason to act as a normative claim. "To say that you have a reason is to say something relational, something which implies the existence of another, at least another self. It announces that you have a claim on that other, or acknowledges her claim on you. For normative claims are not the claims of a metaphysical world of values upon us: they are claims we make on ourselves and each other."[46] Reasons, she concludes, demand sharing reasons. Korsgaard, acknowledging the apparently paradoxical nature of the following claim, clarifies the relationship between identity and choosing actions by describing how the choice of actions actively construct one's identity.[47] Alexander and Moore suggest that perhaps some combination of deontology and consequentialism would work to mitigate the problems of each, but they also would require that their respective "jurisdictions" do not overlap.[48] Certainly there are useful aspects of both of these methods, but more important, the possibility of a hybridized method that undertakes non-competitive, useful, and complementary aspects from each is implied by their suggestion.

2.8 The Appeal of Casuistry and Communicative Ethics

From among the many methods that could be applied to investigating what constitutes ethical representation in design, casuistry resonates most clearly with the understanding of ethics as applied philosophy. It demands that we are able to determine which moral considerations are relevant to the action that needs to be taken in a given situation. This requires a sorting of potentially relevant moral features that apply to the particular. Casuistry has been described as the method used to determine how relevant features are established. Casuists of the middle ages, based upon Aristotle's categories, attempted "to capture all of the features of an action or a proposed action...Accordingly, they asked, where, when, why, how, by what means, to whom, or by whom the action in question is to be done or avoided (see Jonsen and Toulmin 1988)."[49] By using this process, all features of an action would be made explicit, and those relevant to the action would be contained within this list. A further vetting would establish which of these features are the most relevant. What begins to take place is reasoning by analogy, with a focus of what this particular situation is like. Reference is made to paradigmatic cases (those cases defined as having been resolved). "Thinking through which of two analogous cases provides a better key to understanding the case at hand is a useful way of organizing our moral reasoning."[50] Analogous thinking, and particularly the use of metaphors, is generally well understood by graphic designers.

Although it fell out of fashion from its early origins in Christian moral theology, casuistry is argued here to have practical relevance. It rejects working solely from the generalities and abstractions that are necessary in order for a principle to become a principle in favor of messier, dialectic deliberation in order to resolve real and complex cases. It distinguishes itself from other methods in its insistence upon resolution: for casuistry, finding a resolution to a case is a moral requirement. "The object of moral science is practice. All conclusions that are not practical but merely speculative, are not properly moral conclusions: they are not decisions. The Casuists' intent was to come as close as possible to decision and actions. They were obliged to resolve the case because in their view, acting from a doubtful conscience (that is, without reaching any conclusion about the morality of an act) was itself immoral."[51] This requirement for a decision seems to mesh with the literalness and pragmatism of design activity that requires the production of an artifact or strategy. As a method, casuistry would require some clarity about understanding what work an image might do once in the public realm. It would also allow for a dissection of the programmatic components of what went into making the image, along with a designer's response and options to respond to the program. Jonsen and Toulmin combine the work of a casuistry primer with an argument for its resuscitation as a valid method. "The practical choice is not between a high-minded ethics of pure principle and an inevitably debased morality of cases and circumstances: it is between good casuistry, which applies general rules to particular cases with discernment, and bad casuistry which does the same thing sloppily."[52]

The method does not rely upon fixed rules, but rather the development of a skill to reason practically and make analogies. Miller argues that casuistry differs from applied ethics that he describes as deriving "on high" from a moral theory. Rather it behaves dialectically and shuttles between paradigms and the specifics of cases.[53] Because it is a case-based system it would rely upon comparing a case at hand with prior, paradigmatic cases. One of casuistry's requirements would be to determine how a case in question is like one that has come before it or, in much rarer circumstances, whether or not the new case merits a new paradigm. This comparison would be dependent upon the development of some expertise in design casuistry—which would include familiarity with paradigmatic cases for design. These cases would have to be developed over time and made available for training and use both in classroom and in practice. In effect, this would constitute a new form of knowledge for design disciplines and would generate a group of cases that might be based upon factors such as content genres, image use, integrity in representation, issues of freedom of expression, or appropriation. Some issues might be legal in nature such as trademark infringement or copyright violation. Experts would have to decipher the nature of a case and the particular issues being raised, and then deliberate to determine what about it was paradigmatic to existing cases.

Unlike a rule-based ethics, casuistry is tested on the ground in complex cases through difficult deliberations and questioning that attempts to result in an understanding of the particular agent and context in which the agent is operating, culminating in a recommended action. The entire process is skill-dependent. If the body of deliberators is not both experienced and diligent, if they cannot determine the relevance and irrelevance of existing principles and recognize the usefulness of prior cases, the method fails. Miller offers a more complex view of casuistry as "an interdisciplinary genre"[54] and ties it to "recent currents in the humanities."[55] Referring heavily to Aristotle and his understanding of the interwoven duality of mind and emotion, Miller offers casuistry particular relevance in a postmodern acceptance of the complexity of contemporary life and its concomitant acceptance of multiple lenses through which to view a case. He insists on particularity: "On the epistemological level, attention to particularity requires an understanding of practical reasoning as poetic. The fact that casuistry demands attention to particularity means that we must develop skills of interpretive perspicuity, the power to discern the importance of morally relevant details."[56] Miller views casuistry as having an "aesthetic dimension," with the methodology of rhetoric, its concreteness and persuasiveness, contributing significantly to his concept of casuistry. He situates the practical (casuistry) within the real world of "low brow." Miller's project enriches the Jonsen and Toulmin "introduction" to casuistry and takes casuistry into immediate, contemporary relevance both inside and outside the academy.

Casuistry doesn't shy away from offering resolution to new cases that may prove either unprecedented or too challenging to fit neatly within pre-existing principles or laws. It also seems to count as a method, although the deliberation process might be quite messy. This, too, is advantageous. Experience in the art of casuistry means possessing the ability to understand which principles apply to the deliberations, which facts of a case are relevant, which prior cases apply to the case at hand, and what effects the resolution of this particular case will have on future cases which may refer to it. However, if those deliberating are not sufficiently skilled, the method becomes suspect, although this certainly could be said of most methods in which there is interpretive work to be done. Here, however, because casuistry involves the potential for an open-ended process of interpretation in each of the tasks referenced above, it may be more apt to failure than other methods.

Communicative ethics offers a method that would work not only with casuistry, but also makes sense for the population at large. Dallmayr's discussion of communicative ethics supports the position that the complexity of problems in contemporary life has threatened notions of objectivism and seems to demand that communications be made central to moral enquiry.[57] In a rather basic way, casuistry can be thought of as the structural part of a hybrid method that embeds communicative ethics. It is suggested here that it be used in conjunction with more recent iterations of communicative ethics, a form of discourse ethics that serves as a method for vetting the rationality of the process. No outcome is guaranteed, but rather through discourse the participants determine a process. Casuistry requires both decision and building of the cases so that the content of the discourse would, over time, develop paradigmatic references. Dallmayr notes, "In general terms, communicative ethics can be described as a 'cognitive ethics of language,' that is, as a type of cognitivism which, instead of stressing (factual or intuited) data, relies on insights garnered through participation in communicative or discursive exchanges."[58] This is not a simple matter of conflict resolution, but rather an updated view of Kant's universalism that is described by Habermas as a system in which participants in an exchange must inhabit the perspective of all others involved in that exchange.[59] It is a form of universalism that, in its pragmatism, can be adapted, explained, and made useful to students who generally do not reflect upon their own points of views and who are less likely to inhabit, even temporarily, the views of others.

Habermas is interested in how subjects acquire and use language, coordinate action, and pursue goals based upon a common understanding of the rationality of those goals. "Habermas ties the meaning of speech acts to the practice of reason giving: speech acts inherently involve claims that are in need of reasons—claims that are open to both criticism and justification."[60] When speaker and hearer are in a form of positive agreement, the speech act has succeeded. When the act fails, ordinary speech changes to discourse (a form of argumentation that tests for rationality).[61] Some critics of Habermas do not see the need for the hearer to inhabit the argument in order to understand it. However, what Habermas has suggested may also foster empathy when there is failure to agree. Benhabib has expanded the recent iterations of discourse ethics as a form of "argumentative praxis" replacing Kant's "silent thought-experiment" in his test of universalizability.[62] She is looking for what she views as intersubjective moral validity. "Instead of asking what I as a single rational moral agent can intend or will to be a universal maxim for all without contradiction, the communicative ethicist asks: what principles of action can we all recognize or agree to as being valid if we engage in practical discourse or a mutual search for justification?"[63] What makes the possibility of a more fine-grained resolution to a moral dilemma is the possibility of suspending action in favor of a space for deciphering what Benhabib calls "principles of action." Perhaps agreeing to a first question that is typical of casuist processes, participants might ask: what do we have here? Benhabib, in disagreement with Habermas on the issue goal of communicative ethics, is more interested in the rationality of the procedure than the attainment of consent.[64] Casuistry, however, requires resolution which is not necessarily equivalent to consent, making the two methods potentially compatible ones.

Together casuistry and communicative ethics offer design pedagogy and practice a process for deciphering moral questions. Perhaps even more importantly, casuistry would require the development of a written history of its cases and the isolating of paradigmatic cases would add political, economic, and social understanding to design pedagogy. It would also provide design with a historical, though select, document of discussions that surround the generation of certain types of significant images for which the profession is responsible. The hybrid method of ethics proposed here is further delineated in Chapter 5 of this project.

2.9 Can an Ethical Image Be Deciphered?

If instilling in the design practitioner the ability to decipher what constitutes ethical, responsible imagery is the goal of this work, can we define what it means for an image to be ethical? Freedom of expression remains a valuable right and the intent here certainly is not to undermine that freedom. However, an ethical image may be one that results from vetting and making explicit client motives and behaviors prior to creating, or even agreeing to create, an image. The primary audience for this project is the designer and the intent is to offer the designer (initially as student and subsequently as practitioner) the ability to determine if an image can be deciphered as having met ethical criteria through a negotiated process. I would argue that it is an absolutely realistic goal if, in fact, adequate vetting of the image and the proprietor of that image (the designer him or herself in conjunction with the client and other interested parties) takes place. The designer is seen here as the gatekeeper and ultimately the responsible party for the work that the image may do in circulation. One could refer back (earlier in this chapter) to Milton Glaser's criterion of refusing to lie with an image. In literal cases, for example, one could refuse to lie by deliberately misrepresenting the scale of an object, the color, or what it will do. All of these attributes would require negotiation and verification that could generally be done quite easily, but certainly would require the designer to interrogate what is going on behind the object/image/product itself. This may place a designer in the unfamiliar territory of having to contact the client and obtain additional information about products or images. If this fails, independent sources may need to be researched. In less direct cases, once images are altered and not explicitly so (as in the expert handling of Photoshop software), the designer is in questionable ethical territory because a "truthful" representation is understood by the public but *knowingly* not provided. It is entirely possible that the "everybody is altering images" defense has lost its gravitas and needs to be foregrounded as a concern, *especially* because everybody is doing it. These are specifically problematic with photographic media which, as discussed later in this project, persist in being read as "truthful."

There is no doubt that some instances present more complex situations that would take more time and often more people to adequately vet. The purpose of the studies at the conclusion of this project are intended to demonstrate the possibility of making reasonable determinations about the ethics of an image through the use of a communicative ethics and casuist hybrid, even in situations with agents holding wildly competing agendas. What is being sought is a willingness to investigate and visit images in the process of creating them so that when they are circulated, the responsibility of what has been created has been deciphered as reasonable, both in its likeness and in its claims, and not in any way knowingly obscuring information visually or verbally.

The recognized (and legal) value of parody in representations is generally well known, accepted, valued, and not in question here. However, knowledge of socialization, or knowing what behaviors are expected and represented in particular contexts, is still useful to designers, though the idea of context itself as fixed is problematic. As noted by Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, the contexts are always in process, always being produced. Bal and Bryson[65] address the production of context with respect to art history in a manner that can be applied to designed artifacts and the conditions of their reception. In their efforts to make science of marketing, designers and marketing people often speak about identifying the context as if it were a fixed or quantifiable entity for any given design problem. But if what Bal and Bryson assert—that contexts are always being produced—then even the actual process required to define the design problem includes the attribute of shifting contexts. Horst Rittel notes how the process of working on a design problem keeps shifting because new understandings are being produced during the work.[66] What it means to be socialized also is constantly shifting, as boundaries of private and public become increasingly blurred through the use of video cams and the social networking spaces beginning with Web 2.0 media. The question that *Bitch* magazine raises by making their self-imposed (deonotologic) policy of a prohibition on the use of images of women on their covers to sell magazines provokes a more generalized question about the ethics of contemporary habits of representation. Following the spirit of *Bitch* magazine's prohibition, perhaps a minimal standard for ethical use of imagery could begin with the notion that a photographic image is at least directly related to, or represents more straightforwardly, the product that is being sold. This commitment would require a re-thinking of how visual metaphors are used, because this form of literal picturing is rarely used any longer. The days are long gone since advertisements (for example from early to from mid-twentieth century) displayed the product along with considerable text praising, but also enumerating, its attributes and features. Advertisements clearly are no longer considered a credible source of information about products, though they certainly form genres of social knowledge.

If the above discussion appears to have prematurely drawn a conclusion from a position situated outside of the conclusions, this is, in some sense, an accurate assessment. Because questioning what is viewed as responsible design behavior has fomented this work, I situate the central query about integrity of image initially inside design production, but have allowed some initial value judgment to still reside outside. This is done in order to describe and decipher the problem so that as a method is developed, it is pushing against something: in this case an *a priori* notion of the actual possibility of working with a consciousness about integrity and the rejection of deceipt which is, admittedly, viewed as an undesirable characteristic. The next task is to define what graphic designers know and investigate the interstices between producing images and responding to images.

[1] Kalman was both an insider and outsider with respect to the graphic design profession. Born in Hungary, he was never trained in graphic design.
[2] Paula Scher is a partner in the New York office of the global, multi-disciplinary design consultancy, Pentagram.
[3] Peter Hall and Michael Beirut, eds. *Tibor Kalman: Perverse Optimist.* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), 139.
[4] Kalman's work for Benetton's *Colors* magazine was known for its intentionally shocking political and social commentary.
[5] Paul Rand, *Paul Rand: A Designer's Art,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 233.
[6] Heller, Steven. Introduction in *citizen designer: perspectives on design responsibility,* eds. Steven Heller and Véronique Vienne (New York: Allworth Press, 2003), ix-xi.
[7] http://www.adbusters.org/network/about_us.php (accessed 21 March 2008).
[8] The "First Things First" design manifesto from the year 2000 is available online at the Adbusters web site.
[9] http://www.aiga.org/content.cfm/design-for-democracy (accessed 21 March 2008).
[10] SAPPI and IDEAS THAT MATTER, ©2007, Sappi Fine Paper North America. (Mailers postmarked January 31, 2008, February 16, 2008, and March 17 2008.)
[11] "Defining the Designer of 2015," http://designerof2015.aiga.org/page3.php (accessed 28 April 2008/.
[12] www.creativeforacause.org, directed to web site from email from Heidi Cies (heidi@hcgd.net) to aiga education list referring group to web site. (accessed 08 April 2008).
[13] Howard Gardner and others, *Good Work: When Excellence and Ethics Meet* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 17.
[14] Marshall McLuhan and Quentin Fiore, *The Medium is the Massage* (New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1967), 25.
[15] Peter Singer. *Writings on an Ethical Life* (New York: HarperCollins, 2000),8.
[16] Ibid., 16.
[17] This type of contingency is evident in the large philanthropic/consumer push in the Project Red advertisements.
[18] Marius de Geus, *The End of Over-consumption: Towards a Lifestyle of Moderation and Self-restraint* (Utrecht, the Netherlands: International Books, 2003), 160.
[19] Ibid.,162. Hannah Arendt, on the other hand, argues that the loss of significance of the value of public sphere is responsible for the current condition.
[20] Ibid., 164.
[21] Ibid., 180.
[22] Ibid., 184.
[23] Linda Coleing, "Utility prefigured: Ruskin and St George's Mill," in *Utility Reassessed: The role of ethics in the practice of design*, Judy Attfield, ed. (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1999), 14-15.
[24] Harry Eyres, "Cut corners and the human spirit," *Financial Times,* Saturday 16-17 September 2006, W22.
[25] Rosalind Hursthouse, "Virtue Theory and Abortion," in *Virtue Ethics: A Critical Reader,* Daniel Statman ed. (Washington, D.C.:Georgetown University Press, 1997) ,229.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Henry Sidgwick, *The Methods of Ethics* (Indianapolis/Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, 1981), 23-24.
[28] Raymond J. Devettere, *Introduction to Virtue Ethics: Insights of the Ancient Greeks* (Washington, D.C.:Georgetown University Press, 2002), 24.
[29] Patrick T. McCormick and Russell B. Connors, Jr., *Facing Ethical Issues: Dimensions of Character, Choices & Community* (New York/Mahwah, N.J.: Paulist Press, 2002), 22.
[30] Rosalind Hursthouse, "Virtue Ethics," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Spring 2008 Edition),* Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL= http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/Spring2008/ethics/ethics-virtue/ (accessed 25 May 2008).

[31] Rosalind Hursthouse, *On Virtue Ethics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 243.
[32] Jean Porter, *The Recovery of Virtue: The Relevance of Aquinas for Christian Ethics* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1990), 162.
[33] Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, Second Edition, 1984), 149-150.
[34] Nancy (Ann) Davis, "Contemporary Deontology," in *A Companion to Ethics*, Peter Singer, ed. (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1991,1993), 205-206.
[35] Ibid., 208.
[36] Ibid., 209.
[37] Larry Alexander and Michael Moore, "Deontological Ethics," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Spring 2008 Edition),* Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL= http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/Spring2008/entries/ethics-deontological/ (accessed 25 May 2008).
[38] Immanuel Kant, *Foundations of the Metaphysics of Morals and What is Enlightenment?* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company and London: Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1785,1784. Translation Lewis White Beck, 1990), 18.
[39] Ibid., 27.
[40] Larry Alexander and Michael Moore, "Deontological Ethics," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Spring 2008 Edition),* Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL= http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/Spring2008/entries/ethics-deontological/ (accessed 25 May 2008).
[41] Henry S. Richardson, "Moral Reasoning," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Fall 2007 Edition),* Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL= http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/Fall2007/entries/reasoning-moral/, 2.2
[42] Samuel Scheffler, ed. *Consequentialism and Its Critics.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988/), 1.
[43] Ibid., 2.
[44] Thomas Nagel, "Autonomy and Deontology" in *Consequentialism and Its Critics*, ed. Samuel Scheffler, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 143.
[45] Samuel Scheffler "Relationships and Responsibilities" (*Philosophy and Public Affairs*, Vol.26, No. 3 (Summer, 1997), 189-209), 189-190.
[46] Christine M. Korsgaard. *Creating the Kingdom of Ends.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 301.
[47] Christine M. Korsgaard, "Self-Constitution: Action, Identity and Integrity", (Lecture One, The Metaphysical Foundation of Normativity, The Locke Lectures, Oxford, 2002), 1.3.3.
[48] Larry Alexander and Michael Moore, "Deontological Ethics", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Spring 2008 Edition),* Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL= http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/Spring2008/entries/ethics-deontological/ (accessed 25 May 2008).
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Chapter 3: THE ARC OF IMAGE(S)

3.1 Situating the Analysis, Defining the Terms

This chapter discusses what graphic designers know as a result of having been exposed to formal design pedagogy, the relationship of design to business and branding strategies, and moves to discussions about how images are received and what sort of work images perform at the sites of reception. Living and working within a capitalist system, but admittedly rejecting the ends (profit, and profit alone) as justifying the means within the arenas in which designers work, I have questions about many of the images for which we, as designers and design educators, are responsible. The work of this project is very particularly focused on design pedagogy and practice. My assumption, and (perhaps naïve) objective, is that a space can be made to alter that piece of the system in which the designer does have influence as producer. Because my proposed method is dialogic and negotiated, I should not hold any *a priori* outcome. However, this project was begun from inside our design profession and admittedly with a point of view that design's absence of reflection about its own influence is problematic. Additionally, it is unreasonable to think that an agent can appear at a deliberation as a *tabula rasa.*

I will begin by defining the various terms I use within the following discussion of what designers know and do, acknowledging that my position does fluctuate between that of an insider with direct knowledge of design pedagogy and practice, and that of an outsider with an evolving proposition for my own communities. I would assert that it is the very act of crossing/transgressing this boundary to the outside that has allowed me to develop a critical and hopefully analytical voice and locate the potential for a usable method. It is also my hope that this analytical voice is brought into both pedagogy (and subsequently practice) in the form of a method that is productive for querying problems and challenging assumptions within an economic system that has defined design and under which design has flourished and evolved. The (r)evolution is local to design activities and non-radical because it would be situated with a pedagogical process.

I make a distinction between representation and (re)presentation. In the first definition, representation is used quite literally to refer to the artifact made by designers, a physical object that is "of" something. In this usage, the enormous complexities of cultural meaning are not addressed. The more potent and significant activity of a literal, physical representation is its work as a (re)presentation in which multiple meanings are circulated. Although the designer can be seen as having originated at most or orchestrated at least the (physical) representation, even the designer's work is done within a larger and unstable system of meanings. As the designer is producing meaning, so is the designer receiving/producing it from other sources. This (at least dual) activity is also replicated at the site of reception of the literal representation and never lands in an audience that is thought to be an empty vessel. The audience is actively producing meaning through the complexities of individual and group identities. As Stuart Hall noted, "...meaning is thought to be *produced*—constructed – rather than simply 'found'."[1] Clever designers, however, can be thought to have a particular skill in steering the production of meaning. Mis-representation is understood here to be a form of intentional deception, or manipulation, and is used here to indicate the production of a willful and conscious visual lie that is not in service to social commentary such as satire or hyperbole. Various examples of this behavior are pointed out in the text.

3.2 Design Pedagogy, Design Knowledge

For much of the twentieth century, formal graphic design pedagogy focused on producing designers who had the abilities to make clear and/or informative, and/or seductive, and/or aesthetic a variety of concerns brought to them by people in business and positions of institutional leadership that were translated into images. The act of creating the artifact has been seen as *the* starting point in which the designer as producer is somehow distinct from the surrounding culture for which he/she produces. The separation of the act of sending the image from receiving it is admittedly a slightly artificial one because the designer is almost always simultaneously receiving multiple images and, as indicated above, inhabits a simultaneous position of affecting and affected. However, the image at its site of production is argued here to be mostly internalized—living inside the designer's experience, pedagogical influences, and personal sensibilities with fairly limited deliberate attention to its social and cultural impact. Sensibilities brought to a project derive from conflating a relatively internalized experience with a response to client input. The relatively isolated nature of actual design activity is evident and wrapped into the educational and practice-based histories of the designer, inhibiting the potential to understand the influence of the designed artifact as one piece of a vast and complex, external visual network. Design pedagogy, corporate identity and its roots in pedagogy, as well as the evolution of branding, are examined. Tactics used by designers that result in affective images are discussed, making it clear that graphic design and marketing professionals have developed highly useful methods to manipulate the public. Despite this, it remains difficult for designers to fully anticipate or assess the cultural effect of the image at the site of its production. This problem of eventual scale may be understood through marketing feedback, when available, while the cultural impact remains mostly distant from the experience of producing the image.

Graphic design often describes itself as the business of communicating through images that both persuade and inform, a partially accurate, but naive, description of what design actually does. Graphic design projects generally manifest in one of the following forms: a wide variety of print media, book design, letterform/font design, information design, corporate design, package design, signage, exhibit design and, more recently, time-based media such as web design, video, film, and film titling. Although schools vary in many categories (geographic, autonomous design school versus the university, public/private, graduate/undergraduate, professional educators versus practitioner/educators, theoretical and historical biases), most institutions produce designers who are sufficiently skilled to enter the workplace in a job for which they trained. Despite requirements for coursework in a variety of non-studio areas (such as history, identity politics, and economics), these studies often remain remote from production.

Design students typically learn stylistic attributes of the major twentieth century design movements, marked by particular choices of type faces, colors, and forms (such as purely geometric or organic), a tendency to use particular angles in the layout of elements, use of photography, and degree of overlap in image and type areas. In order to understand the work, many schools offer a smattering of perceptual psychology, color theory, and gestalt theory. Designers also learn how to work with metaphors, allegories, narrative structure and the work that repetition does. Much of mid-twentieth century graphic design's stylistic influence can be traced to early twentieth century Russian Constructivism, early to mid-twentieth century International Style Swiss design, and the mass production focus of German Bauhaus design. The revolutionary agenda of the work of Constructivists, leading up to the events of 1917 Russia, though still appropriated as style, has been depoliticized. Following the demise of the Bauhaus, the Hochschule für Gestaltung at Ulm enjoyed a short but influential period of time that affected 20th century design pedagogy and permanently connected design activities to mass production. Many artists and designers who left Germany during the 1930s established themselves in the United States and were instrumental in the creation of American design schools. The "New Bauhaus," founded by Lászlo Moholy-Nagy in Chicago in 1937 eventually became part of the Illinois Institute of Technology.[2]

In design schools throughout the 20th century, certain visual choices were taught to have particular meanings, and designers acquired the knowledge to produce formal visual attributes to convey a strong corporation, or to use black and white photography to convey a kind of documentary truth. Design pedagogy also bound formal aesthetic decisions with notions of goodness. Kenneth Frampton,[3] citing Henry Van de Velde's half-century old urging "to wage war on ugliness" with what is "intrinsically good," meant both "seemly and practical," making design an act that is an essentially morally implicated one. This is no guarantee: the graphics and films of Hitler's Third Reich are still considered to be among the finest design artifacts ever created. When compared with much of what is produced today, most products are hardly seemly or practical with many ending up in landfills. Additionally, design education unabashedly connected the arenas of design and business long before the current wave of efforts to engage business school pedagogy with design "strategies." However, emerging from war-torn Europe and with active memories of scarcity, design work did not suffer from excess and gratuitous gesture. In their discussion of identity and the use of the Lufthansa program as an example, Ulm faculty and graduates developed applications that had at the time, and remain to this day, evidence of a highly coherent visual system.[4] The strong relationship between design education and the graphic needs of business were also made explicit, meeting the need by developing a corporation's visual identity. "Corporate identity means that all the objects, the services, and the installations of a single undertaking identify themselves in a single consistent way."[5] It is significant that the relative ease of controlling identity was in great part the result of limited access by a general public untrained in design to technologies that allowed for considerable control over the production/reproduction of an image. More recent public access to software and digital image making have resulted in a swelling and changing sea of images that include original, appropriated (infringed), and manipulated designs.

Late twentieth century stylistic influences upon graphic design rejected high modernism and can be traced to contemporary, sometimes quirky, experimental Dutch design and loose appropriations of post-structuralist theories of power that have translated graphically as visual complexity, layered and often illegible imagery. The emphasis on personal voice became central in many progressive design programs, especially Cranbrook.[6] Much of this understanding of personal voice had the effect either of directly marginalizing or alienating business clients, or training designers whose work deliberately was limited to elite cultural institutions such as museums and galleries where sophisticated audiences could tolerate visual abstractions and rather self-indulgent explorations. Much of this genre of work sought its justification in theories that contested centralized power and attempted to make visible those voices from the margins. With the mimetic tendencies of designers, these visuals began to be rather carelessly applied, whether or not the conditions of a project warranted this sort of complexity. However, if one examines the client base for the postmodern visual genre, the clients are more likely to be small in scale and to have relatively select audiences.

Graphic designers understand an image to be constituted of typography and visual elements (often photographic, symbolic, or illustrative), which, though simplistic, has helped design define itself in relation to fine arts production. Design curricula, especially coursework at the entry-level, typically isolate the study of letterforms/words (typography) from the study of visuals (non-verbal). More advanced typographic studies, where typography is experimental, present additional pedagogical concerns regarding legibility and meaning within visible language.[7] After close but discrete examination, those who develop design curricula typically assume that a certain level of mastery is required to bring these two components, the visual and verbal, into a cohesive graphic image. High modernism as a graphic style became design's version of positivism, demanding the best "solution" to a design "problem" that would result from making rational decisions about form, hierarchy, color and typography. Early to mid-twentieth century graphic design did not challenge linearity and attempts to oversimplify the designed artifact, perceiving the process as a direct line between problem statement and "solution." Rather, it presumed that one could state a problem explicitly, express intent, and subsequently design in order to deliver what was thought to be an unambiguous message that solved an explicitly stated problem.[8] Most high modernist thinking posited a universalism not only in what a designer ought to produce, but also in the ways in which its intended audience would receive design. Under the style of high modernism, graphic designers were primarily formalists and form-givers with little to no influence over word crafting or concept development. Additionally, before the widespread use of the computer as a means to produce design, the activity of graphic design was isolated from the general public because equipment was heavily industrial. Typography, in particular, was a highly specialized artisanal craft, without the ubiquitous public access to it through personal computer systems since the 1980s. Expertise depended upon formal design education making it nearly impossible for someone to produce graphic images for mass reproduction in the absence of formal education in design.

Since its establishment as a discipline in American art schools, graphic design has sought to keep itself distinct from, and has viewed itself as morally superior to, advertising. However, in the early part of the twentieth century, "graphic design" was generally indistinct from advertising. Peter Behrens, called "the first industrial designer" according to graphic design historian Meggs, designed the logo, products, and ads for AEG[9] in the early twentieth century. The now iconic posters by Cassandra promoting French newspapers, travel, and furniture stores[10] have long been claimed by graphic design as part of its early history, though they were clearly advertisements. Early twentieth century advertising was not ethically stigmatized because it was seen as a source of *information* for those who could not fully understand or have physical access to products (as, for example, with hand made objects or marketplaces in which the consumer had direct access to local products). During the mid-twentieth century, Professor Neil Borden (at the Graduate School of Business Administration at Harvard) noted increased protection of what he described as "the untutored buyer" as sellers became increasingly sophisticated in their knowledge of the products and the number of products was increasing. Referring to the relatively small number of unethical sellers, he cautioned against unethical activities in order to avoid "restrictive legislation."[11] This is an early example of supposedly responsible business behavior that was actually a way to preempt legislated compliance.

For the purposes of this project and in spite of their continued separation as disciplines in most contemporary art and design schools, the business of image making is not split into advertising and design. The line between the two is not productive in the critical investigation of publicly circulated images that serve consumption,[12] and in both areas, pedagogical practice has worked to embed meaning within style.

3.3 The Corporation and the Graphic Image

During the middle of the twentieth century, most large corporations hired designers to create corporate symbols that would be used to identify the corporation and its products. This was a time when design was not considered terribly conceptual, but rather, a formal undertaking that resulted in an equally formal expression. Designers understood that the ideal corporate client would support both the production of a rigid and explicit identity manual and a corporate value system that aimed, like IBM did under the influence of Paul Rand's design control, at tightly implementing and managing the public face of that corporation. Included in the manual were various image implementation "dos" and "don'ts." Most often this control was attempted through the development of a corporate identity manual that was produced by the corporate designer for use by the corporation and its approved vendors. Typically delineated were the choice of the corporate typeface(s) (most often the sans serif Helvetica and the serif Times Roman type families) and rules and examples for applying them. The size of the type typically was expressed as a proportion of some obvious dimension in the corporate symbol and constituted one part of what was known as the corporate signature, the formal and explicit relationship between logo or symbol and the typography containing the corporate name. This signature was provided to the corporation and its selected vendors in two formats: one was for horizontal applications and the other was for vertical applications. Consistency of appearance and correctness of application were goals of the identity project. The manuals specified any usage that could be anticipated at the time of their development, typically including such items as print materials, advertising, vehicle and building signage, and uniforms. Unlike the layered complexity of contemporary graphics, corporate graphics were marked by images and type kept discrete from each other and strong visual hierarchies. Each identity was intended to remain strictly enforced, implemented as fully as possible, and wholly separate from competitors. During this time the actual production of design was equally discrete from the population at large. Designers had particular skills that allowed them to make and apply these images in controlled situations. It was a time when hand skills and the physical expertise to produce designed materials dominated pedagogy.

Beginning with the early 1980s, as it became evident that the new computer technologies would significantly impact the design field, producing design became less and less proprietary and certainly less dependent upon formal design education. Jenkins, in his discussion of media convergence, points to the recently acquired knowledge of technology that consumers have which indicate a "freer flow of ideas and content."[13] He notes that media companies need to rethink what it means to consume media, and new consumers have moved away from the passivity of old consumers, behaving in a more "migratory" and less loyal fashion. This might be a useful lens for viewing the stream of images made possible in the first place by the new technologies. Recent migratory behaviors have forced media companies to rethink how to expand their potential markets.[14]

3.3.1 From Modernism to Postmodernism

The time frame for this project, late twentieth century to the present, is a concise span that has witnessed several significant shifts in popular culture. These are due mostly to technological possibilities for producing images in places never before possible and design's increasingly direct connection to business and business pedagogy. Despite graphic design's historical claim to have arisen from mark making's earliest origins,[15] graphic design study as we know it today fully emerged following World War II, and is due largely to German emigration by Bauhaus-trained architects and designers to the United States. As manufacturing grew, so did post-war images of domesticity in magazines and on television screens in the form of advertisements. Penny Sparke notes the early demarcation of woman as decorator and man as designer.[16] As advertising urged "cleaning up" the home, the design style referred to as high modernism (created mostly by males), was the mark of a "cleaned up" corporation. High modernist graphic style regarded itself as the expression of utopian vision in the guise of pure form. Bank graphics, the graphics for *pro bono* organizations, and the U.S. Printing Office shared similar formal characteristics. Content was made explicit through typographic clarity: one could read what one was looking at: strong legibility, explicitness of message, and ease of recognition signified design produced by a formally trained graphic designer. The 1950s through the 1970s yielded a homogenized visual language across much of American and European culture.[17] This visual language is seen as Western European, corporate, and male.

Several major technological shifts affecting visuality have occurred since the mid-twentieth century. The emergence of television in middle class American homes in the 1950s signaled the beginning of large-scale public anesthetization, achieved through seductive imagery and constrained freedom of movement. Listeners became viewers and shifted from the aural appeal of radio to the expanding, co-operating visual network of print and television. As Jonathan Crary notes,

> Television and the personal computer, even as they are now converging toward a single machinic functioning, are antinomadic procedures that fix and striate. They are methods for the management of attention that use partitioning and sedentarization, rendering bodies controllable and useful simultaneously, even as they simulate the illusion of choices and 'interactivity.'[18]

Crary describes a kind of compliance embedded in the role of the observer.[19] There is, perhaps even worse, a form of captivity. The increasingly ubiquitous computer, beginning with the post-industrial 1980s, was a technology for image production and viewing, this time bringing images from many sources to a single viewing site.

With expanded computer use in the 1980s, graphic designers temporarily felt threatened as their territory was invaded by those with no formal education in typography and form but who now had access to machines that made the generation and distribution of images possible. The cracks in high modernism's style became evident. Designers like Swiss-trained, Los Angeles based April Greiman boldly subverted the genre of images that had been constructed as voices of (corporate) authority. Cranbrook, under Kathryn McCoy's leadership in the 1970s and 1980s, produced a generation of mostly female designers who challenged high modernism's style, understood to be the expression of the male voice, and the visual residue of Enlightenment rationalism that favored design over decoration. McCoy was interested in design as a cultural practice.[20] Design students in the latter part of the twentieth century began to read Foucault and Deleuze, stylistically appropriating rupture and rhizome as metaphors of visual language in attempts to overthrow the high modernist style.[21]

It is questionable to assume that the recent visual cracks in high modernist design are substantive or pervasive. The mid-twentieth century design practice has evolved into "branding" which claims to control not only the visual appearance of corporations and product lines, but has anthropomorphized the corporation by developing its personality commonly referred to as its "look and feel" and operating simultaneously on the edge of sameness and distinction. Contemporary branding work continues to distinguish numerous, almost-identical products from each other through emotional appeals to the consumer. Repetition of a corporate image encourages the explicit intention to make the combination easily recognizable and memorable through its many measured applications. Martin Jay points to the ocular centric and social significance of exact repeatability beginning with the availability of printing in Western Europe in the early modern era.[22] Much of the success of a corporate identity relied upon recognition achieved through this controlled repeatability. More recent corporate graphics have had the luxury of being able to stray from "exact repeatability" to sufficient repeatability, not as a reflection of serious problematizing of the corporate monolith, but rather due to the increase in availability of a corporation's visual real estate and what might be more accurately described as general repeatability. This surface availability lessens the stridency of precise visual repeatability as long as sufficient elements remain recognizable. Target's bulls eye symbol, for example, can vary visually from site to site because it is so readily available as an image in public venues that its essential formal characteristic, the concentric Platonic circle, has imprinted itself on the viewer.

Where recent graphic design theory embraces the destabilized image (an image that resists control over meaning) in its rejection of modernism as style, the act is more pastiche than politics. Despite the acknowledgement of a "linguistic turn" and the marginalization of visuality in twentieth century French thought, design appropriated this turn as visual effect. As Jay asserts, "Representation and theory in their traditional guises may be under assault, surveillance and the spectacle may be widely decried, but the power of visuality has certainly survived the attack."[23] He defines visuality as the "complex mix of natural and cultural phenomena."[24] The effects that result from graphic design practice have so naturalized images of consumption that they frequently escape critical evaluation.

Typography itself, long understood as the delivery mechanism and carrier of literal meaning within the graphic image, became emotive in postmodern graphic style. As Johanna Drucker points out, words that serve as experimental images are really in the category outside of even the most openly interpretive forms of semiotics.[25] The cover of a tourist map distributed widely in Taipei hotels in October 2005 showed an attractive young Taiwanese woman wearing a tee shirt with the message "DIRTY WHITE SLUT." The map was pulled from distribution once the tourist bureau discovered what the words meant in English, yet the actual words seemed not to be of significance when the image was used on the map. What mattered was that this was a hip, young woman wearing a trendy shirt with an American message, tying her directly to a youthful, exuberant, global consumerism. In other examples that contrast with corporate typography, word manipulation has become painterly and legibility has become inconsequential. Words were deconstructed as renewed interest in decoration arose, understood by designers to signal the triumph of (the often misunderstood application of) personal voice. Women became more prominent in design, and technology made typographic manipulation seamless (especially when compared with the labor intensity of typesetting by hand Apollinaire's famous early twentieth century poem, "Il Pleut").

As some corporations began to use less formal images as a result of the popularity of post-modern graphic design, the areas reserved for financial transaction information (data such as name, address, and credit card numbers) even in the most interpretative graphic pieces often remain unambiguously legible. If graphic design was rejecting the univocal modernist canon, much of this rejection came in the form of alternate voices and resided at the periphery of cultural power and certainly at the periphery of economic power. Meanwhile Barbara Kruger and Jenny Holzer, both of the fine arts world, created visually clear typographic, political and social messages. Art and design, with access to the same typographic vehicles for production, delivered disparate messages with style cycles that seemed to be asynchronous. Fine artists had begun to appropriate high modernism's corporate formalism to deliver explicit, anti-capitalist messages with the voice of visual authority that had become attached to corporate messages of the mid- to late-twentieth century.

Corporate design, however, is hardly in trouble. The corporation has more visibility than ever before. The surfaces available to corporations, from logos on trucks and signage in the 1960s to the current and expanded areas of web, print, brand merchandise, and basketball stadia (in the form of naming rights), have created a near-utopian condition for corporations and their designers. The ubiquity and availability of messaged surfaces have allowed corporate designers the freedom to "express" themselves through their work without jeopardizing the brand message and recognition. The rhizomatic appearance of corporate visuals may look chaotic, but they are the result of highly calculated marketing campaigns designed for ease in reproduction, pervasiveness, invasiveness and customization, when necessary. Like the rhizome, the corporation has an equally evolved instinct for survival and flourishing.

In the early 1980s, Wolfgang Schmittel reflected the sentiments of the corporate designer: "To me...CI is primarily a matter of attitude, a matter of character! A self-comprehension that comes from inside combined with a clear vision of the goal. Designers can then transfer this mental attitude to a graphic picture—to 'CD', i.e. 'Corporate Design'. In this way purely aesthetic, qualitative aspects create economic values and success..."[26] As recently as 2003, a textbook titled *Universal Principles of Design* published detailed rules for guaranteeing the (economic) success of a design. Attempting to make science where there is only some perceptual theory, it includes categories such as "Face-ism Ratio"[27] that describes controlling the effects of a photograph based upon degrees of distance from the face/body, to "Life Cycle" in which it recommends that during the predictable decline phase of a product, designers plan for its next iteration.[28] This text is intended to guide the designer at the level of design production while maintaining an eye on the corporate bottom line. It claims to teach the designer how to influence the way a design is perceived and ignores the theoretical work that has challenged the idea of embedding meaning as an intrinsic attribute. Within graphic design practice and pedagogy, the sense that the designer has formidable control over reception remains a dominant mode of thinking despite questions about the degree of influence design actually has over its audience and its pre- and post-material consciousness and conscience.

Consumerism, design, and urban living are interdependent activities and conditions. Words/images are needed to show/tell the new. The new is announced through a creation of tension with what Kenneth Boulding might call "the image," "knowledge" available at a given moment which he defines as a cognitive image. Although Boulding is talking about the image as a set of internal knowledge(s) about the world, I do argue that the cognitive image he describes is influenced by the image-artifacts that live in everyday surroundings. As Boulding noted, new messages have the potential to challenge the organization of one's world view either by simply calling attention to some thing, demanding a reorganization, or even revolutionizing the view.[29] Perhaps the most mundane and literal images may have similar kinds of potential to impact one's "knowledge". The newly styled handbag, for example, renders the existing one outdated, presenting the consumer with new "information" about what is considered stylish at a given point in time. Designers depend upon corporations to sustain their practice, and both need the urban setting so that people caught in the loop of consumerism can not only see, but can be seen wearing or using the latest. The current hyperbolic iteration of consumerism is reminiscent of Benjamin's discovery of life in the

Parisian arcades. Critical to the fabrication of identity is the possibility of being seen, and how one prepares oneself for the act of being seen/consumed. This aspect of consumer culture insists on the "new" and directly ties it to the functioning of capitalism. Intent remains relevant in the production of consumer-related design with image as a coercive tool that is monitored through sales and consumer psychology.[30]

Law professor and cultural anthropologist Rosemary Coombe, writing on the unfortunate correspondence between intellectual property and conditions of culture, notes "For subjects in contemporary consumer societies, I suggest, political action must involve a critical engagement with commodified cultural forms."[31] In late twentieth century graphic design, a distinct battle (including the legal aspects that Coombe identifies) between corporately controlled design and renegade subversion of corporate imagery, has been waged. Late twentieth century graphics reveal words used as visuals and show little regard for syntax for two reasons: recent technologies have replaced hand skills, and graphic design has (mis)interpreted postmodernity's understanding of text. For the many designers who decorate with type, letters and words have exchanged their linguistic potential for a decorative one.

Contemporary corporate graphics are, in some way, more reprehensibly dishonest than the earlier high modernist graphics that did not pretend to represent anything other than corporate power (reliability, size, and safety for your investments, etc.). Within the past decade, many large corporations have re-positioned themselves either through the design of new, green identities and messages or by linking their existing identities to visual messages that co-market some genre of social responsibility. Though contemporary corporate culture may look less hegemonic, it isn't (with respect to who creates their images and who reaps the economic benefits). What has changed, and what continues to change in graphics that serve consumer culture, is the amount of surface for sale and the shortened temporal life of the image which, with many of the newer technologies, is supplanted with greater frequency and less physical labor. The urban poor continue to work where the urban rich play, and economic discrepancies between rich and poor continue to widen. And the commodity itself, as Baudrillard understood it, continues to obscure "the social relations of production and the reality of the division of labor."[32] As an object that has become a sign, its meaning now lies in its relationship of other signs.[33]

3.3.2 The Work of the Photographic Image

Used to promote a commercial agenda, photographs occupy a significant role in the image bank of capitalism. Photography is the most popular and powerful medium to allow for a viewer to "connect" to an image. It announces the availability of new products, goods, or services and often signifies, through considered and consistent formal style, the reification of the brand. The overall graphic image typically contains both words and photographic images that serve to reinforce each other, but photography conveys a special aura of truth. Although most photographs used in advertising are heavily doctored to create images of overly thin, perfectly unblemished women, they continue to be read as factual and scientific. Highly sought after retouchers such as Pascal Dangin make those who are "already amazing...look...superhuman."[34] Despite the realization and increasing awareness of the ease with which images can be altered through software such as Adobe Photoshop, the general public continues to imbue the photographic image with an aura of status as a document. Enlightenment thinking continues to weigh heavily on the value we attach to understanding photography as a logical, rational, scientifically based process. What transpires *after* the click of the camera fails to register as a challenge to notions of truthful representations: the newer "science" of photo retouching is not calculated into the reading of the images. André Bazin notes that photography has this "irrational power which sweeps our faith along with it… (it) has been *assigned* the function of representing the real and nothing else."[35] John Tagg comments, "The ideological conception of the photograph as a direct and 'natural' cast of reality was present from the very beginning and, almost immediately, its appeal was exploited in portraiture."[36] How, then, can one reconcile the internal dialogue that encourages self-talk about one's own image in the face of how one understand the photograph? The three-ring circus of insistent images rent at our sufficient-ness. These attributes seem to apply to everything that *appears to us* to be a photograph even if it is a representation that had its roots in the photographic medium prior to undergoing extensive retouching. Because of the current, digital ease with which still photography can be manipulated, it is a more egregious image than the labor-intensive, retouched images of the twentieth century.

Within scholarly writing, the photograph has been long divorced from notions of truth. According to Hillel Schwartz, Alphonse Bertillon, chief of the Office of Judicial Identification as far back as late nineteenth century Paris noted that "although the lens of the camera never lied, cameramen and their subjects did."[37] Now well known are Matthew Brady's infamous images of Civil War dead. Not only had bodies been moved by Brady to take advantage of the light, but live soldiers were staged as war casualties.[38] To this day, his images remain icons for photojournalists of what *not* to do, as if photography had the potential to avoid a point of view, still equating it with truth. Almost a century later, Diane Arbus's photographs of androgyny and dwarfism offer a "hyperreality" that bring the grotesque of the everyday into sharp focus. They coerce the viewer to examine the black and white image as document, an artificially frozen moment of nature's resistance to the ideal "painted" with a cruelty normally below our visual radar. These are not images of truth at a standstill, but images of social critique with a strong, personal point of view. Not even current awareness asserts itself on the photograph's documentary power. Arbus commented that, "...there's this kind of power thing about the camera. I mean everyone knows you've got some edge. You're carrying some slight magic which does something to them. It fixes them in a way."[39]

The constructed untruth is evident in the web site of Glenn C. Feron. At Feron's "The art of retouching," the visitor to the site can see (interactively) the results of the retouching process. Clicking on an image from the home page of Feron's portfolio opens up a large version of the image. Instructions under the image say, "pass cursor over image to see image before retouching." When this is done, it is evident that skin tones are unrealistically evened out, made more golden, and freed from any marks, scars, or discolorations. Bodies are idealized in the same manner as the wholly controlled illustrated Vargas girls from *Playboy* magazine or the manufactured, synthetic Barbie doll. Cellulite is eliminated, buttocks are rounded perfectly, natural rolls that occur when a human waist bends are removed and slimmed. The body is "redrawn" in a realistic-but-idealized form and colors in the photographic image are saturated with hues.[40] The documentary reading of these commonly corrected images remain mostly unchallenged by a viewing public that tends not to think about the conditions under which the photograph was initially made or subsequently altered. They are even much less likely to be conscious about what has been excluded from the frame at that frozen moment in time, or choices about the angle at which an image was photographed, both contributing to the illusion of credibility and points of view. Susan Sontag describes the complexity of what the photographic image suggests to the viewer. "Photography implies that we know about the world if we accept it as the camera records it. But this is the opposite of understanding, which starts from *not* accepting the world as it looks. All possibility of understanding is rooted in the ability to say no."[41] The surface of the photograph must be, according to Sontag, the starting point of resistance, but in images that appear in popular culture, it rarely is.

3.3.3 The Work of the Word in the Graphic Image

Typography is a central component of design. If the text in a communication is unpacked, a fairly standard command structure is used in much of its grammar, with "you" implied. Language has been especially pointed in recent ads that delineate a corporation's involvement in activities designed to be perceived as socially responsible. In these instances, the words that tell the story of a corporation's responsible behavior often dominate the advertising space.

Ban deodorant ad uses stickers with commanding slogans that each begin with the product name "Ban" but incorporate a socially responsible message as part of the branding message. (*Teen People*, May 2004, 61.)

In ads directed at engaging the consumer to make a purchase, the graphic and verbal components work to strengthen the desired outcome (that of causing the act of purchasing). Linguistic studies that address language and emotions reveal that in certain cultures emotions such as jealousy or envy are used in distinctive ways. In English, it is suggested that envy involves comparison. "Roughly, one compares oneself with someone who is 'better off' in some respect, and feels bad as a result." The word jealousy is understood to involve some personal loss.[42] This raises questions about the role of envy that is produced in the visual/verbal language of popular consumer culture. Goddard suggests that in some cultures jealousy is the emotion that is understood to require action, but envy is the emotion that often is intentionally created in a consumer culture in which it is possible to at least temporarily relieve (through a purchase) the discomfort produced by the sensation of envy.

When one examines cultural pragmatics linguistically, observations about communication norms can be generalized and applied visually as well as verbally, both in the sending and interpreting of messages. A tacit, though not fixed over time, understanding can be expected in the reading and relay of such messages.[43] It is not necessary to be in agreement with what is expected in order to have some understanding of it.[44] Though they are referencing verbal language, Planalp and Knie note the difficulty in determining the roles played by the interaction of verbal and nonverbal messages. "If nonverbal cues modify, augment, illustrate, accentuate, and contradict the words they accompany…focusing on the words alone cannot capture their richest and most subtle meaning."[45] The authors are making a case for *not* studying single modalities of communications in isolation. I would argue that their position applies to graphic messages as well—that words and images are intricately connected as designers incorporate copywriting into the process of producing messages and, more importantly, into the dynamic and imbricated reception of those messages. Also referenced in their text is Scherer's distinction between what is referred to as push and pull in "emotional communication.[46] With the individual at the locus of descriptors, the pull comes from the outside and the push is internal. This is analogous to the ways in which the response to commercial imagery is understood.

Intention is still central to the process of creating messages—particularly those created for commercial use. Designers and design educators routinely talk of goals, objectives, intentions, and audience, often critiquing work in progress against those perceived genres.

> Intentions are psychological states, and most scholars assume that the content of an intention must be mentally represented. In particular, a speaker or writer [and

> perhaps a designer] must have in mind a representation of the set of assumptions that he or she intends to make manifest or more manifest to an audience. Following the work of Grice,[47] most scholars maintain that interpersonal communication consists of the sender intending to cause the receiver to think or do something just by getting the receiver to recognize that the sender is trying to cause that thought or action. Thus, 'communication is a complex kind of intention that is achieved or satisfied just by being recognized.'[48]

A cognitive aspect to the sending and receiving of communications is implied in the overwhelming use of consumer-focused communications designed to provoke some particular response in the marketplace. These communications intrude upon daily life, are difficult to avoid, and typically require engagement (even if to form a refusal to engage).

3.4 From Identity to Branding

Democratization of design production is one of the most significant factors that encouraged the evolution of branding as a survival tactic for designers. Many designers were forced to rethink their expertise because they no longer had the exclusive knowledge that allowed them to get ink onto paper using actual typography. Designers now became business strategists and branding experts. Simultaneous with design being dispossessed of its proprietary professional knowledge, the near mind-numbing product choices (for example, in toothpaste or shampoo) since the mid-twentieth century meant that a business need was created to develop expertise in "helping" consumers make fine grained distinctions from among the various products available. This gave way to branding strategies, of which the current Dove "Campaign for Real Beauty" is an excellent marketing example. Actual differences among beauty products, among others, are mostly insignificant (if one were to read the list of chemicals on the product label), but the naming, packaging, and advertising that create perceptions of difference are not trivial. The orchestration of new technologies that changed the ways in which design was produced also resulted in new and increased venues and forms of graphic, consumer-based images. A shared survival instinct among manufacturers producing "new and improved products" and image makers producing images across an increasing variety of media has created new forms of expertise, giving birth to new branding consultancies and the increase in the number of traditional design firms that switched the focus of their services to branding. The industry term "Madison + Vine" "refers to the potential collaboration between content producers and advertisers in shaping the total emotional experience of a media franchise with the goal of motivating consumer decisions."[49] In a fairly recent publication aimed at a graphic design audience, Wheeler dissects branding for the design practitioner who wants to remain relevant. Quoting Walter Landor, "Products are created in the factory. Brands are created in the mind."[50] Her set of "brand touch points" reveals the host of collateral materials, verbal communications, marketing, PR, products and services.[51] In other words, the brand is made up of everything that may have contact with the public.

The results of branding are visible everywhere in pubic venues such as store windows, and billboards and in innumerable advertisements positioned on the web, in magazines, and newspapers. What is less apparent (except to those in design, marketing or advertising) is the vast amount of behind-the-scenes "instructional" activity that encourages, instructs, and supports brand building. These can be seen in advertisements for luxury brand conferences such as those promoted in full-page ads in the *Financial Times* and DMI (Design Management Institute) announcements. The old work of corporate identity that addressed and attempted to regularize the visual appearance of a corporation's public face has given way to branding frenzy. For a designer who is accustomed to working with specific forms, colors, and scale, branding initially seems elusive. A brand is often characterized internally by corporate marketing as its consistent "look and feel," but is far less explicit than the instructions found within a corporate identity manual from the mid-twentieth century. Ironically, almost every branding consultant is pushing undifferentiated messages of brand innovation and brand strategy.

San Francisco design and strategy firm, Cahan & Associates, has used techniques that upend expectations in an effort to demonstrate their particular uniqueness and why clients should trust them. Their cahanassociates.com web site, for example, rather than show the firm's work, reveals a black rectangle with Cahan talking about the firm's position with respect to a "thousand" others. In direct contrast to electronic media, one might not expect to find the 400 year-old technology of letterpress printing, a method only very rarely used in the commercial world (due to lack of speed and high expense) in use in contemporary communications. Cahan's office did a series of letterpress cards printed in 2-colors as a promotional device for their office, with titles such as "Clawing Your Way to the Middle." The company name appears nowhere on the card. Rather there is a reference to a web site www.getoutofhell.com that reveals the categories on the card. When the site is entered at the level just past the home page, both examples of the work and name of the Cahan office finally appear. In his campaign against marketing "vanilla" as he calls it, Cahan himself is using a fairly standard device that relies on short public memory, using tactics and materials that are polar opposites to what is expected in contemporary branding exercises. In this way, Cahan is performing through the use of his own office how he can help distinguish a prospective client from its competitors.

While the Cahan office, like most consultancies, takes its public image seriously, Michael Beirut, partner in the New York office of Pentagram, an international recognized multi-disciplinary design firm, along with several Pentagram designers, satirically branded Christmas. Beirut stated:" It's a big brand: 2,000-plus years of what marketers call brand equity in the making."[52] He suggested that the parent brand become "x.mas" and that large corporations such as Target, Apple and Nike become official sponsors with new web sites like Apple.mas and use the money raised philanthropically all year long. According to Beirut, this would make Santa Claus, " bigger than Gates, bigger than Buffett, bigger than anything."[53] Beirut's self-deprecating humor serves as a critique of ever-the-same images and strategies that support consumption. The goal of branding is always, whether explicitly stated by the branding expert or not, to make sure that a particular company's product is the one selected at the moment of purchase.

Brands are not necessarily perceived consistently when applied across different cultures. The cosmetics firm Rimmel London is seen in the UK as perhaps the first brand of makeup a young girl might use (mass-marketed and inexpensive). Their worldwide ads feature super model Kate Moss who, along with the word "London" as part of the brand, may be responsible for making Rimmel a cult brand in Japan.[54] Target has managed through its pop-up stores to attempt to bridge low-to-high income brackets. They have set up temporary boutiques that sell well-known designer high end and low end lines in the same venue, opening a temporary summer store in the fashionable, upscale Hamptons and a "holiday boat" at the hip Chelsea Piers in Manhattan. They have been able, through clever marketing, to bridge economic strata.[55] Part of Target's ability to be fluid in the marketplace is not unrelated to their ubiquity and presence in a large variety of media.

Univision Communications Inc. placed a double truck ad in *The New York Times* that focused on the need for businesses to pay attention to the Hispanic market. With a full-page photo of a young (stereotypical in appearance) Latina woman in the act of shopping, the headline says, "I LIKE TO THINK OF IT AS $41 BILLION OF RETAIL THERAPY."[56] The ad welcomed the Latina woman to the American woman's favorite pastime.

Evidence of "progress" in business is marked by change, whether real or perceived: relevance is perceived as not standing still. What was a standard way to identify the corporation in the mid-twentieth century is no longer sufficient as the distinction between visual identification and promotion evolves. As the number of products increased, the visual specificity of any one single product seemed to become less important and the brand became central to sales. When introducing new products, corporations hope that brand loyalty is extended to those products. Constructing "the look and feel" of the brand is distinctly different from constructing the look of a specific product. In recent iterations of branding strategies, consultants like Marc Gobé talk about the necessity of forming an emotional attachment to a brand.[57] Gobé's branding goal is to make it possible for his clients to create consumers who emotionally identify with the brand, making them inseparable. This emotional positioning of the brand is a widespread strategy despite recent evidence of decreasing brand loyalty among consumers.

The development of a brand requires complex orchestration of a variety of participants. Not only are the designer, marketer, and brand strategist involved directly with the corporation, an entire professional development effort exists to understand not only the particular brand, but how to sell a brand strategy to a potential or existing client.

These efforts are made through tutorials, conferences, and book sales and are evident in the publicity for these events marketed to those already within professional design and marketing practices. Most traditional corporate identity efforts were centered on corporations that had the ability to establish a public presence (such as UPS, General Electric, or IBM), despite the unavailability of current technologies for making identities visible in popular culture today. Today, every business, regardless of how small it is and how much visual real estate it has, has been made to believe that it needs to be a brand. Yet as noted by editor Thomas Frank, the brand resists explicit interpretation. "The brand, correctly understood, is a relationship, a thing of nuance and complexity, or irony and coy evasiveness."[58] Resisting explicitness and avoiding that which is tangible are fairly pervasive behaviors among those who specialize in branding. The language used to sell branding services, words such as "innovation" or "green," when examined in use across a variety of corporations, is surprisingly homogeneous for those whose expertise is selling distinction.

While commercial images offered to the public in the mid-twentieth century often were based upon mini-narratives, contemporary commercials have abandoned that format. "One important theorist of postmodernism, Fredric Jameson, has argued that what we call postmodernism is, in reality, the form that capitalism takes in advanced capitalist societies. The most widespread and eclectic art form in our day, I would suggest, is the advertisement, which helps us decide upon what to consume to create our 'eclectic' lifestyles."[59] Berger notes that contemporary advertising, rather than striving to make sense, goes for the look.[60] Other commonly assumed postmodern attributes such as an absence of hierarchy, fragmentation, and inability to determine what is real and what is not have found their way into current images.[61]

3.5 The Business of the Business of Branding

Teaching branding has become a business that targets multiple audiences. Branding consultancies make their presence known at conferences dedicated to recent branding strategies. Branding is taught in business schools, the AIGA (the professional organization of graphic design) runs brand strategy conferences, and the Design Management Institute (DMI) regularly runs conferences and offers continuing education in the latest iterations of branding strategies. In its announcement for its October 2006 AIGA Business and Design conference, the following text appeared: "Participants will hear business and design leaders share their innovative approaches to generating greater return on investment, fostering emotional connections and providing positive brand experiences for customers." This appeared under the heading, "Design Means Business." The *Financial Times*, among its regular full-page advertisements announcing branding conferences, includes the more specialized luxury brand conferences such as "The Rationalisation of Luxury" held in Las Vegas in June 2006 and sponsored by the *Financial Times.* Conferences like these feature speakers from high end businesses and are designed to help luxury manufacturers determine pricing strategy and positioning with respect to the less high end market.[62] Business students, corporate marketers, and designers are targets of the brand strategy education business.[63]

Exclusion not based upon the notion of unaffordable-to-the-average-consumer, but rather other factors such as brand style or customer age recently have been used to increase the desirability of products. The Gap brand, originally based upon selling only merchandise manufactured by Levi Strauss, expanded its number of stores and eventually its product lines until it became ubiquitous. Generations accustomed to "post-consumer" customization as a product feature grew tired of the sameness and pervasive availability of Gap merchandise. "In an era of niches, when exclusion is as vital as inclusion, Gap has become an anachronism: a single chain, selling only its own brand, with one point of view, chasing shoppers from birth to death."[64] Smaller brands such as Anthropologie and American Apparel have stores designed to reflect the position of the respective company and its market. They have been edging out the Gap, seen (along with its other retail stores Old Navy and Banana Republic) as living in the too generic and boring category. This perception is not helped by what may be over expansion in the number of stores.[65] Because of the ease with which advertising graphics can be changed, and the self-generated social networking spaces, corporations that exert top down images of sameness (particularly over time) eventually see their sales suffer.

Innumerable "how to" texts exist for those in the business of developing brand strategies. As a naming and brand identity consultant, Alycia Perry tries to clarify the words brand and branding. She states rather directly, "A brand is a promise of a relationship and a guarantee of quality. It establishes a relationship between a company and its audiences. A strong brand will: Differentiate, Create a preference, Command a premium."[66] Marketing activities "build the brand" once the identity is created.[67] "Brand image," she asserts is the "largely uncontrollable perceptions of that brand as strengths and weaknesses, positives and negatives."[68] Other elements such as packaging, color, logo, create what she calls the visual identities.[69] Using marketing language, she distinguishes between features (tangible) and benefits (often intangible).[70] Strategist

Mono refers to branding in the following way, "...as the devolution of a set of core values to some or all of a person, company or thing's products, assets and attributes, in the form of an identity. The identity can include the visual manifestation of these values, the embodiment of the desired personality, and can take many forms. Identity encompasses all the taxonomic aspects of a trademark... But it also involves the ethos, ambience and consumer perception surrounding the product."[71] Some brands, he comments, seem to have a spiritual component, though it might be argued that this is really a commercially controlled aura of desirability—yet auratic in the Benjaminian sense that it is "original" and not a fake (rather than copy). While some of the pieces of the brand seem literal ("look"), other aspects such as "the feel" of the brand seem to fall into the category of a corporate marketing people "knowing it when they see it."

Marc Gobé has branded himself as someone who develops forms of new and urgently needed ways to think about branding in the context of what sorts of external pressures are highly visible in the world of commerce. His most recent work addresses the very current issues of responsibility because the messages of CSR (corporate social responsibility) are inescapable, but his work on "emotional branding" remains peculiarly disturbing. Emotions that were reserved to describe sentient beings have been extended by Gobé to describe the corporation, its brand, and its products. While attempting to enhance the value of the brand through the use of the emotions, questions may be raised about the potential for dehumanization of those who transfer emotions onto these non-sentient entities. The title of one chapter in *Emotional Branding*, "Women: the New 'Shoppers in Chief," opens with a quote from advertising executive David Ogilvy: "The consumer is not an idiot, she's your wife."[72] In this writing, he explains that women spend close to $3.5 trillion per year (U.S.) and should not be overlooked, even by the electronics industries. "Home Depot is built around the premise of making a friendly, attractive, 'non macho' hardware store women would love, and it works."[73] Obviously not part of the brand, but worth noting, is that in 1997 Home Depot had been involved in a class action suit for failing to fairly promote its female employees. Although they never admitted to any wrongdoing, they paid $87.5 million and established a new hiring practice.[74] So Home Depot, under the guidance of branding experts, is perfectly comfortable taking money from women customers while serious questions had been raised about the corporation's treatment of its female employees.

> I predict that women will become increasingly valued in the Emotional Economy because they value and are highly sensitive to ...emotions! Market research has proven time and again that the primary thing that women want, as people and as consumers, is relationships...holistic in their approach...they are less likely than men to compartmentalize a brand...They want to understand the big picture; what the brand stands for on the whole, if the brand's image, philosophy and/or ethics are in sync with their own. They want to feel a deeper, more layered connection. Sounds familiar? It's what Emotional Branding is all about.[75]

In a text that is filled with advice for corporations on branding, Gobé, in this single paragraph, manages to: eliminate critical information about Home Depot, essentialize and dehumanize women (by distinguishing between women as people and women as consumers—consumers *are* people), and reinforce male stereotypes of women that are perpetuated through cultural inequities. Yet he is one of the more well known branding experts who successfully re-brands branding every few years. Examining the topics he tackles serially is itself a lesson in the creation of perceptions of distinction where there are none.

Other consultants are hawking distinctions between tactics. One text refers to the original meanings from the ancient Greek *taktikos* ("fit for arranging or maneuvering") and *strategos* meaning general (or "the art of the general…setting up forces *before* battle.") A military metaphor is invoked in sales: "The objective of a good sales strategy is to get yourself in the *right place* with the *right people* at the *right time* so that you can make the right tactical presentation."[76]

The very existence of a large and increasing constellation of texts and conferences addressing the subject of branding is noteworthy. Each text or conference has a theme that works to supercede prior branding strategies. Often it is the boutique design firms that have not given their practices over to branding buzz that actually provide the most unique and easily differentiated responses to client needs. These firms have resisted the temptation to use the codified marketing speech describing results seem like hard science.[77] Designer Michael Vanderbyl has commented that a client may approach him and say that they need a new logo to help increase sales. Vanderbyl's contact with the firm may yield a response that catches the client off guard such as, "No. You need to fire the rude person who answers the phone at your company."[78] This is, he asserts, also design: one understands the nature of what is causing a perceived problem and does not assume that the solution is to sell the client an unnecessary service. As a behavior, however, this is rather rare in the commercial world.

The authors of branding texts, each trying assert his or her own genre of expertise, come from advertising, design, and marketing. In the preface to his book, Marty Neumeier generally addresses the gap between business and design. He refers to bridging the gap "Between logic and magic to build a sustainable competitive advantage."[79] Neumeier also points out that the company's (visual) mark is a symbol for the brand, but that corporate identity is not the same thing as a brand.[80] "To manage a brand is to manage… an aura, an invisible layer of meaning that surrounds the product…A brand is a person's gut feeling about a product, service or company...an individual's gut feeling—although it is managed through a company's communications."[81] He believes that consumers ultimately make their choice based upon symbolic attributes.[82] The following quote from Neumeier is typical of branding texts that frequently lack academic or statistical rigor, yet make (often unfounded) proclamations that are based upon generally unsubstantiated, though apparently seductive, assumptions. "When brand communication comes through intact—crystal clear and potent—it goes straight into people's brains without distortion, noise, or the need to think too much about it."[83] Or, hyperbolic claims like "There are no dull products, only dull brands." This equates with the potential to sell just about anything. He recommends that companies differentiate their products, and use marketing to explain a product through its features, benefits, experience ("what you feel"), and identification ("who you are").[84] Although Neumeier, in his discussion of differentiation, contends that the question "why does it matter" is the most difficult one to answer, it almost always comes down to making more money.[85] Neumeier also suggests that packaging may be a better investment in company dollars than advertising. He believes that a "branding moment" takes place as a consumer is about to select the product he or she is about to buy, claiming that exposure to the advertising is not active at that moment.[86] In his discussion of the new communication model, Neumeier adds to the sender-message-receiver model the notion of "dialogue" (appearing to contradict his own "branding moment" theory). This implies an answering back on the part of the receiver. "You may say it only to yourself, like when you read a magazine ad, but your brain is nevertheless an indispensable component of the total system. You respond by buying the advertised brand…"[87] Neumeier views creativity as subjective until it reaches the marketplace where it becomes measurable. He recommends that everyone in a company should be constantly asking him- or herself the question about whether or not what they do will help or hurt the brand.[88] Neumeier does concede that design (not brand strategy) is responsible for creating passion in the consumer.[89]

Choice of language, particularly naming, is one of the main decisions affecting the perception of the company and its products. When British Petroleum (discussed in greater detail later in this project) changed its name to BP, Beyond Petroleum, it retained its same initials, de-emphasized "British," and thoroughly re-contextualized the word "petroleum." No longer was the company a petroleum based corporation, but one that was conscientious and looking "beyond." In her essay in a branding text for marketers, "The Psychology of Names,"[90] London-based psychologist and marketing researcher, Leslie Collins, delineates the critical nature of names attached to brands. While some names have no meaning attached, others may have semantic or symbolic meaning. Fernando Dogana[91] has determined that those that contain both semantic and symbolic meaning are the most successful. Certain brands hold significant portions of the marketplace for many years. Unilever, responsible for Dove products, is one corporation (originally Lever) that has been in business for years and has had tremendous success. "Underneath their self-congratulatory hype they really did manage to change deep-rooted social habits and customs inside a generation or two…And they did this largely through unprecedented, unceasing promotion and widespread distribution."[92] Dove's recent "Pro-Age" language and its "Campaign for Real Beauty" are discussed in greater detail later in this project.

Existing and newer technologies also impact brands. A useful distinction to describe technology's relationship to consumer culture divides into two categories: technology that is in the form of knowledge of how to do or make something, versus technologies that are embedded in the thing itself.[93] Both of these "definitions" of technology affect the contemporary brand. Ultimately, however, the brand appears for the consumer. Those who work in retail sales find themselves situated between the manufacturer and the consumer. In the employment section of the *S.F. Sunday Chronicle,* an article that explains retail jobs, notes that "...while the logistics of retail may be changing, retailers' mission remains the same: to entice consumers to buy their products and to get them to come back again and again."[94]

3.6 Licensing and Co-marketing (Co-branding)

It has become fairly routine practice to see corporate pairings in ads or sponsorships of events with the typical constraint that the entities involved are not competing for the same market. In some cases, sponsors receive highly visible naming rights for their financial support of an event. In its coverage of Fashion Week 2005 in New York, *The New York Times* noted the following. "More than 150 clothing labels will be making their statements for fall on the runways over the next eight days, and so will a phalanx of non-fashion companies: Delta Air Lines, the Bermuda Department of Tourism, a children's wear magazine, a reality television program and Target Stores."[95] Designer Peter Som renamed his "City Shorts" after being contacted by the Bermuda Department of Tourism, a sponsor of Fashion Week, "Bermuda city shorts."[96]

Blackett and Boad define brand in the following way: "A brand is a mixture of attributes, tangible and intangible, symbolized in a trademark which, if managed properly, creates value and influence. 'Value' has different interpretations: from a marketing or consumer perspective it is 'the promise and delivery of an experience': from a business perspective it is 'the security of future earnings'; from a legal perspective it is 'a separable piece of intellectual property'."[97] These authors define different types of "co-operation—joint promotions (short term), sponsorship (often charity), joint ventures (operationally focused), and alliances (for marketing reasons)" and the benefits to the companies involved.[98] These benefits include royalty income, sales increases, new markets, risk reduction, brand exposure, and reinforced advertising messages.[99] A computer manufacturer that uses an Intel processor can say "Intel inside," while Intel does its own extensive advertising of its processors—freeing up the computer maker to address its own features in its advertising real estate.[100] The two structural categories of co-marketing are the support of a major brand by a minor brand and two equal-in-strength (strong or weak).[101]

Paramount Pictures provides a good example of co-marketing (between equals) when it advertised its movie "How to Lose A Guy in Ten Days." The nail enamels and lipsticks appeared in an eight-page advertisement that featured spreads with the movie's two stars, Kate Hudson and Matthew McConaughey, and close-ups of nails and lips in strong colors. The first of the pages contained the following copy, "What happens when Revlon gets mixed up with Paramount Pictures' new romantic comedy 'How to Lose a Guy in Ten Days'? Instant attraction, of course."[102] The degree to which the American movie industry has become affiliated with the selling of products has resulted in the type of blatant co-marketing evident between Paramount and Revlon. This exemplifies the shift from tolerating to expecting that any opportunity to push a brand is reasonable, to the actual existence of these co-marketing texts and images achieving wallpaper status. As backgrounds they sit below the public's radar in much the way banner ads on web sites have receded over time, from being perceived as annoying interference.

3.7 Desire/Consumer Desire

Marketing images can be uncritically understood to be the source of desire for something that the viewer of those images is instructed to perceive as a lack. The concept of "lack" and its relationship to the production of desire is a complex one: it is not suggested here that the designer is the source of desire's origination. Kaja Silverman notes that Lacan situates this lack as stemming from "the notion of an original androgynous whole...The subject is lacking because it is believed to be a fragment of something larger and more primordial."[103] Psychoanalytic in general and Oedipal in particular, lack is experienced as the unattainable object and subsequent desires as displacements of that primordial one. "However," Silverman notes in a reference to Proust, "those desires have also been structured by secondary mediations of all sorts, including novels, music, and art, mediations which have aligned his desires with dominant cultural values."[104] It is in the arena of producing dominant cultural values that the designer is working—in Silverman's language, in the arena of secondary mediation. Borrowing from Rancière's notion of "dominant fiction," understood to be constituted from a kind of "consensus...popular culture... and other forms of mass representation...,"[105] Silverman both acknowledges the difficulty in contesting the dominant fiction along with capitalism's reliance upon the fiction in order to sustain it,[106] resulting in subject conformity through what she refers to as normative desires and identifications.[107] Although this work is neither situated within nor interrogating a psychoanalytic framework, it acknowledges that the designer is not working at the starting point of the renegotiation of the symbolic order, but rather how it sustains itself within consumer culture in general and within the business of design in particular.

The corporation uses a variety of tactics to wrestle consumer attention from its competitors. These can be understood, in part, through an examination of how consumer attention is created and held. The more egregious consumer-related practices includes active attempts to obliterate the distinction between want and need. Humans need shelter from the elements in order to survive, but they do not need a home with a three-car garage. However, if through exposure to images that tout new home amenities like a three-car garage, this feature causes an internal shift in categories from something that might be nice, to something that is perceived as at least a *social* necessity. The *absence* of the three-car garage registers as a lack or deprivation.

Shopping is influenced by calendars that have been ritualized with visual remainder that yearly cycles of holiday and season-related expectations indicate the time to make particular kinds of purchases. Well-established companies like the Gap and Pottery Barn have extended their lines of promotional materials (and products) to specifically address the wholly constructed "needs" of babies and children. We no longer balk either at the variety or extensiveness of the visual real estate made available for the specific purpose of announcing products that we are encouraged to own. Celebrities, having become their own brand, are constantly presented to a public, especially of young females, that wants to know whose clothes and jewelry they are wearing, and what beauty products they use. The personal celebrity brand is co-marketed with cosmetics, clothing, and jewelry companies. Celebrities have become mannequins used to hawk products as the "roles" of entertainer and walking advertisement are blurred. Product placement has become an aggressive, relatively recent form of advertising in which particular products are made explicit and visible within a film. The ability to compartmentalize what is in the field of vision at any one moment from what has been in the field of vision even very recently is relied upon as a means for inhibiting a critical thought to intercede and take conscious issue with a seductive image. The aforementioned ways of producing docile and passive people who become, and may be coincident with, active consumers are effectively used to keep goods moving off shelves. Broad strategies and specific tactics have worked in service to what is mostly the selfish acquisition of goods. Because many of these methods for selling have been successful, they are now being applied to brand a corporation's face of social responsibility. The corporation is branded as socially responsible when it performs worthwhile deeds with (a typically very small percentage of) your money and their profits.

3.8 Distinguishing Between Want and Need

During the holiday shopping season, retailer Brookstone placed a full height ad on the outside edges of opposing pages in *The Wall Street Journal.* The piece on the left had no brand identification but the word "NEEDS:" appeared in very bold, all cap typography with a black and white photo (perhaps implying that to need something is not a particularly happy or engaging state) of a toaster in the space below. The right side of the ad appeared on the opposite page with the word "WANTS:" and a full color photo (implying that to receive something that one wants is a particularly happy, therefore colorful, state) of a portable digital photo album. The Brookstone logo appeared at the bottom right with the tag line, "GIVE THEM WHAT THEY WANT."[108] When L'Oréal acquired The Body Shop, it was quick to state that it was not interested in acquiring a retailer, but rather the official statement was, " 'We looked to Body Shop because we want to maintain a portfolio of brands that respond to the range of consumer needs."[109] Contemporary language used to describe need is rarely literal and often is used hyperbolically.

The engagement ring was invented as a necessity for women who were about to marry when the founder of De Beers, working in the 1930s with an advertising agency, made inseparable the link between diamonds and courtship. More recently, with more women not marrying and achieving financial independence, a new need for diamonds had to be created. "The right hand ring" directed at "self-purchasing women," emerged. Susan Farmer, a representative of De Beers, also insists that independent researchers came up with the observation that the left hand is for their "emotional bits" while the right hand is for "designer bits." "We didn't make it up." In response, the J. Walter Thompson agency created the right-hand campaign, and, as Carol Potter (of JWT) comments, "Great marketing is a combination of catching the zeitgeist and trend marketing. It's finding the needs that diamond jewelry can satisfy"[110] once, it must be noted, those needs have been manufactured.

Economist John Kenneth Galbraith understood wants as originating within the self. "They cannot be urgent if they must be contrived for him. And above all, they must not be contrived by the process of production by which they are satisfied. For this means that the whole case for the urgency of production, based on the urgency of wants, falls to the ground. One cannot defend production as satisfying wants if that production creates the wants…Production only fills a void that it has itself created."[111] As images of landfill, garbage dumps, and pollution in China circulate, a certain degree of awareness of excess on the part of the general public is inevitable. Despite the fact that when interviewed by this author young female subjects were quite able to distinguish want and need, many consumption-directed images have achieved the obliteration of that distinction. Necessities for physical survival, I would argue, have been recast as necessities for social survival with vastly discrepant criteria.

In the style section of *The New York Times,* a regular feature depicts multiple images of people (usually women) in New York wearing whatever is named as the latest "must-have." One season it may be a certain type of hat, or a white dress (this year preferably made of eyelet fabric), or a short trench coat (as opposed to one that covers the wearer when it rains). What this regular, visual survey from one of the world's supposedly respectable newspapers is telling its viewer through minimal words and multiple snapshots, is that the item pictured is a necessity, or in other words, something one *needs* to own this particular season. This feature has become normative, natural, expected, and unquestioned. Those responsible for the design of images that circulate in readily accessible public venues rarely think about the consequences of what they produce beyond the explicit business goal or the possibility of garnering peer recognition for the artfulness and/or cleverness of the image. If, in contemporary language those who cannot seem to remove themselves from technology are labeled "users," image producers may be thought of within the broad economic genre of capitalism as "pushers." The success and stability of a design practice does, in fact, depend upon clients returning for new images.

3.9 Expanding Manipulative Practices and Tactics

Visual manipulation, though not a new phenomenon, is becoming increasingly sophisticated. Along with the technologies for display providing more surface, nonspecific language such as "The 'It' Bag" or "This season it's all about..." has a tendency to coax the audience into believing that something in their life is missing. The "it" in both expressions never reveals itself fully as what the actual gain might be, even when a particular product is referenced. This means that the way to escape from social ostracism is to acquire something that is perceived to move someone to the center of acceptability. Controlling the naming activity is itself a form of power. When the Republican Party used the word "values" to stand for a set of specific social positions, opponents could not easily wrestle this language away.[112] Once a handbag is declared the "it" bag of the season, no other style of bag can share the designation. Under the titling, the "It-Bag Bonanza," the following urgent message appeared (with images of six handbags fitting this category and ranging in price from $1195 to $4160): "With every season comes a new crop of must-have waitlist-worthy bags. This time around, the carryalls you'll go crazy for are big on size and heavy on hardware; plus they have just the right mix of ruggedness and polish to take you from day to night. Pick your favorite and get to your local accessories purveyor ASAP."[113] In a photo feature "On The Street" in December 2006, the new bag was referred to as "The Trophy," a lacquered linen bag by French luggage company Goyard. Prices for the totes started at $855.[114] In March of 2005 when Louis Vuitton presented its fall collection, the 300 photographers in attendance were moved from their traditional end-of-the-runway position to the sides. When an executive at Vuitton was asked why this was done, he replied, "We wanted them eye level with the handbags, because that's what sells."[115] Cosmetics manufacturer, Olay, implied that their product cannot be faulted for touting what is the newest and the latest in products. Olay presented an ad showing five distinctly styled handbags, each with a bottle of its "total effects" product protruding from the top of the bag. The ad copy read, "Season after season, at least there's one thing beauty editors agree on."[116] When Estee Lauder's Clinque line came out with a fragrance called "Happy," a text-only ad for the product claimed in the headline, "Clinique has bottled happpiness. Can you believe that?" Apparently, as explained in the smaller copy, during an "independent aroma science testing" in which women were asked which mood fit the fragrance, they chose "happy."[117] Despite the fact that the science in the Lauder test was not scrutinized, the ad provided a curious self-reference to the often outrageous claims made in cosmetic advertising.

3.9.1 Constructing Centers and Margins

Extremely short fashion cycles are critical to capitalism. In an article that discussed the trends for Fall 2006, the main message was, "Big is in." This was described in more detail as "the bubble, fur, layering, oversize, metallic and Napoleonic."[118] The article went on to say that the buzz for the *following* spring was a leaner silhouette, making the formula evident. Every visual trait that can be manipulated is categorized so that its opposite is unambiguous: big/lean, short/long, shiny/matte, bright/drab. Pushing the extremes of categories such as these delineate for a young woman that she is (unhappily) out of style. What recently was viewed as existing beyond the boundary of acceptable easily migrates to the center. The transformation of Goth fashion (disappearing from street fashion as it moved into mass marketed goods) is but one example. "With the full force of the American consumer marketing establishment behind it, the skull has lost virtually all of its fearsome outside meaning. It has become the Happy Face of the 2000's."[119] Even jeans, which started out as a simple and functional kind of garment, changed radically over time both in cost and cut. Lucky Jeans and Diesel brands topped the $100 mark for a pair of the branded pants, with more recent figures (and cuts) costing as much as $250.[120] Big name designers responsible for luxury goods that are beyond the reach of most consumers have expanded their lines. High-end designers are increasingly creating lines for large-scale retailers such as Walmart and Target (which has also branded design itself as a central value of the corporation). Referred to as "cheap chic" the products from famous name designers are seen as democratizing style by those in the fashion industries.[121]

Technology is also a slave to fashion: the GoldVish cellphone in a white gold case with 120 carats of diamonds sells in Moscow for up to $150,000 each.[122] Apple has created a youth-oriented demand for its products that is reminiscent of Nike's. This is evident in a TV campaign that pokes fun at PC owners by ridiculing their lifestyle and especially those consumer choices that reflect the (uncool) lifestyle of practicality and being encumbered. Apple is hip, sleek, maneuverable, and white, as is evidenced by Apple's print insert in *The New York Times Magazine*.[123] With its distinctive white products and vaguely anti-traditional corporate imagery, it has carved out a powerful and highly recognizable visual niche. An extreme form of psychological manipulation was evident on a billboard advertising the services of a firm of Chicago divorce lawyers. "Life's short. Get a divorce" occupied the center of the billboard. Flanking the text was a large-breasted female chest on one side and a rippling-with-muscles bare male chest on the other. The firm is headed by attorney Corri Fetman, herself a divorced woman who remarked that she never believed that the billboard would ever be a cause of divorce. (It had to be removed after one week not because of its content but rather because it did not go through the proper permitting process.)[124]

3.9.2 Surfaces as Consumer Sites

The 2006 U.S. Open Tennis championships revealed a convergence of tennis and fashion. Although most fans enjoy watching their favorite players do well on the court, various companies endorse certain stars of the sport, such as Nike using Maria Sharapova to challenge the idea of "pretty" when her conventional, physical beauty is contrasted with her athleticism.[125] The Sharapova commercial is supposedly an attempt by Nike to create socially responsible images of women, but Sharapova has become as famous for her appearance as she has for her tennis skill. The advertisers would never have constructed an ad around the appearance of the male tennis player in the same way. Her real value to Nike is her appearance. Other less conventionally attractive female players are ranked higher than she is, but did not have endorsement contracts.

Although waging a fight against advertising after the images appear in public may serve as a critique, the "intervention" occurs too late in the life of the image. An online site called "Commercial Alert—Protecting communities from commercialism"[126] states its mission on its home page: "Commercial Alert's mission is to keep commercial culture within its proper sphere, and to prevent it from exploiting children and subverting the higher values of family, community, environmental integrity and democracy." The site highlights the invasion of commercial imagery and inappropriate advertising such as the following:

> June 14th, 2007 "Nude Dancer Greets Air Travelers (Associated Press) A giant silhouette of a naked pole dancer painted on a field beneath Gatwick Airport's flight path is disturbing the British countryside. The 100,000 square foot (9,300 square meter) advertisement is nearly invisible from the ground, but can be seen by airline passengers, Tandridge District Council spokeswoman Giuseppina Valenza said Thursday. She said the ad was painted on the field without proper permission and that the council would take legal action if it were not removed. Sports Media Gaming Ltd, the company behind the ad, said the council had no grounds for removing it. 'I think they're unsure about their own regulations to be honest,' director Stephen Pearson said. 'We're not going to remove it at all.'...This is not the first time that the company's ads have appeared near the airport. In 2005, an ad for Lynx deodorant featuring a man fondling two naked women was washed off a nearby field after Unilever PLC decided to pull it, Pearson said. The Campaign to Protect Rural England expressed disgust with the ad. 'It sets such a nasty precedent, using our landscapes just for advertisement,' said Paul Miner, a planning campaigner.[127]

Images range from those that are offensive to certain groups within a population to those that are false or even dangerous. Other genres of image are disturbing when absorbed in aggregate. It is almost impossible to mitigate the damages when so many image-makers have embraced shock and extreme forms of imagery to try and garner attention in a sea of replicated and morphed images and usurped surfaces.

3.9.3 The Endangered Un-messaged Space

Linda Kaplan Thaler, chief executive at the New York advertising agency, Kaplan Thaler Group, said, "We never know where the consumer is going to be at any point in time, so we have to find a way to be everywhere."[128] In an article in *The New York Times* online, images pictured new locations for ads such as: a video screen in a taxi, eggs, a turnstile, and the examining table in a doctor's office. The article contained an overview of recent and unexpected commercial geographies. According to Thaler, "Ubiquity is the new exclusivity."[129] The following advertising activity was noted: Disney placed advertisements for their "Little Einsteins" DVDs on examination table liners in pediatric offices. The California Milk Processing Board put ads on bus shelters in San Francisco that emitted the scent of chocolate chip cookies (subsequently removed due to complaints). Ads have been appearing on screens in elevators and taxicabs. Interactive ads are on the rise, due to recent technological developments. "At the Amway Arena in Orlando, Fla. …an interactive floor display for McDonald's last year showed the head of a teenage boy with small Big Mac burgers flying past; when people stepped on the ad, the burgers bounced away from their feet."[130] Motion detectors embedded in ads mean that movement in front of the ad causes time-based images to be activated. Such an ad appeared in the Herald Square subway station in New York. Adidas placed the ad with the static sneaker that was activated by the motion of passers-by. Two Spokane, Washington natives who were working in New York for a year responded positively to the ad but also commented that they did not want to see it back home. The name of the Orlando arena is itself an ad based upon Amway having purchased naming rights for the facility. Other ads have appeared on tray tables and airsick bags in airplanes.

According to market research firm Yankelovich, 30 years ago it was believed that an urban dweller saw up to 2,000 advertising messages each day. Today that figure is about 5,000 per day. Also, half of those surveyed by the firm thought that advertising was "out of control."[131] Purchasing take-out coffee, one finds a heat cuff containing advertising. The ability to background commercial images may be a newly acquired skill for a generation that often claims to focus more easily on reading materials while listening through headphones. They may have been forced to process the visual deluge more efficiently in order to function at all. "'What all marketers are dealing with is an absolute sensory overload,' said Gretchen Hofmann, executive vice president of marketing and sales at Universal Orlando Resort. The landscape is 'overly saturated' as companies press harder to make their products stand out, she said."[132]

Advertisers have been experimenting with images in new places such as projected ads (for Toyota and a Unilever men's fragrance) on the sides of buildings. Story commented, "But this tactic does not always go over well: last month, when branches of Chase Bank and Commerce Bank projected ads on New York sidewalks, the city told the banks to turn off the unauthorized beams."[133] As advertisers experiment they learn which risky approaches work, which backfire, and which are cancelled by urban authorities. "Revenue from these new and unusual ads is still small and hard to measure. The 'alternative media' category represented $387 million in spending in the United States last year, up from $24 million in 2000, according to PQ Media, a research firm. But the 2006 figure still represented a tiny part of out-of-home advertising, which generated $6.8 billion that year, according to figures PQ Media compiled for the private equity firm Veronis Suhler Stevenson."[134] As one advertiser acknowledged, as they try to be seen over the clutter, they are making more clutter.

New technologies are already gaining access to the potential consumer in previously unimagined ways. The merging of online television and the ability to simultaneously send messages on the same screen provide new outlets for advertisers. Typically when a site is offered as "free," the tradeoff is that the viewer supplies particular information about him- or herself that ultimately becomes information used to create customized ads. As viewing patterns are monitored, ads are tailored to what is already known about the particular viewer.[135] This practice is similar to what Amazon has done with its recommendations based upon one's purchasing history that appear when an established customer visits the Amazon site. The difference, however, is that in the case of TV/web advertising marriages, the invasion seems to be a more egregiously private one, despite the recent observations that privacy boundaries are changing with new generations using new technologies. Revealing what was formerly considered private has been driven largely by the availability of relatively inexpensive capturing and broadcasting technologies. They have made social networking sites popular, relatively editor-free zones of simultaneous exhibitionism and voyeurism, clearly changing social ideas about what constitutes private behaviors as cameras wander through bedrooms, dormitories, and bathrooms around the world. Most of the videography on these sites is uncritically examined before being uploaded. As a result, images and details of private life that in the not too distant past were seen as behaviors confined to internal domestic sites now are not only visible, but have become routine public viewing. Private space has been turned inside out by the webcam.

3.9.4 Ritualized Calendars, Ritualized Images

Shopping has its own ritualized calendar that has grown from conventional observances like public and religious holidays to newer time-dependent, constructed dates and seasons that have been attached to particular kinds of purchases. The predictability of the calendar for shopping means predictable images. Examination of calendar-related advertising themes reveals particularly uniform visuals and color palettes (i.e. "seasonal" colors evident in everything from home furnishings to colors of lipstick) that serve as signs, in the semiotic sense, of being current. People who understand seasonal advertising can say with relative certainty that particular kinds of products are sold at particular times of the year. Some of the products may be what could be called need-based, for example, heavy outerwear at the start of the winter season in a cold climate. Others are less practical and are more the result of how a product is positioned through advertising. School supplies and children's shoes are typically sold at the end of the summer and fall under the broad "Back to School" category. Summer usually signals light clothing, barbeque related items, sunscreens, and ice creams.[136] "Sometimes products gather momentum through their advertising. The brand is seen as increasingly popular. And just when it is about to really catch on, the visibility and impetus suddenly stop. Why? Because the season is over."[137] This may be an inaccurate categorization of what happens. More likely, the brand is pushed aside by another strategically positioned genre of goods. For example, despite the fact that dermatologists have recommended that people wear sunscreen year round, the product has become associated with summer. It is generally replaced, however, by "end of summer" purchases, which, in addition to getting ready for school, include Thanksgiving and Christmas products and services. Even Sutherland and Sylvester admit, "For some products, seasonality is almost dictated by what the advertisers do—or don't do—in the off-season."[138]

The calendar allows for celebrations in triplicate: campaigns often begin with a pre-holiday sale, followed by a holiday sale and then a post-holiday sale. The number of occasions attempting to validate and ritualize shopping throughout the year are not fixed. Back to School (Fall Savings/ Fall Colors—New/Same as last year and the year before), Halloween Thanksgiving, Kwanza,[139] Chanukah, Christmas, New Year, and Easter are all occasions to shop for merchandise related to the theme or season. August and January mean white sales in the United States. Black Friday, one of the biggest retail shopping days of the year on the Friday right after Thanksgiving has now been challenged by Cyber Monday, the first Monday after Thanksgiving which is promoting online, as opposed to brick and mortar, shopping. Retailers typically open much earlier than normal on Black Friday. A 48-page JC Penney circular distributed in anticipation of Black Friday 2004, announced "5:30 A.M. –NOON FRIDAY ONLY! EARLY START DOOR BUSTERS!" on its cover. Macy's full page "Presidents' Day SALE" announced specials in all its departments for the Sunday and Monday of the holiday.[140] As more young adults, as opposed to just children, celebrate Halloween, retail sales increased significantly. In October 2006, Halloween sales were expected to reach $4.96 billion compared with $3.29 billion in 2005.[141]

The appearance of holiday ads with either red and green accents, or red and glittering products, suffice to signal the Christmas season without words. Malls offer extended shopping hours that begin in the middle of the night to compete with Walmart and Best Buy which, during the season, open at 6 a.m.[142] Barbaro suggests that "Perhaps it (Black Friday) should be renamed Black-and-Blue Friday," because shoppers have become so aggressive and many badly behaved.[143] Newspapers print articles on gift-giving advice [144]and promote new products that may have been previously unknown to the consumer.

Precolonial Spanish celebrations of Quinceañera, honoring the fifteenth birthday of a young woman, have prompted David's Bridal to cater to the pink and blue dresses and tiaras, making what was a religious coming of age into an introduction to a large bridal brand,[145] oddly Americanizing the celebration. In an attempt to compete directly with Black Friday, eBay placed a full-page ad announcing "The Unofficial National Sleep-in Day, Friday, November 24th" and reminded the audience that they can find anything on eBay. This was intended to counter Black Friday at the mall.[146] Other opportunities to push consumption include any change in season (unrelated to current climate conditions), shopping at tax time, and special days such as Valentine's Day, Mother's Day, Father's Day, or annual event-related advertising such as Wimbledon brand clothing sponsoring the championships. Since the birthdays of Presidents Washington and Lincoln have been combined into Presidents Day, that, too, presents another opportunity for sales. The American Retail Federation plays an active role in the manipulation of consumer calendar.

In July, despite the fact that it is squarely in the middle of the summer, Macy's announces a "PRE SEASON SALE."[147] It is, of course *always* pre- some season. In the "Style" feature of *The New York Times Magazine's* (June 26, 2006) the Russian women's tennis team was featured[148] wearing high-end tennis-style clothing in anticipation of Wimbledon. The end of July generally sees white sale advertisements such as abc carpet & home's full-page ads announcing "annual summer linens sale."[149] On July 30, 2006, JC Penney's insert in the *San Francisco Chronicle* featured a "home sale" but also had an insert within the insert, trimmed wider, announcing "incredible back-to-school savings inside." July is also when the back-to-school sales begin. Typical of this seasonal consumer push are the focus on children from the very young through college aged students. Corporations place inserts in Sunday newspapers featuring products that seem tailored to the student market. Based upon back-to-school marketing from mid-July to the end of August 2006 were inserts in the *San Francisco Chronicle* for the following corporations: JCPenny, Office Depot, OfficeMax, Walgreens, Longs Drugs, Best Buy, Sears, Circuit City, Comp USA, Old Navy, Target, Cingular, Radio Shack, and Staples. The more commonly advertised products included t-shirts, jeans, computers, mobile devices, backpacks, and school supplies. Office Max printed a Kraft supermarket style bag with the offer of a 15% discount on everything that could fit in the bag.[150] Verizon placed full-page ads offering "Hot Deals For Back To School."[151] Many of the large retailers showed moderate-to-significant gains in 2006 compared with the 2005 back to school season.[152] Some of the increase may have been due to the advertising focus on college-age youth. Lorna Sargent, online executive of Sears Holdings, commented "Everyone just kind of realized there was this untapped market out there."[153] Over a dozen states also waved sales and use taxes for a few days in July and August which, though they might not increase sales, are favored, according to Dan Schibley, a tax information provider at CCH Inc., by families who are making back-to-school purchases.[154]

On July 14 2006, JCPenney's insert declared, "Back-to-School Savings Start Now!" (*San Francisco Chronicle)* These inserts announcing back-to-school shopping (especially new clothing, school supplies, and electronics) appeared as early as mid-July. (*San Francisco Chronicle*, Sunday, 16 July 2006: Sears, Best Buy, Office Max, Office Depot, JCPenney , Walgreens and Longs.) One week later, the inserts included Target, Sears, and Old Navy. (*The San Francisco Chronicle*, Sunday, 23 July 2006) In the Sunday edition of the *San Francisco Chronicle* (6 August 2006), Office Max placed a full-size shopping bag with the guarantee of "15% off Everything You Can Fit in this Bag!"

Macy's announced its 80th Thanksgiving Day parade with a full-page ad of co-sponsors and parade participants.[155] Every year Santa appears at the end of the parade, a happy reminder to the viewers who see the parade live or on television, that it is officially the start of the holiday shopping season, although visible evidence of the upcoming season appears in stores long before Thanksgiving. When Walmart projected poor sales for November 2006, the company reduced prices 15-30% and started the holiday shopping season earlier than expected.[156]

In addition to the expected deluge of new gadgets that appear in ads in anticipation of the Christmas season, advertorials appear in major newspapers and magazines that reward regular advertisers in the publication with journalistic features that are the equivalent of free advertising. Almost as prevalent as the Christmas ads are the after-Christmas ads urging consumers that it's time to think of themselves or fill in for "what Santa forgot." A newspaper's regular advertisers then switch their advertising placements to focus on after holiday sales. Mother's Day Sales have particular items that sell well. These include flowers, jewelry, and fragrances. When technology retailers such as Best Buy are trying to sell gifts for mothers, the cameras shown in ads typically have images of children photo-shopped onto the screens. They also featured a pink Sony digital camera in a pink leather case.[157] Safeway, Sears, and Walgreens inserts in the *San Francisco Chronicle* prior to Mother's Day 2007 all featured dominant pink and purple color schemes. Macy's placed a full color ad for Mother's Day 2006 that wrapped kitchen items with bold gemstone jewelry by stacking the rings on the tynes of a fork.[158] Mother is simultaneously the nurturer in the kitchen but occasionally may want a treat for herself.

During the weekend prior to Valentine's Day 2007, the following themed inserts, mostly red with some pink, appeared in *The San Francisco Chronicle* on Sunday 11 February 2007. Target's featured "choxie" truffles in contemporary box with "hello sweet tooth" text; JCPenney's "Valentine's Day Jewelry, featured heart shaped diamond pendants; Macy's fragrance, jewelry, and lingerie filled insert pictured a themed "kiss & tell" cover; the regular coupon insert featured Purina pet food with hearts and photos of people with their pets; Circuit City featured pink and red electronics; Sears, like Penney's featured red and heart-shaped diamond jewelry; Longs Drugs wrapped a Valentine insert around their regular circular with plants, Hallmark items, and chocolates; and Walgreens devoted most of the front page to almost identical products. Macy's carried its "kiss &

tell" Valentine theme through full-page ads with exclusively red, pink, or diamond products.[159] Almost all of the retail ads in this section of the newspaper pictured hearts. Retailer Banana Republic pictured both a male and a female with their respective fragrances in one ad for Valentine's Day.[160] Graff of London, a high-end jeweler in the UK that runs a standard image of a woman's face in profile with her hand sporting a very large diamond ring, placed a large heart-shaped diamond ring on the model's finger for their Valentine's Day ad.[161] In this way, they preserved their brand but used the Visual consumer shorthand for Valentine's Day.

Inserts from Sears, Circuit City, Target, Macy's, JCPenney, Walgreens and Longs and the Tiffany ad appeared in *The San Francisco Chronicle* on the Sunday prior to Valentine's Day. They reinforce the predictable marketing of jewelry and sweets that have become the commercial symbols of the holiday using the heart shape and the colors red and pink. (*The San Francisco Chronicle*, Sunday, 11 February 2007: Tiffany ad, A11.)

In *The New York Times* on Christmas Day, 2006, retailer Saks Fifth Avenue bought three ad spaces. One, a small display ad typically purchased on pages two or three of the front section of the paper, offered a Happy Holiday message along with other luxury retailers Tiffany and Cartier (and Macy's). The good will gained from not showing merchandise is commercially compensated for with two full-page ads that appear in the same section. In one ad, Saks Fifth Avenue reminds consumers that after Christmas is still a perfect time to shop because of the after-Christmas sales. Along with the holiday greetings that appear in the regular ad spaces, the week between Christmas and the New Year is also an ideal time to shop (in addition to the post-Christmas sales). The merchandise sold at this particular time reflects what one "needs" to be adequately adorned for the New Year celebrations: dressy attire, glittery makeup and perfumes.

Ironically, Earth Day is a recent addition to the list of ritualized shopping days that give the public an opportunity to show its social responsibility through supposedly green purchases. ABC carpet & home placed a full-page ad in honor of Earth Day with the following copy: "a celebration of earth day, a SALE on 2 of our exclusive collections...sustainable; to keep in existence, renew, reinvent, regenerate...(in titling sized type) shades of green...transform; consume consciously. Choose green, a shade at a time." At the bottom of the ad appeared a key with "the abc culture" that contained attributes such as "good wood, organic, fair & square, love, consciously made, sustainable." Also at the bottom of the ad was a quote from Ghandi. The majority of ad space was devoted to images of upholstered furniture pieces in the three-to-four-thousand-dollar range and several pieces of wood furniture.[162] Celebrating Earth Day in print (using paper made from trees) provides the company with the opportunity to broadcast its social conscience and strengthen its brand. Of course, the company is urging the consumer to purchase rather expensive products for the home, even though the purchases are labeled green, sustainable, and fabricated under fair conditions.

During Thanksgiving, 2006, the mytriggers.com web site featured their shopping service to help the consumer locate items. The site presents itself as a particularly useful one for holiday shopping.[163] Copy at the site read, "My Triggers all items. All the time. What are you shopping for? (Enter Item Search terms here.) What's the most you want to pay? (Enter maximum price ($) here.) Find the hottest gifts *online* NOW! ...and with myTriggers, save your Searches to keep up with the best bargains available for all of those hard-to-find gifts."

Specific formal graphic elements have become attached to particular events in the calendar year. Colors and words have been carefully orchestrated to instigate and normalize consumption by targeted audiences as the way to respond to those signs of a celebrated day, event, or season.

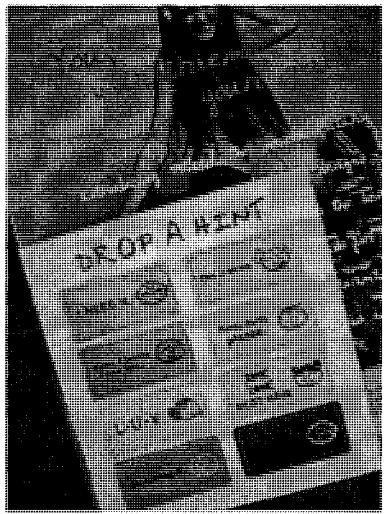
3.9.5 Marketing to Young Consumers

In an effort to understand why so much money and effort is being spent on children in contemporary Western cultures, Richard Tomkins suggests that perhaps precisely because of the changes in the economic value children provided prior to child labor laws, they have taken on a new emotional value. In other words, children represent more to their families and, because of this, they occupy more of the family time and resources, including products like Dior children's dresses for little girls that sold at The Baby Dior boutique in Knightsbridge for approximately $740 each. "Since children no longer generated cash, their value lay in the emotional gratification they brought."[164] Because of this responsibility to provide gratification, they become representatives of parental values. "The child's success is the parent's success and nothing must be allowed to stand in its way."[165] The author refers to "higher quality" children. Child rearing expert Judith Rich Harris notes the significance of both genes and peer influence, and worries about obsessive parenting and the increasing likelihood that children are running the home.[166] Apparently several companies now offer custom made videos of a family's child that cost approximately $4,000 for the production and editing, perhaps attributed to "an era of competitive child-rearing."[167] This lavish child-focused production points to the phenomenon of economic shifts in how children are valued (as referred to by Harris). The heavy marketing that begins with very young children creates a population groomed for visual attentiveness to the purchases that place one inside or outside current trends.

The contemporary environment is one in which the fashion industry is hoping to engage children between the ages of 4 and 9, who are already style-conscious and aware of brands. The editor of *Cookie* magazine, a publication for the parents of the under-12 age group, notes, " Just as we've seen in the teen market, the interest in clothes is fashion- and celebrity-driven, and that interest has been trickling down."[168] The clothing, the article reports, is "laced with sass" and on the provocative side.[169] Retail chains are catering to very young girls who select their own clothes, are particular about jeans, and are already bringing in photos of their favorite stars when they go to have their haircut.[170] At the 2003 "Brand Identity & Package Design" conference in Chicago, one of the sessions was entitled, "It's Child's Play: How Sight, Sound & Touch Transform Kids' Products into Brand Experiences." Run by three branding specialists, the abstract for the session noted, "Kid stuff is serious business! In this dynamic, colorful and fun presentation you will travel into the minds of 'kids'. What really drives this market segment, in regard to color attraction, graphics, advertising, interaction, co-branding and licensing? How can the product manufacturer leverage what's in those 'little' minds into leading consumer products?"[171]

In the adaptation of "The Nutcracker" into a video featuring Barbie as a ballerina, Mattel Entertainment, a division of the toy company, utilized the choreography of Peter Martins of the New York City Ballet and created an entertainment piece that featured one of the most popular of the over 80 "guises" of Barbie over her 44 year history (as of 2003).[172] As the Disney Channel attempted to re-brand itself after falling behind other competitors in their market, their research showed that the Channel was referred to as "broccoli" by children meaning that it was "not cool." As a way to distinguish itself from the competition, it developed live-action dramas. Even when the Disney Company did not regard its own channel that well, it did understand that it was a good promotional venue for its other divisions.[173] Andy Mooney cleverly seized an opportunity to brand the Princess for Disney. Mooney, who came to Disney from Nike in 2000 to help with their problematic consumer products division, shortly after his arrival at Disney was in Phoenix to see "Disney on Ice." He made the following observation. "'Standing in line in the arena, I was surrounded by little girls dressed head to toe as princesses...They weren't even Disney products. They were generic princess products...And the light bulb went off. Clearly there was a latent demand here. So the next morning I said to my team, 'O.K., let's establish standards and a color palette and talk to licensees and get as much product out there as we possibly can that allows these girls to do what they're doing anyway: projecting themselves into the characters from the classic movies.'"[174] To clarify how the manipulation is managed, Orenstein notes that "Mooney picked a mix of old and new [Disney] heroines to wear the Pantone pink No. 241 corona...It was the first time Disney marketed characters separately from a film's release."[175] When questioned about the ethics of marketing this kind of image to young girls, Mooney shrugs it off as something the "girl passes through… I see girls expanding their imagination through visualizing themselves as princesses, and then they pass through that phase and end up becoming lawyers, doctors, mothers or princesses, whatever the case may be."[176] Marketing people often have ways to respond with post-product development or rationalizations of criticism, conveniently trivializing the effects of or responsibility for what they might have created. The categorization by Mooney as "latent demand" is especially problematic because the demand was actually created. Seizing upon his princess observation is less serendipitous than his comment would indicate. The radar of branding people is always on.

Not only have some of the larger clothing retailers like the Gap (with its GapKids and its BabyGap) expanded into child-focused markets, home product retailers like Pottery Barn have expanded into "potterybarnkids" and "PBteen." The covers of the over 100-page catalogs mold a social view of the child as belonging (either to family or peers) to the groups and also to the products. The PBteen covers reveal heterosexual and socially gregarious, apparently happy teen models in environments laden with Pottery Barn products. Rarely does the cover image show a person alone. In the kids catalog, the text is geared to the adult with the child referenced in the third person voice. In the teen version, the text talks directly to the teen and assumes either reasonable purchasing power or potential purchasing power in the form of nagging power. The premier issue of PBteen appeared in summer 2003 with a sticker insert containing eight stickers with face icons and copy such as, "I NEED it." Or "Dude, I totally love this." On the back of the sticker insert in the premier issue was a photo of 11 teens with a thought bubble containing the text in faux handwriting, "I'M SO LIKE, HAPPY YOU KNOW?) [177]



In the premier issue of *Pottery Barn Teen* (Summer 2003), adhesive backed labels were bound into the first page for teens to signal to their parents the items they wanted.

Many large retailers, such as Pottery Barn, have customized their markets with catalogs that target kids and teens. (*PotteryBarn Kids*. Summer 3003, Spring 2004, Fall 2006.)

While some retailers may not be large enough to produce entire catalogs directed at children, they find ways to develop their child-oriented market. In the May 2004 issue of The Company Store catalog, a young girl on a very pink and purple page is shown with the title "companykids.com" at the top of the page. Though this is only a two page spread, it is designed for kids as a catalog within the catalog based upon the scale of the type and image and the absence on the title page of product purchasing information.

Garnet Hill's Fall 2004 catalog contained an insert "Introducing {Growing Up with} garnet hill. A new catalog of clothing, home furnishings and accessories just for kids." The premiere issue appeared in Fall 2004 and was announced in their regular catalog with the tag line, "It's all a part of Growing Up." A double entendre referred to the kids catalog itself and the attributes of "fun, style, comfort, color, original art" were listed as part of growing up (the process) and strung together with "great clothing, whimsical bedding, and fun accessories" (the products). The image and text instruct the audience that the process of growing up is linked directly to the acquisition of the products.

Teen-focused versions of national magazines, not unlike the catalogs just referenced, have begun to proliferate. These publications provide considerable real estate for ads, making the production of the magazine financially feasible while influencing the particularly precarious teen identity. Zo Beads placed a full-page ad showing three of their bead bracelets. The title read, "It's not what you say. It's what you wear." The text under the third bracelet read, "My Parents are Out-of-Town. Party Time!"[178] In combination with new production technologies that allow for a variety of inserts, the teen version of *People* magazine, *TeenPeople,* used some of the following techniques to attract the attention of the teen consumer. A perforated set of 6 cards with the "HOW TO SHOP FOR..." theme provided categories that range from concealers to jeans. The backs of each card contain urls for online purchasing and "Names to Know" which lists several brands that belong to the particular category. Fashion magazines such as *TeenVogue* advertise with the following text on subscription cards, "New From the Editors of Vogue! TEEN VOGUE has fashion every way a teen could want it. On the runway, on photo shoots, on models, on real girls and on celebrities." The cards are inserted into other magazines that come from the same publisher. Although it is not medically clear why teens need a special toothbrush, the Sonicare toothbrush by Philips sent mailers in December 2006 announcing "Xtreme e3000, the first sonic toothbrush for teens." No explanation was given why teens need a separate toothbrush. One can decipher, however, that customization of product lines produces developmental, stage-based consumer urges.

Geared more to young males, *Sports Illustrated* publishes a *Sports Illustrated for Kids.* The ads are almost exclusively designed for young males with a distinct interest in sports and video games. Card inserts also appear in these publications, but they are not selling anything. Rather they are modeled upon the old baseball cards with an athlete's photo and various statistics on the back. Of the nine cards that appeared in each of the 2004 issues, there were never more than two females per insert. Ban deodorant, taking an "interactive" but socially responsible approach, provided a page of peel-off stickers containing sixteen self-esteem building stickers, each beginning with "Ban... self doubt, insecurity, ignorance." The interactive nature of the stickers, designed to physically engage the reader, may be an effort to combat the loss of control over pop culture news by magazines to so many other interactive, time-based media. (Pictured earlier.)

Some time-based media include television shows that are designed for infants. BabyFirstTV is a relatively new round-the-clock-access channel for children as young as 6 months of age. The research on the effects of such early watching has been inconclusive with some advocating its benefits and others concerned about its negative effects on learning. In a 2006 study, the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation arrived at the figure of 61% of children in the U.S. under two years of age watch TV or videos. They also determined that 43% of this age group watch on a daily basis. The American

Academy of Pediatrics is sticking to its early recommendation that children under the age of two should not have any "screentime."[179] Tiffany & Co. occasionally places child-centric print ads such as the ad containing the subtle text "Tiffany Tots" above a selection of baby products in the Tiffany blue or silver so the child learns early to identify the brand.[180]

According to *The Wall Street Journal,* even car makers are targeting children in their ads as more and more carmakers are positioning ads in venues that are meant to be for children, such as child-oriented gyms or networking sites. "Their aim is to spur the sales to parents—and down the road, to the children themselves. Walt Disney featured its first car ads on the Disney Kids network (for Honda Motor Co.) and McDonalds put toy Hummers in Happy Meals."[181] In a sidebar to a *Time* magazine article called "Pitching It To Kids" by Daren Fonda, Lisa Takeeuchi Cullen is quoted as saying, "The retail field trip is part education, part marketing and all the rage. Groups of children from school, summer camps and Girl and Boy Scout troops" are going to retail establishments. Fonda suggests that these trips may be a result of the squeeze on school budgets. "While companies are eager to polish their community image, critics say the real goal is to turn kids into brand-loyal consumers." Former marketing consultant Susan Singer founded a company called Field Trip Factory. The company arranges with corporate clients for field trips to corporate sites.[182] Children have also been "consulted" by venture capitalists who observe them using social networking sites and small scale technology devices because they reveal through their response to and interest in goods and services, whether or not an investment is worth making. A Professor of Economics at the Stanford Business School notes the risk involved in trusting kids, but acknowledges the frustration that business people feel in trying to predict the next big thing.[183]

While it is realistic to expect large toy retailers such as ToysRUs to market to children, the still-unbroken practice of a binary construction of gender (masculine and feminine) through the types of toys and toy advertising is difficult to overcome. One of the most reprehensible products, supposedly a "ToysRUs exclusive" was the "My Scene Bling Barbie Head," a life-sized plastic head, upper torso and hands awaiting the play jewelry (to be shared with the lucky little girl who owns it). The toy is available in "My Secret Bling Barbie Head with Topaz or Madison with Amethyst." Barbie is Caucasian

Retailers at all ends of the spectrum from "Tiffany Tots" to Toys R Us and the Barbie brand's "My Scene Bling Barbie Head" work to hook children into brands at an early age. (Tiffany ad from *The New York Times*, Sunday, 21 January 2007, ST3, Toys R Us insert in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, 8 October 2006.)

with blond hair and Madison is a plastic head of color with dark hair. Both look like prostitutes and are geared to ages "6-up."[184] Interest in beauty begins quite early—around fourth grade—and often with mother-daughter trips to salons which become peer activities later on, with parents willing to pay the bills. These young girls are interested in appearance, from a young age, and not particularly interested in school.[185]

Parents are wary of the decisions young people make about the clothing marketed and produced for them. Some mothers have used the 2003 Internet term "whore wars" when they talk about the conflicts over what young girls are wearing. A Manhattan mother referred to the clothing available to her children as " 'hooker wear'" and attributed it to " 'disgusting role models' like Britney Spears... ."[186] Young girls who may have been influenced by the Barbie doll from a surprisingly young age, also are subjected to a relatively recent competitor's product, the Bratz dolls, described in the following way. "Bratz dolls have large heads and skinny bodies; their almond-shaped eyes are tilted upward at the edges and adorned with thick crescents of eye shadow, and their lips are lush and pillowy, glossed to a candy-apple sheen and rimmed with dark lip liner. They look like pole dancers on their way to work at a gentleman's club. Unlike Barbie, they can stand unassisted."[187] Talbot notes that girls are outgrowing their toys at earlier ages than boys. They seem to notice details that adults do not expect them to notice and are interested in the "sassy" product, what Talbot says is a euphemism for sexy. Marketing agency WonderGroup is fine with products that parents do not like, as long as they can be " appeased."[188]

3.9.6 Using Celebrity Image

With the availability of the internet and the ability of the average person to track a favorite celebrity, the boundary between average person and public celebrity is blurred. The use of celebrity images to sell products has been increasing along with coverage in magazines, online, and on television of the personal lives and sightings of Hollywood personalities. Celebrities regularly grace the covers of magazines and become "faces of" particular brands, often replacing the fashion model. Some publications have noted more recently that they are re-thinking the use of the celebrity image on their covers due to their high fees (even when compared with already highly paid cover models) and the general over exposure of celebrity images on magazine covers. Even more relevant to this

Print venues use celebrity images to help sell and increase interest in magazines. These images show Tyra Banks (*CL Celebrated Living*, AA Premium Class Passenger magazine, Summer 2004), Catherine Zeta-Jones (*Bazaar*, November 2005), and Lindsay Lohan (*Bazaar*, July 2006). Though not shown above, Women's Fashion issues of "T," *The New York Times Style Magazine*, pictured actress Ziyi Zhang (Spring 2005), Scarlett Johansson (Holiday 2005), and Rachel Weisz (Spring 2006).

project is the increasing use of celebrities to assist in bringing attention to philanthropic efforts, further instilling in the public the need for an engaging and visceral paradigm for social responsibility.

Advertising agencies have known for a long time that bringing a celebrity image together with a product helps to sell the product. In considering Bianca Jagger to represent a wine label, an advertising agency understood her personna to be "new artistocracy or celibrotocracy."[189] As early as the 1920s, John F. Ditzell, president of a company called Famous Names, Inc., asserted that one way to increase the "pulling power" of a product was to use both the image and endorsement of a famous person. Originally the star was expected to write his or her own endorsement.[190] At a time when advertising was conceived of as a medium for delivering information, the tolerance for untruths and false endorsements was lower than today. Not too many people view contemporary advertising as a literal source of information about products. Explicit endorsements have almost disappeared in favor of national and international icons simply appearing with a product and not making verbal claims about it.

Many early twentieth century advertisements were text-heavy, but this practice has given way to the use of powerful images and often little to no text. Celebrities are easily recognized because there are so many technologies that are able to produce and carry their likeness. Within the past few years, as movies and TV series *about* the world of magazine publishing have appeared, boundaries between celebrity and fashion publishing seem to be eroding. Robert Thompson, Syracuse University professor of television and popular culture, notes, " All of these shows take place at magazines that deal with fashion and celebrity...The intellectual magazines are struggling. The big fashion magazines and celebrity magazines still have a very prominent place in American culture, because the culture is obsessed, absolutely ravenous, about all things celebrity right now."[191] The American populace, however, did not invent obsession with celebrity. Celebrity culture was imposed upon them by the images of the public relations, fashion, and advertising industries.

Perhaps one reason that celebrities are used so frequently to sell products is that the line between illusion and reality, the distance of the celebrity as remote screen persona, appears to have narrowed. Compared with an earlier era when actors like Cary Grant were themselves brands ("bigger than any Cary Grant movie"), contemporary celebrities thrive in a "media culture in which virtually nothing remains hidden."[192] Several celebrities have launched their own product lines making it easier to sell products that are associated with an already well-known "brand." Gwen Stefani introduced a line of accessories targeting young teens called Harajuku Lovers. The line was promoted in a full-page Macy's ad.[193] Justin Timberlake "collaborated" on a fashion line with his best friend since he was a child, Trace Ayala. Ayala designed the clothing but Timberlake was in charge of the show titled "Street Sexy," referencing his hit song. Timberlake decided not to have his name on the jeans, "... aware of the critical trouncing delivered to other celebrities who have attempted to commercialize their personal style with a fashion line."[194] Nicolas Cage collaborated with Montblanc in the sale of the TimeWalker Chronograph. Cage appeared in an ad wearing the watch with the text, "...you are supporting a significant donation by Nicolas Cage and Montblanc to 'Heal the Bay' organisation."[195] The use of the celebrity image has become pervasive in both high and low end markets, with celebrities themselves appearing in ads for a wide variety of products.[196] More recently, the celebrity image is being used in social responsibility campaigns.

Many celebrities are not troubled by their visible connection to commerce and do not seem to view it as eroding their professionalism. Tyra Banks appeared on the Summer 2004 cover of *CL Celebrated Living*. Catherine Zeta-Jones appeared on November 2005 cover of *Harper's Bazaar*; Salma Hayek appeared on the front cover of the February 2006 cover while Halle Berry graced the back cover in a low cut white dress in an ad for Versace. Almost a year earlier, she was seen in the September 2005 issue of *Lucky: The Magazine About Shopping* in a double truck ad (an ad that crosses over the left and right pages) for Revlon Mascara. Gwyneth Paltrow is the face of Estée Lauder's "pleasures" fragrance (having commented that this sort of work does not keep her away from her young children). Britney Spears appeared nude on the cover of *Harper's Bazaar*, except for a Swarovski crystal necklace costing $3850.[197] In a single issue of *Elle* magazine, Kiera Knightly appeared on the cover, Uma Thurman appeared in a double-truck TagHeuer ad, and Penelope Cruz in a double-truck L'Oréal ad.[198]

Celebrities also appear frequently in informal photographs in the editorial/advice columns in fashion magazines. In almost every ad placed in the *Fashion Rocks* supplement to the September 2006 *Wired* magazine, irrespective of the product genre (from computers to cars), the ads contained celebrities. The cover pictured singer Beyoncé and actor Jammie Foxx. Fashion magazine *Harper's Bazaar* in August 2005 showed Cate Blanchett on the cover as well as inside in a feature[199] and Courtney Cox in an ad for Kinerase skincare.[200] A large close-up of ZiyiZhang appeared on the cover of the Women's Fashion Spring 2005 cover of "*T*", *The New York Times Style Magazine.*

One year later, in Spring 2006, a close-up of Rachel Weisz appeared on the cover. *"T"* magazine's Holiday 2005 featured Scarlett Johansson's face. In the September 2006 issue of *Harper's Bazaar*, Gwyneth Paltrow appeared on the cover, Charlize Theron appeared inside in a Dior fragrance ad,[201] and Sarah Jessica Parker appeared in an ad for her own fragrance.[202] Aaron Eckhart, Jeremy Piven, Mia Farrow, and five other well-known personalities appeared in a Gap t-shirt shop eight-page insert.[203] This is in addition to informal editorial photographs of many other celebrities. Marketing director at Coangelo Synergy Marketing, Susan Coco, described the task of appealing to young consumers (much the same way Georg Simmel did in his twentieth century essay on "Fashion") as a generation that "look(s) for ways to distinguish themselves from the group, but not to separate from it."[204]

Us Weekly launched a Russian edition in September 2006 as *Us Magazine* (a twice-monthly publication). Janice Min, the editor of the American publication, expected the Russian version to be successful. "'The hunger that young people around the world feel for Hollywood culture and celebrities is overwhelming.'"[205] Barneys New York, an upscale retailer, used Warhol images in a full page ad that were made available to them by The Andy Warhol Foundation. The title of the ad read "Happy Andy Warhol-days!"[206] Recent interest in Andy Warhol has been orchestrated around the publicity for the movie, "Factory Girl" starring current paparazzi-favorite Sienna Miller as Sedgwick, Warhol's muse. Warhol's pop-iconicity retains/sustains its cache as yet another form of iterative, celebrity influence. The release of the movie can be expected to dovetail with certain types of retro fashions. The scale of the business that relies on celebrity images as a source of influence also varies dramatically. A Bay Area shoe store sent out a postcard announcing a shoe sale with a photograph of Sienna Miller and the following copy, "score hand-crafted, Italian-made must-have boots and shoes as seen on the heels of Sienna Miller."[207]

The use of celebrities in fashion and cosmetic advertising seems to respond to at least two pressures: the old pressure that fashion needs constant change, and the new pressure that the customers are increasingly identified with celebrity. The August cover of *Vogue* magazine was the first issue in 14 months to switch back to a model after continuous celebrity covers. Some in the industry started to talk about "celebrity fatigue."[208] Fashion news features director at *Vogue*, Sally Singer, along with other style experts, thought models "convey more fashion gravitas."[209] The most recent mimetic "star" on fashion and beauty magazine covers has been typography: large-type size, three-digit numerals, implying that the publication really will deliver a specific number of pieces of useful beauty or style information.

Technologies are also becoming available that help the average consumer track something they saw on a celebrity. In November 2006, a web site called Like.com catalogued recent images of approximately a thousand celebrities and helped the user, with some prompting, to find a particular item that appeared in a photograph. Although the software was not fully debugged and was introduced in its testing phase, technologies like these are going to continue to tie celebrity to consumerism and consumers to their favorite celebrities.[210] The celebrities become, in effect, stationary and walking billboards. If anything is perfectly predictable in advertising imagery, it is that (the illusion of) change is critical to selling products, one way to explain celebrity fatigue in the fashion and beauty industries. Although celebrity images have not been exhausted, like hemlines, their appearances travel in and out of fashion.

3.9.7 Compartmentalization

Careful examination of print graphics used to advertise goods or services reveals just how accustomed we have become to what are, with deliberate and conscious inspection, unsettlingly contradictory adjacencies. On the second page of the first section of *The New York Times*, one routinely finds advertisements for luxury goods from companies like Tiffany, Cartier, Chanel, and Tag Heuer that are outside the reach even of many of its readers. These ads surround news stories of human suffering in places that live outside the experience of most readers. It is most remarkable that the adjacencies that create this tense neighborhood have become so normalized that the reader might be disoriented if he or she did not see these ad placements in their routine positions. The regular placement and positioning of certain advertisements within a specific venue contribute to our comfort through familiarity. The purpose here is to understand and reveal how these extremes have been able to share such proximate space without unsettling the reader. Despite the demands of capital that require publications like *The New York Times* to sell advertising space, the images of luxurious products next to war torn villages defy one's conscience and sense of morality. The ability of the reader to accept what is so discrepant within a single context of newspaper is evidence of the ability of the advertiser to create images of extreme luxury without resistance. This raises a question about what lies behind the corporate face, or in some cases, what appears only a few pages away from the carefully controlled and articulated corporate face.

Corporations, whether they can identify it as such or not, rely upon the audience's tendency to compartmentalize, bifurcating responsible, journalistic information from the visual seduction of consumer graphics. Successful public relations and marketing depend partially upon this tendency. Nevertheless, when the public is presented with explicit or tacit images of good citizenship, and where further investigation may reveal serious

The above layout is typical of pages 2 and 3 of *The New York Times*. Serious news stories are flanked by small ads regularly placed by high-end retailers. (*The New York Times*, 3 September 2007, A3.)

problems regarding corporate behaviors, designers need to ask if the image constitutes a misrepresentation of certain behaviors that make the representation and knowledge discrepant. Is it ethical for the corporation (and the designer) to make money in a way that includes potentially unethical, but profitable, actions while simultaneously picturing good citizenship? BP has been accused both of customer price gauging and, even more egregious, has been accused of failure to maintain equipment in Alaska. This maintenance failure was understood to have detrimental impact upon the environment and BP's employees. Concurrent with these internal (though now public) problems, BP's advertisers were producing squeaky-clean visuals proclaiming BP's commitment to a clean environment. While the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation does worldwide humanitarian work, Microsoft maintains a business alliance with China as China continues to commit human rights violations, begging another compartmentalization question regarding the ethics of how money is made versus how money is spent philanthropically.

Compartmentalization at its worst is the ability to disregard, at least temporarily, the presence of directly conflicting messages or to accommodate messages of distinctly varying significance. The following sub-heads appeared in sequence within a newspaper article: "Lost: A Goya Painting, Found: A Genetic Roadmap, Lost: A U.S. House Race, Found: Traces of Plutonium, Found: TOMKAT in Italy." The descriptions, for example, under the last two adjacent entries included concerns over having found a secret nuclear weapons program in Tehran and the fact that Tom Cruise had been spotted leaving a five-star hotel in Rome after having arrived by private jet earlier in the week.[211] The article appeared in *The New York Times* and indicates (along with "what's a paper to do in order to survive") at least a distortion in values (in this case, journalistic integrity). This kind of problematic, perhaps subliminal equalizing is evident in multiple ways and venues. When we open the daily edition of *The New York Times* and turn to pages two and three, we are confronted with the previously mentioned "frame" of small ads placed by large firms selling luxury items. These include Macys, Cartier, Tiffany, Barneys (New York), and Saks Fifth Avenue. Inside this "frame," but adjacent to it, are daily news reports of starvation in third world countries, bombings in Iraq, and other reports of human tragedies from around the world. On the surface of a single sheet of the *Financial Times*, the upper left hand corner of the page contains a box with the following text, "23,971 PEOPLE DIED YESTERDAY OF POVERTY." The lower right corner of the same page contains an ad for a "Business of Luxury Summit" called "The Rationalisation of Luxury" with the text, "Designed for the most influential decision makers and institutional investors from the world's luxury industry, this exclusive Summit will examine both marketing and innovation strategies that are taking place within the luxury sector and the issues surrounding its investment and need for change."[212] It is as if we have become able to temporarily foreground the news (why the newspaper is read in the first place), and easily background the news as we glance at architect Frank Gehry's latest piece of jewelry for Tiffany and Co. The ease with which the switching occurs reveals a loss of critical awareness and an inability to simultaneously absorb such disparate content.

Examples abound of surfaces in which the reader is forced to sequentially compartmentalize personal desire for luxury objects that are pictured adjacent to horrific news stories. A full-page ad for luxury watchmaker Patek Philippe shows a young father and son on a boat. The father is wearing the company's Nautilus watch. On the page opposite is an article by Fiona Harvey with the headline, "U.N. talks focus on how to help poor countries adapt to climate change."[213] Two articles on Africa, one on Darfur and the other on the bloody violence connected to elections in the Congo are flanked by ads showing Tiffany diamond rings, Valentino menswear at Saks Fifth Avenue, and Prada handbags.[214] *The New York Times Magazine* featured a story about child soldiers in the Sierra Leone civil war with an 8-page advertising supplement that was bound into the article and featured luxury homes with headlines such as, “Who Says you Can’t Spend Your Entire Life on the Golf Course?”[215] The image of Ivana Trump, hired by a Dubai-based luxury apartment developer as interior designer for their Beirut property “La Residence By Ivana Trump,” appeared on a billboard promoting the property in war-torn Beirut. This revealed not only the advertising image against the bullet holes, but the actual luxury residence against the bullet holes.[216] A map containing 32 dots scattered around the world, each indicating a conference that took place that was sponsored by the American Academy of Anti-Aging Medicine, along with a photograph of a sign at their Las Vegas conference indicating “Board Certification In Anti-Aging & Regenerative Medicine Is Your Gateway to Opportunity,” is contradicted in the text of the article which denies that certification has been recognized by any “main stream medical association like the American Board of Medical Specialties or the American Medical Associate.” [217]

One of the few times in which considerable response was provoked to advertising in a regular publication was when Target Corporation purchased all of the available advertising space in a single issue of the *New Yorker* magazine. This will be addressed elsewhere in this project, but it is noteworthy that only the blatant redundancy of the Target colors, logo, and images adjacent to regular literary pieces and magazine editorial content caused a virulent reaction from the publication’s readers. There was no actual increase in the amount of surface available for advertising, but the effect was concentrated and presented an instance in which the readership’s ability to compartment-alize the advertising that regularly lives adjacent to the content was blatantly thwarted.

3.10 Design and Intention

Although it is understandable that control over how an image is perceived and received is limited, those who create the images and words that are used in service of consumption work with a strong assumption that intention should be made explicit or programmatic, even to the point of verbalization. In pedagogical situations, design students are often asked, "What is it, exactly, that you want me to take away from this piece?" The expectation that intentions are part of the analysis in a design process has been embedded into pedagogy and subsequently is carried through to design practice, despite the fact that a client may verbalize intention using other words that describe (perhaps even measurable) objectives or particular artifacts.

When Redux Beverages of Las Vegas named its energy drink "Cocaine," it received a warning from the Food and Drug Administration that resulted in the company changing the beverage's name. In defense of the name, company partner Clegg Ivey, commented, "Of course, we intended for Cocaine energy drink to be a legal alternative the same way that celibacy is an alternative to premarital sex."[218] When Annheuser-Busch came out with Spykes, their vice president of communications and consumer affairs, Francine Katz noted to the product's critics that it was one of a genre already on the alcohol market. Consumer writer Rob Walker referred to the "corporate dissonance" as "inescapable," because it was marketed as entirely new but defended as one of an existing genre. With the idea that no publicity is bad publicity, the ability to reach large groups via the Internet in order to criticize a product may have just the opposite effect upon its sales.[219] What these events imply is that there is a cognitive aspect to the sending and receiving of communications and that the overwhelming use of consumer-focused communications that intend to provoke some response in the marketplace cannot be seen as independent of intent. Image producers also negotiate the uncomfortable space between representations of the social state of belonging to a group and that of leading it.

Although a single linguistic imperative can have significant influence, this is rare. However, taken in multiples, these "orders" begin to take up residence in individual identity. Some examples of the urgent language used include, "The sweater coat, (is) **the only possible option** during the time of transition…"[220] (author's emphasis). Women are regularly being told what they need, what they must have, and that lacking the "must-haves" leads to feeling down. Henri Bendel placed an almost full-page in *The New York Times* with the following urgent copy, "experience ModelCo, Australia's fastest growing cult beauty brand…"[221] Although none of these examples is of life-and-death import, each represents a linguistic imperative that collectively, over time and place, becomes imbued with a kind of power that molds thinking about the urgency of a purchase and the consequences to one's identity. A double-truck Gap ad shows eight photos of people in their (mass-produced) t-shirts with the text, "introducing the gap t-shirt shop…long live individuality."[222] What happens when a company's main product is at least temporarily out of fashion? Crystal manufacturer, Swarovski, marketing itself as a luxury brand, spent $11 million on an advertising campaign showing models covered in crystals and posing as The Three Graces. At the campaign's launch, a Harper's Bazaar headline on the page opposite the ad calling for a subdued mood for the upcoming season proclaimed, " 'So Long, Sparkle.' "[223] This simultaneous disparity highlights the fickle nature of fashion. In the "Pulse" section of *The New York Times*, the headline "60 Days left to celebrate summer and 9 ways to remember it…" instructs the reader that summer memories are attached to particular purchases.[224]

Because money can only be made by making newly relevant that which was irrelevant as recently as last year (and will be next year, though this remains tacit), it is not unusual to see headlines that, when examined critically, constitute a rather blatant affront to the rational reader. Does being "anti aging," for example, mean that one is against living a long time? We are increasingly tolerant of the hyperbolic claims delivered through words and images that, when unpacked as they have been in Baudrillard's essays attacking advertising, have a way of exposing the absurdity of our having participated in the suspension of our rationality. The ways in which designers and marketers use images is in service to the bottom line and represents a growing body of information about what sorts of seduction and coercion work to achieve the goal of increasing consumption. Most often, the client makes intent explicit in the form of a desired outcome. The designer relies on a catalog of formal skills, experiences, and observations to translate what may have begun as an economic goal into a visible interpretation. Ultimately, the power of the image rarely lies in its singularity. Next is an investigation of images multiply received in what constitutes a forest of intents.

3.11 Receiving/Reception

Up to this point, the discussion has focused upon what the designer learns, knows, strategizes, and produces. The discussion now turns to reception of what the designer produces. "The notion of reception has been rendered problematic within political theory and practice because of its apparent association with *resignation* as well as *inactivity*. To be in a receptive relation to external stimuli is assumed to imply a passive acceptance in the face of the 'given.'"[225] Reception as theorized with respect to the consumer image is problematic precisely because it interferes with independence and resistance and works to produce a docile recipient. If hope for transformation of what is "culturally derived" (to use Silverman's term) is produced rather than given, one must ask what constitutes that which is culturally derived. Perhaps the advertising images, because of their omnipresence and the difficulty of escaping them, *are* given. To absorb Silverman's position that what is culturally derived can also (therefore?) be transformed is precisely what this work hopes to do in the arena of that which is pop-culturally derived. Images that produce desire to consume, affect audience identity, both individually and in peer groups. They challenge the precarious edge on which social notions of inclusion and resisting stereotyping simultaneously live. Consuming is an act of social belonging. The studio or office in which either an image or a campaign is created is a site that is highly internal (in the sense of the isolated, creative genius) and mostly cut off from the images once multiply experienced. More recently, many images contain messages of consumption that are tied to various acts of social responsibility (addressed in the next chapter).

3.12 Expanding Sites of Reception

As profit-driven use of image-blanketed surfaces increases, consciousness about such use decreases, becoming absorbed into the contemporary, quotidian experience. This general lack of critical awareness of the "givens" by an urban public is aided by contemporary acceptance as bedfellows in virtual space of what were formerly disjunctive categories of commercial and non-commercial imagery. Additionally, use of surfaces to display dynamic imagery in the built environment may disconnect us from that which is familiar, distorting kinesthetic experiences and bifurcating the senses from the body in real space, making non-virtual navigations less reliable. Both foreground and background are losing usefulness as constructs for understanding and navigating urban geographies. It may be easier to ask what isn't for sale than what is. Borders that signified edges used to limit the visible landscape of commerce. Beginnings and endings that bounded commerce have been transgressed, yet they are not read as transgressions. The old, rather explicit categories of graphic information, graphic identification, and commercial message are no longer useful. The increase in a contiguous, messaged surface creates a new definition of public space as a kind of spacelessness. New learners with a new tolerance for visual complexity, quixotic imagery, and fleeting messages constitute this new public space.

The thoroughly messaged environment has become second nature. It is marked by an overpopulation of words and images, the wanton sale of private spaces for marketing, the co-marketing of corporate images, the unceasing opportunities for acquiring naming rights, and the inability of the general public to form effective resistance to a wholly commercialized urban/suburban context. Buildings, billboards, blimps, parapets, sports stadia, university buildings, mass transit stations, product placement in film, and sponsorship of public events have all been used to broadcast commercial messages. Extreme trends in smaller scale corporate messaging have included more recently program advertising placed by a TV network on the shells of eggs, to selling the use of one's forehead, to selling the rights to name one's child to the top corporate bidder. Images have taken up residence in multiple sites creating an invasive, messaged environment that references consumer culture. As we move through urban/suburban space, we find little surface remaining that cannot be used as a canvas for commerce.

From national to local venues, almost every surface has a price. Phenomena like naming rights, station domination in mass transit, and commercially occupied and controlled messages are tending to absorb the surfaces of contemporary culture. Words and images repeated across media and contexts, along with the social ramifications of brand repetition, make contesting the commercial nearly impossible in cultures that do not resist the use of space because the assault on space no longer registers in public consciousness. Walter Benjamin's glimpse of the future of commerce in general and the department store in particular within the Parisian arcades, when compared with today's standards, were on a relatively small scale as a result of slow technologies used to manufacture, transport, and represent goods. The invasion of space by commercial messages, though perhaps resulting in economic benefit to a producer of goods and images, is socially problematic.

Benjamin understood the Parisian arcades (and those scattered around other large European cities), the focus of his unfinished work, The Arcades Project, to be the horizontal antecedents of the modern day department store. As more and more goods were produced following the onset of the Industrial Revolution, not only were retail spaces needed to show and sell those goods, but advertising surfaces were needed to announce their perpetual arrival and availability to a public made increasingly hungry for the latest object available for consumption. The great commercially-focused expositions of London, Stockholm, Paris and Chicago did sporadic work to construct a receptive consumer, but the need to persist in (re)presenting the latest goods moved over time to occupy innumerable public and not-so-public spaces, making commodities visible to urban populations on a daily basis and insinuating themselves on the consumer. With increasing numbers and genres of goods being manufactured, corporations and their agents needed to be vigilant in their searches for visible real estate to serve their sales goals. In the 1980s, when a group of educators were invited to brainstorm about the interior of NASA's manned space station, discussion turned to financing the space station.[226] A professor from U.C. Davis (who was a specialist in circadian rhythms) suggested, half jokingly, that NASA sell the rights to advertise on the exterior of the station to Coca-Cola. What was perhaps a witty jab at commercialism's "expense" now might be understood as a perfectly obvious solution to the unending and escalating corporate search for unimpeded, highly visible real estate.

The success of commercial usage of surface is based upon a strategic network of sight lines: between viewer and artifact (in forms as diverse as the magazine, packaging, shopping bag), between viewer and screen, and among viewers over time and place. The recipient of the image can rarely escape commercial influence, deprived of space to reflect upon what was seen. Although part of the ability to attract the consumer's attention has to do directly with the success of many graphic word and image combinations, some has to do with catching even the most sophisticated audience off guard because of where a message is located. "Reaching potential customers used to be simple: The choices were limited, and consumer behavior predictable. Now, how do you get your message through?" read a pull-quote in a Wall Street Journal article that discussed the variability of sites, methods, and styles of marketing products to consumers.[227] The Internet has challenged some of the more traditional sites for advertising, in addition to spontaneous videos that serve as product advertising and are placed on the web by individuals, or more recent trends for corporate advertisers to mimic this DIY style. Depending upon algorithms used, pop-up ads can "intervene" in specific genre searches online. Mobile devices and electronic billboards are used for fluid messaging. "In many cases, advertisers end up buying ads across a host of different media outlets, which makes designing a campaign more complex."[228] Viral marketing, the ability to make branded video available online, though increasingly popular runs counter to traditional marketing where companies can expect certain audiences as a result of ad placement choices. Once unleashed, a video can invite as much criticism as positive interest.[229] New ink technologies that are a form of electronic "ink" are allowing billboards to be programmed to change frequently and easily. CEO of Magink, a company that produces this billboard technology, said that the boards can be controlled remotely and use less energy than video billboards.[230]

One of the ways in which visual real estate can be understood is through the examination of its overlaps and connections as a method to insure that new goods or services are "discovered" and subsequently re-imagined as necessity. When Apple released its new iPhone on 29 June 2007, it was clear that what might previously have remained within the identifiable and bounded space as advertising, now occupies space as news. Network news programs counted down the days until the release, showing images of people waiting in lines—some wearing "iwait" t-shirts, and explaining that some of those awaiting the new phone were actually being paid to hold places in the line for someone other than themselves. During the Great Depression, news images showed people waiting in line for bread, however, the contemporary line represents people waiting for a technically sophisticated, cleverly hyped $600 phone. As the Financial Times noted atop a photograph of the lines in front of the New York Apple store, "Hanging on for a telephone. iQueue for Apple's latest gadget is growing."[231] The "i" brand marketing has been so successful that Apple has managed to acquire visual geography within news media for which it does not have to pay. Although media may understand this story as having cultural relevance, it also represents an increasingly fuzzy property line between information and seduction.

Adam Moss, editor-in-chief of *New York Magazine* commented on the success of the magazine's online version in the following way: "We have to invent content to accommodate our advertisers."[232] This represents a complete reversal of what traditional print media have had to and continue to face in their ongoing struggle to locate and keep their advertisers in order to support the content of the publication. Print media such as circulars from retailers like Circuit City remind consumers that there are "3 ways to buy > click...come in...call."[233] In addition to the cross-referencing of media, a kind of hybridization is taking place as the boundaries blur between commerce and entertainment (following an earlier hybrid coined by Richard Saul Wurman as "Infotainment," a necessary integration of information and entertainment). Shows like "Unwrapping Macy's" from WE (Women's Entertainment network) debuted in the fall of 2006 and featured certain employees from the flagship 34^{th} Street store, along with the Macy's Thanksgiving Day parade preparation. Macy's neither financed nor fully controlled the production but executives required that the production not be customer complaint ridden. They also were consulted on which employees would appear in the program.[234]

Product placement in films is certainly not new, though some films may be more excessive than others in product visibility. "Sarah Nettinga, managing director of film, television and music entertainment for Nascar, had pored over the movie script

["Talladega Nights"] and identified every page with a potential promotional opportunity." She even consulted with Nascar's regular sponsors to ask them about "cross-promotional possibilities within the movie... ."[235] The film "The Devil Wears Prada" is replete with brand name luxury goods from title to script. Ginia Bellafonte's review of the film calls it "the first film to take a 21st-century view of fashion, moving beyond the myth of its practitioners as visionaries, revealing them instead as the exacting functionaries they are: those who live and dress and think according to the seasonal edicts of global conglomerates."[236] Director Spike Lee asked New Era, a company that manufactures baseball caps, to make him a red Yankees cap (although the official team color is blue). When Lee wore it to a Knicks game, Matthew Pantoja, strategic business unit manager for New Era said, "the calls started coming in."[237] Others make profits from news event-related products. "A whole section of the Web site CafePress is devoted to news-driven products—from illegal-immigrant-bashing tote bags to coffee mugs commenting on the wiretapping controversy."[238] Increasingly, nothing is off limit. Consumers respond to products on celebrities and in films, resulting in requests for these goods.

The ability to access the consumer has been made easier as free wireless broadband is being made available in cities around the San Francisco Bay Area and elsewhere in the nation. Its success depends upon whether the advertisers who pay for the service for wireless users bring in sufficient advertising revenues.[239] Because the magazine format has been a useful one for advertisers, it is difficult to completely dismiss it in the face of new technology. NetClearly, intended to be "The Consumer's Guide to the Internet" covers three major web categories: shopping, entertainment, and lifestyle. Both articles and advertisements throughout the magazine contain urls.[240] Like Circuit City's print circulars, almost everywhere advertising can live, multiple media information is presented so that all potential surfaces are evident. One of the problems marketers still face in assessing online activity is that the measuring of click activity has failed to determine if the audience is comprised of potential consumers. Some of the technologies the average consumer does not see are those that are attempting to measure more accurately consumer activity that will lead to the act of making a purchase. This means that simply clicking on a site is a less valuable statistic than the act of putting something into the shopping cart.[241] A move from scheduled programming (a "push" model) to customized watching or listening when and where the consumer wants (a "pull" model) is increasing. Social networking has worried advertisers.[242] However, several instances have been uncovered in which corporations have masked their identities and attempted to post videos, blogs, and Wikipedia entries that have been designed to control a favorable image of the corporation and/or its products.

In her article titled, "Add this to the endangered species list: blank spaces," Story notes that current consumer habits have encouraged advertisers to catch them anywhere they can. One agency executive commented "we have to find a way to be everywhere." Story reported that the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey cancelled a plan to post ads for Geico at tollbooths and at other locations around the George Washington Bridge, a deal that was valued at $3.2 million. "Politicians and preservationists had raised aesthetic concerns, and others had complained the city was selling the ad space too inexpensively."[243]

The conversion of old-fashioned billboards to digital screens has also been seen recently. These allow for easily changed messages from remote computers, a technology the public can expect to see in many places. Interactive ads are also becoming more prevalent, and outdoor advertising is responding to newly available technologies. In addition to the digital boards that allow for quickly changing the images, new methods allow for tracking viewers, and some interactively contact cell phones. One new technology actively accumulates data for a period of two years by recording audio input from cell phones at 10-second bites every 30 seconds. This provides a way to track how people are responding to promotions and determines whether the follow-through to purchase has been achieved. This allows advertisers to be much more precise about the effectiveness of their ads.[244] Media-buying firms say it is the second largest advertising growth industry after the Internet. New glue-less posters have been developed that are faster to install and remove.[245] Some resistance to the presence of digital ads has been identified. When two large banks projected images onto sidewalks in NYC, the city told the banks to cancel them. When banks printed ads on pizza boxes and offered the boxes free-of-charge to pizza restaurants, there was a question about offending customers and costing the pizza restaurants more in the loss of customers than was saved on the cost of the boxes. One advertising executive said, "A campaign that reaches people outside their homes is 'very good for awareness because it's out there, it's in your face, and you can blanket a marketplace." Jack Sullivan, senior vice-president and out-of-home media director at Starcom USA, an advertising agency noted that consumers are more likely to act when they are not sitting at home.[246]

Although the scale of the real estate may be small, Jaguar gave Nico Bossi, "one of New York's beautiful people" an $80,000 Jaguar XK "To use free, weaving it into his already fabulous lifestyle in hopes that by merely being seen in one, he will persuade friends, acquaintances and wannabes to buy a Jag."[247] This is a form of reality-based product placement. For Jaguar, this approach included ads as part of its "Gorgeous" campaign (both in print and on television) with text like, "Gorgeous gets in everywhere."[248] This formula exposed audiences to traditional advertising with a local, real component.

The orchestration of advertising across varied media makes it increasingly difficult to avoid commercial messages. In Fall 2006, *Harper's Bazaar* published an issue titled "A Fashionable Life" and used a full page[249] to announce, "Love what you see in this issue? Buy key pieces nor at AFASHIONABLELIFEMAGAZINE.COM." Heat mapping technologies that help marketing people track what catches the eye of an email recipient are now available. Following testing of the software from Eyetools, IBM changed the design of its promotional emails and saw an increase in customer response.[250] SmartShop, another new technology, is a payment and marketing system. When customers type in a seven-digit code and have their finger scanned, the machine prints out specials that target the shopper's previous preferences.[251] Perhaps one of the more surprising technological evolutions is the ability to produce messages on various foods that are regularly consumed. In addition to the CBS laser imaging of eggs to announce the network's programming, cookies can now carry photographic images. During New York Fashion Week in Fall 2006, Delta Airlines, at the time "reducing pensions and worker benefits" to get out of bankruptcy, supplied the audience with 4,000 $6 per piece " edible image" cookies containing photographic style images of fashion icons such as Anna Wintour, Oscar de la Renta and Vera Wang.[252] This choice of foods on which to place images may have been particularly ironic given the fashion industry's publicly criticized obsession with thinness. "Egg-vertising" was used to promote the fall television lineup of CBS. The network laser imprinted 35 million eggs with the CBS logo and the logos of several of the fall shows. Puns printed on the eggs, such as "Crack the Case on CBS," referred to their CSI program.[253] The trend to blanket all possible surfaces with reminders about consumption is increasing with technological advances.

ADVERTISING

For CBS's Fall Lineup, Check Inside Your Refrigerator

This is just one example of how imaging technologies expand the amount of surface available to advertising. (*The New York Times*.17 July 2006, C9.)

Even live theater is not exempt from commercials. Visit London, a tourist organization, performed a live commercial before a play began that featured an onstage actress and an audience-based actress discussing on a cell phone sites worth visiting in

London.[254] Product lines have become programming content and enjoy enormous success on television shows such as Oprah. " Getting on Oprah is like winning the lottery," said Marianne Diorio, senior vice president of global communications for Estée Lauder. Because the audience trusts her, her endorsement of products can dramatically change their sales.[255] With ads appearing on the bottom of the tubs at airport security and Geico, as noted, almost successful in its attempt to place its logo on the George Washington Bridge (declined finally by the Port Authority), no surface seems safe from commerce. Writer Walter Kirn noted, "Beseiged by products that I don't need at moments when I'd rather be alone—at the airport, at the dentist, on a bridge—I find myself thinking back to simpler times, when advertisers had fewer designs on me and executed those designs more pleasantly."[256] However, tolerance for the commercialization of surface and place has become the norm rather than the exception as corporations avail themselves of new technologies and continue to learn how to maximize their effects.

3.13 Circulation-friendly Technologies and Geographies

As a result of YouTube's success, several companies have found that asking consumers to post personal video clips on the company site has increased online business. In some cases the videos posted may be personal product reviews, but others may be product-related mini-entertainment spots.[257] Homemade videos have affected the style in which companies advertise. Heavily controlled and choreographed corporate imagery has made professional-looking commercials appear out of touch with a young and tech-savvy public. It is also the case, however, that YouTube has changed the geography of commerce and the nature of the line between the consumer and the visible face of the corporation. The increase in technologies tends to foster consumption as new technology usage allow for a newly pervasive commercial presence. Most surfaces can be bought and some can be accessed via blogs, resulting in an increased possibility for promoting almost anything from the domestic computer. Commercial culture is increasing in its porosity with a near-guarantee that commercial messages will be visible due to overlapping sites. In Los Angeles, for example, high-rise residential buildings sport full, side-elevation advertisements. Advertorials appear in a variety of media, even those as traditional as respectable newspapers. Within the month of May 2007, *The New York Times* "Pulse" feature by Ellen Tien, photographically commanded that one wear eyelet.[258] Another "Pulse" feature visually dictated that one wear the babydoll or trapeze-shaped dress with the text, "Wear them from cabana to gala, from day to night, but most of all, wear them."[259] Each photo had a caption that named the manufacturer and price of the garment shown. The September 2004 issue of *Vogue* advertised *Glamour*'s Style Issue (another publication by the same publisher), and the footer on the following page ran a folio, "Vogue September 2004" with the vogue.com web address.[260] *The New York Times* provides a daily online feature called "URBANITE" that is emailed directly to those with online access to the newspaper. The technology makes it financially feasible to tailor to the local (and in this case, obviously large New York City) market offering "news" of what to buy and where to eat in the city. As expected, the site is commercially supported through advertising revenues.

Marketing specialists are paying close attention to blogs because, according to Sun Microsystems' "chief technology evangelist" Simon Phipps, the market is now a conversation rather than what was understood as a one-way flow of information.[261] In a

Special Advertising Supplement of PC World, web-hosting firm 1&1 placed an 18-page advertorial for anyone who wants to have their own web site. Prices were as low as $5.99 per year to register domains and hosting fees as low as $4.99 per month.[262] In May 2007, the Financial Times held a two-day mobile media conference in London. Billed as "Mobile Media—The Business of Change," the text advertising the conference noted the imminent "on-demand content straight to your hand" and put a $5 billion figure on rich media content. "Advertisers are finding new ways to reach users without infringing their privacy, creating new revenue flows powered by ad-funded entertainment."[263] This was one of many conferences designed to help corporations position themselves in the face of explosively expanding technologies. The "FT Business of Luxury Summit," directed at marketing high end products was held in Venice, Italy in June 2007.[264] The "FT Sport Industry Summit" held in London was geared towards the intersection of sport and business in November 2006.[265] The "FT Innovate 2006 Summit" held in London in December 2006 focused on sustaining growth in global markets.[266] The "FT Digital Media and Broadcasting Conference" held in London in March 2007 addressed how the broadcast industry should address challenges presented by the digital world.[267]

The current response to product placement in movies is now a routine occurrence: exceeding the norm, Wonderbread's logo was clearly noticeable and "In focus for 11 minutes 32 seconds" in "Talladega Nights: Thee Ballad of Ricky Bobby."[268] One of the more recent technologies involves the ability to access product purchasing sites while watching a movie. If a product or object catches the eye of the movie viewer, one can stop the frame and link to sites that sell the product. It maybe necessary to think more about a generation of people who do not need to receive their narratives in a temporally bound continuum and are not catapulted from a movie by commercial interruptions. Although movie and video viewers have become accustomed to controlling the times at which they watch, pause, and start movies and videos, these new technologies offer an additional opportunity to intersect and momentarily disconnect its viewers from what was conceived in its artistic entirety. A new kind of continuity in the form of nearly uninterrupted, active consumption has emerged.

The real estate available for consumption is changing as the public becomes more comfortable making online purchases. In addition to the shift, one media has begun to feed another. As of December 2006, online shopping accounted for only 7% of total revenue. While there is some indication that online consumption, resulting from the ease with which the consumer can compare prices, may affect prices in brick and mortar retail, there is also an indication that web sites of stores such as Target or Circuit City actually increased in-store spending. Customers still want to be able to see and feel items that they are considering for purchase.[269] Strategists are working to understand how to change course in the circulation of messages as the goal of distinguishing one product from another becomes increasingly difficult to achieve. Categories that are considered "alternative advertising" are constantly evolving: "the new ways in which companies are connecting with consumers have four driving forces in common: the desire for proximity, exclusivity, invisibility and unpredictability."[270] In direct terms, Himpe discussed exerting power over consumers that can often be done through a clever use of geography. In other words, he attempts to find spaces that do not have competition built into them, such as the "Evian Lido." An enormous Evian logo appeared on the bottom of the pool as a tradeoff for the bottled water company having helped financially with the repair of the public pool.[271] There are many ways in which to gain consumer attention: use of outrageous scale: injecting something noticeable into a site; or removing something expected from a site. In a 2004 promotion for Olympus 10X Optical Zoom cameras, Saatchi & Saatchi re-scaled objects found in particular environments to 10X their normal size (such as a bicycle lock, or a leaf from a tree).[272] Tinkering dramatically with consumer expectations of the scale of everyday objects is almost always a successful approach to attract attention. At times the unexpected may appear as a geographic surprise, rather than a scale-based one. During May in 2003, on the inside of the stall in a women's restroom at The Trace, a fairly upscale restaurant in Nashville, Tennessee, a group of six ads appeared. Of the six, three referenced women's appearance directly: one for a tanning salon, on for a plastic surgeon, and one a fashion boutique. The Wall Street Journal announced that it would begin to offer two ad sizes, one rectangular format and one banner format, to appear at the bottom of page one.[273] This was actually a format similar to the old European feuilletons, although a departure from the Journal's regular practice of not positioning ads on the front page.

Other ways in which to thwart expectations can occur when a change is made to an object that has ad iconic status in particular genre of goods for many years. In September 2006, toy manufacturer Hasbro introduced a new version of the 1935 Parker Brothers Monopoly game with five (of the eight) new tokens: a Toyota Prius, McDonald's fries, New Balance running shoe, a Starbucks coffee, and a Motorola Razr cell phone. The toymaker thought the branded tokens would be more relevant, in addition to the increase from $200 to two million when a player passes Go, and properties for sale from Las Vegas, Hollywood and other cities. Gary Ruskin of Commercial Alert, an organization that is fighting creeping commercialism, commented, "It's part of the insinuation of the commercial culture into every aspect of our lives." The edition is called Monopoly Here and Now.[274]

The use of branded, prepaid MasterCards, Visa cards, and American Express cards either in what is called "open loop" cards that can be used anywhere the card is accepted or the "closed loop" card that is good only at specific commercial venues is on the rise. As advertising agencies find their traditional TV, radio, newspaper and outdoor advertising business changing, they continue to look for new ways to increase revenue. As a coping strategy, agencies are trying to increase their role in product development earlier than was their previous custom.[275] One new arena for outdoor advertising is the digital billboard which allows customizing messages to place, sales, time of day-related products, or to have multiple companies advertising in the same electronic space with changing static (non-motion based) ads. Increases in interactivity between the billboard and the consumer are expected.[276] With growing markets of young people who tend to be accepting of less appropriate than previously acceptable advertising content, marketers are using non traditional methods to reach consumers such as "podcasts, blogs, video games, e-mail messages, cell phones… and 'pop-up' retail stores."[277] Some advertisers are happy to see consumers walking around with digital cameras and cell phones recording and sending images that promote products and retailers, costing these businesses nothing to produce or distribute. "When Target…suspended the magician David Blaine above Times Square for two days during…Thanksgiving, videos shot by viewers were posted on YouTube and viewed more than 19,300 times…. 'What happens in Times Square is no longer strictly the province of location. You can experience things that are happening there, even if you're not there,'"commented Peter Stabler of the agency Goodby, Silverstein and Partners.[278] Hallmark has begun to publish a magazine and has allowed those companies that advertise in the magazine to "put their logos on Hallmark flowers, gifts, and cards, including online greeting cards"[279] in order to reach customers where they make their purchases.

Although technology writer Richard Waters acknowledged the difficulty in forecasting what the next big web thing would be, he did predict three likely forces converging: "user-generated and professional 'content' on the internet...(the) bring(ing) together (of) the worlds of web-browsing and video games... the evolution ...of the internet and TV."[280] While the technologist may be concerned with the next big thing, the anthropologist has other concerns. Thomas de Zengotita has referred to the sense of always being 'on' as the 'MeWorld." It undermines a sense of self, he argues, and the reality of the other. Commenting on this "look at me" phenomenon that has arisen online, writer Jessica Clark comments, "Attention is the currency that powers the new economy."[281] Based upon recent developments, one can only assume that isolating technologies will increase tendencies towards solipsism and feed tendencies to consume.

3.14 Defined by Consuming

3.14.1 Psychoanalytic and Sociological Perspectives

Many points of view have addressed the relationship between the formation of personal identity and acts of consumption and attachment to objects of desire.

> "Cheap and nasty." So thoroughly has this habit of approving the expensive and disapproving the inexpensive been ingrained into our thinking that we instinctively insist upon at least some measure of wasteful expensiveness in all our consumption, even in the case of goods that are consumed in strict privacy and without the

> slightest thought of display. We all feel, sincerely and without misgiving, that we are the more uplifted in spirit for having, even in the privacy of our own household, eaten our daily meal by the help of hand-wrought silver utensils, from hand-painted china... laid on high-priced table linen.[282]

In the late nineteenth century, Veblen offered this critical commentary on the transference of value onto the consumer based upon the cost paid for material goods. This may be translated today into a similar phenomenon, but it is based more on the appearance of what Veblen refers to as "the honorific element"[283] in a consumer object. We may tend to dwell less on specific objects because they are so quickly manufactured, readily available in contemporary western culture, and short lived. However, the value has been transferred to the brand, especially luxury brands, and subsequently onto the consumer who acquires the brand and preferably can display it.

Historically work, rather than consumption, was seen as the basis for individual identity. However, this perception of the role of consuming has changed. Anthropologist Mary Douglas describes the function of consumption as follows: "the most general objective of a consumer can only be to construct an intelligible universe with the goods he chooses."[284] Nye sees material goods as central to identity formation. "As factory output soared, lower-class and middle-class people became the consumers of more varied goods, and this activity became central to the process of self-definition."[285] Nye argues that newly available goods reflect both Marx's commodity fetishization as well as being "potentially transformative" giving the "consumer a new sense of the body: cosmetics, perfumes, swimsuits, sun glasses, and much more."[286] He also points to the transition in print advertising from ads that were text dense and offered product information to ads which, by the mid-1920s, were more visual and appealed to emotion rather than reason.[287] With the exception of the advertorial, the text-dense "informative" ad has long been supplanted by quickly read images.

In addition to Kaja Silverman's analysis of desire and lack (already referenced), Brennan offers a psychoanalytic interpretation of commodification by drawing upon Melanie Klein and Freud to explain how desire is manifest specifically through commodities. Additionally, Brennan argues that "sustaining profit and sustaining the environment are mutually exclusive."[288] Her work suggests a psychoanalytic lens through which to view the commodity and its relationship to power in which foundational fantasy, defined by Brennan as being created by and dependent upon the other, is equated with being controlled. "This fantasy is root of how human conceives of itself as 'source of all intelligence and all agency.'"[289] The subject, she argues, is differentiated from the object by its agency. "This assumption, that an intelligent subject is counterposed to a world of objects is critical in how their foundational fantasy is made real in the social order, rather than the psyche."[290] She theories the fantasy as materialized through objects—commodities willing to be controlled... "nature transformed into a form in which it cannot reproduce itself, nature directed towards human ends."[291] Brennan sees desire for the commodity as an instant and available desire for control, referring to Freud's pleasure principle ("Unlust"), in which a hallucination of the object of desire (i.e., the mother's breast) is not present and able to satisfy and leads to more hallucination.

> Moreover, if one reconsiders the desires implicit in commodities, it will be plain that while the pleasure principle accords with the desire for instant gratification that they express, and with their visual presentation in various media, it does not account for the other desires revealed in their design, namely: the desire to be waited upon; the desire to believe one is the source of agency who makes it happen; the desire to dominate and control the other who is active in providing.[292]

The hallucination exists in the "delay" between the perception of need and its fulfillment.[293] It is within this described moment of delay in which the visual image does its coercive work.

Brennan, a Marxist, investigates labor as subject, while nature and technology are object.[294] Describing the time and space between desiring an object and acquiring it, Brennan argues that one's class position "will appear more substantial if you can afford to have commodities come to you. If you can, or if you choose to seem as if you can, you act out the foundational fantasy more dramatically as a subject."[295] She describes the goal of power in the context of objects that control environment.[296] Casting the object of the foundational fantasy as the mother, Brennan understands modernity as the patriarchal control over that fantasy.[297] With the subject/object distinction central to the foundational fantasy,[298] Brennan describes desire for commodities in purely psychoanalytic terms.

Revealing a very different understanding of one's relationship to commodities, Roger Rosenblatt pointedly asks, "Why should someone in America or anywhere else, who has struggled for a lifetime to achieve the wherewithal to get and spend, not revel in the fruits of his or her labor? What other evidence does one have of achievement or progress?"[299] He also suggests that the moment of acquisition signals a simultaneous moment of new desire for what is not being acquired. Rosenblatt's description closely mimics the conventional description of addiction in which the moment of acquisition of the addictive substance simultaneously signals relief from the current desire and the beginning of the escalation of the next one. His question reflects the real potential for a less than fulfilling life because it suggests that one works only to display one's achievement in a viciously circuitous system. Work, for Rosenblatt, is no longer a source of identity or fulfillment, likely a reasonable description of the centrality of the defining role of consumption in contemporary Western (and increasingly Eastern) cultures.

Viewing the individual in a social setting, J. Schor uses the term "competitive consumption" to express a relational existence between what one has in comparison to what others have. Possession is not contained to a meaning within the object consumed, but rather to its relational status. "But television (as do other popular media such as films, advertisements, and lifestyle magazines) gives a heavily skewed picture of spending patterns, portraying almost exclusively the upper middle class and the rich."[300] She cites studies that reveal a correlation between television watching and mis-perceptions about the extent of wealth in the U.S. Her own survey indicates a direct, positive correlation between television watching and spending (more, saving less).[301] "Finally, the proportion of the population identifying various consumer items as necessities rather than luxuries has increased substantially since 1973."[302] Loss of distinction between want and need tends to present itself fairly regularly within popular language, although this loss of ability to distinguish was not evident in interviews I conducted.

Molly Haskell takes a realistic view of the omnipresence of the visual world of advertising, almost suggesting that this is, in fact, integral to who we are. "We're told that today's young people have been raised in an atmosphere so suffused with advertising that it's part of the visual and aural wallpaper, nothing to get excited about. Media frenzy and the cacophony of constant hyperbole have spawned mutants in tune with their own rhythms, so that those who talk about the blurring of the line between advertising and content are speaking in anachronisms, advertising their own obsolescence."[303] Desire for things is easily sustained and seems to be in a state of perpetual eluding of fulfillment. Few opportunities across media are missed for the purpose of selling.

> Movies have always been in the business of selling themselves along with whatever products might be linked with them through merchandising tie-ins. Longing was itself a story of ambiguity, of hopes raised and frustrated, of desire endlessly prolonged and never satisfied...Freud described sexual desire as doomed to frustration because something in its very nature was inimical to fulfillment.[304]

Taking an even more fatalistic approach to human desire and consumption, Martin Marty views the current status of consumerism, capitalism itself, as the leftover system after the failure of all others.[305] Addressing how to deal with the human desire and necessity to consume and its negative consequences, Marty asks, "Whose morals? Whose ethics? What approaches and systems shall prevail, or is there to be only a wildly free market of options, with endless and possibly fruitless argument over them?"[306] He calls his essay "Equipose" rather than balance because he understands equipoise as posed for acting.[307] He refers to Pascal's request that by valuing parts of extremes (i.e., the needs of the rich and the needs of the poor) one works out—" does justice"—to both. [308] Even if this view has theoretical merit, it is difficult to accept in practice.

To talk about identity with respect to consumerism, an effort can be made to locate meaning with respect to goods. For McCracken, it resides in the culturally constituted world, the products, and the consumer.[309] Delineating the attachment of meaning to consumer goods, he notes that the signs are "more motivated and less arbitrary than those of language."[310] He also points to the potential for multiple meanings in these goods: clothing, for example, in addition to class, typically also indicates gender.[311] Describing the transfer of meaning from culturally constituted meaning to meaning attached to goods, he notes, "To become resident in consumer goods it (meaning) must be disengaged from the world and transferred to the good."[312] However, it may be argued that meaning resides in goods only when it is simultaneously, culturally constituted. He offers the following analysis of how advertising works to conflate meaning with goods:

> Advertising works as a potential method of meaning transfer by bringing the consumer good and a representation of the culturally constituted world together within the frame of a particular advertisement. The creative director of an agency seeks to conjoin these two elements in such a way that the viewer/reader glimpses an essential similarity between them. When this symbolic equivalence is successfully established, the viewer/reader attributes certain properties he or she knows to exist in the culturally constituted world to the consumer good. The known properties of the world thus come to be resident in the unknown properties of the consumer good. The transfer of meaning from world to good is accomplished.[313]

McCracken then points to the need for the creative director to deal with the consumer good as a given, rather fixed, object. The manipulation of that object, however, as the essence of the representation, enjoys a rather free reign. As a result, the creative director is in the position to manipulate (within the time, budget, and branding constraints) what becomes associated or reinforced as part of the meaning of the goods. "The director must decide where the desired properties are resident in the culturally constituted world."[314] McCracken notes that decisions such as place, time of day, natural or fantasy, posture, etc. are determined in the visual image. The determination of culturally loaded properties is followed by the styling of the image and the construction of a kind of equivalence between what is pictured and who is viewing the images, encouraging a "metaphoric identification of 'sameness' by the would-be consumer."[315] He acknowledges the viewer/reader as the final piece in the system of transferring meaning.[316] However, McCracken's establishment of this metaphor of "sameness" is partially inaccurate. I am arguing that what is created is identification based upon the fantasized possibility of sameness. This possibility of achieving sameness is to be manifest in the near future through the possession/acquisition of the consumer good being shown in the image. It implies that a gap exists that must be closed through the act of consumption. It feeds the sense of an incomplete self that might be made whole and reconstituted through the next purchase. McCracken sees the visual part of an advertisement as the dominant one, with the verbal component working to align and position how to read the visual.[317] This is an overly simplified interpretation and cannot be seen as the rule: words and images are not only imbricated parts, predominance of one over the other is hardly a fixed formula.

In his discussion of the "Fashion System," McCracken points to three methods of transferring meaning. One is the medium of print which equates new fashion objects with "established cultural categories and principles" resulting in the movement of meaning into the goods. The second method is through images of those with social standing, wealth, or celebrity who transfer style and attitudes to those of lower standing. The last is the requirement for systematic change in what he refers to as " 'hot,' Western, industrial, complex society"[318] in which more radical groups offer a more innovative meaning than the more traditional holders of power/wealth do. His discussion of the transfer of meaning from goods to consumer is most useful. "Symbolic action, or 'ritual,' as it is more conventionally called, is a kind of social action devoted to the manipulation of the cultural meaning for the purposes of collective and individual communication and categorization. Ritual is the opportunity to affirm, evoke, assign, or revise the conventional symbols and meanings of the cultural order."[319] This allows for the exchange of cultural categories (i.e., from child to adult). He views personalization of a mass-produced object as a way to transfer meaning onto the object from the consumer's own world to the new possession.

> Indeed, it is perhaps chiefly in this way that an anonymous possession—manifestly the creation of a distant impersonal process of mass manufacture—is turned into a possession that belongs to someone and speaks for him or her... The meaning that advertising transfers to goods is the meaning of the collectivity. The meaning that these personal gestures transfer to goods is the meaning of the collectivity as this meaning has been influenced by the particular experience of the individual consumer.[320]

Since McCracken wrote this, the world of mass manufacturing has evolved, at least in part, into what is termed by industrial design as "post-consumer customization." People can, for example, now go into stores or online and create, within limits, what they understand to be their own personal shoe through the selections of style, color, and patterns. This possibility of customization offers an illusion of agency to the consumer.

McCracken theorizes and recasts the centuries-old philosophical distinction between the real and the ideal in the form of the consumer as existing in one of two binary states: pre-acquisition or post-acquisition. "Goods serve as bridges when they are not yet owned but merely coveted. Well before purchase an object can serve to connect the would-be owner with displaced meaning...In this case, goods help the individual contemplate the possession of an emotional condition, a social circumstance, even an entire life style, by somehow concretizing these things in themselves. They become a bridge to displaced meaning and an idealized version of life as it should be lived."[321] As bridges to meaning, consumer goods necessarily become obsolete because they are in a constant state of being replaced. As "bridges," they also create distinct economic (and obviously psychological) distresses for the consumer whom he depicts as willing to exceed personal means in order to make luxury purchases.[322]

Pointing to the change (since Marx) in time spent on consumption rather than labor, up to the moment of consumption, one is faced with a vast array of possible purchases and mostly complete alienation from the labor involved in the production of the goods. Anthropologist Daniel Miller argues that once an object is purchased, it has achieved a great deal of specificity and is inextricably linked to the person for whom the purchase was made (whether the self or another). "This is the start of a long and complex process, by which the consumer works upon the object purchased and recontexualizes it, until it is often no longer recognizable as having any relation to the world of the abstract and becomes its very negation, something which could be neither bought nor given."[323] What is interesting about Miller's perspective is that he sees within Marx, as well as post-Marx, identification with the object. That identification, however, shifts from one population (the laborer who produced the object) to the consumer who connects to the object following its purchase. *The* widget becomes *my* widget. The laborer has produced a specific thing, but the consumer has selected one from among many things. The identification has not only shifted, but its qualifications have as well. And the conditions of production have been almost entirely hidden from the consumer's view. In Marxist terms one could argue that Corporate Social Responsibility has evolved partially as a result of the nearly wholesale occlusion of the laborer in favor of the consumer.

Miller understands the object as having been transformed through association with a person or group. He rejects the notion that advertising is a dictatorial force that determines how, in fact, the goods should be subsumed.

> Commerce obviously attempts to pre-empt this process through practices such as advertising which most often relate to objects in terms of general lifestyle, but this does not mean that advertising creates the demand that goods should be subsumed in this way, and these images should not be confused with an actual process

> performed as a significant cultural practice by people in society... The object is transformed by its intimate association with a particular individual or social group, or with the relationship between these. [324]

The association of an object with a group is rarely serendipitous and more often the result of control beyond the group. Our individual and social identities, according to Miller, seem to grow out of our relationship to the goods we consume. "Mass goods represent culture, not because they are merely there as the environment within which we operate, but because they are an integral part of that process of objectification by which we create ourselves as an industrial society: our identities, our social affiliations, our lived everyday practices."[325] Unwilling to condemn the entirety of industrial society, Daniel Miller looks for a theoretical basis to explain our relationship to consumer goods.[326] He tries to understand culture as process and not as a "set of objects' but rather to understand the way these objects behave socially.[327] Miller is more interested in understanding how what is positive in these massive, contemporary institutions can be retained, how what he refers to as "positive forms of consumption."[328] His project works to de-fetishize the object and recast it in terms of social relations, as an active process.[329]

Miller's view of culture as process implies movement across time and space. Like most processes, there must be markers or evidence left behind. What is this evidence? His interest in Simmel's Th*e Philosophy of Money* is to be understood as a strategic work of modernity and alienation. Differentiating Simmel from Marx, Miller points to Simmel's understanding of what Miller refers to as "the sheer pleasure of immediate consumption of an object which offers no resistance. As Simmel notes, in such circumstances we merely 'lose ourselves' in the object, and no consciousness is generated by the relationship."[330] It is difficult to accept without reservation Simmel's description of the absence of consciousness in the act of consumption as a desired state. If true, its implications today are far more dire than when either Simmel, or even Miller, wrote about consumption. Desire is dependent upon the creation of a space between subject and object[331] and implies a constant opportunity for the death of desire and its subsequent rebirth. When the object becomes proximate and available, the desire wanes. In contemporary culture, we produce an endless supply of images to continue the creation of new distances and, therefore, new desires. We can only desire those objects of which we are aware. In this way, the engines of capitalism that require ongoing consumption can continue to run.

Economist Galbraith understood how critical were marketers' abilities to understand social relations to profits.[332] Miller seems to reject either Marx's production-centric view or Bourdieu's consumption-centric view, seeing the situation in a more complex way. Citing studies that "advertising, despite all its resources, has little power to affect long term purchasing trends" he acknowledges evidence that suggests "a cumulative effect upon social expectations and concepts of lifestyle in general."[333] Referencing Hebdige's study of the motor scooter, he notes, "The development of the object as image is followed through three 'movements': those of design, distribution and consumption."[334] Hebdige's case distinguishes between the scooter's feminized, soft image in Europe versus its Americanized hard image, indicating that the producers are failing to wholly control the reception of the product. What is not referenced in this discussion, due to the time of its writing, is the You-Tube effect of creating instant adjustments, easily and multiply distributed, that can turn rapidly and powerfully affect the way an object is understood. Post-consumer customization of the product now assumes a life in the ongoing customization of the image (of the product). The fluidity of uncontrolled production of images is both constitutive of an equally fluid identity and defiant of a corporation's control over images of their own products.

Acknowledging the full impact of mass-produced, small industrial objects, Miller is trying to understand how the object works in the construction of what he terms "social images."[335] "All the objects discussed are the direct product of commercial concerns and industrial processes. Taken together, they appear to imply that in certain circumstances segments of the population are able to appropriate such industrial objects and utilize them in the creation of their own image."[336] When Miller begins to dissect how advertising images work in relation to supposedly editorial content in publications such as popular magazines, he rejects quite forcefully the notion that the reader "tolerates" advertising to get to the essential editorial aspects of the publication.

> The complexity of the articulation between producer and consumer interests is further illustrated by the case of advertising in women's magazines. In recent years, criticism has been made of the tendency in such magazines to occlude the distinction between text and advert, on the grounds that this is a form of distortion that betrays the trust of the reader in the independent objectivity of editorial content (e.g. Earnshaw 1984). Clearly, many magazines contain articles merely as a front for the dissemination of the advertisements from which the vast bulk of their income is derived, and in so far as they have editorial comment this reflects those messages (Curren 1986; Ferguson 1983). Thus we find advertising features such as articles on holiday resorts and wines in which it is impossible to separate objective opinion from advertising pitch.[337]

Responding to his own question that both the editors and readers are in collusion regarding their real preference for ads and the legitimization of this preference through editorial content, he acknowledges what this preference might suggest about the "nature of self."[338] The designer is simply reacting: giving the customer what he or she wants.

Many current publications label advertisements with the word "advertisement" printed in small type because of the potential for confusion with editorial matter. Every August, the top American fashion magazines publish fall preview issues that contain approximately 600 pages, most of which are advertisements. Additionally, the assumption that editorial content in these publications is actually "editorial" is false. Innumerable PR firms that represent major advertisers in any publication persist in making certain that the names of their clients and their latest products appear in (supposedly) editorial pieces that offer a variety of advice on beauty goods and the latest fashion trends. This "editorial" coverage is designed to keep the advertiser happy and returning to the publication with its ad placement dollars. Though the average reader may not be aware of this less-than-explicit and potentially less-than-ethical (in the sense that it can be construed as a misrepresentation) relationship, Miller would probably find it "complex" rather than troubling. Advertisements need to be understood as part of an ongoing constellation of images. Each solitary act of consumption, the act of isolating one object from among the vast array of possibilities, is itself a part of a larger constellation of social life and reinforcing at least a fleeting image of self.

3.14.2 Image and Identity

Design theorists Kress and Van Leeuwen understand the image with respect to genres of participant: those depicted (these are the persons who are literally shown in an image) and those, whom the authors call "interactive" participants. The latter refers to those "who communicate with each other through the images." In thinking about the internal aspects of an image, one can decipher what Kress and Van Leeuwen describe as those who appear to have a relationship within an image. The interactive relationship is between those who produce the image and those who view. The third form of relationship is "between interactive participants."[339] They also point to the respective absences of viewer and producer to each other, with only the image in common between them and some shared understanding of communication and social meanings.[340] "The disjunction between the context of production and the context of reception has yet another affect: it causes social relations to be represented rather than enacted. "[341] They clarify the failure of enactment with an example: although one may be able to read an implied social situation (i.e., a smiling face) in an image, there is no need to respond in a like manner. Whereas in an actual social situation, one may enact being smiled at by responding with a smile. This rather small number of categories defined by Kress and Van Leewen actually contain multiple subsets (i.e. producers may include, in addition to designers, illustrators, photographers, and production people) and be extended to address a host of images and producers. Problematic in their calculus of the image is its inability to decipher accumulated effects of exposure to multiple images.

Seeming to dismiss the visual realm from how he understood the world, Jacques Derrida, in the documentary film made late in his life, commented casually that the mirror offers "a reasonably accurate sense of what we look like."[342] However, a space of resistance between the eye of the viewer and the face looking out from the page in consumer-oriented print media, influenced by a reasonably in-accurate sense of what we look like, is always "under construction." Contemporary print media offer impossible and unyielding reflections, particularly of women. The artifice of the image in print, presented as empirical but faulty "evidence" of the possibility of perfection, is theoretically a nagging mirror. This intimate space between the extrinsic image and the eye of the viewing subject is fraught with tensions that work on the subject to develop a permanent instability that seeks to redeem inner peace through the situated practices of endless consumption. The impossible reflection constitutes but one slice of consumption's numbing effects and assaults on (especially female) sense-ability.

Because photographic images begin with and retain their literal essences, they become harmful to young women who invent themselves in the same genre (young and female) even though the reality is that they are viewing images of women who never existed as shown. As young women look at manipulated images, they relinquish some of their own power to determine what matters to them. They begin to disparage the self that is understood through the use of the mirror, with an image of self that is constantly being re-negotiated through the ever-the-same promises of the new appearance attainable through an act of consumption. This applies directly to consumption of a particular product that is "new and improved" but will solve a problem that has, most often, itself been fabricated by those who manufacture a reliance upon unending consumption. What is being consumed is a sense of inadequacy that is formed by the distance the viewer senses with respect to the ideal presented to her. What is consumed is a wish. What is consumed is the inability to form effective resistance against the image.

History provides ways to understand the tendency to allow external forces to determine female identity. This was evident in literature before becoming a visual concern. Joan Brumburg[343] writes of unhappy Victorian girls whose sense of self was undermined by literary descriptions of what constituted ideal appearance and presented a gap between that ideal and how the girl understood her own appearance in relation to the constructed ideal. Literature, in these instances, served as a forerunner to constructed ideals and the unhappy space between ideal and actual (as, for example, seen in the scrutinized reflection in a mirror). As NaomiWolf points out, the way in which the advertising image works is to unsettle a woman's sense of esteem. That, she argues, is how it is effective as a marketing tool. The externalized definition of beauty, outside of the control of women is, she asserts, how women are manipulated.[344] Others critically/ethically problematize what it means to have control over another's image. This is what happens in a routine way within advertising's imagery in which the identity of the viewer is controlled through extension of the wish. The proliferation of images defies a sense of achievement because their ongoing slipperiness guarantees an ever-elusive goal and provides no possibility of mastery.

The mirror itself plays a not-so-insignificant role in female identity. Ironically the late nineteenth century physicist Matthew Luckiesh, who might have been expected to situate himself wholly within the realm of empiricism (having been referred to as the "father of the science of seeing"), commented that "Only a part of what is perceived comes through the senses from the object: the remainder always comes from within."[345] His observation should be taken as multiply constructed "withins." If one first examines the act of looking into an actual mirror at the private image of the self, one might acknowledge at some level that one can't ever really know what one looks like in the way that even the stranger who passes on the street can know. This impossibility results from an internal visual/verbal language that engages a notion of potential, exposing the mirror as a non-neutral site of internal dialogue.

In *The Body Project*, Joan Brumberg notes the role played by the mirror as a tool of self-assessment in the life of the American girl. "In the early nineteenth century, when a reflective mirror or 'looking glass' was a luxury of the rich, humble girls still managed to find mirrors in order to study their faces. In her autobiographical account of coming of age in New England in the 1830s, Lucy Larcom recalled that she did not like to look at her own face in the mirror because 'it was so unlike' the ethereal faces of the heroines in the romantic novels she read. Those fictional young women had 'high white foreheads' and 'perfect oval' cheeks—both a distinct contrast to Lucy's round, ruddy, homespun appearance."[346] Brumberg attributes this "greater concern about the face" to the use of mirrors as a staple in the middle class American home.[347] The routine use of the mirror created a site for scrutinizing; resulting in a search for what was an unacceptable, rather than acceptable, likeness due to idealism's impetus towards harsh self-criticism. The idealized image created in literary texts seems to have done much the same work in the nineteenth century that the contemporary consumer image does today, with an enormity of scale and insistence.

Rarely does one like one's own appearance in a reflection or photograph. In the Jungian sense, one is in the process of building one's shadow through negative self-critique and a kind of internalized, visual self-chastising. Performing this critique requires pushing against one's intrinsic memory bank—contrasting as one is comparing. Looking at one's own image in a photographic representation is a deceptive act because one's eyes reside simultaneously in disparate places, at once at an internal but active site, but also at the external site. The active, seeing eye is connected to the active, editorializing brain. However, it is through seeing a photograph of any human face, whether it is one's own or the face of another, that we begin to make connections—a kind of species-centric recognition. Art historian Barbara Stafford notes, "...I argue that we realize something constructive when we see. We do not merely illustrate or copy what is given, but give birth to something that would not otherwise exist. Seeing is about being struck that something is, or can be, connected to something else. The visual arts...help us understand the myriad modes by which people needlessly modify and reuse elements available to them."[348] Some form of originating activity is generated in the process of seeing either an intentionally idealized or a wholly staged photographic image and conjuring a possibility to intrinsically inscribe what is extrinsically presented.

3.14.3 Measuring Against the Visual Superlative

When a magazine is opened, often a near life-size face stares back. These images live in popular culture as forms of propaganda and as ubiquitous representations, which, according to Arnheim, can be understood as a specific way in which one creates visual artifacts that refer to objects or people in the real world.[349] The dissonance arises from the tendency to project the two dimensional, static image onto a three and four dimensional kinetic self. Failure to behave consciously yields the false assumption that one knows what the moving, dimensional flesh of this flattened phantom actually looks like. Reproduced at the same size as the reader's visage, the image appears to be "looking back at" within a culture that is insinuating on the subject the latest iteration of an ephemeral, yet omnipresent, standard of perfection that exists outside the flesh as a composite of visual/verbal language. This fleeting "standard" must be constructed as "if only" within reach. Sophisticated digital manipulation leaves no trace of its effect upon the printed piece. Similar images, reproduced everywhere, are barely decipherable one from the other. The viewing subject is ordered (and ordered), persuaded to aspire to/be desirous of perfection and commanded to aspire to/be desirous of perfection. This space between the image/reflection and the eyes of the viewing subject simultaneously narrows and widens the gap between who the viewer is and who the viewer is told she ought to be. The possibility of resistance through looking away is difficult because the perfect faces look back from innumerable surfaces. They are undeniably seductive because they re-present wishfulness and potential, straddling an unstable chasm of the endless (implied) possibility of change.

British sculptor Marc Quinn responded, when asked in a newspaper interview why he was interested in casting the well-known fashion muse Kate Moss, "I've always thought Kate was the archetypal figure. Because," he noted, "she's not an actress or anyone with a voice. She's actually just purely an image. Her reality is an image. And in fact all her troubles seem to be caused when her image and the real person collide...Then I connected that with the idea that if you have a perfect body, you're a perfect person."[350] Whether or not we know the name attached to face we identify the face as "the perfect person" according to the rules that tamed us to recognize perfection. We do know, however, that the face is not ours, but maybe, if only...it could be. This last look is at the idealized self, offered for consumption. It is a cultural production offered up and manufactured by the manufacturer of images for the manufacturer of beauty products in particular, but also of clothing and jewelry. Ultimately the face is the product of the manufacture of desire. It is this latter image that urges on the wish superimposed on the image that presents the most difficult problem.

The idealized self is precisely what is in tension with the reflected image, which responds by internalizing itself as insufficient through what Stafford might consider a process of "visual analogy." Enormous tension is constructed between the first and third image, between the mirror and the magazine ephemera, which by offering a multitude of images creates a condition of ought. This is the dangerous ought that constrains identity and behaves like a social positivism. Film theorist Jacques Aumont notes that the image is understood artificially when taken in isolation and that we understand its work in numbers, in circulation.[351] This is the result of the physics/physiology/and messy psychology of the mirror-image of self and what is prescribed by the photographic image. If one never experienced one's own reflection, neither this tension nor consumption as we know it today could exist. Despite significant theorizing of conditions of alterity and challenges to ideals of beauty, how can one still be "facing" this insinuated ideal? Perhaps one can only infer that the image construction one does, that which "comes from within," is heavily constrained by the un-navigable space between what has been seen in the mirror and the impossible visual superlative that makes unreasonable demands upon audience, page after page in popular publications.

It might be reasonable to say that there is no singular ideal of beauty at a given time in contemporary Western culture, but it is equally reasonable to assume that there are dominant ideals that act to marginalize those (multitudes) who do not conform to the dominant ones. In a book revue of *Only a Promise of Happiness* by Alexander Nehamas, the reviewer points to several temporalities concerning aesthetics: a piece of art "could infuriate one age and become an icon to the next," raising questions about what transpires when morality and aesthetics come into conflict with one another. The example used by the reviewer is that of "making beautiful photographs of refugee camps." One could add Dorothea Lange's Depression Era photographs to this category. But the same clash of morality and aesthetics can be seen in contemporary fashion photography raising a number of questions about the morality of continuing to aestheticize and objectify women, to promote consumption, or to routinely display severely underweight women—just to name a few of the problematic practices.[352] Evaluating women based upon appearance, even in instances in which women are not newsworthy as mannequins, seems still to have left the media without alternatives. The ongoing gender bias in American society, despite over 40 years having elapsed since the feminist movement of the 1960s, is evident in media that continue to emphasize appearance over athletic prowess, acting ability, or intellectual competence.

We seem to prefer images have been graphically manipulated before being presented to the public. When CBS began to promote Katie Couric's new position with the network, in its magazine *Watch* the image of Couric was presented with fewer facial lines and a leaner figure than was revealed in side-by-side reproductions of the original and altered image.[353] A similar event involved an image of Kiera Knightly in a promotional movie poster in which the American version of the poster revealed enhanced breast size while the version shown in the UK remained un-retouched.[354] This also indicates that the American attitude towards breast size and the idealized body differs from the European acceptance of the normal variations of real females. Images that reinforce standardized notions of beauty create real-life problems for some young women who do not meet those standards. The national officers of a sorority with a local chapter at DePauw University worried about negative stereotypes of the organization and judged 23 of 35 members at the DePauw chapter as "insufficiently committed and later told them to vacate the sorority house." In addition to those who were overweight, the only three members who were black, Korean, and Vietnamese were part of the ousted group. The ones who remained were described as "conventionally pretty."[355] Celebrities reinforce the pressure to be perfect and opt for non-invasive dermatological procedures just prior to appearing on the red carpet in a phenomenon known as "red carpet dermatology." These stars are aware that they will be photographed and scrutinized in detail.[356] Historian and author Mary del Priore noted the reversal of Brazilian ideals of female beauty. While thinness was associated with poverty and plumpness associated with wealth, the reverse has become true in this body-conscious culture. De Priore refers to this new trend as " 'upgrading' to international standards of beauty."[357] A study released in November 2006 noted that the increase in the population of people who were taking appetite-suppressants more than doubled in four years, "making Brazil the world champion in the consumption of diet pills."[358] The professor who authored the study, Dr. Elisado de Araújo Carflini, stated, " 'The reasons are purely aesthetic, not medical, especially for women… [80% of the market]. They want to get thin no matter what, all because of images from north of the equator. It is a cruel imposition on the Brazilian women."[359]

The influence of images on a woman's identity seems endless. In November 2006, in *The New York Times* "On The Street" photos, 31 images show women carrying trash-bag-sized Chanel plastic bags that sell for "about $1,000."[360] Less than two weeks later in "Thursday Styles," an article appeared describing the physical problems (such as shoulder soreness and stiff necks) women were facing because of the heavy bags they were carrying around on a daily basis. It noted that women were reluctant to relinquish them, even when medical practitioners urged them to divest themselves of the heavy bags.[361] In a review of the book, *It's In the Bag*, Liesl Schillinger writes, "…the choice of handbag is fraught these days, sending signals of status, taste and identity that others instantly interpret."[362] Fashion historian Valerie Steele and accessories curator at the Fashion Institute of Technology both comment that if the handbag has its own status, regardless of the clothing, that status is transferred to the person carrying the bag.[363] The prior status of the handbag currently has been conferred on the shoe. The tendency to instruct a public to interpret status in particular ways is reinforced through ads. In a full-page ad by Nokia and T-Mobile, a Nokia phone is shown with the simple headline, "Designed to reflect the way you live."[364] If a distinction is to be made between taste and style, taste may represent, particularly in the fashion world, eventlessness. Style, on the other hand, is inventive and often unexpected. "Style has a way of teetering on the edge of bad taste."[365] Fashion seems to show far less interest in taste, because taste does not help sales in the same way ephemeral style does.

American historian T.H. Breen[366] casts Americans as consumers as far back as pre-revolutionary days, linking the power of American consumerism in the colonies to the act of Revolution, suggesting that the marketplace somehow was equated with personal freedom. "Weariness of materialism never afflicted Breen's early Americans… 'Consumption was thus an active process; it implied creative engagement. The advertisements invited anyone with money or credit to enter into an open conversation…Anyone could imagine himself or herself acquiring something in the marketplace.' "[367] If the act of consumption is historically embedded within the American consciousness, so must be the need to aggressively promote those goods be embedded in and intrinsic to the American business consciousness.

The history of displaying wealth through fashion is an old one. E. H. Gombrich comments on the details of dress in those depicted in early fifteenth century International

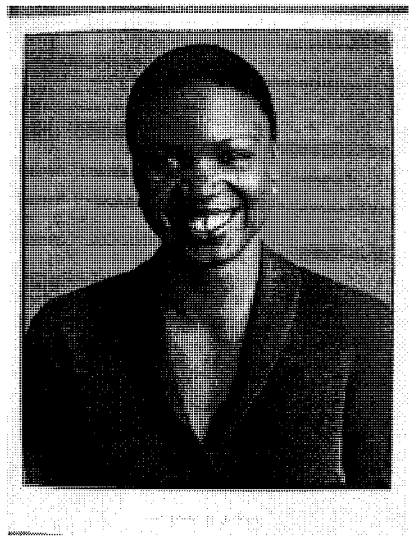
Gothic style paintings: "...witness the extended sleeves worn by both men and women in the scene of the snowball fight at Trento ('The Month of January,' c. 1400. Torre dell'Aquila, Trento') – these are typical features which serve no purpose but that of showing off and they can serve this purpose only for the brief time when they attract attention for their extravagance, after which another feature may take over."[368] Gombrich also comments on the "overriding...'demand for images' in Western society"[369] and that a house without a television set is seen as 'deprived.[370] Understanding symbolic signification, he asserts that the forms that do not follow function still serve a function that is social—specifically naming attributes such as dignity, wealth and status.[371] This display of status as social function is in direct contrast with the response in the UK to severe material shortages during World War II when specific regulations resulted in clothing that was the social equivalent of wearing a uniform.[372] Utility clothing minimized the amount of yardage used in constructing garments and signified compliance with patriotic duty.

Grooming the docile consumer begins with attracting children from a very early age and readying them to consume images. This grooming can only be done with the grooming of parents who are made to feel less than attentive towards the development of their children unless they themselves are fully engaged with the latest infant/child-related artifacts. Motivating parents often is based upon instilling a fear that a parent is not providing a child, beginning with infancy, with a competitive edge. Competitive grooming beginning with age six months, encouraged perhaps inadvertently by parents but intentionally by marketers, to survive in the urban jungle (to get into the "right" school, to get the "right" job, etc), is based upon sustaining a level of fear that seems only to be mitigated through proper forms of age-appropriate consumption.

With the powerful abilities to manipulate imagery through the selection of mannequins with far-from-standard body types, through photo styling, through photographic techniques, and the use of technology, impossible images are delivered to a vulnerable population that has been raised with self-criticism. African American children, when asked to choose between two identical dolls, one that is white and one that is black, choose the white doll. This occurs despite their response, when asked which doll looks more like them, they say the black doll. The words attributed by African American girls to the black doll were negative and the words attributed to white dolls were positive. Asian women have similar issues of dissatisfaction with respect to the shape of their eyes and the absence of a crease in the eyelid that is typical of western facial structure. The addition of an eye crease is the most requested plastic surgery among Asian women inside Asia and, according to the American Academy of Facial, Plastic and Reconstructive Surgery, is growing in the United States.[373] Images of the ideal are western images of the ideal and then are internalized within Asian family structures. An African American graphic design student at CCA in the spring of 2007 described how her own grandmother refused to be photographed because she did not like the darkness of her own skin. Not atypical, she noted that children with lighter skin were more highly valued in her own family than children with darker skin.

What is consumed through exposure to a culturally idealized the image is a sense of inadequacy and a wish. What is consumed is the inability to form a resistance against the images. Naomi Wolf suggests that women inhabit a double kind of relationship with each other. While there may be support at certain moments of ritual (i.e. surrounding a bride), once in public space, they enter into a competitive relationship, resuming "their isolated, unequal, mutually threatening, jealously guarded 'beauty' status." She accuses women's magazines of "cater(ing) to that delicious sense of impersonal female solidarity...What are other women really thinking, feeling, experiencing, when they slip away from the gaze and culture of men?"[374] And this, of course, represents only the binary male/female heterosexual possibility.

Commercial imagery in public sites is particularly influential in the construction of individual, particularly female, identity. Stripped of the power inherent in the gaze of the nineteenth century flâneur, the contemporary flâneuse surveys the competition as she circulates in urban space. At the corner newsstand she consumes images of multiple magazine covers with faces fixed, detached and gazing back. In her movements over time and across space, simultaneously she looks at and is looked at. Looking is a way to gather and measure, carving out a time to determine what is needed in order to close the gap between who she senses herself to be and what is dictated to her both through images in popular culture and as recipient of the gaze of others. With iconic visual arrays from Audrey Hepburn's sparse elegance revitalized in 2007 Gap commercials, to Gwen Stephanie's over-the-top Hollywood pop blond-ness, "looking at" constitutes an endless re-negotiation of the self, preserving a delicate and ongoing space of dissatisfaction and need for re-presentation of self. Distinction is critical to successful product placement. Few images have been used in advertising campaigns that are designed to be "honest." Eileen Fisher manufactures simple, modern, and well-made clothing for women and uses little coercive copy and straightforward, relatively un-retouched images of women like the eight-page "20 years of growing" advertisement,[375] in which women who work for the corporation are the models for the clothing line. Eileen Fisher's approach represents the exception rather than what is typical in contemporary advertising imagery and works to differentiate it from its competitors.



Eileen Fisher women's clothing has a tradition of using women who appear real and relatively un-retouched. Those used in this eight-page ad are all employees of the company. The ad constitutes what at least appears to be considered a responsible image of women. (*The New York Times Magazine*, 4 September 2004.)

The ubiquity of urban images, both geographically and temporally, in concert with new technologies that allow for public, motion-based digital images, erodes the possibility of securing a reliable sense of self. Live feeds picture underweight models strutting the catwalks in the Paris shows. Urban peacocks and their vainglorious displays, as memories from actual encounters on the ground or strategically captured on the pages of magazines, challenge a stable sense of self. Images of women, such as those on the cover of *Cosmopolitan* magazine under Helen Gurley Brown's editorship and with Francesco Scavullo's photographs, were (predictably) according to Brown, images of a "really sensuous, beautiful, sexy young woman."[376] Everywhere images serve as an externalized, qualitative measuring device offering little choice to young urban individuals who form and re-form their identities as a response to these images. Even attempts at resistance to the images of flawless young females constrain identity to an instantaneous response that is suffocatingly binary: identification or rejection. A moment with an image defines the gazer by what she is not, a fleeting instrument of social currency. The urban environment makes it entirely impossible to escape the challenge of the ideal. What was, in the nineteenth century, sparked by literature and lived, less gauged and mostly within the imagination, now insinuates itself in the ongoing and disturbing believability of the manipulated photographic image. The readily available and designed action, the remedy to close the perceived gap, is the act of consuming, creating a restless urban population that defines the individual by what one has and what one wants. "Much of the time when women shop, what they're really after is not a new outfit, it's a new self."[377]

The relationship between images in popular culture and the sense of self is not insignificant. The term identity has multiple meanings that include the identity of the individual who is subject to the multiplicity of images and the identity of the corporation as a formal, designed construct. These categories, though initially described as discrete, overlap and inhabit a series of complex relationships with each other. One aspect of identity described here, the identity of the individual, is positioned as a responsive one with respect to other genres of identity. Identity is part of an ongoing process of understanding the self through actions, appearance, peer associations, and what one values. The images are not neutral in the ongoing formation of personal identity. "As the word or the image is reproduced, again and again, it becomes fact, known simultaneously by strangers, a common, if sometimes deceptive, bond."[378]

Images are increasingly evident in not-so-urban cultures due to the availability of image-transmitting technologies. The American Psychological Association's 18 month study across different media concluded that suggestive advertising images caused young girls to think of themselves as sexual objects and that this was harmful both to their emotional and physical health.[379] Other researchers are concerned about the influence of out-of-control young celebrities and the effects on young girls aged eight to twelve of the inescapable publicity surrounding less than admirable celebrity behaviors. While some researchers believe that parents still have significant influence over this age group in terms of helping them reason when they are exposed to such "news," others are concerned that the effects of such exposure may appear later on.[380] Peer pressure is a particularly powerful influence, especially among young females.

Body image issues and media influence over appearance share a long and conflicted history. Typically unable to escape issues over weight in fashion saturated media, the 2006 Madrid Fashion Week organizers took the radical stand of banning underweight models on their runways, using the World Health Organization minimum (ratio of height to weight) to make the determination of what constituted being underweight.[381] When Jennifer Hudson appeared on the cover of Vogue magazine in March 2007, not only was she only the third African American celebrity to appear on the magazine's cover in its 115 years of publishing, but she was also the most "full-figured" at a size 12. When Oprah Winfrey appeared on the cover, she was asked to lose 20 pounds, but this occurred prior to the negative journalism surrounding the fashion industry and too-thin models.[382] The Council of Fashion Designers of America, despite publicity over the issue of too-thin models, rejected policing the weight of models in favor of education. Diane von Furstenberg, president of the Council, rejected placing the blame on fashion and suggested that it be shared with Hollywood, the ballet, and gymnastics.[383] The Got Milk? Campaign, in an effort to boost its sales to young people whose milk drinking had declined, used a " 'teens who choose milk tend to be leaner, plus the protein helps build muscle'" message, featuring celebrity athletes like the diminutive figure skater Sasha Cohen and the muscular soccer star David Beckham.[384]

As image-carrying technologies have vastly expanded from print to innumerable small screen mobile devices, a spherical pressure on young people is becoming more inescapable than in previous print-dependent, and then print plus television-dependent, generations. The openness surrounding the practices that manipulate bodies surgically and images technically, tends not to lessen dissatisfaction with the self, but rather seems to have increased it. Web sites show original versus re-touched commercial images, plastic surgeries are often televised, and the belief that achieving perfection seems closer than ever to the average consumer. Many offices that perform plastic surgery and cosmetic dental procedures offer payment plans so that people who do not have money to pay for these procedures at the time they are performed purchase the services on credit. The end message is that almost anything can be bought to improve the appearance—from jewelry to clothing to cosmetics to surgery. The tolerance for blatant artifice seems to have increased significantly along with its commercial availability. The business of appearance is enormous. According to Euromonitor, a marketing research company, $269.9 billion is the figure for annual, global sales of cosmetics and toiletries alone.[385]

Products and services that are marketed as appearance enhancements live a dual life of panacea and active self-critique. The very act of making a purchase as response to images, in concert with the design of product packaging, is a surrendering of personal autonomy. All the consumer is attempting to do, after all, is close the gap between the inescapable real and the unattainable ideal. In an opinion piece on luxury brand fake handbags, the writer notes the following:

> I'm mesmerized by her succession of handbags, more typically seen on the arm of an heiress or starlet heading to lunch or perhaps rehab. On closer and invited examination, though, her bags show themselves to be fakes, imperfect, but worn with real panache. Costing about $35 each, they confer on this young woman — and legions like her — the experience of the wealthy, including the envious looks of passersby who don't have the knowledge to spot the fakes from the real.[386]

Images of women in tortured hairstyles and extreme makeup are particularly egregious forms of objectification and show no decline since the mid-twentieth century extremes introduced in high fashion magazines. In the world of haute couture, these violations are the most extreme. Olivier Theyskens, head of the Rochas fashion house, was interviewed by Lynn Hirschberg about four years after his appointment. Referring to drawing the facial details in his fashion sketches when it was his own collection, he then commented, " 'But when I started Rochas, I was so much into this Parisian approach, that I was less interested in the attitude of the individual girl. I stopped drawing the head. I liked the anonymity…'"[387] Because it is understood that haute couture trickles down into the malls (in diluted form), the "thinging" of women, so evident in Theyskens's comment, becomes afflicting. In his work to understand Foucault's questions about power (when related to pictures), Mitchell views the "how" of power to be more important than the "what." He notes, "If we want to understand the power of pictures, we need to look at their internal relations of domination and resistance, as well as their external relations with spectators and with the world."[388]

This recent style feature was introduced with the text, "Wearing a dress that costs as much as a house, a girl can't be blamed for losing her head." It shows women with heads obliterated, morphed into the surroundings, or wearing generally tortured and extreme hairstyles. (*The New York Times Magazine*, 13 August 2006, 44.)

Alan Warde examines the idea that consumption is central to self-identity because it is what communicates the self. He looks at several theorists, such as Ulrich Beck and Anthony Giddens, who understand the symbolic significance of goods, but also at the work of Zygmunt Bauman who examines freedom of choice and the responsibility inherent in choice. The "construction of selves" is understood as a condition of postmodernity and is seen through conscious choices made through consumption.[389] Bauman sees the advertising image as a vehicle to manage anxiety around making the wrong choice.[390] Yet Warde understands the anxiety around consumption of (non-essential) goods to be most pronounced, "where high levels of cultural capital were invested, the other when the properties of a strong and deeply entrenched habitus are violated."[391] He also notes that groups who are committed to "high stylisation' are also most likely to feel anxiety, though the sharing of style across group members makes mistakes less likely to occur.[392] Warde ultimately diffuses the argument that consumption is fraught with anxiety because either the consumer is well-informed (through peer or advertising) or falls into a category of consumers who are "anomic and egoistic" and really do not care.[393] The fashion and beauty industry, however, have a real financial interest in maintaining a level of anxiety among the multitudes who do care.

In a broad social view of consumption, Mary Douglas takes choice as indicative of culture itself and non-trivial. "In the end, the consumer's choices should be seen as moral judgments about everything: about what a man is, about what a woman is, how a man ought to treat his aged parents, how much of a start in life he ought to give his children. How he expects himself to grow old—."[394] Her supposition is that goods make the categories of culture visible and that the act of consuming is one of finding "consistent meanings."[395] She further states that goods belong to the ritual process of consuming, "...whose primary function is to make sense of the inchoate flux of events."[396] She attaches consumption and ritual to the way in which the calendar is marked.[397] Consumption, she concludes, is ultimately about power (and this, too, is non-trivial).[398] This should be understood as multiple, social powers rather than the view that the consumer is the center of her own power.

The short-lived nature of what is consider "hip" from one moment to the next makes it possible to see that the coalescing of commerce, technology and image provide for a trying on of different hats, particular by the youth market. In 2003, Vice, a small New York retailer and publisher of a free magazine distributed at boutiques, presented a fashion show that included thin models drinking cans of beer while sporting overpriced overalls and tee-shirts, making blue-collar chic. As this company was using considerable amounts of visual real estate, the question arose (just as it would for any set of so-called cutting edge images), "...if Vice spreads its brand of fashion, journalism and entertainment across the map, how hip can it remain? Will they still love it on Lafayette Street if it's at the mall in Massepequa? By definition, hip taste is embraced by hipsters because the masses don't get it—and can't buy it."[399] The images that present "hip" are even more slippery than those of the big business fashion houses. Stylistically they must startle and be unfamiliar (within recent memory), prior to their appropriation by main stream manufacturers.

> Advertising, fashion, press and television have grown overwhelmingly and tend to shape our every desire and need. The creation of an imaginary world that can be bought has become as necessary as the creation of ever-changing products. Paradoxically though, if the supply of fashion is accelerated, nobody can impose a homogeneous fashion on anyone anymore. We imitate whomever we like, when and how we like. The aspiration to luxury gets commoner and everybody wants for himself or herself what is best and loveliest.[400]

Despite the proclamation by influential Italian designer Miuccia Prada that the search for beauty is, according to her, "...a moral and aesthetic imperative," writer Vanessa Friedman, covering the collections at Milan's Fashion Week in Fall 2006, responds with a resounding no. "Fashion is often a search for identity, for shock, for money."[401] Friedman comments that the context in which fashion is played out is currently not pretty, "politically speaking." Debra Merkin, questioning what is really for sale in mainstream American fashion advertising, asserts that contemporary advertising has become so eroticized that it has become pornographic. She asserts, "Pornography pivots on sex and works in specific ways that target particular audiences by cultivating control and desire and the promise of sexual power through the viewing of available bodies."[402] This furthers the interpretation of gender roles, equating male with active and female with passive. In many ads, the female models return the gaze. "Today, through the use of branding, advertising is expected to do more than sell a product. Rather than simply telling consumers about the use-value of a product (what is can do for you), the emphasis is on a product's exchange-value (what you can do with it).[403] Most importantly, Merkin asserts that advertising, through idealized images of women, uses codes "that help viewers read and understand what being a woman means."[404] What is more significant than any single image, egregious as it may be, is the network of similarly constructed images that work to normalize this specious definition of what constitutes femaleness. Frith and Mueller cite the results of studies in which college students rated average women as less attractive after viewing the images of perfection. Additionally, they note that self-perceptions of young girls about physical attractiveness decline in girls but not in boys. Girls become focused (critically) on body parts. The gendered construction of female in the U.S. is still perceived as nurturing, attractive and focused on the social.[405] Female identity issues are particularly problematic and remain widespread.

Female identity issues are not particularly helped by the ongoing treatment of women athletes in the coverage of iconic sporting events such as the annual tennis championships at Wimbledon. *The New York Times*, in its reporting of the 2006 championships, showed a large photo of Andy Roddick, with the following caption: "Andy Roddick, who struggled to beat 101st- ranked Janko Tpisarevic yesterday, diving for a return during their first-round match at Wimbledon." Under a second photo, approximately one-eighth the size of the first, was this caption, "Bethanie Mattek lost yesterday, but her outfit made quite a splash."[406] While the discussion about Roddick within the article focused on his play, out of the relatively small amount of coverage of female tennis at the Championships, a questionable focus was on the clothing worn by the female players.

In addition to media inequities, there is evidence within educational settings that girls, despite testing biases against them, seem to be succeeding in academia and in leadership roles in high schools. The focus on helping young females catch up in schools over the past thirty years seems to be indicating increased performance in math (traditionally seen as dominated by boys) and participation in extracurricular activities as varied as student government and athletics. Among young adults in most of the industrialized nations, more females than males have college and advanced degrees and this trend is expected to continue. As potential for women increases, their paychecks still remain smaller than those of their male counter parts (with the discrepancies increasing with age).[407] Also noted was the refusal, a century ago, of Harvard's then-president Charles W. Eliot, to admit women "because he feared they would waste the precious resources of his school."[408] Since this article was published, Harvard University has appointed a woman president, although some interpreted this appointment as an attempt to rectify Harvard's image that was tarnished by politically incorrect comments made by its prior president, Lawrence Summers.

3.15 Resisting the Image

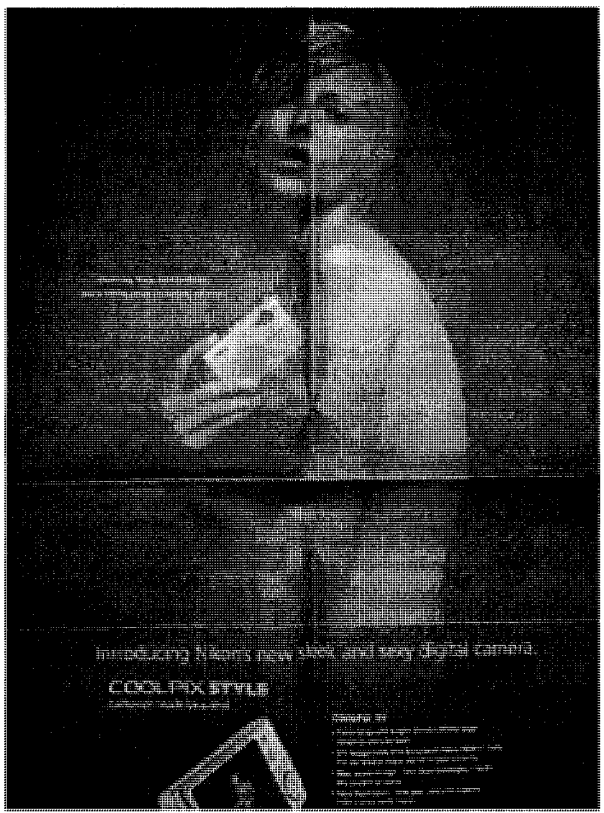
Georg Simmel has pointed to the social precariousness of fashion's insistence in the persistent struggle to occupy the disparate positions of being part of a group while simultaneously distinguishing oneself from it.[409] This irreconcilable duality results in a form of dis-ease that inclines the viewer of commercial images to respond (through consumption) with a continuum of "if only" moments. Simply put, it is impossible to sell products to people who do not know the products exist. In a substitutional way, fashion and cosmetics become an externalized replacement for formerly internalized ways of knowing the self. As de Certeau notes, "It is as if belief could no longer be expressed in direct convictions, but only through the detour of what others are thought to believe...The 'real' is what, in a given place, reference to another place makes people believe in."[410] He chastises business for their fabrication "of their own simulacra of credibility."[411] De Certeau is describing a culture in which a kind of self-validation occurs through knowing what others believe.[412] It implies, in the case of viewing images, a negotiation between what is validated outside of the self and what is ripe for internalization at the level of individual identity. Barthes effectively produces a critical space to view the images of commerce by distancing his reader from the hyperbole of commerce-based language, pointing to the linguistic absurdities attributed to products being advertised.[413] These absurdities go generally undetected because the images have become part of the wallpaper of contemporary popular culture. Both Barthes and de Certeau provide a piece of a strategy for resistance though, as theoreticians, their audience is narrow.

3.15.1 Attempts at Resistance

If one were to own a particular item or have access to particular services, then one could expect to have a different experience of the self. Images that create a distance that engages the audience in an ongoing struggle to bridge the gap created by each new image, means that one can, in reality, never "catch up." The uncomfortable distance created by those who control the manufacture of goods and services and the representations help to form identities of inadequacy. No less significant, these images also seed identities of resistance. As soon as a position of resistance is taken "in contrast to," it is embroiled in and defined by what is actively resisted. Unhappily, this may mean that inhabiting a world of unceasing images and messages leaves one little if any room to define a personal identity that is not responsively formed.

Advertising rarely works by preaching: it works by seducing. Most, if not all, of the attempts to counter the seductiveness of the advertising image and its powerful effects upon the consumer tend towards a style of communication that "talks at" and leave no dialogic space. The visual/verbal/musical styles of advertising welcome the audience while carving out an "if only" space. The problem of resistance to seductive imagery is that it lives in a symbiotic relationship to the offending imagery, binding and constraining efforts to define one's self. The space of "what women are not" is far more confining that the space of "what women are." As John Berger notes, "To be able to buy is the same thing as being sexually desirable; occasionally this is the explicit message of publicity...Usually it is the implicit message, i.e. If you are able to buy this product you will be lovable. If you cannot buy it, you will be less lovable."[414] In either case, one is defined by the product.

Some attempts have been made recently to take official positions with respect to how certain genres of images are used in particular publications. *Bitch* magazine has taken an explicit stand against the use of images of women as vehicles to sell products (including the magazine itself).[415] Lisa Jervis, formerly of *Bitch* magazine, talked about what kind of image is used to sell a particular product. By problematizing what could be called substitutional or metaphorical images she used the example of a pornographic CD containing an image of the porn star as one that, although certainly problematic as a product, is actually a direct and honest representation. The package advertises what actually is being sold: a woman's image is being used to sell images of women. Jervis rigorously criticized most other types of advertising that use images of women to sell cars and other products unrelated to the images of women used to sell them. *Bitch*, a feminist zine with a current (2007) circulation of about 50,000 has made an explicit policy decision not to use any photos on its covers and, according to Jervis, probably never will. Though not a mass market publication, this is one of several strong stances the publication has taken against the use of images of women to sell goods. The problem, however, is that *Bitch*'s position cannot begin to contest the enormous power of corporate media despite their hopes for change as revealed in a recent interview with co-founder, Andi Zeisler, in *The New York Times* magazine. "We've tried to get people to see that pop culture is a critical locus of feminism. Most young girls are not reading *Ms.* They're watching 'The OC' or 'Veronica Mars.' It makes sense for us to talk about those pop-culture products, because those are the conversations that girls are having among themselves... They're not talking about public policy."[416] Zeisler acknowledges that mass media are the sources by which people get information and, despite pop culture's ongoing trivialization of women, she sees pop culture as the center of activity and where the efforts need to be focused to make a difference.



Nikon's full-page ad with a nude Kate Moss holding a Coolpix camera typifies the use of women to sell products unrelated to the seductive image. (*The New York Times*, Thursday, 11 May 2006, A23.)

One of the most offensive ads, both in image and text, and a perfect illustration of what *BITCH* is contesting, is the above ad. A nude Kate Moss gazes over her shoulder, mouth open and holding a Nikon Coolpix camera in her hand. The text reads, "Stunning. Sexy. And available. (We're talking about the camera, not Kate.)"[417]

Attempts at resistance are increasing in frequency due, in particular, to the availability and potential of web-based circulation and sites such as YouTube. Despite the ability to access these sites, unless they become mimetic phenomes, they tend to be simply a temporary blip on the radar and have little staying power or widespread effect. Magazines such as *Adbusters* and *Colors* have attempted to use the visual print medium to critique corporate power and the negative effects of globalization. An article entitled "Gaming the System" looks at semiotic disobedience (according to Sonia Katyal, law professor at Fordham University) as a way to subvert corporate logos and symbols. The practice, as the article notes, has been referred to as "brandalism, subvertising, culture jamming, adbusting…" This law professor interprets these acts as efforts to disobey the meaning intended in the graphic communication. It also attempts to re-appropriate meaning, though it is difficult to measure the effects of the activities—either the original corporate efforts or the appropriated ones.[418] Like most attempts at resistance, the scale is small.

Young people, whether or not they proactively follow fashion and beauty trends presented to them in multiple and endless ways and venues, are affected to some degree. Even those who are repelled by omnipresent images are being formed by the visual assaults because they are actively reacting to dominant images that are externally valued in popular culture. Those who begin to constitute some form of resistance to the images, or who advocate protests that may take various forms against essentialized images of beauty are not, in fact, acting freely. A response mode, as a reactive one, constitutes narrow parameters not freely determined. The young female is particularly susceptible to images even if she chooses not to respond as a consumer. Refusing to be formed by what she sees in contemporary commercial imagery can be construed as a constrained response. Particularly among females, the sense of self is in constant flux and self-loathing emerges as a response to a particular fashion or beauty trend that may not put a consumer in the most flattering light.

As marketers respond to the demographics of an aging population, seemingly new goods and services appear. Dove, a brand of Unilever, has situated itself as the savior to the large number of aging women in their market (and potential market). Their approach to image will be discussed later in this project with a critique of the corporate motives of this campaign.[419]

3.15.2 Interviews and Resistance: How young women understand the popular image

Over the course of four months in the Spring and Summer of 2006, a group of twenty young women were interviewed to determine the ways in which they responded to and are affected by images in popular media. The women ranged in age from 18 to 28 years old and, though living in the United States, came from a variety of countries (in addition to the United States) including Indonesia, Austria, and France. The purpose of the interviews was to understand the effects, if any, of the influence of multiple, idealized images in popular culture upon the formative identities of young women and how desire for consumer goods operates. A pattern did emerge of savvy young women who, when provided with a space for reflection, were able to grasp fully the extent to which the images surrounding them were intended as manipulations to stimulate their consumerism. They also seemed to be conscious of the unreality of the images and fully aware of the technical manipulation performed to simulate physical perfection. Yet with their not insignificant awareness, their comments were noticeably "in response to" external descriptions of whom they "ought" to be and how they "ought" to look. This particular "resistance to" had the effect of limiting their options for understanding or forming their own identities, except as reactive. Much of what they describe yields a binary re-active, rather than pro-active, response that was heavily encumbered by those images circulating around them.

During the interviews one of the prevailing sentiments that cut across nationalities was the perception that although almost all admitted to looking at fashion magazines (some said they did not buy them but looked at them at check-out counters). With few exceptions they resisted admitting to the magazine imagery having any serious influence upon them. When asked more specifically about a particular ad or product, the answers revealed that indeed there was influence. The observations here include the following: the influence is less a result of a singular image and more the result of the omnipresence of multiple, unrealistic images of women. The reaction against certain imagery can be seen as equally implicated in the construction of individual identity. Some young consumers self-identify as anti-consumers and attempt to punish the brands they dislike. According to Amanda Helm, who teaches marketing at University of Wisconsin at Whitewater, [these] "cynical consumers 'demonstrated very strong brand loyalty to the few companies they could trust.'"[420] This means that they do have an identity that is manipulated by some group reaction against certain brands, but also a group identified with other brands. Equally significant are the ways in which these retouched-to-perfection images coexist with stories and images of human significance worldwide and how profoundly "normalized" these abnormal images have become. The ease with which the general public is uncritically absorbed by, or at least inured to, these images of perfection is troubling. There is good evidence that consumers do pay attention to ads. The Keller Fay Group tracks word-of-mouth marketing and finds that "people typically discuss about a dozen brands a day."[421] They also discovered that when people discuss products they do mention brands, although they report finding their friends more reliable than advertisements.[422] However, no explanation was given regarding how the friends decided upon particular brands.

Interview questions were grouped into four categories: Your Current Status and

General Interests, Your Relationship to Magazines, The Images in Fashion and Beauty Magazines, and a miscellaneous category that asked specifically about how the interviewee would describe the difference between "need" and "want."[423] The interviews reveal several important patterns, including their histories of access to fashion and beauty magazines and attitudes towards shopping. Although most of the women gave responses that revealed a critical ability to evaluate their own reactions to images at the time the questions were asked, the responses also took on a slightly confessional aspect, admitting to passivity about responsibility for how the images worked on them. Some of the answers revealed that the ability to respond to images in a critical, detached way seemed to evaporate as they described their relationship to the images. This was especially true in cases in which the interviewee described responding to an advertisement by making a purchase and was manifest in comments indicating that although they might not actually have purchased a fashion magazine, they did look at them if the magazines were available. Without exception, each interviewee was asked and able (with varying abilities to articulate) to clearly distinguish between want and need. Of the 20, eleven were still in or had attended some college, six had graduated, a couple from this group were entering graduate school, and three were entering college. Their professional interests, indicated by their academic major areas, were varied: engineering, industrial design, graphic design, organizational development, art, business administration, child development, psychology, creative writing, journalism, music, harp performance, cosmetology, criminal justice, international studies, and American studies. Most of the women said that they started reading fashion magazines in middle school, with the majority specifying they had been between the ages eleven and thirteen. Many commented that they read

Seventeen not in high school, but as a very young teen. *Cosmo*, which often featured the hyper sexualized cover photographs by the late Francesco Scavullo and was thought to be a young working woman's guide to catching a man, was the magazine that several "graduated to" at about age 16. One of the young women who is African American and corroborated the common age of 13 for beginning to look at the magazines, noted, "I would say thirteen—teenage. *YM*, *TeenPeople*. There's a lot of black magazines—but not fashion. *Black Bee* and *Right On*—kind of fashion-hip-hop magazines." Another used the question to form an atypical response saying that she liked to look at magazines when she was in a doctor's office or at camp—describing this as "when you're like cut off from the rest of the world and it's like a treasure. The only girl-based magazine I've read, *New Moon*, no advertising—definitely got me through my preteens—very girl-power happy. They keep it out of cosmetics, beauty—are careful about body image and want it to be a safer place." Most of the young women said they were first introduced to fashion and beauty magazines by their own female family members who often left the publications lying around the house.

When answering the question, "Do you expect beauty products to do what they say they will do in an advertisement?" responses of "yes" or "no" were related to certain genres of products. For example, one 25-year-old said, "Not usually—but specifically—I expect mascara to be mascara—but not necessarily to make my lashes look twelve times longer." A 20-year-old responded, "Oh yeah—and I'm always disappointed when it doesn't. I went to buy mascara and I saw a big display—like sky-high lashes. It was the single most difficult thing to use. I don't know if I've ever been so frustrated with anything I've purchased." Another (22-year-old) commented, "No. I did a long time ago—especially with the pimple stuff...and after I tried them all and they didn't work I stopped believing. But something like shoes. I just love shoes so much. I believe in those." Another 18-year-old was equally disappointed with acne products and shampoos. She referenced products that were for skin and body and commented, "I don't see how it can be true across the board." A 22-year-old distinguished between images seen in magazines and on television. She lent more credibility to motion-based imagery than the static images in magazines. Both an 18-year-old and 26-year-old simply answered "yes" to the question and one 24-year-old said unequivocally, "Yes. Of course." Another 25-year-old attached a 70% figure to her belief that a product would work as stated and that "it's something you have to try out." Others, like one 23-year old, seemed embarrassed to admit that "even though it's probably not right...yeah, I do," and a 22-year old said, "Foolish, foolish me. I always do. (referring to herself) 'She never learns.' And then I get upset and curse out my bathroom mirror." The oldest respondent, (age 28), commented, "I don't expect it... when I buy it I feel optimistic, but there's a good possibility when I use it that it will not work the way it does when it is photo-finished." Despite her awareness of what she understood about the unreality of the retouched image, she still would make the purchase. Another, age 27, said she wouldn't bank on as fact what is shown in ads, but she expected some results, though they would "not necessarily solve your problems." Summing up the expectations and behaviors that result from seeing an ad is the following comment from a 23-year-old, "Absolutely. And they never do. And I always think there's Proactive Solution—a major skincare line with all these major celebrity endorsements. And since I've started using it—since high school—I've started and stopped using it four times—and I keep buying it even though it never works. I guess

I'm being brainwashed. I definitely expect it to work. I also am a sucker for nice packaging."

Another interview question focused on the use of the photographic image in commercial publications: "Do you believe that photographs in magazines accurately represent what someone looks like?" Responses included, "No. I know that they airbrush. First of all the person is wearing a ton of makeup and the lighting is perfect and then it gets airbrushed." Others responded emphatically, "No, not at all", "Ohhhhhh Nooooo—sort of a dream," and "No, of course not." And another, "No. I always think Photoshop." One of the more revealing responses was, "I think that I always have to remind myself that they don't. I mess around with Photoshop sometimes and I've worked with Photoshop for my high school newspaper, so I'm definitely aware of what you can do to a picture and still have it look like a picture. We're instinctively reacting to photographs as fact. It's hard to think of photographs as lying—as direct. Not like a painting—a direct copy of what was there in life. A part of me always feels a bit betrayed—which is silly." Here is a 20-year-old woman, fully aware of the technology used to manipulate images and still admitting to being seduced by those images. Yet another references all of the tricks, photographic angles, and airbrushing, "grossly misused because it creates an unfair, unattainable idea for women who look at magazines often." Another says, "No, no, no, no, no. I wish I could remember the name of this web site and they show you what the pictures of celebrities actually look like." The issue of body image elicited the following response, "No, nope, too small. I've seen too many celebrities and they really are that small and it's scary. But your average person walking down the street [don't] look like models and celebrities." One pondered if money could buy the perfection seen in images. “No. (She laughed.) Just like it goes back to the Brittany Spears thing. She just had a baby and no stretch marks—flawless. Maybe it’s real with all that money. She looks superhuman.”

Not one of the women interviewed believed that the photographic images were accurate reflections of what someone actually looks like. Yet when asked about whether the images are a source of pressure, one commented that she did compare herself with them. Another young woman mentioned the undesirability of these images on people with wrinkles, and those who are not confident, but dismissed the pressures on her. One admitted to having been raised in a community that put a lot of emphasis on appearance, but she said that her “failsafe” was her knowledge that she didn’t have the money to buy what was being shown to her in ads. Another distributed the source of influence by admitting to feeling that the pressure to look a certain way may come from magazines, but that she thought the pressure came from peers because the magazine images seemed “so far from where you are,” while friends were close. One young woman denied personally feeling pressure, commenting, “No, but I’m sure a lot of girls do.” Another felt that she had outgrown the feelings of pressure, “but definitely as a younger teenager I felt enormous pressure to buy things that are current and fit in with the images of what was beautiful.” One answered with an emphatic, “yes, yes, yes. I feel like I’m constantly battling those images for my own self worth. A lot of times after looking at those images I have to convince myself—re-convince myself that I’m pretty.” One young woman who described herself as fairly casual was concerned about the pressure to look “a certain way all the time.” Another described a resistance that is inherently troubling because it reveals constraints placed upon the viewer of the images that are manifest as resistance. “”I’m consciously going out of my way to be unfashionable," she commented. She also acknowledged the pressure people feel in general to be skinny and to wear certain things. One young woman responded to pressure resulting from the quantity of images. "Yeah, eventually if you see enough of them they get under your skin." While another seemed embarrassed by what she felt. "...I honestly do feel pressure. I know I shouldn't, but you just do." One seemed to be critiquing what advertising does which is to make the viewer feel inadequate because she doesn't have "that product." Even an interviewee who described herself as having self-confidence, commented, "magazines glamorize being thin and having a specific, certain image. And I think it's impossible even on a subconscious level not to have it impact you in some capacity."

When asked about celebrity images, several of the young women acknowledged what can be described as a simultaneous seduction and a distant meta-perspective. Answering questions about which ads were memorable, they fell into a few different categories. Some responded with references to idealized, romantic images (Calvin Klein and Ralph Lauren ads). Ads like those for Dove products were seen as portraying honesty about the imperfection of (real) women. One woman was particularly disturbed by ads that demeaned women. "I saw an ad a long time ago—someone was stepping on this woman. She was underneath the car—and that image is still in my head. It seemed so abusive. I think they were advertising shoes. Those Paris Hilton images advertising the burger really get to me." Another mentioned hyperbolic makeup and hairstyles as memorable. One of the young women connected where one is in one's life with what sorts of images are striking. "I have a serious boyfriend now, so I'm more into looking at wedding rings and engagements. I care more about anti-wrinkle creams to address what's down the line than I care about the latest string bikini…" Another young woman, who at first could not think of an ad that really stood out for her, later remembered the following. "American Apparel. I wear all their clothes. They're into sustainability and sweatshop free, but their ads are kind of gritty. Their models have cellulite and they look like they just got out of bed. And they're usually in their underwear and not shot from the best angle. But it's kind of gritty—really cool—and I know that's what I look like… ." She clearly related to the believability of the images, but also overtly was committed to a brand she categorized as "cool".

ABC's weekly television series, "Ugly Betty" raises questions about women and identity. The lead character is a smart, Chicana college-educated, family oriented, young woman who works as an administrative assistant to a self-centered, high fashion magazine editor who inherited his position. As a person she represents what early feminism was striving to achieve, yet she is placed in an environment of the shallow and impossibly perfect big business world of high fashion. It serves, in some minor way perhaps, to work as a symbol of corporate visual responsibility for the network, yet it still engages the viewer very seductively with what fashion offers those who are not grounded by other interests that contribute to individual identity, making its position of resistance much more tenuous.

Several theories exist to explain the nature of want or desire and what it may mean. As my interviews with young women demonstrated, every one of them was able to articulate a clear and concise definition and distinction between want and need. However, this ability to distinguish was isolated from everyday experiences and was positioned as a focused question. It did not, therefore, necessarily reflect a level of consciousness that might operate in a world that is saturated with consumer oriented images. "In consumer cultures, all too often people don't think about what they have but only concern themselves with what they don't have. And that is, in part, because advertising constantly reminds them of what they don't have. Needs are finite but desires are infinite, and thus, as soon as our needs have been taken care of, we become obsessed with what we don't have but want. Or, more precisely, one might suggest, with what advertising tells us we should want."[424] The discrepancies in scale between want versus need make perfect sense because need lives in the tangible world and want lives in the mind. Another theoretical construct about the workings of the desire to consume is that it is socially mimetic. According to René Girard, this means that we desire what others desire.[425] It is likely that greed has become palpable because we can see our own greed in ways that were never before possible. The desire for material goods has been so thoroughly available through images of consumption that this normalized desire trumps rational thinking about how much is enough.

Through the process of interviewing it becomes evident that magazine images and images in other venues so prevalent in popular culture affect the identity of young females even in the act of resisting. Resisting influence and insufficient consciousness of consumer manipulation through graphic images are contributory to the formation of identity over time. Many of the young women interviewed responded as if they had earned some "dispensation" as a result of knowing and having an awareness of having been manipulated. They did not tend to see the creation of identities of resistance as identities that were intrinsically bound to images produced in the dominant culture. Many begin to fashion themselves in the form of reaction to: as "not that" rather than "this is who I am." They employed a form of negative editing to determine who they are by what remains after rejecting what is presented as the dominant cultural imposition of images of women, having to carve identities as a response. What may be most disturbing is the bifurcation in consciousness between moments of engaging with an image and the inability to detach from it to critically reflect upon the work that the image is doing.

Image-activity so central to consumption keeps identity off balance, making attempts to resist the power of images in popular culture mostly unsuccessful. The power imbalance between corporate image producers with their vast visual real estate and their audiences who may continue to try and resist the power and omnipresence of those images at the personal level is not waning. At the social and political levels, tolerance for advertising real estate has increased, but so have environmental concerns and concerns about social inequalities. These concerns have been made evident in highly visible, corporate philanthropy in the corporation's branding of ethics.

3.16 Desire and Responsibility

If the recipient of images has been made to believe that something is wrong with herself, but the problem can be rectified through a particular and generally available action, a state of longing is produced that propels one towards the action. Poetically, desire has the attribute of a longing for that which is unattainable as has already been described psychoanalytically. It may be that the poetic condition is the one that best describes that of the consumer who momentarily believes that the next purchase will offer the solution to whatever has been perceived to be the latest iteration of the problem. Consume desire then is constructed through the tension created images between what is and what could be. Without the availability of advertising images that instruct a public to "need" in order to be noticed, succeed, or be part of a social group, the desire for objects that do not provide functional comfort would not exist. It is only possible to experience lack when what is represented is represented as essential (or whole). These are the ever-changing, yet always the same, spaces and tactics of late capitalism. Much of the contemporary production of desire directed at consumption is confronted with unprecedented messages from political progressives who understand the stewardship of the planet to be an urgent and shared responsibility that is thwarted by over consumption and over production. Since the mid-nineteenth century the habit of mending worn out shoes and garments has given way to replacing these items, even among families with little financial means.[426] Increasingly we are given simultaneous and discrepant messages about maintaining or even increasing a certain level of consumption, which, during the aftermath of 9/11, was packaged by politicians for the public at large as an act of civic responsibility. Shopping was marketed as a patriotic response to the attack on New York City's World Trade Center and most corporate image makers were more than willing to comply.

Simmel's view on the space in which desire operates is one that is created between the "what is" and "if only." Though published half a century ago, it is clear that Simmel has identified a precarious line that is dominated especially by fashion in the acceptance/rejection of what is acceptable at a given time and place. "There seem to be two tendencies in the individual souls as well as in society." Simmel understands the opposing forces of similarity and uniformity as irreconcilable with change and specialization.[427] The demarcation between belonging to the group and distinguishing oneself from the group is a reasonable description of the social tension created by fashion and its imagery. One shops, therefore, to be admired and noticed as distinct from, but one also shops to be admired and accepted into the group and belong to. It raises questions about distance from what is dictated, how far is too far, and how one resists that which is prescriptive at any given time. New technologies that make it possible to belong while simultaneously remaining separate have done little to renegotiate this precarious state. The personalization, for example, of April 2007 *Wired* magazine covers, featuring a one-off image of the subscriber, resulted from *Wired*'s co-marketing with Xerox technology.[428] Although the interest was in the technology, it should be noted that using technology in this way—to personalize—or pre-consumer customize—feeds a Warholian 15-minutes of fame ethos and fleeting desire for celebrity. It also dwells in the realm of distinguishing the self through personalization while still belonging to a group, in this case, a group of *Wired* subscribers.

What transpires when consumption is represented as reckless or irresponsible? The consumer is then faced with having to reconcile having been manipulated to desire some thing and act on that desire with the repercussion of having to reconcile personal acts of greed. As it becomes more possible to hold a picture of a damaged environment side by side with an advertisement of a relatively useless product of late capitalism, image-makers begin to forge new connections between making a purchase and the newly constructed benefits of having made that purchase. Often the connection is blatant, but more likely than not, it needs to be understood as part of a visual world that, although supplanted regularly by even newer images, is simultaneously (even if only for a short time), situated in a world of adjacent images that reinforce the current visual and verbal languages of selling.

A blurring of the distinctions between want and need is ongoing in social life, as is its pictorial representation. Gregson notes, "Discussions of the 'consumerist west' have seen 'needs' reconfigured through a particular form of consumption culture, specifically through our ability/ies to satisfy needs (and understand them) through our relationship/s to particular goods and services. So, for instance, we tend to think of housing no longer primarily as shelter but as an expression of identity and self; likewise with food and clothing."[429] This shift in consciousness about the dominance of the role of people as consumers represents a dramatic shift in how the roles of economics and politics are conceived. The idea that tastes and desires are controlled and manipulated is not new. What is new, however, is the increasing friendliness of those technologies that serve consumer activities. Appadurai describes desire in the following way:

> Part of the reason why demand remains by and large a mystery is that we assume it has something to do with desire, on the one hand (by its nature assumed to be infinite and transcultural) and need on the other (by its nature assumed to be fixed). Following Baudrillard,[430] I suggest that we treat demand, hence consumption, as an aspect of the overall political economies of societies. Demand, that is, emerges as a function of a variety of social practices and classifications, rather than a mysterious emanation of human needs, a mechanical response to social manipulations (as in one model of the effects of advertising in our own society), or the narrowing down of a universal and voracious desire for objects to whatever happens to be available.[431]

He notes the inability in complex societies to cohesively grasp the ways in which the circulation of commodities occurs as well as the difficulty in separating goods and services. Appadurai understands this complexity as a knowledge that is one of both production (meaning the ability to make the goods) and consumption. This split is understood in a geographic way in which the two types of knowledge are brought together when the acts of production and consumption are proximate.[432] This conception might be taken as literally as saying that if one's neighbor is producing a good that one requires, there is hardly any need for advertising the locally produced and consumed product. We do not need representations of the goods because we can see them directly, much the way a contemporary farmers market operates in which we do not need to see representations of the goods in advance, but rather only need time and location information. Despite a recent interest in the locovore movement, this still applies to relatively little of what western societies consume today. Therefore, once the consumer is far removed from the producer, reliance develops upon images of what has been produced in order to acquire "knowledge" about it. With the increase in online purchases, ability to see goods that are being acquired becomes even less likely, at least doubly removed from the consumer, and even more dependent upon images. "The fact is that knowledge about commodities is itself increasingly commoditized…Thus, though even in the simplest economies there is a complex traffic in things, it is only with increased social, technical and conceptual differentiation that what we may call a traffic in criteria concerning things develops."[433] Appadurai refers to a 1984 study by Michael Schudson that questioned what he refers to as a "neo-Marxist analysis of the manipulation of consumers by advertising in America… He proposes that the textual and graphic images produced by the advertising machine are better regarded as a species of 'capitalist realism,' a form of cultural representation of the virtues of the capitalist lifestyle, rather than as techniques for seduction into specific acts of consumption. The adulation with which this argument has been greeted by the advertising profession is a source of some circumstantial doubt about the argument itself."[434] Although an interesting categorization that rejects the actual work advertising images may do, it would be difficult to defend in the face of a specific campaign's effect—for example, the initial frenzy created around Apple's recent iPhone product release. Appadurai concedes to taking off from Simmel's position that "exchange is the source of value and not vice versa."[435] "What is political about this process is not just the fact that it signifies and constitutes relations of privilege and social control. What is political about it is the constant tension between the existing frameworks (of price, bargaining, and so forth) and the tendency of commodities to breach these frameworks. This tension itself has its source in the fact that not all parties share the same interests in any specific regime of value, nor are the interests of any two parties in a given exchange identical."[436]

Graphic designers use their expertise to create many of the powerful images experienced routinely in popular culture. If a particular psychoanalytic view of what constitutes desire is understood, it is also evident that cultural production of images play upon the profound sense of lack. Many of these images may be understood as providing frames for meanings that become at least temporally transferred to material goods. These images are used to sculpt meaning, to attach meaning to products where there may be little or none. Within the broad range of available choices, one can easily see that labels and details rarely are connected to literal needs. With particular fashion brands, for example, meanings are multiply attached. Meaning are affected by the kinds of stores (or web sites) in which the goods are available, the neighborhoods in which the stores are located, the images circulated of celebrities wearing these products, the magazine images of the products, and the peer pressures (as display of object). All are constitutive of an image process. Once the consumer is beyond a category of (survival) need, the ways in which meanings are attached to objects are multiple, fluid, and socially renegotiated over time and space. Images of desirable goods increasingly share real estate with messages of environmental doom, poverty, and war. How then, does the corporation respond to conditions that threaten the wellbeing of their consumers? Once a corporation responds with images that construct it as caring, other corporations seem reticent to be seen as not-caring. What results is the same process of mimesis that has occurred in corporate graphics and advertising for years, but with a shift in message. The design, branding, and marketing tactics that have been described within this chapter in recent years simply have found a new theme to be translated visually: corporate social responsibility. The next chapter examines social responsibility, corporate ethics, as a recent iteration of corporate branding.

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[2] Stephen J. Eskilson, *Graphic Design: A New History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007, 328.
[3] KennethFrampton, "The Ideology of a Curriculum," in *Ulm Design. The Morality of Objects. Hochschule für Gestaltung Ulm 1953-1968*, ed. Herbert Lindinger (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1990), 132.
[4] Ibid., 147.
[5] Ibid., 146.
[6] See *Cranbrook Design: the new discourse* showing the work of a generation of designers trained under Kathrine and Michael McCoy.
[7] In her text *The Visible Word* Johanna Drucker addresses this problem within experimental typography from the early twentieth century.
[8] Architecture's long dedication to theory resulted in analytical approaches to understand the design process. Horst Rittel, in his second generation design theory, suggested that the process was to define the problem, rather than to ever assume that it's initial presentation begged for or pointed towards a direct "solution". See....
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[10] Ibid., 223.
[11] Neil H. Borden, "The Economic Effects of Advertising," in *Mass Communications*, ed. Wilbur Schramm (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1960), 287.
[12] In current practice, agencies, for example, create logos that long have been considered the province of design, and designers create ads that long have been considered the province of agencies.
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[14] Ibid., 19.
[15] Evident in the Meggs *History of Graphic Design.*
[16] Penny Sparke, *As Long As It's Pink: The sexual politics of taste* (London: Pandora, An Imprint of Harper Collins Publishers, 1995), 166.

[17] Adrien Frutiger, designer of Univers type family issued in the 1950s, believed that the development of this rational system of typographic distinctions would be able to solve all design problems.
[18] Jonathan Crary, *Suspensions of Perception: Attention, Spectacle, and Modern Culture* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2001), 75.
[19] Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1990), 6.
[20] Hugh Aldersey-Williams and others, *Cranbrook Design: The new discourse* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1990), 208.
[21] Avowed modernist designer Massimo Vignelli is believed to have boycotted the 1997 award ceremony at which the highest American graphic honor, the AIGA Medal, was given to Rudy Vanderlans and Zuzana Licko for their remarkable re-thinking of typographic form following the availability of new computer technologies. Vignelli continues to insist that all design work could be done with no more than five typefaces from which to choose (the most recent of which was issued in 1957).
[22] Martin Jay, *Downcast Eyes, The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 69.
[23] Ibid., 594.
[24] Ibid., 591.
[25] In *The Visible Word* see Drucker's discussion on pages 239, 241, 245.
[26] Wolfgang Schmittel, *Corporate design international: Definition and benefit of a consistent corporate appearance*(Zurich: ABC Edition, 1984), 7.
[27] William Lidwell and others, *Universal Principles of Design* (Gloucester, MA: Rockport Publishers, Inc., 2003), 72.
[28] Ibid., 126. This may be seen in practice with the latest version of the iPod which allows one to watch the music video on the small screen, rendering the audio version no longer acceptable.
[29] Kenneth Boulding, *The Image: Knowledge in Life and Society* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1961), 7-10.
[30] See Paco Underhill's efforts to make science out of shopping patterns in his text, *Why We Buy.*
[31] Rosemary Coombe, *The Cultural Life of Intellectual Property* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 42.
[32] Jean Baudrillard, *For A Critique on the Political Economy of the Sign* (St. Louis, MO: Telos Press, 1981), 65.
[33] Ibid., 66.
[34] Lauren Collins, "Pixel Perfect: Pascal Dongin's virtual reality," *The New Yorker*, May 12, 2008, 94.
[35] Jacques Aumont, *The Image* (London: BFI Publishing, 1997), 150.
[36] John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), 41.
[37] Hillel Schwartz, *The Culture of The Copy: Striking Likenesses, Unreasonable Facsimiles* (New York: Zone Books, 1996), 96-97.
[38] Ibid., 96.
[39] Doon Arbus, *Diane Arbus: An Aperture Monograph* (New York: Aperture Foundation, 1972), 13.
[40] Web site of photo retoucher Glenn Feron. http://www.glennferon.com/portfolio1/portfolio01.html (accessed 01 November 2006)
[41] Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Picador, 1973), 23.
[42] Cliff Goddard, "Explicating Emotions Across Languages and Cultures: A Semantic Approach," in *The Verbal Communication of Emotions: Interdisciplinary Perspectives,* ed. Susan R. Fussell (Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 2002), 31.
[43] Ibid., 37.
[44] Ibid., 39
[45] Sally Planalp and Karen Knie, "Integrating Verbal and Nonverbal Emotion(al) Messages," in *The Verbal Communication of Emotions: Interdisciplinary Perspectives,* ed. Susan R. Fussell (Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 2002), 55.
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[47] H.P. Grice, "Meaning," *Philosophical Review* 64 (1957): 377-388.

[48] Raymond W. Gibbs, Jr. and others, "What's Special About Figurative Language in Emotional Communication?" in *The Verbal Communication of Emotions: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Susan R. Fussell (Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 2002), 127. (Quoting S.Levinson's *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983,16.)
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[50] Alina Wheeler, *Designing Brand Identity: A Complete Guide to Creating, Building, and Maintaining Strong Brands* (Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2003), 2.
[51] Ibid., 3.
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[56] *The New York Times*, Monday 8 May 2006, ZS8-9.
[57] This is explained in the text *Emotional branding* by Marc Gobé,.
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[61] Ibid., 36.
[62] *Financial Times*, Thursday 11 May 2006, 23.
[63] See Presidio MBA.org.
[64] Michael Barbaro and Hillary Chura, "Gap Is in Need of a Niche: Appealing to All Has resulted In Sales to Few," *The New York Times*, Saturday 27 January 2007, B1, B4.
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[69] Ibid., 14-15.
[70] Ibid., 42-43.
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[72] Marc Gobé, *Emotional branding: The new paradigm for connecting brands to people* (New York: Allworth Press, 2001), 43.
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[99] Ibid., 22-37.
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Chapter 4: VISUAL RESPONSIBILITY

4.1 Virtue and Business

There have always been design practitioners who consider their work to be integrally tied to issues of social or political importance. The work that is seen by many as the origin of contemporary graphic design is found in the graphics of the Russian Revolution, despite the fact that many of these politically motivated designers also worked in service to commerce in order to generate sufficient income for their families. As design knowledge became codified during the course of the twentieth century, the relationship between design and business solidified. Contemporary cultural geographer, Don Slater, sees consumption as one of many means through which identities are produced, including the likelihood that the choices we make are morally interpreted.[1] Multiple explanations may be offered to explain the commitment of the designer to the production of socially responsible materials. For example, collectively designers tend to inhabit liberal political positions that imply a sense of duty regarding public wellbeing. The recent surge in commitment to sustainable design and socially relevant projects (that positively impact communities local to the designer) is apparent. Though not demeaning the value of these efforts, it is also clear that many of the images created within the past few years are evidence of the mimetic tendencies of those who produce images, and these tendencies are seen both in the style and content of artifacts. Although evidence of increased corporate profitability is missing, the visual and verbal languages of corporate communications do reflect distinct trends that are reproduced, influenced, influential, and mimetic in nature. In the mid-twentieth century, many products were positioned as lessening drudgery for the homemaker. Today products are marketed as socially and/or environmentally responsible. In the earlier and current example, both reflect a unified message of what needs to be considered a consumer priority. In both cases, the real objective is to keep the corporation (positively) imaged and publicly visible. It is possible that these recent images make designers and marketers feel as if they are using their expertise to produce a world that is socially improved, although the real goals remain visibility and persuasion.

The particular cases that follow, mostly in the genre of corporate images, are intended to provide a set of examples that are used for the purpose of interrogating the image with respect to what behaviors lie behind the image. Consumer directed images generally are revisited in order to decipher their commercial success and not their integrity: recent images actively brand ethics as a corporate value while simultaneously producing desire to consume. Many of these images tie consumption to some form of social responsibility, while working in particular ways to support the marketing goals of the represented corporation, reinforcing to a general public the notion of a corporation behaving responsibly, whether or not, in fact, that corporation is. The corporation's use of images to make its ethical position highly visible is another vehicle to reinforce its brand. This is achieved either by tying responsibility directly to the act of consuming in the case of retail businesses or, in the case of BP, by using images that belie the less-than-responsible activities of the corporation. Often the images that are received include a rather unambiguous use of tacitly learned western cultural metaphors for notions such as the purity of nature. The purpose of this investigation is to open an enquiry into what responsible representation entails and to make conscious that understanding within the locus of its production in the design studio.

Baudrillard referred to the visual glut as a "pornography of information and communication, a pornography of circuits and networks"[2] and characterized the omnipresent nature of visual assault as "the promiscuity which reigns over the communication networks...one of a superficial saturation, an endless harassment, an extermination of interstitial space."[3] Seemingly exhausted by what he saw and the pressure exerted upon the viewer, he commented, "The word is free, but I am not; the spaced is so saturated, the pressure of all which wants to be heard so strong that I am not longer capable of knowing what I want."[4] Baudrillard's observations about over saturation of communication were written over twenty years ago, long before this saturation invaded the new, large markets of portable electronic devices that have significantly increased not only the surface of this saturation, but also have expanded its temporal and geographic reach. J.B. Jackson, perhaps the supreme realist among historians of the landscape, limited his comments to the American landscape. In a reference to U.S. Highway I, which he referred to as "one of the most sensationally ugly roads in America" J.B. Jackson commented on the "jungle of billboards and roadside stands, each sprouting a dozen signs on its own."[5] However, Jackson, commenting on the increasing real estate devoted to commerce and tourism in some of the country's most spectacular landscapes, also confesses to the welcome sights (perhaps even comforting) as he approached urban areas that offered food, ice, and friendliness.[6] Jackson seemed to be requesting that we accept our commercial self as our true self. His work helps decipher who Americans are, recasting the work of humans as "adornment to the face of the earth."[7] Despite Jackson's acceptance and re-casting of commercial development as "who we are" as unproblematic, questions of commercial scale and pervasiveness persist. How much is too much? When is visual evidence of commerce not acceptable? His observations are useful because they help to describe our infatuation with the automobile, the status of our built environment, and our love affair with commerce. Jackson is useful as a starting points for reflection, because the response to his assessment needs to be, "If this is who we are, is that ok?" If "who we are" is not ok, what next?

4.2 A Multitude of Cases *as Performance* of CSR

CSR (corporate social responsibility), in addition to how a corporation behaves with respect to the safety of its goods and services, employee treatment, and the range of internal issues that affect the ethics of how a product is produced, can and should be extended to how a corporation *presents itself.* The genre of socially responsible images is under investigation for several reasons: it *appears* that designers are behaving ethically, and it is a recent and potent example of how images are produced and understood as constitutive of particular popular genres. How business interacts with design should live in the realm of what CSR *looks* like: CSR must address CVR (Corporate Visual Responsibility). Intentional visual misrepresentation is a form of fraud (sometimes legally construed as such) and needs to be problematized within the design community as an ethical failure.

Designers are in the business of making the client look good. If we fail to investigate, at the beginning and during the course of a project, the client's past, present and (knowable) future intentions then we have failed to do the work required in order to conduct an ethical professional practice. Selecting papers and materials that are made from high percentages of post consumer waste and the use of inks that are soy based, while laudable, have been the most accessible shifts for the designer and the easiest areas in which to encourage materially responsible behaviors in a client. The harder questions have to do with what the client's public face looks like, what it says to its audience, and ultimately, whether the artifacts that signify the corporation are honest. If, for example, the designer learns that the client is a major polluter, a bright yellow sunshine is a questionable image because it conflicts with the culturally constructed meaning of the image. If the client is under investigation for treating female workers unfairly, designers should not be creating ads that picture happy female employees (even if there are some). Beyond outright refusal to work with a client, there must be some things the client is doing that can be represented fairly, and not simply public relations triage.

A tacit agreement exists between image producer and audience about the reasonableness of hyperbolic imagery. What would be the public's response if corporations were identified for making and circulating images that are essentially harmful? In an analysis of how cheaters view ("justify") their own actions, a group of business professors determined that poor behaviors are rationalized by distancing oneself from the behavior, blaming others, redefining the behavior as good, or looking at outcomes (a consequentialist rationale).[8] Onora O'Neill, neo-Kantian British philosopher, problematizes contemporary culture as a "culture of blame," to which her solution is a deliberate attempt to shift to what she calls "a culture of investigation."[9] Blame, for O'Neill, fails to correct problems that have been identified.

In an article that questions the entire notion of buying green as the solution to global warming, Alex Steffen, executive editor of Worldchanging.com notes, "'There is a very common mind-set right now which holds that all that we're going to need to do to avert the large-scale planetary catastrophes upon us is make slightly different shopping decisions.'"[10] The reason that this belief has taken hold is that clever marketing has responded to the scientific publicity about the urgency of global warming problems and rather than lose selling power, has redesigned much of what we now see in consumer-focused, imagery. The design of selling has changed in the hopes that the purchase can be seen at best as helpful and at least as not harmful. Although as recently as July 2006, it was argued in an article in the journal *Environment* that overemphasizing green could backfire if the marketing emphasis was on saving the planet rather than "cost..., convenience, status and so on."[11] If the carbon footprint cannot *appear* to be reduced, then the purchase is increasingly connected to a charitable donation that likely has nothing to do with the issues of global warming. Consumption, however, does not appear to be on the decline. Edward Tenner, who writes about technology in society, notes that demand and hype serve to generate funds to continue to do research for the next great product.[12] Ms. Salzman of JWT (J.Walter Thompson) comments that people can never be satiated because of the rapidity of the cycle—that people show little brand loyalty and more fad loyalty.[13] The distinction between "new" and "next" is made in consumer consciousness with the former meaning that something is observable and the latter offering some special kind of insight.[14] The questions derive from a failure of consciousness and the expectation of behaviors that are not critically examined (including the value of longevity of goods). The cycles to which Salzman refers also apply to the cycles of iconicity that have shortened in tandem with shortened consumer cycles. The rapid turnover in "new" goods and their related images provoke ethical questions about what craft has come to mean to design and what its value is in the making of contemporary objects and images.

Within the short cycles of the Eurocentric fashion industry, manufacturers make sure that images of whatever is current are foregrounded. The consuming audience needs to quickly digest them to begin the timely purchasing before the current styles are devalued in the following season. In a review of the Milan Fall 2006 fashion shows, fashion critic Cathy Horyn praised Miuccia Prada for embracing multiculturalism and noted that "ethnic influences from Africa and Asia" though prevalent in the major cities of the world are seen as "banalaties that affront good taste."[15] Under the heading "Feelgood factor" a discussion of luxury goods makers like Montblanc, Chopard, and Cartier whose products are sold to wealthy collectors, ties donations to charities to the act of purchasing these goods. When Cartier produced a mini love bracelet with one of eight silk cords that was color-coded to reference a specific charity, the bracelets attained an "instant symbol of cool." The charity received a $100 donation for each bracelet sold. The bracelets were extremely popular with celebrities.[16]

4.3 Appropriating Tactics to Brand Ethics

Corporate Social Responsibility has become a necessary component of corporate identity and branding. For the purpose of this project, a brief review of the antecedents to contemporary constructs about branding has been addressed since the mid-twentieth century. Corporate consultants have fashioned a corporation that cannot afford to overlook the construction of the corporate image as one of socially responsible citizen in order to sustain a consumer culture in which one can live unburdened in the face of daily news regarding global warming (itself a consequence of out-of-control consumption).

The new branding strategies identify and anthropomorphize the corporation as having a heart and soul. Consultants who specialize in corporate identity, branding, emotional branding, and ethics branding have figured out a way for the corporation and its consumers, from those of modest means to the exceptionally wealthy, to *appear* to assuage guilt as they spend money on goods that they don't need but have been supplied with reasons to believe that they do.

The same technologies that bring to the general public images of expensive clothing and other material goods or luxury services available for consumption now bring images of melting glaciers, children orphaned by AIDS, and extreme poverty. While there are many more images of goods for sale than of targets for public concern, the balance is shifting in subtle and not-so-subtle ways that range from full-page advertisements that blatantly re-position corporations as responsible entities to smaller messages embedded within larger commercially dedicated surfaces. A waffling back and forth between culpability for excessive consumption and the ongoing desire to consume may find a fleeting moment of resolution as commercial images conflate purchasing with some form of corporate philanthropic activity on behalf of the consumer. Images of CSR that depict the corporation as a philanthropic entity while the primary corporate goal is profit, present a conflict between what is shown and what is intended. The consumer may require material evidence, such as a bracelet or a pin, of having participated in a philanthropic cause. Altruism is not without cost. Philips, well known for producing consumer goods that require electricity to function, recognizes the need to present the opportunity to conserve energy, while not lessening one's perceived "quality of life." Royal Philips Electronic now has a web site (asimpleswitch.com) that instructs the public on how to save energy "without compromising on quality of life."[17] The site also works to conserve Philips' justification for manufacturing energy-consuming products.

The consumer may be mildly comforted by the process of giving a little while acquiring a lot. This is noticeable as a business strategy as the pervasiveness of the branding of ethics becomes increasingly evident across business cultures from the very large corporation to the small, local business. Professor David Vogel of the Haas Business School at the University of California at Berkeley notes that social responsibility, despite what many believe to be the case, has not been substantiated as a source of increased profits. "Unfortunately, a review of the evidence, including academic studies of the relationship between profitability and responsibility and the relative performance of SRI (Socially Responsible Investing), finds little support for the claim that more responsible firms are more profitable." Vogel then notes "...this does not mean that there is no business case for virtue."[18] Even with unsubstantiated profit increases, evidence abounds in popular media of corporations picturing themselves as virtuous. And Vogel comments that what drives the "interest in CSR is the argument that good corporate citizenship is also good business."[19] Vogel points to the more serious impacts a corporation might have in terms of public policy, noting "A company's political activities typically have far broader social consequences than its own practices."[20] It is not surprising, therefore, that business cares about its image of social responsibility. Committed to the process of making responsibility visible are the many who create images for corporations. For them, it may be more important *not* to be outside the margins of what the contemporary corporation should look like to the general public. Judging from the visual evidence, it is looking more and more as though the corporation cannot afford to ignore the *appearance* of concern, even if the concern itself is not profitable. Responsible imagery is supported through instructional branding strategies that cater to corporate marketing people, designers,[21] and advertisers.

Although much has been written recently about a corporation's responsibility to its customers, its employees, and its shareholders, little has been said about what corporate responsibility *looks* like in public venues. While a socially responsible shareholder may want to know how a corporation is conducting its business with respect to issues such as the environment or labor practices, it also has become increasingly important to consumers, based upon the content and frequency with which issues of social concern are addressed in a corporation's marketing sites. Small, local companies have begun to make visual their responsible citizenry as evidenced by their involvement in charities, events, donations, and corporate support of a variety of local needs. This privatization of wellbeing demands that designers ask, "What does corporate concern look like?" and "What does it represent?" The answers appear to depend upon whether the business is producing images that reflect genuine corporate concern or simply the appearance of concern.

4.3.1 Hard and Soft Ethics Branding

Discrepancies between the visual images of the corporation as a caring, responsible "citizen" and concurrent, unsavory corporate behaviors revealed in the news media that depict the underbelly of corporate actions, defy and make problematic the images of model citizenship. The "good corporation" constructs its media identity as one deserving the public's attention and its guilt-free dollars/euros. The facile compartmentalization, already addressed, of this controlled-and-visible message versus the beyond-corporate-control messages that arise from the news media coexist in media venues.

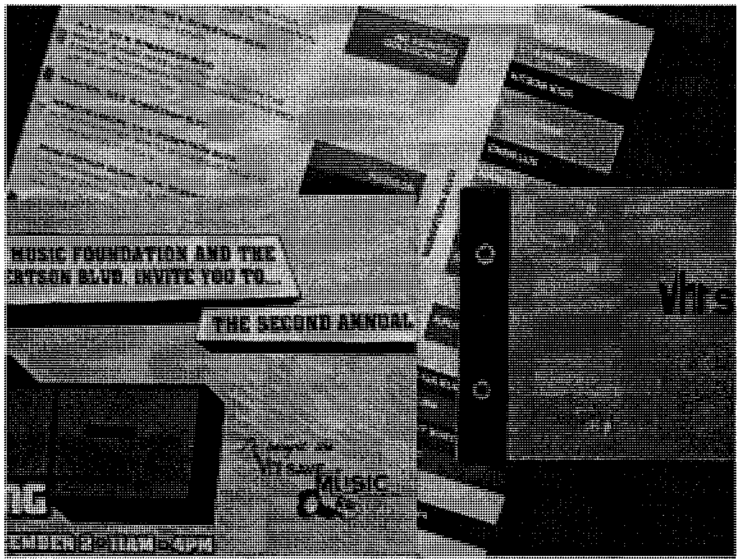
The late Tibor Kalman, designer and design provocateur, is said to have advised design colleagues not to work for companies that want you to lie for them. How can the extent of the lie be understood and what, precisely, is the relationship of the designer to the company with respect to the lie? At some level, anyone who makes images, retouches images, distributes images in service to commercial ends is telling a lie. The lie, of course, may be tacit—hidden with respect to the particular artifact. Someone, or some thing, or some corporate entity, is made to look good for less than altruistic reasons and often suspect ones. Because they live in the world of mutable, short-lived surfaces, graphic designers are particularly fond of ethical sound bites because their scale is intrinsically suited to the temporality and surface-ness of graphic design itself. These bites make the designer appear to be attentive to and considerate of issues much larger than design: the bites are part of the duplicitous nature of commission.

Two general approaches are used to brand ethics, with some forms of demonstrating admirable corporate behaviors more blatant than others.[22] Hard branding is one way to describe the outright proclamations of socially responsible corporate behavior through the use of images and words that make explicit statements and connections between a good deed and the corporate hand in the deed. These blatant claims of "doing-good" are attempts to demonstrate how the corporation is helping the world. Soft branding is less explicit and includes more subtle implications of socially responsible behaviors, tacit messages, and understated co-marketing. The corporation may take a visual backseat, though it still takes a seat, in the sponsorship of an event that is deemed worthwhile to a cause or community. These soft branding styles are able to function as a result of individual compartmentali-zation and the lack of critical evaluation of the branding of an ethical image and actual corporate behaviors. Ultimately, however, in order for the corporation to be seen as caring, it must emerge as a sentient entity.

4.3.2 Celebrity and Ethics Branding

The tactics already discussed that are used to sell products in general are applied to messages of social responsibility. Perhaps the ultimate wrapping of celebrity and message was seen in the global 07/07/07 event initiated by former Vice President Al Gore. Stars were featured making their sacrifices visible. One photo caption read on *The New York Times* web site noted, "As seen on TV: from left, Jennifer Garner with didactic coffee filters..." pointing to "celebrity-driven charity" that was mixed with "smug self-promotion."[23] *Cosmopolitan* magazine took a full-page ad that appeared to be rendering a social service directed at women's health with respect to sunning. "Look Who's Joined Cosmo's Safe Sun Campaign" was a large headline with ten (of the supposed 50) celebrities such as Halle Berry, Jessica Simpson and Cameron Diaz signing their names below the headline. Clearly an advertisement for the publication itself as responsible citizen, it also reifies the influence that celebrities have over young women, such as the readers of *Cosmo*.[24]

When celebrities are sufficiently well known that they personally have acquired brand status, they become perfect spokespersons to lend their personal brand to support a particular cause or charity, such as Regis Philbin's support of the Inner-City Scholarship Fund. In this instance, the talk show host is shown in a large black and white photo surrounded by young children in Catholic school uniforms.[25] Even events that have the atmosphere of a trendy street party have tied philanthropy to consumerism. On Saturday, 02 December 2006, 31 retail sites on L.A.'s upscale and celebrity trafficked Robertson Boulevard donated "a[n unspecified] portion of the day's sales" to benefit the music in schools program entitled, VH1 Save the music. Promotional literature was distributed in the participating retail venues.



Many boutiques on Robertson Boulevard in Los Angeles participated in a benefit to save music education. The event was co-sponsored by the VH1 Save the Music Foundation and the stores, and brought shoppers to the high-end area to spend/donate to the cause. (These graphics were distributed in the participating stores on 02 December 2006.)

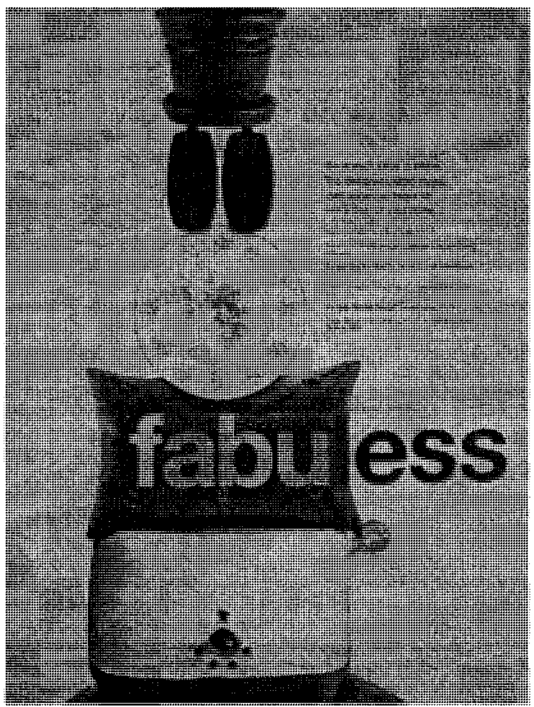
4.3.3 Sustainability and Ethics Branding

As concern for sustainability was publicized, many corporations responded with messages. ABC Carpet & Home placed a full-page newspaper ad that featured the copy, "the organic landscape of modern fall 2006." Above this text, a dictionary definition of the word "sustainable" was supplied: "sustainable; to keep in existence, reinvent, transform, consume consciously." The ad showed fifteen fairly expensive home furnishings products for sale. In all but two of the captions, one of the following descriptive words is used: salvaged, sustainable, reclaimed, 100% organic. There is also a key to "the abc culture" at the upper left side of the ad, showing a hand-drawn-like symbol on a pastel blur for each of the following features: "good wood, organic, fair & square, beautiful, handmade, love, pure, consciously made, local economy, community made, exclusively at abc, cruelty free, sustainable, indigenous, and recycled."[26] Most of the features in the key have little-to-no specific meaning, but the ad appears to convey that it is indeed possible to consume without destroying the environment, recasting consumption not only as responsible, but almost spiritual.

4.3.4 Co-Marketing and Ethics Branding

Messages of social responsibility appearing within the visual real estate that a corporation uses to reinforce its brand may be thought of as a form of co-marketing, a particular relationship between two separate entities whose businesses reinforce each other. When applied to branding ethics, a corporation will "co-market" with a cause or charity in a relationship that could be described as symbiotic. A traditional corporate example of co-marketing is "Intel-Inside" in which a particular computer manufacturer that uses the Intel chip (visibly) partners with Intel. Since neither corporation is a competitor of their co-marketer, and because they are mutually dependent upon each other, the technique of co-marketing serves both entities well. Co-marketing regulations for how the two brands appear within the same visual real estate are quite strict and are established by the respective corporations. Typically, the corporate designer has determined regulations for "clear space," a specific, often proportionally determined space between a corporate logo and any other information sharing the same surface.[27]

Corporate advertising is tending to share space with a corporation's philanthropic partner. In this way, the philanthropy can be read as a part of the corporate brand, and the corporation raises its public perception by picturing philanthropy as a core value. In other cases, the corporation attempts to recast consumption as a socially responsible act. For Earth Day, Target's ubiquity allowed them to place an ad that visually reinforced the event without verbally mentioning it. "The choice is yours. Rise to the occasion." appears in green text adjacent to a stack of products that are either neutral in color or green—apples, green on green fern-printed pillow. Only the Target logo and the "fabuless" campaign text contained red.[28] Target could be visually tacit because its ad was surrounded by explicit ads that honored, named, and pictured Earth Day. ABC Carpet & Home's full-page ad in the same issue of the paper, showed photographs of products that had been photo-shopped green. The ad included many eco buzz-words, a quote from Gandhi, and the advice to "transform: consume consciously choose green, a shade at a time." [29]



Part of Target's registered "Design for All" campaign, this ad with products for the home works to familiarize and make household names of their stable of designers. (*The New York Times*, Sunday, 8 April 2007, 16.)

4.4 Appearing to Justifying Consumption

Philanthropic message, the message to donate, must be brought to the site /sight of the potential donor. In an intentionally disturbing ad for the World Food Program seen in November (15) 2006 on network television,[30] a variety of Africans living in poverty conditions were shown speaking words in English like "panecotta" (simultaneously shown typographically), and the names of other desserts that would typically appear on a menu in an upscale, urban restaurant. At the end of the ad, "Donate the cost of a dessert to the world food program" appears. Donations are always seen, requested, and presented as a relatively small portion (i.e., donate 5% of its profits, etc.) of the greater expense of a purchase, in this case a meal in an expensive restaurant or one hundred dollars of purchases, for example, at Macy's. The ads never say: "Rather than shop at Macy's today, donate what you *would have spent* to breast cancer research." Embedding a charitable act within a self-indulgent one works to re-constitute the acts of self-indulgence as acts of charity.

If BP runs a real and very publicized risk of damaging the environment as a result of the precariousness of its less than scrupulous business practices, then its marketing experts tend to paint BP as environmentally concerned. If Unilever, manufacturer of the Dove product line, is concerned with keeping its current and anticipated consumer happy, then it looks at the demographics of an aging population and the nature of the products it makes, and *appears* to be a corporation with serious concern for a woman's self esteem. As of 2006 when the first group of Baby Boomers turned 60, there were 41 million women in the United States between the ages of 40 and 60.[31] It is obvious that appealing to a population with money to spend on products could benefit Unilever's bottom line, but it is also important to understand how Dove situates itself as a brand behaving in a socially responsible way by building, rather than tearing down, women's self esteem. Despite the fact that this campaign is not directly aligned with a charitable organization, the campaign is operating very clearly within the social/psychological contemporary realm of concern for women's self-esteem. At the other end of the demographic spectrum, the newest Sesame Street character Abby Cadabby, the first female Muppet star in the 37 years of broadcasting, is described as the new "girly-girl." She is a modern feminist who is pink and wears a dress, yet is a strong character. "Maura Regan, vice president and general manager of global consumer products for Sesame Workshop, said she was confident about Abby Cadabby's market readiness. She'll be strong in spring, Ms. Regan theorized, because she has a 'wood nymph quality,' and added that her pink coloring made her great for merchandising around Valentine's Day and Christmas, when she will pair well with red Elmo. Then of course there's the fall back-to-school theme of a new girl getting to know her classmates."[32]

In an effort to defend advertising, Professor of Philosophy and Business Administration Richard De George makes several somewhat unsettling comments. Divorcing himself from the persuasive insistence of advertising images, he recasts the advertisement as information that results in a contractual arrangement between buyer and seller. (I would argue that advertising as information is an outdated characterization.) He also reminds his reader that the frequency of poor taste seen in advertisements is not immoral, although manipulation is. "But the charge is clearly an overstatement if it asserts that all members of the public are gullible, unsophisticated, and manipulated by media advertising. Advertising would be immoral if it always and necessarily manipulated and coerced people, but it does not."[33] His discussion does not address the effects of innumerable and overlapping, redundant genres of images that begin to erode the ability of young consumers to make decisions about products as these images abet consumer desire. In wealthy western societies, this desire is an artificial construct that is wholly unrelated to need or standards for survival. The sense of self-preservation is mostly *social*, which is easy to see as trivial when compared with concern for actual survival.

Manual Velasquez, Professor of Business Ethics, acknowledges the possibility for deception in advertising as it is seen within the broader terms of communication. "An advertisement can misrepresent the nature of the product by using deceptive mock-ups, using untrue paid testimonial, inserting the word *guarantee* where nothing is guaranteed, quoting misleading prices, failing to disclose defects in a product, misleadingly disparaging a competitor's goods, or simulating well-known brands."[34] Closer examination of the words and images used to construct corporate messages reveal a much more nuanced and, therefore, egregious form of deception. Often these forms rely upon word associations and the ways in which the viewing public reads a photographic image as authentic or factual, despite considerable and, at times overt, manipulation. What Velasquez does acknowledge is the distinction originally made by John K. Galbraith between physically based and psychologically based desires and their sources of origination.[35] The physical desire for food and shelter is not externally produced in the same way as desire for the latest shade of Chanel lipstick. Despite a series of questions he offers to help determine just how ethical advertising is, he fails to understand the irrationality of most desire that results from contemporary advertising.[36]

As Porter and Kramer[37] point out, once a company is actively engaging in philanthropy, its public expects more of the company while the shareholders also expect the company to show profits. The authors note the following:

> Increasingly, philanthropy is used as a form of public relations or advertising, promoting a company's image or brand through cause-related marketing or other high-profile sponsorships...While these campaigns do provide much-needed support to worthy causes, they are intended as much to increase company visibility and improve employee morale as to create social impact. Tobacco giant Philip Morris, for example, spent $75 million on its charitable contributions in 1999 and then launched a $100 million advertising campaign to publicize them.[38]

Referencing conservative economist Milton Friedman, they comment that a corporation's responsibility is creating profit for stockholders, but this problematically keeps economic and social sectors separate from each other. Friedman's is an untenably atomized way in which to think about economics given its current globalized state. This leaves "context-focused giving" as a way to bridge the gap, and fosters what the authors refer to as "strategic philanthropy." This is a way in which business and philanthropy work together and are not seen as mutually exclusive interests.[39] They argue that "When corporations support the right causes in the right ways—when they get the where and the how right—they set in motion a virtuous cycle."[40] Taken through the filter of anonymous giving, these authors comment, "The acid test of good corporate philanthropy is whether the desired social change is so beneficial to the company that the organization would pursue the change even if no one ever knew about it."[41]

Corporations, however, generally are not in the habit of having their good deeds go unrecognized. Being a good corporate citizen is increasingly becoming a badge of honor within corporate culture. *The Financial Times* and Citi Private Bank announced

Environmental Awards to be given in September 2007 in London to companies that have been determined to "have significantly improved their environmental performance in the last financial year."[42] Even if a corporation's behavior is not synchronized with what is portrayed as admirable behavior, there still may be value in a representation of even questionable integrity. As soon as claims are made (either visually and/or verbally, either through advertising or editorializing), the claim lives in the public. Once public, a claim of responsibility invites scrutiny, interrogation, and expectations of living up to what its representation. So even with hyperbolic representations, some enquiry is provoked. Additionally, the mimetic aspect of the world of images leads other corporations to claim responsible positions and make images that reference and publicize some form of social responsibility. The circulation of images of (even) unfounded claims of responsibility at the very least place the issue in public view.

4.4.1 New Branding Tropes

As large corporations write mission statements and delineate their core values, many are including CSR. Rarely distinct, from a marketing perspective, from the main work of the corporation, CSR is appearing with increasing frequency at local and small-scale levels of business. Even naming rights, which range from large and highly visible corporate names on stadia (such as the Staples Center in Los Angeles) to the small, local high school score-board, are a form of soft branding of social responsibility. The donor, whether large or small, is seen as providing a service to the community in exchange for recognition in the form of a site-specific name. These represent forms of giving that, although contingent upon recognition, may be seen as better than doing nothing and motives for the philanthropic action are not really questioned. In one article from an issue of *The New York*

Times Magazine that focused on "Doing Well, Doing Good, Doing Time,"[43] Michael Lewis, summarizing the "rap sheet on the American investor," noted "The American investor's short-term greed leads him to be more interested in the appearance of a business than its substance."[44]

Well-being has been depicted more recently as a private responsibility as governments at state and federal levels are managing increasingly tight budgets that affect social welfare programs. The corporation might be seen in a variety of lights: altruistically as a concerned entity that regards the well-being of civilian populations as a moral responsibility; or, self-servingly admitting to the enormity of the numbers of goods being pushed onto a public that doesn't *need* these goods, thus requiring that the corporation take a visible and very public stance on its own face of responsibility. This increase in, or at least the appearance of, corporate involvement in the well being of the private citizen raises new questions about individual identity and corporate entities that have been dominated primarily by conservative thinkers who typically have not considered issues such as identity politics. As the identity of marginalized others becomes imbricated in corporate social concerns, the formerly conservative corporate manager may be forced to acknowledge the social responsibility of the corporation to a previously marginalized consumer base. The public then starts to see text that proclaims some form of corporate philanthropy attached to a purchase or consumer images of ethnic "otherness" that reflect emerging consumer demographics.

Branding consultant Marc Gobé published a new text shortly after his 2001 publication of *Emotional Branding* because corporations were beginning to look seriously at social responsibility as integral to their brand. Prolific design writer Steven

Heller edited a text entitled *Citizen Designer*[45] in which he published articles from design professionals and educators on the topic of responsible citizenship. The issue of responsibility was forefront on the radar of designers who work extensively in service to the business community. In the introduction to Gobé's *Citizen Brand*, Patrick Gournay, former CEO, The Body Shop International[46] wrote,

> There are a number of reasons why *a citizen approach is becoming more mainstream and complementary, if not essential, to operating a successful business*... First, the use of cause-related marketing to promote brands and put the feel-good factor into business is a popular strategy for many companies. Recent research by the organization Business in the Community found that 81 percent of U.K. consumers agreed that, when price and quality are equal, they would switch brands or change retail outlets to a company that is trying to benefit society. Consumers will more often than not engage with the ethics of a business through its cause-related marketing activities.[47]

Gournay continues with his observation that this is not enough, that the consumer wants to see evidence. He notes that "reputational issues" require public disclosure of social/environmental performance,[48] and offers examples of companies that he believes operate ethically, such as Patagonia, Ben and Jerry's, and The Body Shop."[49]

Realizing that branding causes would be profitable, no doubt both for Gobé as a branding consultant and the corporations with which he consults, his text, *Citizen Brand* addressed an issue he refers to as "cause branding." Gobé uses words like "holistic" and "generosity" and talks about humanistic perspectives that all work to help the consumer connect to the brand.[50] In discussing the second of his ten commandments, "Evolve from Honesty to Trust," he talks of a mind shift that needs to take place from showing to the building of true trust that, he asserts, is based upon a give and take. He claims that once trust is earned, it also needs a "valid reason" to be maintained.[51] This raises a question about what it means for a corporation "to give a valid reason." He calls The Body Shop a

"Role Model for Citizen Brandship," but perhaps is unaware of the methods Anita Roddick used to begin her now-perceived-as-altruistic company.[52] In a pull quote near the conclusion of his text, Gobé states, "Let's face it, many of us feel a real sense of helplessness in the face of the larger problems facing our society. Giving people an active role to play in helping lessen the world's ills could be a tremendous experience."[53] Brand consultants believe they are helping consumers to mitigate their guilt as consumption spirals. The motive of the branders has not changed, although the climate of branding has forced branders to assist corporations in look at their roles in helping those less fortunate. This "lessen(ing) of the world's ills" takes place within the context of various degrees of philanthropy embedded within consumption.

Gobé's position, opportunistically shifts with each branding text he writes, always including fairly uninspiring, but well-orchestrated branding speak. In other words, his texts stay just ahead of the curve of popular concerns implying that, if not effectively addressed, a corporation's bottom line might be adversely affected. Gobé does this in the latest text by weaving a new significance of people into the culture of the corporation. He lists the following:

People need to believe in and trust their brands.

1. *A great corporate culture focused above all on people*, both in the office and in the public community
2. *A communication style and philosophy that stands out from the crowd*, as in the case of Apple or Target, where the look of the products and the feel of the advertising are consistent
3. *An emotional hook that draws us to their promise*, or, in other words, a value proposition that reinforces a brand commitment to their audience.[54]

In response to consumer activism, Gobé flatters the consumer and describes their expectations as, "*a deepening level of emotional commitment, sincerity, and social* *responsibility from brands and corporations—* and not as a movement toward anti-consumerism per se."[55] Anti-consumerism would obviously counter the extensive branding efforts that Gobé has made to help his corporate clients continue to remain profitable in the face of cultural change and social pressures. His texts also reflect new iterations of branding that seem to guarantee the ongoing relevance of his consultancy.

Establishing a set of 10 Commandments, he wraps people ("citizens") into the emotional brand equation that he established in the text just prior to *Citizen Brand.* For example, The First Commandment states: "Evolve from Consumers to People *Consumers buy.* ***People live.***[56] Companies need to be "bound by love rather than fear."[57] He still asserts his earlier position about the influential nature of women consumers, but in this text he looks at the social activism of Gen Y and the purchasing power of ethnic Americans.[58] His Second Commandment states, "Evolve from Honesty to Trust. *Honesty is expected.* ***Trust is engaging and intimate. It must be earned.'***[59] He works through ten commandments of consultant speak, using language that has been part of recent corporate culture, enhanced through Gobé's ability to put his seductive spin on the words: communication to dialogue, service to relationship—and finally, social responsibility as a core element of the corporate mission.[60] Ironically, he is attempting to anthromorphize the consumer him- or her-self. CSR is introduced as an outgrowth of identity and branding, with the narrative that the consumer is beginning to show a preference for evidence of social responsibility on the part of the corporation whose products he/she buys.

4.4.2 Noticeably Green and Seemingly Noble

Although the public is generally familiar with the term "greenwashing," it has profoundly affected the genre of images attached to corporate claims of environmental responsibility. Braskem Petrochemical Company, in a full-page ad in *The New York Times*, touts "the world's first certified green plastic." The small text notes that it is certified by "Beta Analytic Inc., a prestigious carbon analysis lab." They claim to have made a green plastic: "Use it to make the world bluer."[61] Sundance channel just announced its new series "The Green," that features profiles of "eco-conscious celebrities & entrepreneurs." The ad shows white type on a green background and green type on a sky blue background.[62]

These few images from diverse types of companies (home furnishings, appliances, and fashion) reveal the mimetic life of green-washed imagery. Both the word and the color green have taken central positions in corporate advertising as well as editorial content. (From *The New York Times*, Sunday 22 April 2007, 10; *The New York Times*, Wednesday 17 May 2006, 9; *SF IS* insert to *San Francisco Chronicle*, 18 January 2007; and the cover of *The New York Times Magazine*, 15 April 2007.)

In an effort to understand the meaning of the new trends in advertising, Tod Martin, president of strategic consulting firm Unboundary, in Atlanata, notes, "When there is a proliferation like this, you have to try and understand what the motivation is. Sometimes the proliferation is more for cosmetic effect and sometimes it comes from a deeper place." Also noted was the following observation, "Frogs suddenly leap into prominence in corporate identity."[63] G.E. branded with "ecomagniation" by BBDO likes an optimism that does not emphasize sacrificing. David Vogel does not believe that corporate social responsibility can be consumer driven. He found the conditions in the factory in which the iPods were produced to use neither child labor nor appear to be unsafe. Where unfair conditions do exist in China, Vogel says the responsibility lies with the Chinese and their failures in the area of legal protections of workers.[64] Although any technology can be dangerous, Errol Rose no doubt could not have imagined that his 15 year-old son would be killed for (what is actually the image of) an iPod.[65] This kind of tragic event is reminiscent of earlier attacks on young people who were injured or killed for their Air Jordan Nike shoes. These events do not put the product directly into a negative genre, but they certainly point to the potency of advertising images that create this level of iconicity and the responsibility of those who design them. Images of clear skies do not make them a reality.

Weyerhaeuser's full-page ad in *The New York Times* stated the following: "By 2020, Weyerhaeuser will reduce its greenhouse gas emissions to 40% less than they were in 2000." This large headline appears in white text on a (forest) green background with decorative pinecone etching-like images at the top and bottom of the green box. After explaining why and how they will achieve this goal, Weyerhaeuser noted, "Trees are a remarkable natural resource. They can lower greenhouse gases and they can raise the bottom line. Unlocking their value and potential is a goal we've been committed to for over 100 years."[66] Here is a corporation that is in the business of producing paper, is open to environmental criticism, and implies in this ad a positive symbiosis among the trees, the environment and the bottom line. Honda's "Environmentology" ad features a headline with letters made from botanical elements, green and brown with an occasional red flower. A yellow one-point perspective grid (perhaps a visual reference to technological savvy) terminates in a glowing yellow sun behind an array of Honda automobiles. The smaller text reads, "Meet Small Oil. Honda has always been committed to developing environmentally responsible technology." Upon inspection, one might question the word use of the word "*always*," despite the general acceptance of hyperbolic claims in advertising. Hyperbole still enjoys an uncritical existence in the world of advertising.[67] The shoe company, La Canadienne, placed an ad showing a summer sandal with the following copy: "La Canadienne sandals are handcrafted in Italy to the finest European standards with respect for the environment, quality and labor conditions."[68] Ads such as these begin to imply that reference to social and/or environmental issues are currently a necessity.

In a recent issue of *The New York Times Magazine,* themed "The Greening of Geopolitics,"[69] Thomas L. Friedman examined American's loss of global stature and its need to establish global leadership in an article accompanied by green images by some of the top American artists such as Kiki Smith and designers like New York based Carin Goldberg. The images are graphically noteworthy because they neutralize the iconic American use of flag red and replace it with whites, greens, and browns. "Clean-tech, " he notes, "plays to America's strength, because making things like locomotives lighter and smarter takes a lot of knowledge—not cheap labor. Embedding clean-tech into everything we design can revive America as a manufacturing power."[70] One week later, an article on Fair Trade Certified coffee showed two images: one was an illustration with

"I (heart) FAIR TRADE" shown on a paper coffee cup and the second was the Fair Trade logo with the captions, "LOOKING FOR A SIGN Consumers of fair trade products know this logo."[71] In an article on the emergence of new businesses referred to as "Corporate Hybrids" that conflate "for-profit money-making and nonprofit mission," Juliana Eades, president of a nonprofit mortgage lender, noted that people are looking for investments that "harness the vitality and promise of capitalism in a way that's more fair to everyone."[72]

> One glance at any magazine, billboard or department-store window makes it clear: shoppers are swimming in a sea of green...as major designers find more inventive, and more stylish, ways to love the earth...But companies have different ways of defining green, and many slap on the natural label because it's in vogue. So it's wise to do your research. Here are nine items from brands striving to save the planet, one bamboo fiber at a time.[73]

The pictures surrounding the aforementioned newspaper copy depict trendy items from accessories to clothing that have apparently passed Carpenter, the writer's, unarticulated requirements for green, thus escaping the less than flattering "greenwashing" label. In an article that touts the business advantages of green workplaces Charles Lockwood, environmental and real estate consultant, writes, "The three Ps—People, Profits, and the Planet—will all benefit from this word wide change in corporate attitudes about sustainability and the environment."[74] In May 2006, *The New York Times* published a special 10-page section, "The Business of Green" which contained large *green* type on its front page that read, "The New Black." In an article on how kindness to nature can be profitable, it is suggested that companies are moving to anticipatory rather than compliance behaviors. It discussed how energy companies present themselves. Despite BP's newsworthy problems, the article notes that almost all forms of energy used by consumers "are either produced either directly or indirectly by BP." BP is producing solar panels hoping its revenues will reach one billion dollars by 2008. Ads in the same section featured Shell Oil and Bosch's energy star appliances.[75] Explicitly stated, "green" is neither explicitly defined nor a quantifiable attribute.

Dow introduced a new element in its full page ad: "the Human Element...And the energy released from a boundless spirit that will make the planet a safer, cleaner, more comfortable place for generations to come."[76] Because the marketing of environmental responsibility seems currently unavoidable, Home Depot jumped on the bandwagon and offered the suppliers of its almost two-hundred thousand products the opportunity to pitch their products as part of their new "Eco Options marketing campaign." The response came back with approximately a third [60,000] of all its products requesting the eco-status. The senior VP at Home Depot, Ron Jarvis, who was in charge of the Eco Options program noted, "Most of what you see in the green movement is voodoo marketing..." 2,500 products made the cut which may still be overly inclusive. Manager Jim O'Donnell, of the Sierra Club Stock Fund commented, "Everybody is in a mad scramble to say how green they are." The article pointed to the lack of standards in actually determining environmental respectfulness and rigor, and noted that a scientist from Consumer Reports even saw Eco Options signs hanging near toxic insecticides. Jarvis notes, "The manufacturers are seeing the green ship leave the port ... and they don't want to be left on the dock."[77] This observation that needing to broadcast a company's valuing green is shared across many types of businesses and often exists without challenge to claims made. Evidence of many corporations making noble efforts can be found, but the lack of legal standards that constitute green behaviors mean that many representations and claims are simply self-serving.

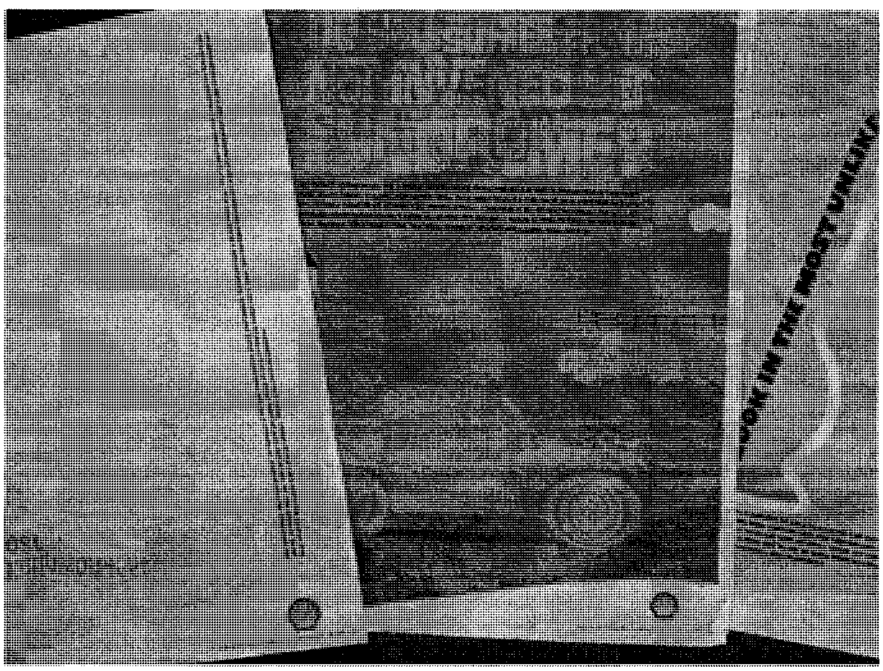
4.4.3 The Color and Style of Responsibility

Biotechnology company Genentech (with its tag line, "In Business for Life") anthropomorphized itself as a caring company by showing handwritten "letters" with black and white photos attached from people whose lives had been saved by Genentech's products/people.[78] The letters and photos were graphically manipulated to look personal. Taken together, the standardization of the letter, photo, paperclip, colors, scale, and position are identical despite the notation that the letters were printed with permission. They were *designed* to look a particular way.

While corporate identity programs from the mid-twentieth century relied heavily upon black, grays, blues, and reds, re-branding corporate responsibility, especially with respect to environmental concerns, has moved wholly to the cool side of the visible spectrum. Many advertisements now use both the color and the word "green" and the sky/water color blue. Designers who work on socially responsible advertising use the cool side of the visible spectrum (blues and greens), and especially those colors that reference earth, grass, sea and sky. Yellow suns may creep into the imagery, but the tendency has been to use cool colors to counter the perceptual associations with warming or internationally understood references to emergency or danger, all of which lie on the warm side of the visible spectrum. An 8-page insert for the GE "ecomagination" campaign is a typical example of the ways in which colors and images from nature are designed to coexist in a visually peaceful manner with machinery. Symantec produced a double truck ad showing what appears to be a South American woman weaver opposite a skyscraper. Promoting their security software, they verbalize a theme of connectedness and imply it visually.[79] The images visually theme hybridity, implying that the old (and profitable) technologies are not going away just yet, but rather they are being paired with new technologies. In a way, both the text and images market hybridity as the desirable state and not an interim one.[80] Bayer's "Fighting Cancer" ad pictures a child and adult, both dressed in blue on a light gold background. The Bayer logo and tag lines appear in white at the bottom of the ad reversed out of a strong green and blue band of color.[81] Red, with the possible exception of Target Corporate imagery and the Product Red campaign, has taken on the meaning of emergency and danger where previously, it was understood by major corporations in non-financial areas (avoiding "in the red" referenceing) to represent dynamism. In general, the use of red in CSR has come to stand for social activism. The use of nature referencing colors such as yellow, blue, and most significantly green (the color that is most reinforced verbally and now linguistically stands for environmental concern), have begun to signify environmental activism. Because color is such a strong metaphorical tool, it performs remarkable work in conveying responsibility through spectral shorthand. Many times the claims of responsibility are only partial, despite the general reliability of (learned) visual associations.

Colors have been used well within cultures, but not necessarily as well across cultures, as signifiers. Although it is a complex subject, Henry Dreyfuss systematized color in his text addressing international graphic standards. One of the many categories he assigns to a color is its "Psychology," meaning what the color is understood to represent. Red symbolizes "warm, extroverted, fiery, aggressive, vigorous..."[82] and is rarely seen in environmental imagery despite the fact that it is found in the logos of major energy companies like Shell Oil. Shell's recent ads are dominated by green and yellow.

Ad is for high-end retailer Barney's, known for their extravagant merchandise. The image contains predictably green typography with foliage and copy that uses many of the current socially responsible buzz words ("fair trade...sustainable...organic...environmentally conscious"). (*San Francisco Chronicle*, Sunday 18 November 2007, A11.)



Recent Shell Oil ads reflect the changes from the formerly hard-edged, corporate imagery including: the use of the color pink, rough green images, and type that looks hand drawn. (From *The New York Times Magazines*: 3 June 2007, 15; 1 July 2007, 13; and 18 November 2007, 17.)

Gone are the hard edges of Modernist corporate design from the mid-twentieth century. The logo is minimal in size but still appears on a white background allowing for clear space.[83] The current dominance of blues and greens are intended to denote the following: blue represents "deliberation and introspection, conservatism, acceptance of obligations...spirituality and thought, relaxing."[84] Green, both as significant color for the new corporate conscience and its linguistic moniker, represents "civility and the good citizen, sensitive to social customs and etiquette, bourgeois, abundance and good health."[85] Enterprise Rent-A-Car has had a green (meaning "go" in a driving context) logo before green was associated with environmental concern. For its 50th anniversary, Enterprise pledged to work with the National Arbor Day Foundation to plant 50 million trees over the next 50 years, making the carbon producing automobile, the company's core business, appear more positive.[86] In December 2006, Allstate ran full-page ads in *The Wall Street Journal* featuring the corporation as concerned citizen. One ad featured Allstate's program to help with teenage driving safety. The image at the bottom of the ad pictured an illustration of an aggressively anthropomorphized SUV.[87] The other ad was focused on rebuilding New Orleans post-Katrina. The text explained that Allstate was responsibly paying its claims, helping bring back the Sugarbowl, and also working with local non-profits. The illustration on this ad was a flowering bush in the shape of a fleur-de-lis, with a shovel and gardening gloves.[88] The background of the ad is a screened-back blue with the corporate signature at the bottom. While a product may be recyclable or green, and be represented to the public as such, it may be environmentally costly to fabricate. Often what happens is that the piece of information that contains good news is publicized and the piece that contains bad news remains inaccessible. Both omissions and commissions in visual representations are tightly managed to construct favorable perceptions.

4.5 Corporate Social Responsibility at All Scales

Social responsibility operates at a multitude of scales from the very public and large corporation to the very local, small business.[89] Even as holiday party-goers are asked to donate to causes selected by their hosts, these gestures, though small in scale, reinforce equating abundance and the attributes of the good life with having to address the needs of those less fortunate or unable to care for themselves.[90] During the 2006 holiday season, the Case Foundation web site posted Jean Case's "a guide to charitable gifts." She is the wife of Steve Case, founder of America Online. The site shows both charities that need help and "links to businesses that pledge to donate part of every sale to charity or have built social consciousness into their mission." The Cases view their foundation's Web site every bit as strategically as their underwritten projects.[91]

Purchasing American-made products can be re-imagined as a virtue in difficult economic times. Credit card covers called "CreditCovers" surround a typical credit card in patterns reminiscent of the well-recognized Louis Vuitton pattern or the Burberry's plaid. The developer of the covers, Anthony David Adams created a business that was based upon the "aesthetically demanding consumer (who) would want to snazzy up the 'bland, kind of corporate' look of a plain credit card."[92] The product, of course, is obviously unnecessary, but Adams makes it clear that these are American made products in a factory where workers are fairly treated and he buys offsets to keep the factory carbon neutral.[93] It is almost as though the carbon-neutral consciousness would justify the existence of this rather useless product and protect the job of the American worker.

New articles that address philanthropy and other socially conscious causes often appear in the Style section of the newspaper. This indicates that social consciousness has become an issue of vogue, further reinforced by celebrities who take on what has been referred to as the "Cause du Jour." These causes are highlighted in films such as "Blood Diamond," linking the carnage in Sierra Leone for control of the diamond industry and, in particular, to the De Beers Group's involvement with blood diamonds. The Hollywood industry that made the diamond such an object of desire is also the industry that is now filmicly problematizing it.[94] On Friday, 01 December 2006 (during the season of giving) and addressed to a businessperson audience, the *Financial Times* enclosed a sixteen page Special Report insert entitled "FT Business and Aids. Only a glimmer of hope." The insert included articles that discussed drug treatments, Bill Gates, and noticeably blue and green ads from Shell Oil, BMW, Pearson, and Chevron about corporate responsibility in the fight against AIDS.

If corporations have come to believe that CSR is a core "marketing philosophy" designed to encourage brand loyalty, *The Wall Street Journal* points out that it has been difficult to calculate its value to the corporation. The DonorsChoose charity, which helps fulfill the needs of schools that have been listed by teachers, has been useful in tracking the relationship between social responsibility and the business it generates.[95] This raises the question about the part of social responsibility that is not visible to the consumer and what role it plays, beyond compliance issues, to the corporation. Social responsibility is *not* just part of a marketing philosophy, but part of the larger corporate philosophy.

As marketing of social responsibility increases in scale and variety, the tendency is to pair the cause with the profit centers of the business, or to anticipate and pre-emptively manage the perceived potential for the corporation to do damage in a particularly sensitive area. Sins of omission are noteworthy: companies may profit from manufacturing goods made of recycled products, but they may not disclose or note in any way the byproducts of manufacturing or the labor conditions of production.

4.5.1 Large Scale, Local Illusions

As national and international corporations with physical presence in communities, both Target and Starbucks have been pro-actively constructing perceptions of responsibility that make sense at local scales. Starbucks has attached itself to a variety of causes from reading readiness to climate change through its ads and brochures. A full-page ad sponsored by Starbucks proclaims the day "Jumpstart's Read for the Record Day" to address the problem of reading readiness. Starbucks partnered with "Jumpstart, an innovative early-education non-profit that pairs children in need of help with adults who are ready to give…Do we think we can do it. Together, we know we can." This rather positive message, neutral in the tone of its copy, makes only sparse mention of the corporation. Visually, however, the ad is composed of tightly controlled Starbuck colors, imagery, logo and font usage, along with a splattering of books. Like Target's CSR, Starbuck's near-monopoly on coffee selling is intended to be softened by making visible their engagement at the community level. Perhaps strategic copy and image decreases resistance to yet another Starbucks opening in yet another community.[96]

In a similarly designed ad, Starbucks partnered with Ethos Water to guarantee safe drinking water globally by intending to raise $10 million by the year 2010 through the sales of Ethos Water. The ad pictures the co-marketing of the Starbucks and Ethos water logos, with droplets of water scattered on the Starbuck-green background and uses as the dominant colors in the image the ubiquitous Starbuck's green and Ethos Water's blue. It is useful to remember that coffee cannot be brewed anywhere in the world without water.[97] Other full-page ads for Starbuck have included the light green background with text at the top of the page and an image at the bottom that supports a message. One talks of "stronger relationships with coffee farmers" and uses pencil-style sketches depicting farmers and workers.[98] Others show: an illustration of whales and glaciers and talks of climate change and Earth Day with the Starbucks logo co-marketed with the Earth Day Networth logo;[99] a small globe with a headline that says "ALL COFFEE IS LOCAL." and talks of commitment by Starbucks to long-term relationships with local coffee farmers;[100] and another has text proclaiming, "Goodness is not just about taste. It's about idealism, and community, and sustainability." It shows a photographic image of a coffee cup with a single small coffee plant growing in it.[101]

Starbucks also distributes its brochure, "Starbuck's Commitment to Social Responsibility Beyond the cup," which contains its Fiscal 2005 Annual Report with a table reflecting total net revenue of $6.4 billion, net earnings of $494 million, a bulleted list of Starbuck's commitment to CSR,[102] and text that reveals a total of 10,241 retail stores as of 2005. What it does not show is the fact that Starbucks has been known to sign leasing contracts that exclude other tenants who sell coffee as part of their restaurant operations from obtaining leases in shopping centers they inhabit.

To counter customer perception that Starbucks is everywhere, the company revealed its sensitivity to the local style of the neighborhood through design choices. "Last year, Starbucks switched from the coffee motifs to three more sophisticated decorative platforms...Now most new stores use one of three palettes: the Classico, a European décor scheme with rich woods that recalls an old coffeehouse; the di Moda, a sleek, urban platform with sharp-edged elements; and the Origins, a brightly colored scheme with bamboo touches that evokes a Moroccan bazaar."[103] Each store is in the design sensitive position of simultaneously having to fit into the neighborhood while remaining recognizable as a brand and working to position itself as an extension of the home.

Starbucks took a full-page ad to announce the two Northern California organizations to receive grants and volunteer support from Starbucks.[104] Oxfam/America took a full-page ad in *The New York* times urging Starbucks to honor its commitments to Ethiopians dependent upon coffee, for which the farmers earn about three cents per cup.[105] A full-page ad for Starbucks highlights its "America SCORES" essay contest for children on how to change the world is presented along with the "Akeelah and the Bee" DVD ("now available at your neighborhood Starbucks). "Starbucks proudly announces the DVD release of our first co-presented theatrical release." It is now widely known that Starbucks, in addition to being in the business of selling coffees, also features entertainment for sale at their cafes. A more accurate text would have read, "our first *co-marketed* theatrical release."[106] Another full-page, green Starbucks ad co-markets with Global Green to address global warming, explaining their interest in climate change within the context of the livelihood of coffee growers.[107] These images are designed to lessen public concern about the local intrusion of a corporate giant into what used to be a neighborhood business: the local coffee house.

One of the most visible of all corporations in American media and on the physical landscape is Target. Target occupies enormous amounts of visual real estate across media to position itself as your neighbor. Most of the advertising space is devoted to "look and feel" branding through the sophisticated graphic manipulation of people and the kaleidoscopic anthropomorphizing of goods. Living in apparent harmony with the overwhelming amounts of "need it/want it" imagery is a running branding of Target as it also positions itself as a socially responsible corporation. Hardships felt by various communities are evident in the locally customized visuals that reflect the philanthropic areas supported by the corporation. But the work done by the visible language of CSR, perhaps best exemplified by Target Corporation, appears almost without exception to be in concert with an opportunity to promote products. Because Target sells such a large variety of products, it provides them with a wide variety of potential philanthropic activities. The ads weave together in the mind of the consumer the idea that making a purchase is helping someone *in your community* who is less fortunate.

What the corporation has done, and what Target has done particularly well, is to position itself in such a way that consumption is recast as a virtue in which the consumer gets what he or she wants while someone less fortunate in the community is helped as a result of the purchase. Target represents the corporation that has most successfully woven CSR into its image through its extraordinary visual presence that serves consumption in tandem with publicizing its moral high ground as good corporate citizen.

4.5.2 Large Scale, No Illusions

Large corporations have budgets that are sufficiently large to allow for contemporaneous production of traditional advertising messages while also staging messages of responsibility. The larger cases included in this project represent only a fraction of the visual real estate devoted to the depiction of business as upstanding citizen. Employing a two-part strategy that combines carefully worded language with carefully constructed images to convey responsible behaviors has become an advertising norm. Additionally, the more a corporation presents a socially responsible public face, the more its competitors are inclined to act similarly. Images used to engage consumers have long had a mimetic component, making the copycat qualities of CSR not at all surprising.

Two large genres of industry are particularly obvious candidates for marketing themselves as socially responsible: the energy industry and the fashion/beauty industry. The energy industry is attempting to save its public soul as reports of enormously high gas prices coexist with the industry's highest corporate profits ever recorded. Perhaps even more significant is the now important acceptance as fact that the enormous use of gas and the production and transport of goods have been significant contributors to global warming. The clothing and beauty industries are also likely to co-market with ethics because they are highly visible, they use enormous amounts of advertising dollars to sell ephemeral products, and are perceived as industries that have typically and flagrantly encouraged consumption, fostered greed and selfishness, and undermined women's self esteem.

The examples that follow are used to better understand the perhaps not self-evident agendas that are woven into what appears, on the surface, to be socially responsible corporate behaviors at large scales. Although a variety of examples are referenced within the project in order to perform the pervasiveness, the strategies used by three particular corporations are taken as salient examples of tailored, self-serving behaviors.

As messages of global warming dominate the news, all of the large energy corporations have worked to be re-imagined. One of the most visible of these corporations is BP. BP's branding of ethics is used as a salient example both of the short-term memory of the consumer along with the phenomenon of the consumer's ability to compartmentalize what they know from what they are shown. As consumers view BP's cheerful, outdoorsy green and yellow images that are constructed to signify the environment, hard news stories report less-than-admirable corporate behaviors.

Dove's "Campaign for Real Beauty" has received praise from many in the media who appreciate what appears on the surface to be a break from the commonly accepted, blatant representational dishonesty of advertising. It is, of course, also a tactic used to differentiate lines of products that really are no different from most of the other similar products available. Dove's "pro-aging" campaign is an example of corporate marketing to a decidedly growing market segment, aging baby boomers. This case study investigates the questionable relationship between reinvention of baby boomer identity and the mercenary drive of the corporation as depicted through images of aging.

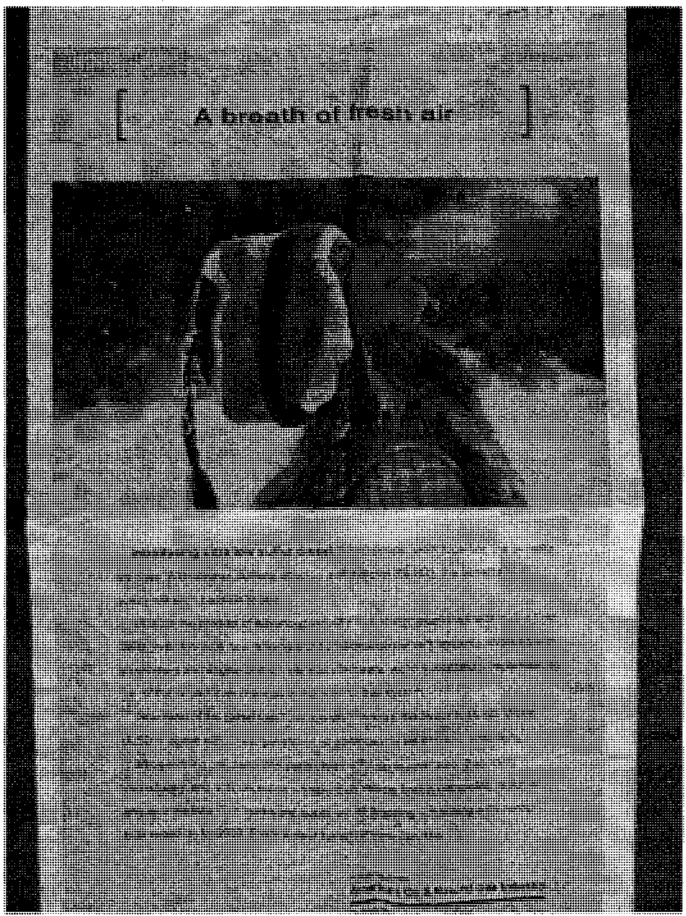
Finally, Target is examined as an example of a corporation with high public visibility, seductive advertising imagery, and extremely local strategies developed to encourage the perception of the corporation as neighbor. In almost every instance, the corporation is strengthening its particular brand while publicizing a philanthropic commitment that serves the brand well.

4.6 The Energy Industry

No more detailed images of brawny men on oilrigs using dramatic annual report style photography, Shell's recent ads depict a milkshake as the source an engineer's inspiration for new ways to find oil. A slightly duplicitous illustration with soft round lines on a pink background (currently associated with women's issues such as the breast cancer campaign) and red type form a straw (the red associated with the Gap's Product Red and clearly not the same red as the outline of the small Shell logo). The image speaks to the color and style of care. This is meant to represent "A drill that can bend round corners and snake from side to side...all from one rig. Real energy solutions for the real world."[108] The petroleum engineer, assumed to be male, is inspired by his child's drinking straw in a milkshake. Caring is transferred to Shell Oil as a corporate value through the newly designed pink and red graphic. Even an environmentally legitimate company that produces wind power pictures a blue-and-green earth as the mechanical piece holding the turbine blades together.[109] Chevron has registered "Human Energy" as its proper tag line below its red and blue logo. Using a series of full-page assemblaged ads, Chevron states, "True global energy security will be a result of cooperation and engagement, not isolationism."[110] The image in the ads is intended to look like a non-virtual desktop with items such as a note pad, key ring, glasses, and a newspaper. The copy appears in three formats and includes a faux handwritten list of "What Needs to be Done," and another list of "Chevron Steps Taken." The image is made to convey that a human being is concerned and Chevron is proactively addressing the problem of oil dependency.

4.6.1 Industry Clean-up

Assuming that America's Oil and Natural Gas industry is doing more to clean up its public perception than its own industry is a reasonable one. Using a standardized format, a series of ads appeared in Summer and Fall 2006 each with a headline, an image area and a body of text below. In "Straight talk on earnings" the ad graphed earnings for 2005 and 2006 with copy that compared oil industry earnings with other industries. "The answer may be somewhat surprising: oil and natural gas earnings are typically in line with the average of other major U.S. industries."[111] Another ad showed a young fresh-faced girl in the snow with the title, "A breath of fresh air." The text talked about low sulfur diesel.[112] During 2006, many automakers stressed fuel efficiency rather than environmentalism as a primary message. The E.P.A. granted "SmartWay" seals to those vehicles that actually met a specific lower emissions standard. Most of the concern about fuel efficiency was tied to the steadily increasing gas prices and concern by automakers about their ability to sell cars.[113] Ford Motor Company produced a full-page ad to announce the "Midwest Ethanol Corridor, a brand new way to drive between Chicago and Kansas City, made possible by Ford Motor Company."[114] In a special *New York Times* advertising supplement on Corporate Social Responsibility[115] entitled "CSR the collaborative paradigm: strategic partnerships for business," the title page makes visual references to international partners, showing the flags of the U.S. and various other like-business-minded countries. Companies such as CITGO, Shell and BP all placed ads with dominant color palettes in the do-good environmental hues of blue, green, and/or yellow.



An ad from "America's Oil & Natural Gas Industry" introducing ultra low sulfur diesel shows a fresh-faced young woman enjoying the fresh air. (*The New York Times*, Wednesday 29 November 2006, A13.)

Power station technology company, Alstom, proclaimed "CLEAN POWER TODAY!" in a full-page ad that depicted the company's geometric circular logo at about 10" in diameter. But rather than the solid red logo that appears as the "O" in the corporate name, the company re-presented the form of its logo as a blue sky with white clouds.[116] In November 2006 through February 2007, Exxon Mobil placed many ads from small to full-page to double trucks in *The New York Times,* the *Financial Times,* and *The Wall Street Journal*, each with a distinct environmental look and message. The corporate logo has been and remains the only red graphic element in the entire series of ads. The remainder of the area is filled with sky-blue circles containing messages like, "we're working to reduce emissions."[117] A pre-Christmas ad with copy "over the river and through the woods" appeared in a second lighter blue circle "on 30% less fuel."[118] These ads were produced following release of financial information to the public that the company showed its second largest corporate profits in a single quarter.

4.6.2 BP and Corporate Behavior

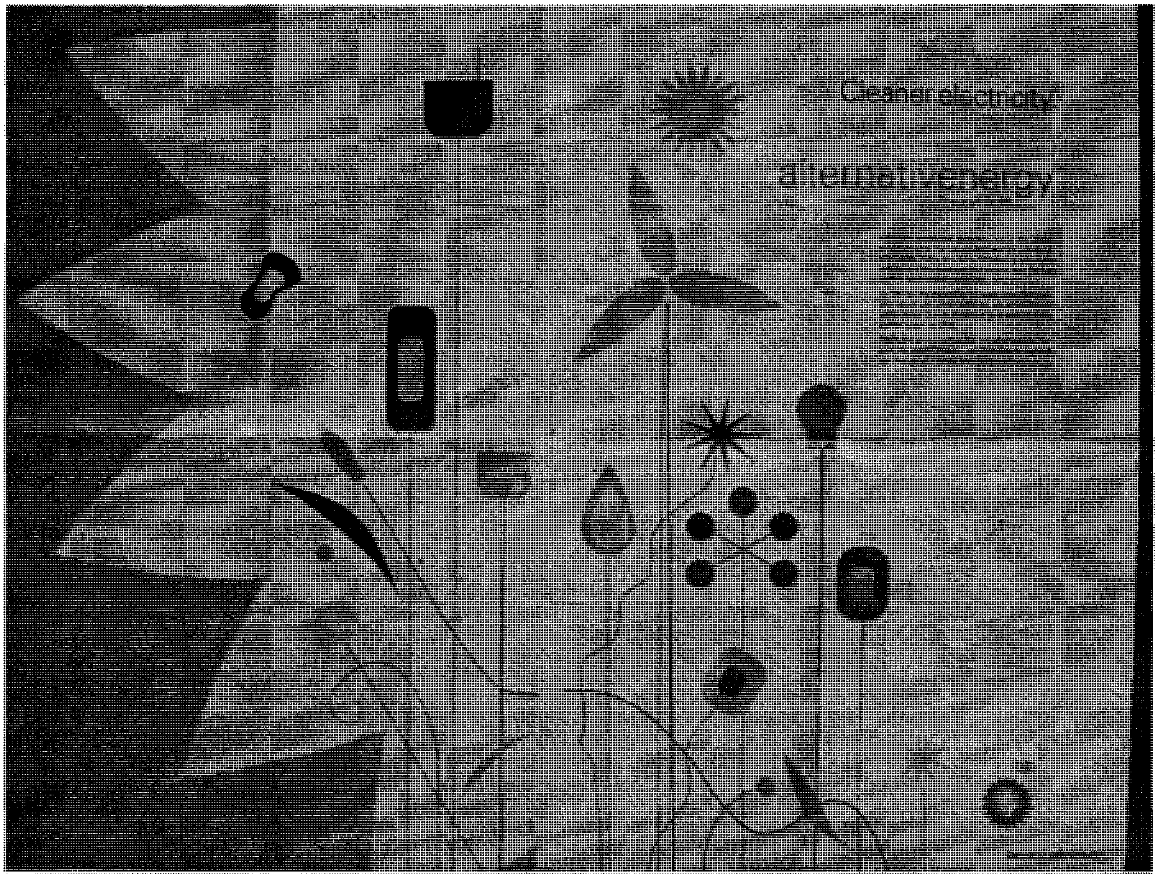
BP has been both admired by corporate branding specialists and vilified as a corporation by the press and environmental groups for its questionable behaviors. Branding consultant Alina Wheeler describes in her text *Designing Brand Identity* the evolution of BP's brand. She quotes Lord Browne, CEO of BP, as follows: "We want to build one of the world's greatest brands by building an organization devoted to revolutionizing the world's relationship with energy," and "in a global marketplace, branding is crucial in attracting customers and business. It is not just a matter of a few gas stations or the logo on pole signs. It is about the identity of the company and the values that underpin everything that you do and every relationship that you have."[119] The two companies involved in the development of the theme and the brand identity for the company that was to emerge from its history as British Petroleum were among the largest firms doing this kind of work, Ogilvy & Mather and Landor Associates (San Francisco).

Wheeler provides the following history of the new branding efforts. In 1998 the merger of BP and Amoco created one of the world's largest oil and petrochemical groups. The work of Landor Associates was intended to unify BP Amoco as a new global brand. As typical in branding large corporations, Landor reviewed the company's existing research and conducted some of its own to decipher BP's brand equity. Wheeler describes the process used by Landor as "rigorous" to determine what was distinctive and compelling about the brand, including individual interviews with senior managers and an offsite workshop called Brand Driver. Andrew Welch, client director, at Landor Associates, said, "It's a process that gets management under the skin of the brand." According to Wheeler's description, during the workshop managers and marketing executives worked together to determine and verify core values and attributes of the new brand. This resulted in the affirmation of BP's already emerging values: "performance, innovation, green, and progressive" and a commitment to "transform the organization and transcend the sector."[120]

Landor reviewed naming options for the new brand and recommended that they keep the BP name, based on its brand equity and other historical factors and perceptions about the company. 'Beyond Petroleum,' developed by international advertising agency Ogilvy & Mather, was viewed as the concept under which the brand would be seen as unified. "We need to reinvent the energy business; to go beyond petroleum. Not by abandoning oil and gas—but by improving the ways in which it is used and produced so that our business is aligned with the long term needs of the world,"[121] said Lord Browne. Wheeler then describes the choice of the (sun-like) helios symbol that is now seen in all BP communications:

> Landor designed a series of marks, identities, and 'looks and feels.' The CEO and senior management chose the helios strategy, which tested strongly against the qualities of progressive, forward-thinking, innovative and, environmental. Although there were safer choices, Browne's unshakeable commitment to the vision meant he was willing to take the risk. 'Ultimately the choice that he made was audacious,' said Welch. The reaction was swift; it sparked both positive associations and negative reactions. The helios trademark shifted the paradigm of what the petroleum industry should look and feel like.[122]

Perhaps not so ironically, Wheeler talks of the alignment between the external expressions and internal culture of great brands, intended to help employees re-imagine their actions as part of overall branding behavior. Welch notes, "Branding is not about checking the box and moving on. Brands are living, and breathing—they need to be embraced, monitored, and adapted." Workshops for employees and online resources were developed to help bring employees into the process ("journey") of building the brand.[123] What Wheeler has described is an extensive process, filled with studies, research, workshops, design, testing, and re-evaluating in the effort to control the image of BP both internally and externally.

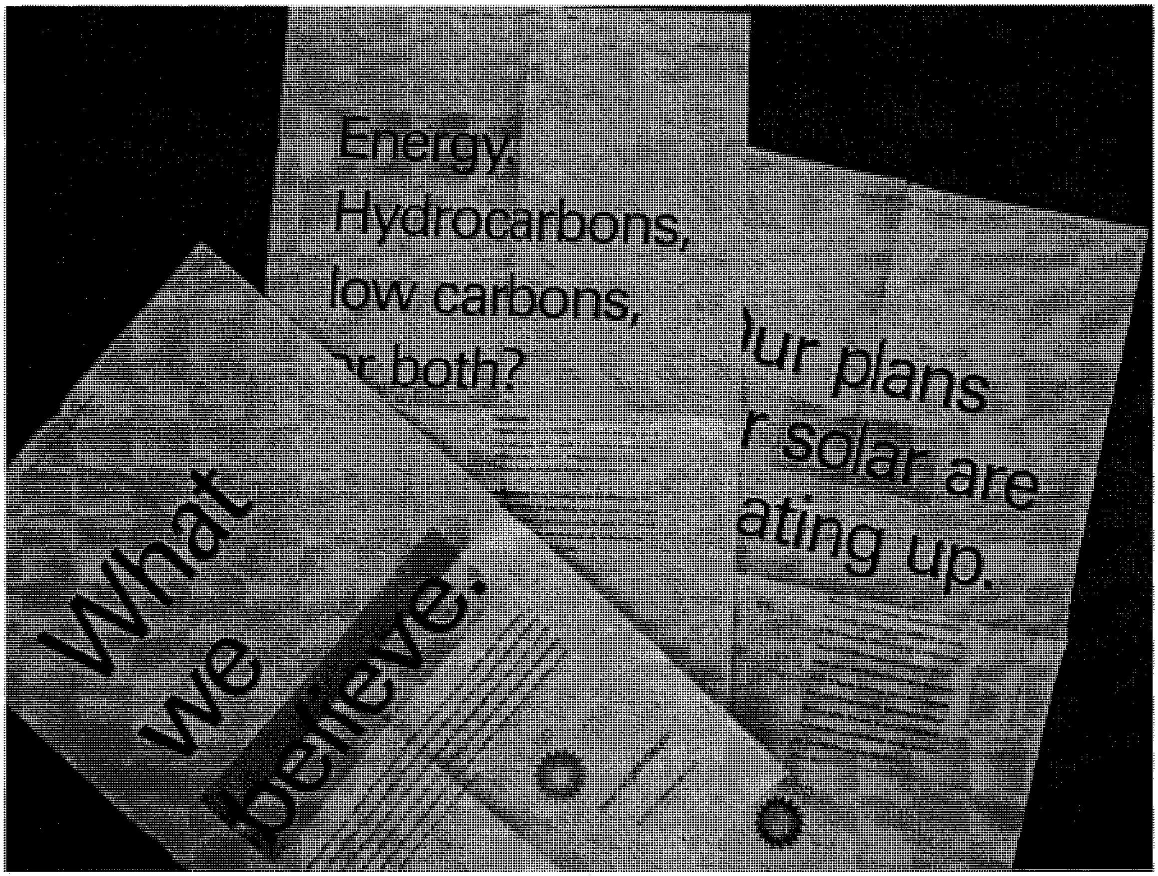


In a double-truck ad, BP creates the image of a sun-graced (reinforcing the BP sunburst) garden in which the "flowers" appear as energy-related references such as electric plugs, gas flames, and wind power. (*The New York Times*, Wednesday, 30 November 2005, A18-19.)

The following list contains some ad locations with various promotional themes that appear highlighted in the ads on a yellow rectangular background with text below that informs the reader how much money BP is investing in a cause:

> Investment in **biofuels** (*The Wall Street Journal*, Wednesday, 28 June 2006, A16.)
>
> Investment in **kids** with money going to California schools to teach energy and conservation (*San Francisco Chronicle*, Monday 10 July 2006, A5.)
>
> Investment in the **Midwest** (ethanol) (*The Wall Street Journal*, Thursday, 27 July 2006, A14.)
>
> What we **believe.** "Actions matter, not words. That's why BP has accelerated its actions to improve the operational integrity, safety, and environmental performance of its U.S. operations." This ad appeared four months after the Alaska oil spill and the month prior to the discovery of pipes so poorly maintained that their corrosion lead to the shutdown of part of the Prudhoe Bay oil field. (*The New York Times*, Friday, 28 July, A15.)
>
> Investment in **energy** (natural gas and alternatives) (*The New York Times*, Tuesday, 14 November 2006, A9.)
>
> Investment in **solar** (*The New York Times*, Friday, 17 November 2006, A11.)
>
> Investment in **alternative energy**: This ad was a double truck with entirely different graphics. Multicolored wind turbines, electrical plugs, sun symbols, and gas flames appear as a garden. (*The New York Times*, Wednesday 30 November 2006, A18-19.)

As BP's ethical dilemmas were being played out in the news, their controlled corporate image appeared as if nothing had happened. BP's web site explicitly states "Being green is one of our brand values." The Helio logo appears at the bottom of the page in green and yellow in full-page ads. The tightly controlled corporate signature always consists of a green "bp" above right of the outside of the flower and printed in the same green as the burst's outside ring, with the burst below, and printed in black with a registration mark is the tagline, "beyond petroleum."



BP ads in *The New York Times*. (*The New York Times*, Friday, 28 July, 2006, A15; Tuesday, 14 November 2006, A9; and Friday, 17 November 2006, A11.)

The timeline of horrific BP disasters occurred against the backdrop of cheerfully optimistic colors, images, and visually corroborated, verbal promises of ethical behavior and corporate responsibility, presenting a totalizing unreality in the world that BP controls (its advertising images) in contrast to the world of investigative journalism. The fact is that different types of compartmentalization occur, but both share some common attributes. Compartmentalization with BP is understood here to mean that a graphic position is taken that constructs a flawless and idealized image of a corporation that lives somewhere, in the world of words and images, near another kind of depiction of the same corporation that is based upon information accumulated through responsible journalism.

With the earlier case of *The New York Times,* it is the publisher that allows the idealized images of advertised luxury to sit adjacent to horrors depicted within journalistic reportage. In both cases, however, the inability of the average viewer/reader to simultaneously process and decipher discrepant sets of communications is relied upon, even within the space of a single publication. As a practice, it is often subtle and goes unnamed, but its effects are disturbing because it perpetuates myths of progress or model behaviors. These myths rely upon the predictable consumer behavior *not* to piece together apparently discrepant and geographically scattered pieces of visual and verbal information about a particular topic, and certainly not to jeopardize the image of the brand.

4.7 The Fashion and Beauty Industries

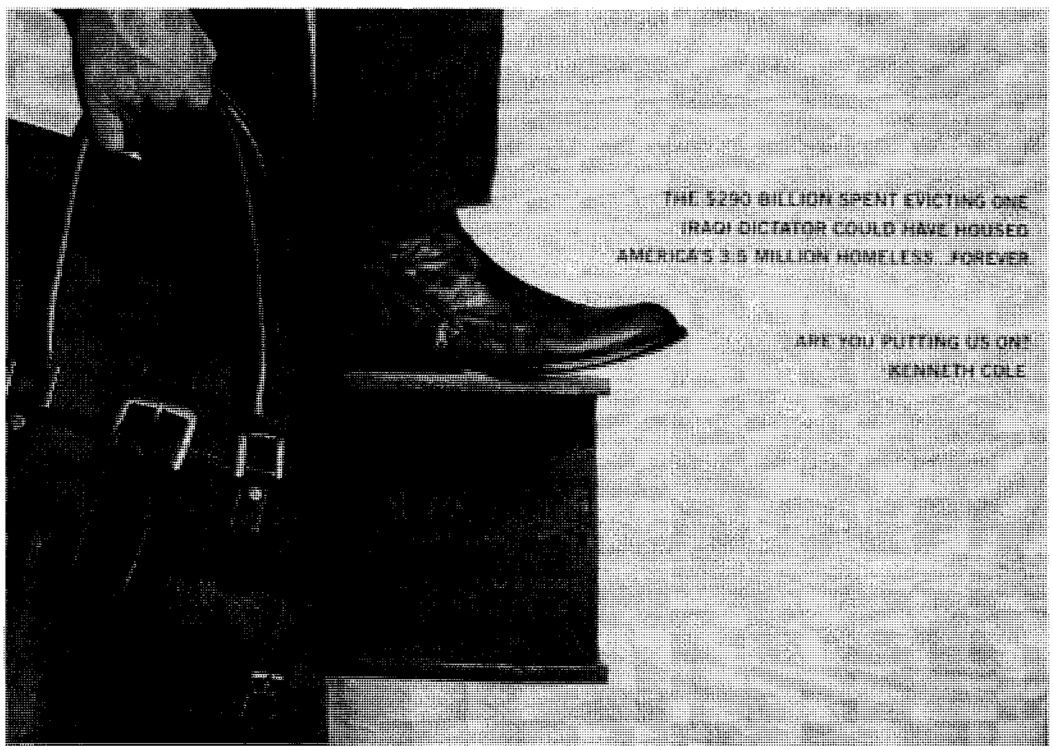
The fashion and beauty industries, in a time of heightened corporate responsibility, are saddled with two ethical concerns. The potentially health-threatening attributes of products and the material concerns for ingredients and packaging are as important as the less tangible issues of identity, gender, and self-esteem. Some companies focus on the former issues, while others address the less materially based issue of self-esteem. Not surprisingly, the question of solving the world's problems through consumption has had mixed reviews. The Gap Red project is seen by some as a business model rather than a charity, with the partners agreeing not to increase their profit margins on the Gap Red products over other like-products at least in part to deflect the criticism they incur by selling in order to help those in need. The brand itself is protected by limiting partnering with the brand to one company per genre of manufacture. Gap is the clothing company using the Red brand. Visually, the brand is distinctive. The red (RED) mark has been simple to apply and easy to use cleverly in advertising. "Red is the colour of emergency and alarm; fitting for the humanitarian disaster of more than 2m African deaths from Aids a year."[124]

4.7.1 Justifying Greed

In Bloomingdale's Holiday Catalog, the first page reads, "Together we can make a world of difference" This catalog, co-marketing ethics and consumption, presents extremely expensive clothing paired with a "helping the world" theme, an increasingly occurring team. "It's an auction to benefit a good cause and an all-out celebration of luxury travel, bold adventure, exclusive star treatment and much more...By bidding on any of the seven world experiences highlighted throughout our holiday catalogue, you'll not only have the unique opportunity to access the good life, you'll be benefiting AmeriCares, a non-profit international disaster relief and humanitarian organization."[125] Different corporations participated in luxury travels to locations such as high-end fashion design houses in Europe. Minimum bids started at $25,000 and though the fine print states that "100% of the proceeds will benefit AmeriCares," no mention is made of the efficiency of the charity itself, i.e. what the charity's percentage is that actually goes to the disaster sites, as opposed to administrative costs.[126]

In May 2006 Vanity Fair magazine and *Luxury Briefing,* a top grade magazine for the international luxury goods market, co-hosted its "first-ever luxury symposium in the United States" in Manhattan for luxury brands. Featured speakers came from luxury companies like Bergdorf Goodman, Ermenegildo Zegna, and Harry Winston. According to the September 2006 issue, "The overall message of the day was that brands need to cut free of old precepts and be highly aware of current social trends to be successful in the modern world. After the symposium, guests adjourned to the Audemars Piguet store for a champagne reception…"[127] When Louis Vuitton installed artist Olafur Eliasson's works in their stores worldwide during the 2006 holiday season, they had the "Eye See You" piece replaced what would normally have been in their windows—the LV monogrammed accessories. The artist is donating his honorarium to an Ethiopian charity. " 'In a museum, the tradition is to suggest that you are alone,' the artist says, reminding us that fashion, too, is a game of seeing and being seen."[128]

In a two-page ad for Kenneth Cole featuring a men's Kenneth Cole travel bag, the text reads, "THE $290 BILLION SPENT EVICTING ONE IRAQUI DICTATOR COULD HAVE HOUSED AMERICA'S 3.5 MILLION HOMELESS…FOREVER. ARE YOU PUTTING US ON? --KENNETH COLE"[129]



This Kenneth Cole ad appeared in *Vanity Fair* magazine, (September 2006, 120-121).

In the company's 28-page Holiday 2004 catalog, bold Cole fashions shared the spreads with "FOR-GIVING" messages that did double-entendre work such as, "If you spend more time shopping for you than anyone else… We're for-Giving." The piece concluded with, 'If you're tired of being bombarded with holiday advertising…Be For-Giving."[130] The use of language in concert with the images allow the customer to view glossy photographic images of Kenneth Cole products while thinking about giving/forgiving/and those Kenneth Cole products that are *for* giving. Giving to others, to oneself, forgiving others, forgiving one self, and ultimately forgiving Kenneth Cole for its marketing are embodied within the images. In all fairness to Kenneth Cole, this corporation has been publishing social responsibility/political messages in their ads before most. They have employed mostly non-sexist and almost-informational product images, although a purchasing message has always been wrapped together with the political one.[131]

L'Occitane, in addition to its full color 28-page catalog and its full-color "prescription card" printed on heavyweight paper, is distributing a twelve-page self-cover brochure printed on recycled paper in black and brown entitled "The Little Guide to True Beauty." The contents reveal "Socially Responsible Beauty Products, Natural Beauty Products, Ethical Beauty Products, etc." The text and images describe a company that has, since 1976, "been developing authentic products with the greatest respect for people, the environment and animals." Additionally, many of the current buzzwords that have come to be equated with responsibility are used in the text: local, sustainable, ecocert(ification) and organic.[132] The company was acquired by L'Oréal, as they continued to appreciate the potential of the natural cosmetics market, in July of 2006 and was growing at the rate of two stores per week in the U.S. and Asia. L'Oréal also owns the Body Shop and insists that it will be run as it always has. Animal rights activists are concerned, however, that the parent company has not fully banned testing on animals.[133]

Distributed in the L'Occitane cosmetics and fragrance stores, the company addresses the social issues that might impact consumer perceptions of their particular product lines (i.e. "support for local producers... sustainable development... organic ethical approach"). This brochure typifies the natural look in print design: screened back brownish image, matte paper stock, and 2-color printing. (*The Little Guide to True Beauty*, distributed in-store. (The Castro Street store, San Franciscos, 1 June 2007, pages 4-5.)

Ralph Lauren placed a full double truck ad with no merchandise shown, a large, grainy photo of Ralph Lauren and an announcement in pink type for "The Ralph Lauren Center for Cancer Care and Prevention." This large ad looks almost altruistic, with the following exceptions. First of all, the image of Ralph Lauren is central to the brand. Secondly, the text at the bottom of the page says, "To learn more about The Ralph Lauren Center for Cancer Care and Prevention and The Pink Pony Fund, please visit polo.com or RalphLaurenCenter.org." While less egregious than many of the branded ethics campaigns, this one steers the reader to the Polo site first.[134] Accessing corporate involvement with a cause through a URL almost always is done directly through the regular corporate web site, or, occasionally, through landing pages with content wholly controlled by the corporation. Movado celebrated its 125 years in business "of artistry and innovation" with the "Movado Future Legends award that recognized "artistry and innovation" in five top New York City cultural institutions such as the Joffrey Ballet and Lincoln Center. In this way, the upscale watch and jewelry manufacturer reminded the public that the Movado watch itself is the original legend here and it should be associated with the high culture it so visibly supports.[135]

Macy's placed a full-page ad in honor of Father's Day with copy from Macy's employees to "Share their dads' wisdom, warmth and life lessons." Although some companies have placed holiday-related ads without pushing a product, the bottom of this ad that begins with pure personal sentiment contains a special offer toolkit for "only $6.95 with any men's purchase of $35 or more," or another option, a reminder for a Macy's Gift Card for Dad.[136] A similar ad appeared one week before Mother's Day, but the gift was a "Spring Travel Trio"—only $6.95 with any $35 purchase." Small text noted that Macy's would "donate $1 of each Travel Trio purchase (up to $20,000) to the American Heart Association's Go Red For Women Movement. Macy's is a proud national sponsor of Go Red for Women." There was also a reminder that "Mom would love a Macy's Gift Card."[137] For their annual "Passport" show in 2006, Macy's placed a full-page ad announcing ticket sales for the event. The headline read, "SAY IT with hope, with fashion, with compassion" as efforts to raise money for AIDS research is wrapped into their "fashion extravaganza" and features "Celebrity Guest Priscilla Presley."[138]

Purchases are not always required in order for a business to support a cause. Sometimes the goal may be to bring customers into the store, proving to be a worthwhile exchange for a retailer to make a donation. This was the case in the "Wacoal fit for the cure" ad for Lord & Taylor in which the manufacturer donates $2 for each woman who comes in for a bra fitting.[139] Others are more subtle and require an additional step in order to find out how to help, such as in the Giorgio Armani ad for Bloomingdale's urging the consumer to "experience the height of fashion…and help make a difference in the world."[140] In a large black and white ad with photographs of diamonds and other precious-stone pieces of jewelry, the bottom of the ad contained small text and accompanying small photographic images of the Lord & Taylor Gift Card and a Gund stuffed animal. If the consumer purchases either of these two items, an unspecified donation will be made to Feed the Children.[141] Using a similar approach, Saks placed a full page, full color ad showing images of holiday gift ideas for men in a gridded layout. The section of the grid on the lower left contained the St. Jude Children's Hospital logo with text below saying, "Make a donation as part of your purchase."[142]

Glenda Bailey, editor of Harper's Bazaar, thwarted the general fashion consensus that green is not a good color to use on a magazine cover by placing actress Julianne Moore on its cover in an emerald colored gown. "I love breaking the rules… Traditionally, in many cultures, green is unlucky and can represent death and bad luck, but I think that now green stands for the future, good causes and the environment, and there's so much green in fashion right now, I thought our cover should reflect that."[143] The cover story of the insert by Sylvia Rubin is about fashion "going green" (meaning literally to use the color in products) and the fashion industry's support of Global Green, an organization that promotes sustainable design in homes and cities.[144] In a "Public Service Supplement" dedicated to The Fresh Air Fund, Payless announced its "Friendship

Shoe—white canvas slip ons, which are driving a new customizable graphic trend in footwear." The shoes are being sold at Payless stores in the New York metropolitan area with100% of the proceeds donated to the Fund.[145]

"Fashionable Philanthropy" is part of the text announcing the leading fundraiser for the fashion industry in New York to benefit Lighthouse International.[146] Philanthropy, particularly within the fashion and beauty industry, is almost always contingent upon some kind of purchase and, therefore, the declarations of philanthropy are usually buried within the frenzied consumer landscape. A good example of this is the regular feature in *Harper's Bazaar* "Hottest, Newest, Latest" which displays supposedly affordable fashion (such as, for example, a $300 Ralph Lauren bathing suit). In the November 2006 issue, Gap's (Product) Red t-shirt appeared on the page with the following text. "Not only has Gap come out with a long list of fall must-haves... but the basic purveyor has teamed up with U2's Bono in support of his (Product) Red campaign. Half the profits from the new line will benefit the Global Fund's efforts to help those affected by HIV/AIDS in Africa."[147] In the same feature in July 2007 *Harper's Bazaar,* presidential niece Lauren Bush is shown with a Feed Bag tote, available for $59.95 at amazon.com, with the caption "With the proceeds from just one of her ...totes, the WFP will be able to feed a child at school for a year."[148] Just to the left of the small photo of Ms. Bush with the "FEED" bag over her shoulder is a Dolce & Gabbana shocking yellow pump that retails for $475. Gap's full-page holiday ad in *The New York Times* showed a large red rectangle with the copy, "HAVE A (RED) HOLIDAY (gap logo with "RED" as a co-marketed superscript). The border of the ad was flanked with photos of celebrities wearing the red products interspersed with product images from the Gap red line.[149] This image works to intertwine consumerism, philanthropy, and celebrity. If the celebrities are helping a cause, it must be worth noticing. In January of 2007, Penelope Cruz appeared in a full-page Gap ad with the copy "CAN A T-SHIRT CHANGE THE WORLD? THIS ONE CAN."[150] In this instance, the navigation to Gap's involvement with the AIDS project is through the Gap's regular web site (gap.com/red).

One of the most blatant examples of pushing consumption like a drug is the publication called *Lucky*. *Lucky* magazine, "The Magazine About Shopping," makes no pretense about its mission appearing less duplicitous, despite its overly idealized images of women. While other very similar publications thinly veil consumerism in advice and "how to" columns, *Lucky* exists explicitly sell fashions and cosmetics. It also customizes a section to the geographic locale in which the publication is sold or mailed, featuring local stores and salons. One of the most startling aspects of the magazine is the regular inclusion of a page with 26 self-adhesive stickers that appear on a right-hand page. Five of the 26 read "MAYBE?" and the remaining 21 read "YES!" The instructions in the middle of the sticker sheet are the same in every issue: "MARK YOUR FAVORITES. Tag your must-haves (and maybes) with these stickers, pack us along when you shop, and go home with everything you need." The colors of the stickers change from issue to issue because they are designed to coordinate with the ad on the left-hand page. Additionally, below the regular text is a "presented by" credit that refers to the specific advertiser sponsoring the sticker page. Initially it might appear that a degree of honesty is refreshing about the actual purpose of the magazine. *All* fashion magazines are about shopping but most are not quite as direct about it as *Lucky* magazine. However, the publication is marginally sharing the reality TV genre that operates with an assumption that the act of revealing removes one from culpability for what has been or will be done. *Lucky* overtly embraces never ending wants while the stickers pretend to make shopping a premeditated and perhaps therefore a rational series of choices that may serve to shift the worthiness of consuming.

Lucky magazine bills itself as "The Magazine About Shopping." Towards the front of each issue is a right-hand page filled with stickers for readers to "Mark Your Favorites." With a "Yes!" or a "Maybe?" ("No" is not an option.) The sticker page coordinates with, and is credited to, the ad on the left-hand page. (This shows three sticker spreads from August 2004, September and November issues, 2005.)

The stickers can be understood as part of a rather extreme social tendency, reinforced by reality television and social web sites, to abandon concern about public viewing of what formerly were considered private or tasteless behaviors. They encourage the publicizing of blatant wants. As Temple University humanities professor Noel Carroll, in response to extreme behaviors by celebrities captured on film noted, "There's so much tolerance for boundary-breaking. There's daily experimentation going on, on the Internet—a constant, escalating war for survival. Many excesses go by the wayside that we don't even know about—but the 'suits' are watching where the interest is headed, and a lot of thresholds will be crossed."[151]

4.7.2. Dove, A Unilever Brand

Unilever Corporation has made a significant attempt to separate its Dove product from the rest of its competition by using unconventional language and imagery in attending to the brand's demographics. Though the efforts may seem admirable, what the brand has tried to accomplish in the marketplace can be read differently. Dove's "Campaign for Real Beauty" represents, upon first inspection, a noble corporate goal: helping average looking, average-weight, women cope with their identities and issues of low self-esteem, confronted daily in a thin and perfect youth culture. Large billboards tout ProAge products and offer new terms for self definition in "the campaign for real beauty." These terms depend upon the acquisition of new-but-ever-the-same products. The positioning of Dove's "real beauty" campaign makes very public its concern for the self-esteem of the aging female, in effect, wrapping ethics into Dove's brand identity. When critically examined, however, this is a branding strategy designed to negotiate a means to distinguish Dove from the Anti-Aging product deluge. "Sunsilk" (another Unilever product) is marked with what the corporation believes is a "frank tone" similar to the successful tone of the Dove campaign and uses a "gay friend" to help sell the shampoo to women.[152] The campaign appears to be addressing a variety of women who do not conform to conventional ideals of beauty. Then, the Dove "Pro-Age" campaign attempted to soothe the insecurities of women who were aging in this same culture of impossibly youth-oriented standards of beauty. Both campaigns sought to redefine beauty using multiple variations, to be based in reality, and certainly to be more inclusive. The visual aspects of the ProAge ads are tightly controlled through contemporary photographic styling, closely cropped and asymmetric.

This is one page from a six-page ad that appeared in a high-end American fashion magazine. It was designed to engage every possible "flawed" consumer, despite the magazine's tradition of editorial and advertising pages that show extremely tall, thin, photo-retouched women. (*Vogue*, November 2004.)

As women deal with their concerns over aging, an internal debate rages about what an individual's personal limits of invasiveness might be given the range of relatively new procedures and products. "These cosmetic technologies are also changing the way pop culture perceives the aging face."[153] Even the AARP, an organization known for fighting age-related discrimination, had a magazine cover that proclaimed, " 'Look Younger Now: Erase Ten Years (Or More).' "[154] In its discussion of the signs of aging, and in an effort to counter the anti-aging movement, Dove's Pro-Age campaign was cited, along with make-up artist Bobbi Brown's advice to real women that they need to let go of the red-carpet pressure to be young and perfect. Dove's campaign "uses real women in their 50s and 60s who happily expose every wrinkle, crease and freckle."[155] While both positions may seem reassuring and sensible, both Unilever and Bobbi Brown are in the business of selling products to an increasing, aging demographic and awareness of this fact recedes from consciousness as the public views the advertising messages.

Dove's "Campaign for real beauty" is attempting to shift conventional cultural notions of beauty with images like this one. (*Jane* magazine, June/July 2006, 8-9.)

Expanding their "real women" theme, Dove ran a contest that would have full-figured TV actress Sara Ramirez reveal the winner of its contest to create a Dove commercial for a new product during the 2007 Academy Awards.[156] On the day of the

2007 Oscars, Dove published a meta-ad, an ad advertising that there would be an ad in their "real ads by real women" Oscar campaign. The ad promoted the Oscars, the Dove ad to be shown on the Oscars, and Dove's "cream and natural oil" moisturizer.[157] A double truck[158] ad appeared in 2006 featuring four believable looking young women of varying body types wearing black underwear. The featured Dove product was the company's "New Body Lotion."[159] Despite all the hype surrounding the real women campaign, an ad for the movie, "Material Girls," featuring Hilary and Haylie Duff showed the perfectly coiffed, made-up, and dressed up thin Hollywood starlets. It was endorsed as "The perfect comedy for Moms and Daughters!" by Ed Carpenter, of The Dove Foundation.[160] The image in the movie ad directly contradicted the essence of what Dove claimed to project in its campaign for real beauty.

From a business perspective, Dove is conducting a smart campaign because it is based upon a large demographic who are potentially ready and able to purchase products. It positions the company as serious and concerned about the socially significant issues of women's self esteem and body image. Many products are being developed because of the vast size of the aging and relatively financially comfortable baby boomer market. A good example of a marketing understanding of the demographics is the "firstStreet, for Boomers and Beyond™" advertising it's Jitterbug™ cell phone (developed with Samsung). The ad shows a large image of the phone with its oversized numbers on the screen and the headline, "It doesn't play games, take pictures, or give you the weather." The carefully named "Jitterbug" reinforces what the boomer market would find a familiar reference.[161] The intent was that the phone would be perceived as familiar because it is just a phone.

Unilever, Dove's parent company, carefully manages its brands worldwide so that the appeal of the product is designed and felt in a culturally targeted way. Consumer writer for *The New York Times,* Rob Walker, tells how Univlever's subsidiary Hindustan Lever has been marketing Lifebuoy soap in small newly designed packages made " 'more contemporary' by replacing the strapping young man' on the package with an image of a couple and their children." The chairman of Hindustan Lever claimed that the marketing of the soap to India's poor was an effort "to bring 'social responsibility to the heart of our business,'" through more hand washing (which means the use of more soap). The company insists that it is practicing profitable responsibility.[162]

As marketing people watch demographics, they construct, with art directors and graphic designers, images that work to position a product that may have little to no scientific benefit to a population that has already been groomed for receptivity to a stream of images. The purchase of a product does substantive work to form identities, through the individual image, and even more importantly collective images, that wear on an audience who have little means of resistance or avoidance. Corporate image-makers have successfully manipulated consumers into a reactive, purchasing mode while momentarily holding some belief that the corporation has their best interests at heart.

4.8 Target Corporation in Your Community

Target Corporation's relationship to design is more obvious than that of most corporations. It sees *and pictures* design as something of value; it values the designer; and it positions the designed object as necessity. Target is, I argue, as a significant support of its retail empire, also in the business of training the consuming public to love and be attentive to design. This design focus is evident and, in many cases, explicitly stated in the corporation's media campaigns. Target understands the centrality of shopping as a central leisure time activity in the United States, positioning itself as your sophisticated, design savvy neighbor.

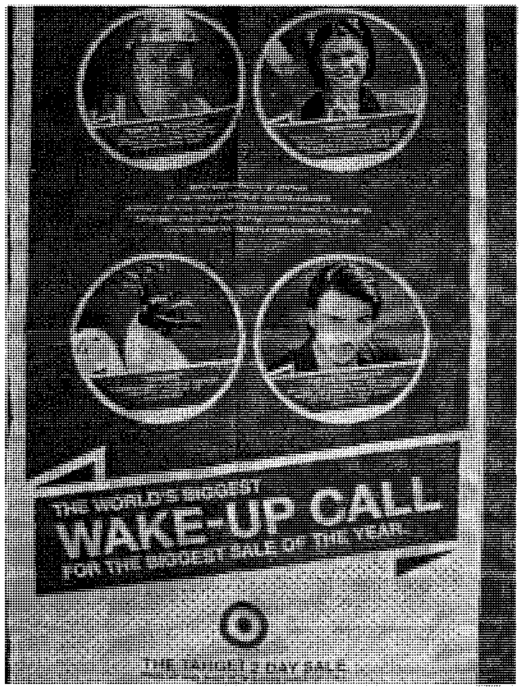
4.8.1 Your Neighbor

The Target retail store, a common sight on the suburban landscape and a supplier of a very wide range of goods, is physically situated within the communities to which it sells. Target, therefore, prides itself on giving back to the community, to perhaps "thank" its "guests" (Target refers to its consumer population as "guests" rather than customers or consumers) who visit their implied (corporate) "home." The company's localized and well-publicized philanthropy may help to mitigate the activism that recently has been witnessed against large chain stores as they move into communities across the country and literally change the character of the local landscape and threaten Main Street. In general, the choice of social activism is directly related to the nature of the corporate business. Much more of the visual real estate, meaning the actual surface area dedicated to particular messages and images, is devoted to supporting the primary activity of the corporation and enhancing its public image. The social message goes along for the commercial ride in a decidedly asymmetrical, secondary role. What is most significant about Target's use of imagery is the omnipresence of its graphically potent advertising across varied media and its localized messages of involvement.

4.8.2 Target Everywhere

Target Corporation's central message actively produces their citizenship in your community. However, while the corporation asserts this citizenship in a variety of local manifestations, it is also vigilant about ongoing production of consumer desire. Early identity conventions that constrained the use of the corporate image have loosened as the amount of surface occupied by a corporation in public venues increases. Target has purchased so much surface area for advertising across media that it can afford to be graphically playful with its image, including its logo, without losing recognition. Its 2003 catalog featured a large green circle floating over clouds with the words "happy inside" reversed out in white. A red logo appeared center front cover at the bottom at approximately 20% of the size of the green circle. A 2004 "See Spot Save" mailer featured products and coupons with the Target "Bullseye Dog" (a registered trademark of Target Brands Inc.). Their 48-page Holiday 2004 toy catalog with a "get" theme included a table of contents for its sections: "get started" (for preschoolers), "get girly," "get playing" (for boys), and "get busy" (activities and sports). Target also embedded a game in the catalog. Count the number of Bullseye Dogs, go to the Target website for the correct answer, and "While you're there, check out pages of online exclusives."[163] Another part of the "get" campaign included a "get electrified" Holiday 2004 catalog featuring electronics.

During the 2004 Christmas shopping season, Target announced that one could sign up for "The World's Biggest Wake-Up Call for the Biggest Sale of the Year."[164] Target invited people to go online and arrange for an early morning wake-up call to get to their sale early in the morning. One could select from a variety of "flavors" (personalities) to wake you up. The ad appeared as full-page newspaper print ads and on television. In 2005, Target's holiday toy catalog became an interactive print piece with a drawing maze,[165] a page with three "Please! This is what I'm waiting for!" wish lists, and a coupon "Savings Book" with a pre-printed, ready-to fold thanks you note. The wake-up call was positioned as a service to the consumer, but a service with the Target personality. All of these features were designed to facilitate shopping, increase expectations among young consumers, personalize the brand, and actively engage the consumer. Working to be perceived as a local business, Target builds its identity on attributes of neighborliness.



The trend to begin shopping at outrageously early hours on the day following Thanksgiving ("Black Friday") has been around for several years. In 2004, Target provided assistance to those who might have trouble awakening early enough for their 6 a.m. opening actually provided a free hotel-style wake-up phone service for the two sale days. One could actually choose the kind of call from a group of several voice choices. (*San Francisco Chronicle*, Thursday 25 November 2004, A25.)

Tactics of visual domination have been used by Target in various media. In a single sponsor issue of *The New Yorker*, August 22, 2005, Target purchased all display advertising space in the magazine and hired well known designers and illustrators to make images which only had to contain a visual reference to the Target bulls-eye logo.

The logo was manipulated in the various images (as opposed to accurately reproduced according to corporate standards), but it still retained recognition. Target also has been involved in an advertising practice called station domination that constitutes a mass transit, site-based equivalent of having purchased all ad space in a magazine. In this case, Target purchased all ad space available (and then some atypical surfaces) in mass transit stations like BART in San Francisco. All surfaces normally containing a variety of ads from different advertisers are filled with Target-only advertising. In San Francisco's BART, Target logos also covered the stair risers and, according to a BART booth employee, made one passenger dizzy. These campaigns in particular constitute a mass assault within a contained visual field.

Target's 2005 Home catalog shows a 9-panel configuration with 8 panels of house-related products and one panel in Target red with a logo reversed out in white. Nowhere on the cover, with the exception of small copyright text is the word "Target." For last-minute shoppers who are out of ideas for gift-giving, Target's just-before Christmas ad for gift-cards were available as pine-scented air fresheners or inflatable Santas.[166] Playfulness is part of a brand strategy that anthropomorphizes both the corporation and its merchandise, making graphic abstractions viable as both audience sophistication and familiarity with the image increase. Target remains your neighbor.

Target's regular weekly inserts in Sunday newspapers around the country contain the recognizable red logo and tagline "expect more. pay less." However, they are not designed in the inventive style of Target's other marketing pieces. These regular and ubiquitous printed circulars visually are much more in keeping with other large-scale retail graphics like chain drug stores, Sears and J.C. Penney. It has been estimated that

Target's weekend circulars are seen by roughly 100 million people, according to Target's corporate web site. The site also claims that 96 percent of the population recognizes the bulls-eye, more than recognize the Apple or Nike's swoosh.[167]

4.8.3 Target and Consumer Desire

Target is a ubiquitous corporate presence in many local educational and cultural venues. Unlike Ben and Jerry's, a company that was founded upon principles of social responsibility, Target has branded itself in a commercially successful way as a corporation with wide consumer appeal across multiple income brackets, unlike many of the large retail corporations such as Walmart or Sears. Target's advertising images anthropomorphize inanimate products as a way to incorporate them into the life of the Target "guest." In this way, the guest enters Target's home in the community (*your* community), and Target hopes that they will be in *your* home in the form of products for everyone in your family and every part of your home and garden. Target has positioned itself using such distinctive and clever visuals that they practically own consumer associations with the form of the circle and the color red. Concurrent with the enormous and highly visible marketing campaigns, Target is actively producing an identity of the bulls-eye as good neighbor through its branding of itself as a responsible, participatory and locally active member of the community. In the oversimplification of economist John Kenneth Galbraith's key ideas produced over his long lifetime, his obituary noted that the liberal economist believed "companies used advertising to induce consumers to buy things they had never dreamed they needed."[168] Target's aura of social responsibility lives in adjacency to its enormous marketing push that continuously creates desire for new products by blanketing surfaces from transit advertising to national Sunday paper inserts.

4.8.4 Neighbors: Desire and Philanthropy

Target's double spread advertorial plus ad in a diversity supplement to *The New York Times Magazine* described its internal policies with respect to minorities and women within the corporation and from among its suppliers. The text read,

> The company communicates its commitment to inclusion through its advertising campaigns, which portray a wide variety of team members and guests. 'We recognize that our multicultural guests have unique preferences when they shop. We tailor our merchandise assortment to meet the wants and needs of our guests around the country, so that once they've seen our ads, we don't disappoint them by not having what they want,' says Tamika Curry, director of diversity for Target. 'If the store is located in an area where the surrounding community is largely African-American, we would have an assortment of cosmetics and hair-care products and a different assortment of dolls—for example, those that appeal to that demographic group. If we were in an area with a large Hispanic population, we would have Spanish-language greeting cards and magazines.'[169]

In Elle Décor's Dining By Design fundraiser for DIFFA (Design Industries Fighting AIDS), designer David Beahm produced a table for Target in red and white with Target logos on napkins and light stands.[170] The table design is a full blown Target promotion, funded by Target and presented within the context of the DIFFA fundraiser. In Fall 2006, Target partnered with The Salvation Army and placed ads requesting donations. "Be an angel. Go to Target.com/salvationarmy" again requiring that a donor go through the commercial web site to make a donation. The reverse side of the insert contained an angel Christmas tree ornament that was decorated with a pattern consisting of Target logos. [171] Target has also been a supporter of breast cancer research. In a full-page newspaper ad thanking its sponsors, the Breast Cancer Foundation listed Target Corporation as having donated between $500,000 and $999,000.[172] Just two days before, Target took out a full-page ad in the same newspaper with the text, "Target is pleased to have donated more than $2 million to The Breast Cancer Research Foundation."[173] Two years earlier, Target placed a full-page pink ad (now synonymous with Breast Cancer fundraising), saying that in honor of Breast Cancer Awareness Month, Target would donate 100% of its profits from the sale of pink merchandise to the Foundation.[174]

Target's non-philanthropic campaigns regularly contain powerful, inventive images. The "Want it. Need it." campaign, contained the following lyrics as various products available at Target were morphed and animated for a scene at the zoo. The TV Spot used male and female voices and rap style music with the following lyrics:

> Want it
> I
> Need it
> I
> Want it
> I
> Need it
> I *background:* We got that.
> Things change.
> People change. *background:* Money
> Things they seem to stay the same.
> What I got
> What I want *background:* Want it. Need it.
> Got an urge, got a taste.
> All my needs, all my wants,
> Stacked all in one place.
> *Refrain:*
> Want it
> I
> Need it
> I
> Want it
> I
> Need it
> I
> When I got to get the things that I want.
> When I got to get the things that I need.
> There's always something new that I do
> What I want you got
> What I need you got.
> Want it. Need it. Got it. (*Target logo appears.*)[175]

Target's major network television advertising during the Fall of 2006 and the Winter of 2007 offered a powerful blend of very carefully constructed images, words and music. Two very seductive and cleverly manipulative goals are being accomplished with the campaign. The first theme that is running throughout the advertisements is the oddly simultaneous acknowledgement of and obliteration of the distinction between "want" and "need." The words "need" and "want" are strung together in an alternating pattern like beads on a necklace. They create a musical syncopation that ends with "need" and, therefore, resolves any potential conscience-based conflict between the two

4.8.5 Branding Design, Branding Designers

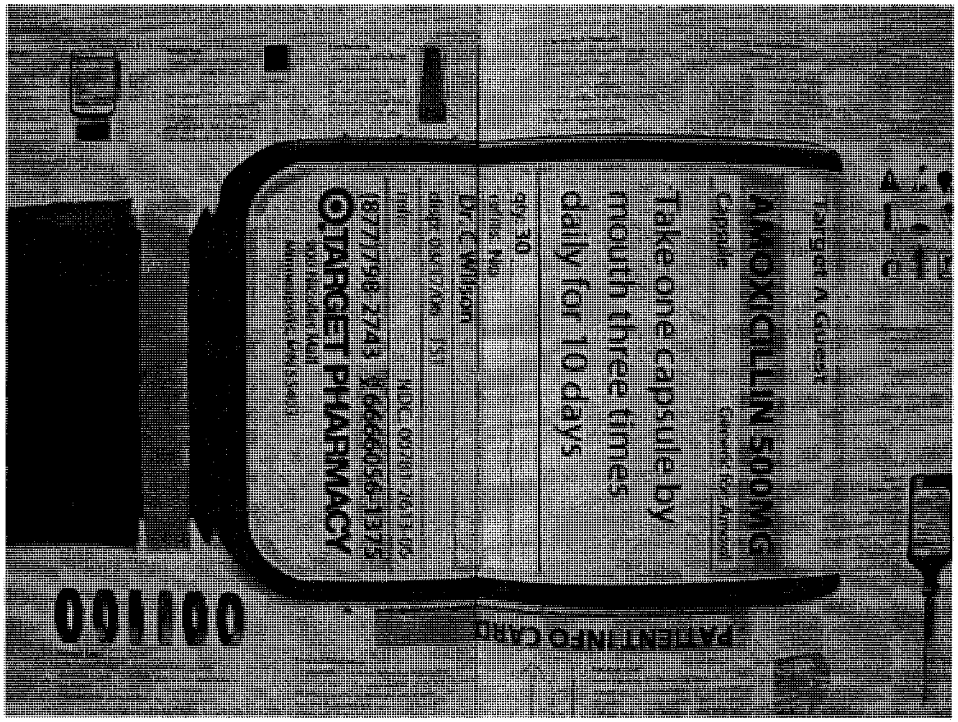
Target has a reputation for being "a retailing darling…with its smart-looking products, name-brand designers, airy aisles and affordable prices." Sales were up 5.6% in 2005, though stock was down 2.6% in early 2006.[176] Its reputation as a design-focused corporation has also endeared it to professional designers. Target has done what no other large, general merchandise retailer has been able to do: it has effectively branded design as a Target value. While high-end retailers boast designer names to a limited customer base, Target has instructed its many "guests" to recognize the names of certain designers. Using point of purchase displays and television ads, Target has featured well-known designers (such as Isaac Mizrahi[177] and Michael Graves) who have become part of Target's increasing design stable, by offering low-cost access to their product lines. Fashion designer Mizrahi even launched a low cost but hip bridal line for Target in 2007. "Mr. Mizrahi views his latest creations as a chance to reach consumers who covet designer dresses but can't afford them. 'I'm not doing this so rich girls can have a break.'"[178]

These two registered Target "Design for All" ads show the fashions of Target favorite Isaac Mizrahi. The ads also use words spelled with the word "less" such as "breathless" and "marveless" to emphasize the availability of goods from well-known designers that do not cost a lot. (*The New York Times*, Sunday 6 May 2007, 24; and Sunday 27 May 2007. 18.)

Target does not necessarily profit from every partnership with a designer, but values the connection between the Target brand and design itself.[179] For those who need less instruction in brand name designers, Target placed a double truck ad that simply said "MICHAEL GRAVES" across the top of the two pages and showed an abstraction of two Graves-designed products.[180] In the fall issue of the same publication, Target presented a double gatefold, seven page "Design for All" ad that featured photos of nine of the designers, some of their products, and quotes from them about the value of design.[181] Target owns "Design for All" as a registered mark. One full-page ad that stacked products totem style read, "Go ahead. Drop a name. Top Designers. Bold styles."[182] The full-page "Design for All" ad featuring makeup by Sonia Kashuk notes that "Sonia

Kashuk, Inc. [is] exclusively licensed and distributed by Target Corporation."[183] Target's "Christmas 2006" catalog (mailed first week of November 2006), introduced designer Tord Boontje on the inside back cover with the following text, "His signature style delivers exclusive products, ranging from décor to dinnerware. Even more inventive, the designer collaborated in creating our magical holiday packaging, advertising campaign, and in-store experience." Part of "Design for All" included ads that featured the word DESIGN intersecting another word in a crossword pattern. For Liz Lange for Target, maternity clothes, the "e" in design intersected the "e" in "changes."[184]

Target's involvement with design as part of its brand includes a direct support of design organizations such as the AIGA. It received the 2006 AIGA Corporate Leadership Award at The Design Legends Gala in New York City on 25 October 2006. This award has been given to corporations that value design. AIGA describes Target in the following way. "*Recognized for changing the cultural understanding and appreciation of design, communicating the importance of design to consumers, and its steadfast commitment to championing and advocating design…* 'Design for All' became target's mantra in 2002."[185] AIGA was particularly pleased to see Deborah Adler's ClearRx prescription bottles, praised the corporation for championing Method cleaning products, and Target's home emergency kit.



Dovetailing nicely with Target's commitment to design as part of its brand, designer Deborah Adler redesigned the target prescription bottles with many functional and safety conscious features. The bottles are the Target red, rather than amber, and reinforce the brand. (*@issue*, Volume 12, No. 1, Winter 2006/2007. The Journal of Business and Design. Corporate Design Foundation, 26-31.)

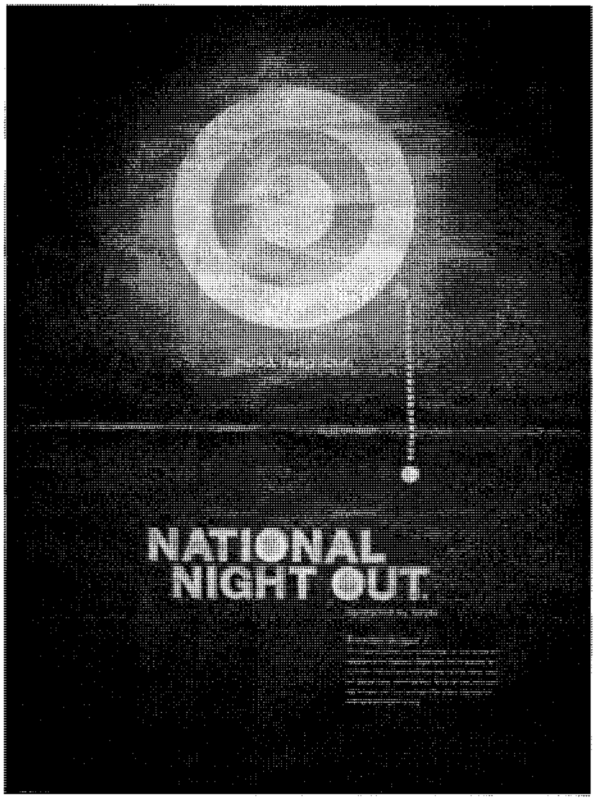
Target did provide a much-needed service that was broadcast within a marketing campaign: Deborah Adler's redesign of their prescription bottles and labels that began as her masters project at the School for Visual Arts in New York. The project, called "ClearRx" was written up in @ *issue*,[186] and the final bottle design appeared in multiple Target ads, including in *The New York Times* in the summer and fall of 2006, and the inside cover of *Time* Magazine on 31 July 2006. Target produced an 8-page promotional brochure in 2005 as part of its "Design for All" campaign in which the new prescription bottle was the only object featured. AIGA noted that Target's brings "great design to the communities it serves," and that Target donates 5% of its pre-tax profits back to the communities ($2 million per week), in the form of museum, arts, and education grants." AIGA reinforced Target's own community-based brand message.

The AIGA reveals a mutual admiration between Target and the design community: "Target's advertising and design is consistently awarded in international competitions; flashy, fun TV spots which combine cutting edge music video direction with spot-on animation are some of the most memorable commercials in history." Regarding the store design, AIGA notes, "By placing well-designed products alongside the basic needs for living, Target has made good design look indispensable—as much of a necessity as toothpaste."[187] Noteworthy is the fact that Target was a sponsor of the 2006 The Aspen Design Summit and National Design Week in October 2006, making free admission to the Cooper-Hewitt possible. Target Corporation also contributed over $10,00 to the AIGA archive initiative.[188] It is impossible to imagine how the design community could fail to embrace a corporation that has supported the profession so vigorously and with such enthusiasm. They have reciprocally served each other's end goals.

4.8.6 Target and Corporate Visual Responsibility

Target Corporation provides a good selection of images that facilitate the understanding of what Corporate Social responsibility *looks* like. It makes explicit its involvement in the community outlining, for example, in its 2004 annual report, its commitment to giving back dollars to the community, to sponsoring arts foundations, and to corporate social responsibility in general. The report states that Target recently published online its first Corporate Responsibility report, "a description of our current social, economic and environmental practices."[189] In a call for IT employees, Target placed an ad that stated, "See diversity as more than a statement."[190]

In some cases philanthropy is direct from the corporation as a percentage of profits, while in other instances it may be tied to specific merchandise for sale in the stores. On the back cover of the 8-page full color tabloid Christmas 2006 "Got to Get Gifts" advertisement, three ornaments hung next to a model wearing diamond earrings. The captions said, ".5 ct t.w. Diamond Stud Earrings 199.99…Charitable Ornaments for Breast Cancer Research, Children's Cancer Research Fund, and Support Our Troops 14.99 each." No details are provided about the proceeds to charity from the purchases and the two items listed before the charitable ornaments are diamond earrings followed by a diamond pendant. Because the brand presents itself familiarly, Target generally attempts to convey a particular and friendliness to its customers. It featured a full-page ad with an illuminated *yellow* Target logo and a graphic pull chain when it announced, "Hello, neighbor" and its sponsorship of "National Night Out." "We're excited to sponsor this national event as one of the many ways we support our communities."[191] In Target's full-page ad, three employees wearing red t-shirts covered with Target logos during National Volunteer Week, were depicted helping in their communities. Target used its own version (a protected mark) of a percentage sign with the left circle containing the numeral 5 and the right circle replaced by the Target logo. It reminds readers, "Target has given 5% of its income to communities since 1946."[192] "Shop with your Redcard and New York schools benefit," pictured 4 circles, one with a boy, one with a girl, and two with Target products configured as gender-specific children.[193] Thursday Nights at the Walker Art Center in Minneapolis (home of Target corporation), has "Target Free Thursday Nights."[194] The new wing of the Minneapolis Institute of the Arts, designed by Michael Graves, is named the Target Wing.[195] The Target network is complete.

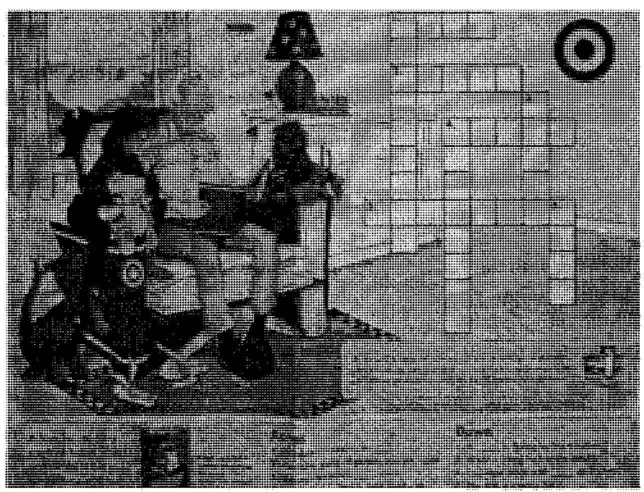


Target becomes a "National Night Out" sponsor and announces it with this ad and a huge logo. Their logo form is so recognizable (in part because of its formal attributes, but also because of its ubiquity) that it can be manipulated to suit various kinds of messaging. (*The New York Times*, Sunday 5 August 2007, 7.)

Target supports many communities in addition to its corporate home. Target also sponsors "Target Free Friday Nights" at New York's MOMA;[196] Target First Saturdays, a program to engage children in the arts, at The Brooklyn Museum of Art;[197] and "Chihuly at The New York Botanical Gardens."[198] Target's logo always appears and most frequently with access to more information *through* the target web site. At "target.com/community," Target's logo, indicating sponsorship, has also appeared on many entertainment events such as the Tony Bennett "An American Classic" program on NBC[199] and the free "Broadway under the stars" concert in Central Park.[200] In its David Blaine tease ad, Target corporation announced that if David Blaine can "Escape from shackles while dangling five stories above New York City's Times Square" (in time), "he will take 100 kids to the Target 2-Day Sale for a holiday shopping spree."[201]

Target sponsors the Target® Story Builders program to help children with literary skills and the arts in which a teaching artist is paired with a classroom.[202] "Ready. Sit. Read." a program designed to increase a child's interest in reading. Target embeds its logo within the crossword puzzle for kids in a colorful ad. The small text tells the reader that the Ready.Sit.Read! program is accessed *through* the target.com web site.[203] Another ad for the Ready.Sit.Read! program featured Gloria Estefan promoting her new children's book *Noelle's Treasure Tale* (along with a CD included). The ad announced that the book was available in Target stores and online beginning the week following the appearance of the ad.[204] Also part of the program was another new book available at Target called *Junie B., First Grader: Shipwrecked.* The ad for Ready.Sit.Read! pictured a cartoon drawing of a grandfatherly gentleman reading to a child. The chair he sat in was red with a Target logo and the book he was reading had a red cover with a Target logo. A crossword for children appeared in the ad with a large Target logo next to it.[205] Target celebrates Dr. Seuss's birthday and NEA's Red Across America program. In February 2006 the announcement included an interactive activity: cutting out a hat covered with Target logos on one side or red and white stripes on the other. Again the announcement directs the reader to the Target web site in order to access Ready.Sit.Read. The reader is invited to a February 26, 2006 event to "*Celebrate at your local Target store.*"[206] The following year for the 50th anniversary of *The Cat in the Hat*, Target placed a full-page ad inviting readers with their kids to the store for "an instore reading."[207] Target could have sponsored a reading at a local library at which there would be no opportunity for profit.

Target placed a full-page ad to bring attention to its support of Head Start. The ad referenced the target.com/community web site. Target presented "Great Read in the Park."[208] The ad was green and black with red, the only other color, used just for the Target logo. Another Great Read in the Park event, "the Target Children's Stage" was advertised for October 2006. The ad contained seven Target logos.[209] Across the country, numerous ads have been placed by Target to focus on its community oriented, locally supported causes that include assistance to local theater groups, schools, libraries, and museums. The promotional photos typically show local events and the faces of local children. In some cases, Target offered products for sale with full proceeds to go to an organization like St. Jude Children's Research Hospital.[210] Target was one of six corporations included in United Way's announcement of its 20th Annual Summit Award Leaders "For their deep commitment to social responsibility."[211] Target partnered with The American Red Cross to design its 4-person emergency kit. The kit is sold only at Target (in stores or online) and Target donates $10 of the proceeds from the $29.99 sale to The Red Cross.[212]



This interactive ad (containing a child's crossword) promotes reading. Note the target logo on the chair, and the two books in the illustration. The book featured in the ad is available at Target stores. (*The New York Times International*, Saturday 6 November 2004, A7.)

From the above sampling of ads, it becomes quite obvious that Target spends considerable money on advertising design and ad placement that make it clear to the public that it wants to be seen not only as a member of the local community, but as an exemplary one. A complex and varied relationship exists between Target's advertising images used to sell products and those images used to brand their corporate soul.

4.9 Behind the Communication

Certain corporate images, such as the Nike swoosh, are created and then supported in a visually pervasive way with a set of meanings attached to an image. In the case of Nike, the particularly American values may include "ideals about competition and individual freedom, top performance, a universal code of morality and justice, and defiance of authority."[213] Goldman and Papson raise questions about the space between the image projected by Nike and Nike's practices as a large player in the global economy. They argue that when the critique of Nike is played out in the mass media, "it becomes organized according to the logic of the spectacle."[214] They point to this critique as an abbreviation that is similar to the abbreviation and oversimplification of what the logo itself has come to stand for. "*Nike* ads draw attention to meta communication in order to distance *Nike* from the processes of commercializing sport and thereby legitimizing its own contradictory commercial practices which contribute to the corruption of sport...differentiat(ing) *Nike* from competing advertisers by conveying the impression that *Nike* occupies higher moral ground," (as innovators rather than marketers).[215] Despite a marginal defense of Nike's behaviors because of what Nike is, a large capitalist corporation, Goldman and Papson do see moral value in images used by the corporation that work to counter ageism, racism and sexism.[216] Following recent racist and sexist comments made by radio talk show host Don Imus about the Rutgers Women's Basketball Team, Nike placed a full page, extremely subtle ad honoring/thanking, in small text, the team in particular, women's sports, and sports in general. "And thank you for making us realize that we still have a long way to go." A tiny Nike swoosh sits alone at the lower right corner of the ad and the word "advertisement" sits alone at the upper right corner under the folio (in case we did not realize that this altruism and display of morality was an ad).[217]

Timberland, a manufacturer of rugged shoes, placed a full color earthy-brown ad in *The Wall Street Journal* showing the much larger-than-life sole of a Timberland shoe with what looks, at first, like a nutritional label. The label's subtext is intended to imply transparency. The information under the heading "Our Footprint" contains information on Environmental Impact, Community Impact, and where the product is manufactured. Under the tagline, "Timberland Make it better" the company announced that this "nutrition label" would appear on all Timberland shoeboxes.[218] Timberland is attempting to make rational (and visible) its corporate dedication to admirable business practices in a variety of areas that corporations are attending to as part of the move towards tangible evidence of CSR.

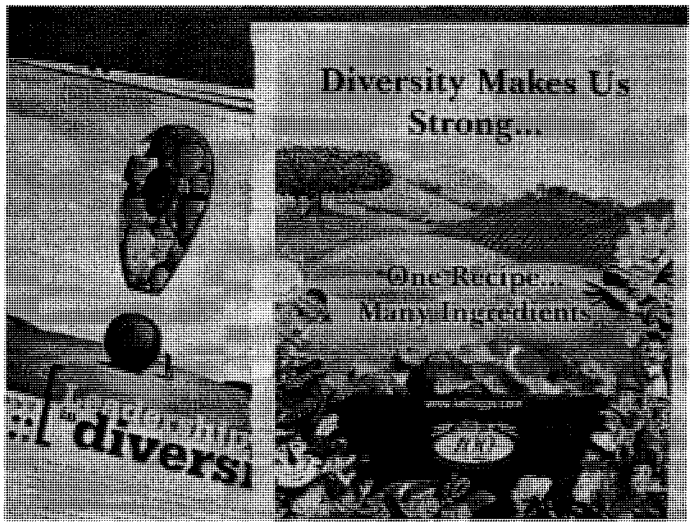
Oil companies, however, working to position themselves through their marketing communications as environmentally responsible in the face of offshore drilling protests and accusations of greed and environmental irresponsibility, have developed a system of code names intended for internal use that identify prospective drilling fields. Having recently offended a family member of Crazy Horse, BP sent its regional president to

South Dakota to apologize to the Rosebud Lakota Indian Reservation.[219] Walmart developed a program called "Associates Out in Front" that is described in company documents as a way to show appreciation for their workers. Wal-Mart has been accused of unfair treatment of its very large workforce including employing many part time workers (reducing the need to pay benefits) and more night and weekend shifts. "The program includes several new perks 'as a way of saying thank you' to workers, like a special polo shirt after 20 years of service and a 'premium holiday,' when Wal-Mart pays a portion of health insurance premiums for covered employees." A spokeswoman for Wal-Mart said the program wasn't a response to workers concerns' about Wal-Mart's policies.[220] Publicized gestures of appreciation are not morally equivalent to taking care of those underpaid workers who are heavily responsible for large corporate profits.

4.9.1 A Closer Reading of the "Good" Image

A supplement to *The New York Times Magazine* entitled "Leadership in Diversity" revealed the sense of obligation on the part of major corporations to address issues of diversity as a component of social responsibility. Full-page advertorials were placed by many large corporations such as Target, MasterCard Worldwide, Kellogg Company and Sodexho North America. The full-page ads accompanying the advertorials show almost exclusively African American faces. Snap, Crackle, and Pop characters appear in the Kellogg ad, but some are now characters of color. Most of the advertorials are accompanied by images of the corporate diversity officers all of whom are people of color, many of whom are women, and those not obviously persons of color have recognizable Hispanic names. In the Pricewaterhouse Cooper advertorial, for example, an

African American male, "Chris Simmons, Partner, Chief Diversity Officer," is pictured below a white male, "Dennis Nally, Senior Partner & Chief Executive."[221] This format, though it does say in small type "ADVERTISEMENT" at the top of the advertorial pages, is actually embedding content that is wholly controlled by the advertiser within a news magazine format producing a somewhat slippery reading space.



The malleability of the graphic image allows corporations to depict a host of social issues, depending upon which one is on the front burner. In this issue of *The New York Times Magazine,* the special supplement concentrated on diversity and Kellogg's easily responded with cartoon characters of color. (*The New York Times Magazine,* 24 September 2006. Ad page 88; "Leadership in Diversity" advertising supplement begins on page 73.)

The week before this supplement appeared, another advertising supplement entitled "Diversity in Advertising" paved the way for the following week's supplement. The text introducing the supplement began with the acknowledgement that "the primary mass-market vehicle for shaping the buying behaviors of American consumers was run almost exclusively by an informal network of white males."[222] It also noted that the American Advertising Federation's diversity objectives set ten years ago had challenged the domain of the white male. While the diversity officers generally were people of color, the CEOs generally were Caucasian. This means that corporations, while acknowledging the importance of diversity, are making visible (and some might say gratuitous) gestures by creating the position of diversity officer.

Charitable giving, the brand, and consuming have become inextricably woven together. During the early part of the 2006 holiday shopping season, for example, Macy's created an 8-page insert[223] that featured what was a visually secondary co-marketing with greendog.com, a sponsor of Fetch on PBS kids. The insert actually was a clothing catalog showing images of kids, wearing clothes, with text showing the sizes and prices, and a handwritten "Give" message on each page. Despite the primary message that this was a season of giving, what Macy's distributed was a retail catalog. In another full-page ad, Macy's thanked their customers for raising over $10 million during the 2006 holiday season for the American Heart Association's Go Red for Women, and other organizations. The red star, which is the Macy's logo, appears next to the large "THANKS" at the top of the page. Small text provides the thank you details. Slightly over half the page shows a Macy's shopping bag (brimming with wrapped gifts) with the large star, the Macy's logo, and registered tag line "way to shop."[224] Not unlike the product (RED) campaign, this continues to raise questions about whether or not capitalist countries are capable of changing their ingrained consumerist behaviors or whether what might be termed a "19 for me and 1 for you" business model is the solution.

Older, idealized versions of charity incorporate the concept of *striving*, in this case, beyond the obvious and highly visible evidence of do-goodism. This striving may open up a potential for movement towards another level of charity, giving, or philanthropy that raises a question about how integral and contingent the corporation's need is to tie its philanthropic work to its corporate identity. It may reveal actual amounts of charitable giving by the corporation and compare this figure with a corporation's profits within the same time frame. Macy's (California) has run network televisions ads promising that a donation of $5 would be made to charity for every $100 spent within the course of a day. In the print version of the ad, the headline blasts, "SHOP FOR A CAUSE" in which a $5 donation entitles the shopper to an all-day shopping pass that provides discounts for certain merchandise.[225] Language used in the ad obfuscates consciousness about the option to donate without making a purchase. Another more ethically evolved form of philanthropy might not have mentioned Macy's at all. Macy's could have placed and paid for an anonymous television spot requesting that the viewer *not* shop that day but rather donate the money she or he would have spent to the charity of her/his choice. In their annual AIDS fundraiser, the Passport event, the headline reads "SAY IT with hope, with fashion, with compassion," equating acquisition (of fashion) with philanthropy.[226] High end jeweler Cartier, equated charity with a purchase when its full page ad for its Love collection jewelry declared, "June 8, 2006: "Declare Your LOVE (Cartier Love logo embedded here) Day' in New York City." The retailer stated that it would donate 10% of all sales on that day of its Love collection to seven "noteworthy causes around the world."[227]

4.9.2 Post-profit Philanthropy

Some models for philanthropy are completely divorced from messages of consuming. In the case of the Gates Foundation, a private citizen uses a portion of accumulated personal wealth either to create or benefit charities of his or her own choosing. Although unhinged from the original acts of consumption that were the source of the wealth, with the Gates Foundation, some residual "doing good" still becomes associated with Microsoft due to the high visibility of the Gates name and the impossibility of disconnecting it from Microsoft. The concern in this project, however, is directed at the design of corporate images that construct the corporation as good citizen as a means to lessen perceptions of greed. Giving has taken a prominent role in the public conscience, especially in the form of foundations created by the super rich who seem to have separated how their foundations allocate monies from how that money was amassed. Bill and Melinda Gates and Warren Buffet represent billionaires in this category.

In an issue of *The New York Times Magazine* on the topic of giving, contemporary philosopher Peter Singer contributed an article addressing how much one should give. In writing of the super rich, he asks about motives. "The rich must—or so some of us with less money like to assume—suffer sleepless nights because of their ruthlessness in squeezing out competitors, firing workers, shutting down plants or whatever else they have to do to acquire their wealth."[228] Singer then writes, "Bill Gates has given $30 billion, but you might still ask: If he really believes that all lives have equal value, what is he doing in a $100 million house and owning a Leonardo Codex? Are there no more lives that could be saved by living more modestly?"[229] As a philosopher, Singer is less impressed by the enormity of the Gates Foundation donations and more focused upon bridging the gap between how the philosophy of giving is understood with respect to the uncovered possibilities for distributing justice. The United Way, recognized as a legitimate charity, can be understood as behaving in a way that might be expected to guarantee continued support of its project when it places a full-page ad to thank its corporate sponsors by name.[230] During the 2006 Christmas season, The Dalio Family Foundation placed a full-page simple ad requesting that some charitable gifts are given to JustGive.org as people purchase their non-charitable gifts: "Our gift giving would be more in keeping with the Christmas Spirit. We'd feel better about ourselves. And we would make our shopping easier and tax deductible."[231]

In a special section of *The New York Times* focused on giving, the lead article looked at "philanthropreneurs" who have made their money through the position that everyone should have access to information. (Of course this assumes access to some form of computer technology and wireless.) The significant question, who "is going to finance doing good if government isn't" is asked by Alan Abramson, director of the nonprofit and philanthropy program at the Aspen Institute. The young philanthropists see capitalism as operating at the speed required to make the changes.[232] A multitude of foundations took ads in the section including The Tiffany Foundation, The Goldman Environmental Prize, Red Cross, Better Business Bureau Wise Giving Alliance, and the Conrad Hilton Humanitarian Prize. It is not intended here to imply that no good work is being done among corporations. However a constant and ongoing struggle over profit-related contingencies is waged amid philanthropic efforts.

I have examined the previous examples as a set of culturally influenced artifacts from the point of view of someone who has made images and taught students how to make images. I do not propose that the responsibility of the designer is simply a current social fad, but rather propose that a formal method be used to interrogate responsibility and integrity within the process of image creation. The wide variety of recent, publicly circulated corporate images are evidence that attention *currently* is being paid to issues of social justice and philanthropy. However, most of the examples of corporate involvement with a cause reflect direct connections to the fortification of the corporation's profit center(s). What is far less clear is how the stated commitments, until this time showing up in the form philanthropy tied to consumption or institutional proclamations of commitment to diversity (through appointments of diversity officers and programs), will permeate the culture of the corporation as an intrinsic value as posited in the discussion that follows on the altruistic philanthropy described in Maimonaides. Within a few years, the obvious interest in CSR may wane and disappear entirely after having lived for a short time as a fashionable way of being in popular culture as reflected in a multitude of images. The above graphic examples are likely to reflect cultural blips that will be quickly superceded by the next easily appropriated and self-serving themes, rather than becoming institutionalized or legislated within western cultures. The split between making money and concern for those less fortunate than oneself may remain entirely up to the particular sensibilities of the wealthy individual—the Bill Gates prototype of funding one's own foundation—and become the laissez faire option that may or may not be chosen, leaving those less fortunate even farther behind in their options. Visual social responsibility is pervasive because it is fashionable right now, but it is unlikely to remain so. Despite the real possibility that interest in CSR may wane, those who make images are in positions as gatekeepers of what the public sees. The designer may be able to sustain an engagement with social responsibility through the act of making responsible images that may be political, social, informative, or consumerist. How to realize a reflective position is addressed in the following chapter.

[1] Don Slater, "Cultures of Consumption" in *Handbook of Cultural Geography*, eds. Kay Anderson, Mona Domosh, Steve Pile, Nigel Thrift (London: Sage Publications, 2003), 154.
[2] Jean Baudrillard, *The Ecstasy of Communication* (New York: Semiotexte by Autonomedia, 1988), 22.
[3] Ibid., 24.
[4] Ibid., 24-25
[5] John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *Landscape in Sight: Looking at America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 185.
[6] Ibid., 186.
[7] Ibid., 187.
[8] Romy Drucker, "Ethics: The Devil Made Me Do It," *Business Week*, 24 July 2006, 10.
[9] O'Neill discussed this point of view at an architecture and ethics conference entitled "Architecture and its Ethical Dilemmas" at University of Cambridge, UK, 222-23 March 2004. She was the keynote speaker at the conference. She used the airline industry's behavior following a plane crash as the example of an industry based upon investigation. Of course there are also government regulators who become involved following an airline disaster. O'Neill was emphasizing the need to correct the problem that caused the crash, rather than using public relations to re-imagine what happened and possibly attach blame elsewhere.
[10] Alex Williams, "Buying Into The Green Movement," *New York Times*, Sunday 01 July 2007, 8.
[11] Rob Walker, "Silent Green," *New York Times Magazine*, 23 July 2006, 14.
[12] Adam Bryant, "iSee Into The Future, Therefore iAm," *The New York Times*, Sunday, 01 July 2007, WK3.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Cathy Horyn, "New Again: The Shock of the Frock," *The New York Times*. Wednesday 27 September 2006, C20.
[16] Simon de Burton, "Feelgood factor," *Financial Times*. Saturday 30 September 2006, 6.
[17] "Philips Electronics Launches Consumer Website on Saving Energy," July 9, 2007 in "News, tools & Resources from GreenBiz.com, GreenBuzz" (Accessed 09 July 2007) https://webmail.cca.edu/Session/236987-llY2Mq2mX2XN0R3ZUXHM/message.wssp?Mailbox=Inbox&MSG=29032.
[18] David Vogel, *The Market for Virtue: The Potential and Limits of Corporate Social Responsibility* (Washington, D. C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2005), 45.
[19] Ibid., 11.
[20] Ibid., 171.
[21] This is evident, for example, in regular emailed announcements of seminars from groups like DMI, the Design Management Institute.
[22] The images presented in this project as examples of CSR reveal a variety of direct and subtle approaches.
[23] Alessandra Standley, "Sounding the Global Warming Alarm Without Upsetting the Fans," http://www.nytimes.com/2007/07/09/arts/television/09watc.html?_r=1&th&emc=th&oref=slogin. (Accessed 09 July 2007).
[24] *The New York Times*, Sunday, 6 May 2007, ST18.
[25] *The New York Times*, Wednesday 13 September 2006, A15.
[26] *The New York Times*, Sunday 13 August 2006, 11.
[27] Clear space is usually based upon some easily measured dimension in a corporate symbol of logotype.
[28] *The New York Times*, 22 April 2007, ST 18.
[29] *The New York Times*, 22 April 2007, YT 10.
[30] San Francisco Bay Area, ABC, Channel 7.
[31] Deborah Kirk, "Baby Boomer Women getting More out of life," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 24 December 2006, El and E4.
[32] Susan Dominus, "A Girly-Girl Joins The 'Sesame' Boys. No stereotypes, please. (But selling toys is O.K.)," *The New York Times*, Sunday, 06 August 2006, Section 2, AR25.
[33] Richard T. DeGeorge, *Business Ethics* (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2006), 336-337.
[34] Manuel G. Velasquez, *Business Ethics, Concepts and Cases* (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2002), 361.

[35] Ibid., 359-360.
[36] Ibid., 363.
[37] Porter is an academic who writes about competitive strategy. Kramer is a senior fellow on the CSR Initiative at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government.
[38] Michael E. Porter and Mark R. Kramer, "The Competitive Advantage of Corporate Philanthropy," in *Harvard Business Review on Corporate Responsibility* (Boston: Harvard Business School Publishing Corporation, 2003), 29.
[39] Ibid., 30-31.
[40] Ibid., 52.
[41] Ibid., 54.
[42] *The Financial Times*, Thursday, 19 April 2007, 23
[43] *The New York Times Magazine*. 06 June 2004/Section 6.
[44] Michael Lewis, "The Irresponsible Investor," *The New York Times Magazine*. 06 June 2004/Sect. 6, 68.
[45] Heller, Steven and Véronique Vienne, *Citizen Designer: perspectives on design responsibility*. (New York: Allworth Press, 2003).
[46] Marc Gobé *Citizen Brand: 10 commandments for transforming brands in a consumer democracy* (New York: Allworth Press, 2002), ix-xii. (Gournay introduction.)
[47] Ibid., x.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid., xi.
[50] Marc Gobé *Citizen Brand: 10 commandments for transforming brands in a consumer democracy* (New York: Allworth Press, 2002), 1.
[51] Ibid., 47.
[52] Ibid., 73. The original Body Shop started as a few stores in Berkeley, California during the 1970s. Roddick lived in Berkeley at the time and bought several of their products that she brought back to the UK where she formulated them for sale. The Body Shop settled with Roddick, who took their name and locally produced products, and they became Body Time. People at Body Time will not discuss the details of the settlement with Roddick.
[53] Marc Gobé *Citizen Brand: 10 commandments for transforming brands in a consumer democracy* (New York: Allworth Press, 2002), 231.
[54] Ibid., xvi.
[55] Ibid., xx.
[56] Ibid., 1.
[57] Ibid., 4.
[58] Ibid., 27.
[59] Ibid., 47.
[60] Ibid., 230.
[61] *New York Times*, 25 June 2007, A7.
[62] *New York Times Magazine*, 10 June 2007, 78.
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[64] Vogel, David Vogel, "Apple's iPod and the market for virtue," *San Francisco Chronicle*, Monday, 14 August 2006, Open Forum, B7.
[65] *Time Magazine*, 18 July 2005, Notebook, 13.
[66] *New York Times*, Wednesday 23 August 2006, A7.
[67] *The New York Times Magazine*, 19 November 2006, 14.
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[71] Liza Featherstone, "While Brooklyn Sips," *The New York Times*, 22 April 2007, Section 9, 1-2. First image shown on page 1. Second image shown on page 2.
[72] Stephanie Strom, "Make Money, Save the World," *The New York Times*, Sunday, 06 May 2007, Section 3, 1.
[73] Ellen Carpenter, "Pulse: Green Is Beautiful," *The New York Times*, Sunday, 15 April 2007, ST 3.

[74] Charles Lockwood, "The Growth of Green Business," *Hemispheres Magazine*, December 2006, 141.
[75] Matthew Wald, "What's Kind to Nature Can Be Kind to Profits," *The New York Time,* Special Section: The Business of Green, Wednesday, 17 May 2006, E1 and 5.
[76] *The Wall Street Journal*, Thursday 29 June 2006, A9.
[77] Clifford Krauss, "At Home Depot, How Green Is That Chainsaw?" *New York Times*, 25 June 2007, A1, A14.
[78] *The New York Times*, Tuesday 14 November 2006, A16 and Tuesday 28 November 2006, A13.
[79] *The New York Times*, Monday 27 November 2006, C6-7.
[80] GE "ecomagination" insert in *The New York Times,* Monday 9 May 2005 and *Financial Times*, 9 May 2005.
[81] *The New York Times,* 21 November 2006, A23.
[82] Henry Dreyfuss, *Symbol Sourcebook* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.,1972), 239.
[83] *The New York Times Magazine*, 1 July 2007, 13.
[84] Ibid., 242.
[85] Ibid., 241.
[86] *The New York Times*, Sunday 14 January 2006, 15.
[87] *The Wall Street Journal*, Saturday/Sunday 30/31 December 2006, A12.
[88] *The Wall Street Journal*, Saturday/Sunday 23-24 December 2006, A10.
[89] Increased interest in making socially conscious business evident is operating even at the smallest scale. On 09 September 2006, a letter was sent to locals from a "neighbor in the Berkeley/Oakland Hills" who identifies the sender as an investor and who is looking for properties to sell and buy. The letter explains that he has retired from data processing and has spent the last two years studying and focusing on Real Estate investing. "My goal was to become one of the best Real estate Transaction Engineers in this area. My second focus was ...to develop a socially conscious company that focused on more than just the money bottom line. I have listened to read books by, and met with Ben Cohen (of Ben and Jerry's)..." The Rosa and Raymond Parks Institute for Self Development has hired licensing and merchandising company CMG Worldwide to help control the use and sale of Rosa Park's image. They are attempting to acquire RosaParks.com, a domain controlled by a cybersquatter. "CMG recently negotiated an estimated six-figure deal with **General Motors** on behalf of the Parks estate...(Mrs. Parks) is revered and obviously widely known for doing the right thing—giving her special cachet in the marketing business." (Jeremy W. Peters and Julie Bosman. "A Ride To Glory, Or Market? Rosa Parks Won a Fight, But Left a Licensing Rift." *The New York Times*, Sunday, 08 October 2006, Section 3, pages 1 and 7. Quotes from page 7.) ISDA & CO OUTLET, a small San Francisco based clothing company sent out postcards in the beginning of December 2006 telling customers that if they bring "gently-used professional clothing" to the store between November 27 and December 25, 2006, ISDA will "give you 25% off your entire purchase" with the donations going to A Minor Miracle of San Francisco to help disadvantaged men and women looking for employment. The handbag manufacturer, The SAK, offered a $5 off purchase discount at their holiday warehouse sale if a coat is donated (to go to the organization, One Warm Coat).(*San Francisco Chronicle Datebook*, Sunday 26 November 2006, page 43)
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[103] Janet Adamy, "At Starbucks, Coffee Comes With New Décor," *The Wall Street Journal.* Friday, 10 November 2006 B1 and B2. Quote from B2.
[104] *San Francisco Chronicle,* Thursday, 29 June 2006, A17.
[105] *The New York Times,* Wednesday, 13 December 2006, A28.
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[108] *New York Times Magazine,* Sunday 03 June, 2007, 15.
[109] *Financial Times,* Wednesday 22 November 2006, 5.
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[134] *New York Times*, Sunday 01 October 2006, ST 10-11.
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[140] *The New York Times International* Sunday, 12 November 2006, 3.
[141] *The New York Times International* Friday 15 December 2006, A7.
[142] *The New York Times,* Thursday 14 December 2006, A11.
[143] *SF IS,* February-March 2007, insert in *San Francisco Chronicle*, 18 January 2007, 10.
[144] Ibid., 13.

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[148] "Hottest, Newest, Latest," *Harper's Bazaar,* July 2007, 23.
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[157] *New York Times*, Sunday 25 February 2007, AR31
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[168] *New York Times,* Sunday 30 April 2006, 1.
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[171] Insert *San Francisco Chronicle*, 19 November 2006.
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[190] *Wired* Magazine, July 2007, 175.
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[192] *The New York Times*, Sunday 15 April 2007, YT8.
[193] *The New York Times*, Sunday 6 August 2006, YT19.
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[195] Lee Rosenbaum, "This Museum's Expansion Is Simply Effective," *The Wall Street Journal*. Tuesday 18 July 2006, D6.
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[197] *The New York Times*, Sunday 13 August 2006, 13.
[198] *The New York Times*, Friday 23 June 2006, B32.
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[200] *The New York Times*, Friday 23 June 2006, B8.
[201] *The New York Times*, Thursday 23 November 2006, A17.
[202] *the berkeley rep magazine*, 2006-7, issue 3, 8-9.
[203] *The New York Times*, Saturday 7 May 2005, A8.
[204] *The New York Times*, Friday 6 October 2006, B37.
[205] *The New York Times*, Saturday 6 November 2004.
[206] "Happy Bookday", ©2005 Target Stores.
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[210] *The New York Times*, Sunday 3 December 2006, 20.
[211] *The New York Times*, Thursday 17 May 2007, A18.
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[222] Jami Fullerton and others, "Diversity in Advertising" a special advertising supplement to the *New York Times Magazine*, Sunday 17 September 2006, 78.
[223] *San Francisco Chronicle*, 16 November 2006.
[224] *The New York Times*, Sunday, 14 January 2007, YT5.
[225] *San Francisco Chronicle*, Saturday 16 September 2006, A10.
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Chapter 5: A PRAGMATIC, HYBRID METHOD FOR GRAPHIC DESIGN

5.1 Identifying an Image as Problematic

The examples in the previous chapter that are presented as some form of manipulation within the large genre of consumer imagery have been selected by me as problematic precisely because they contain articulated references to various forms of corporate do-goodisms that have been wrapped into consumer-oriented messages. Most of these images of social responsibility *appear* to constitute evidence of ethical behaviors. My discovery of the recent enormity of scale of this genre happened over several years of collecting and examining these graphics, enabling me to decipher patterns of repetition, message mimesis, form, color, content and language. It could be argued with good reason that I was looking for trouble because I did pay particular attention to the emergence of advertising images that simultaneously were addressing various social problems and working to reify a corporate brand as responsible. I found more than I initially anticipated as I began to see patterns emerge from a genre of images that could have been superficially viewed as having started with the highest moral intentions.

An initial question is whether or not particular image genres are inherently problematic in the sense that they appear to be worthy of interrogation such as blatant claims of social justice and philanthropy embedded in marketing, claims of environmental responsibility wrapped in or made central to a marketing message, highly retouched images (especially of women), and even certain types of critical information (emergency signage, medical labels, nutrition labels) that may result in life-threatening consequences if inappropriately designed and inadequately user-tested. This group is not intended to represent all problematic image genres, though it does represent some of the larger and more publicized ones. In addition to an initial categorization of image genres, one could also problematize certain design behaviors, expanding the interrogation of the image beyond the obvious category of corporate social responsibility. Questionable behaviors might include the following: deliberate manipulation of images (visual lying), knowingly using design expertise to questionable ends, using tokenism in representations of varying gender identifications or ethnicities, failing to understand the influence of multiple images as a result of mimesis and repetition, and employing styles that may obscure or hamper the delivery of critical information.

These image genres and behaviors are intended to serve as starting points to frame discussion and begin to select examples. I would argue that the very act of identifying which images and behaviors are worthy of interrogation is proposed here to be the responsibility of the designers involved. What follows is an attempt to offer design students and practitioners a method to negotiate a resolution to problems they identify in pedagogy and practice. The particular examples are ones that I have determined to be particularly egregious, insidious, or salient. Some are blatant examples of consumer manipulations through messages of CSR and others may be evidence of pedagogical failures to convey the relationship between style and signification, perhaps muddying the designer's relationship to the production of meaning through learned conventions. I have begun with an *a priori* assumption about the undesirability of using images to manipulate that would itself, if put through a sieve of ethical inquiry, have to be vetted. And although I assert that among the most egregious images are those in which corporate philanthropy in one form or another is tied to consumption, the larger task of this project is to begin to have designers examine the question of responsibility in the act of representing as fairly as possible some thing or, probably more importantly, some one. The latter is particularly important because of the intrinsic power held by those who control the images of others.

Several kinds of examples are presented and all are hypothetical constructs, though some of the starting points are actual artifacts of design, journalism, or publishing. The first example is intended to reveal a combined casuist/communicative ethics method and was developed as a response to an article published with content that is of general concern to a graphic design population, the audience for this project. An article from the *Financial Times* has been selected as an example of a business that presents decipherable conflicts of interests, but that also can be used as an example of how to dislodge seemingly entrenched positions that begin as diametrically opposed ones. It is followed by a simulated issues-oriented discussion that is based upon actual projects presented in an advanced, undergraduate graphic design studio that could be candidates for ethical enquiry. These examples from design pedagogy are not based upon consumerist issues, but are identified as problematic for a particular reason. It is an attempt to imagine a discussion that is a response to particular visual and verbal language choices made by students within a classroom setting, without clients, and yet open for discussion beyond the student's personal point of view. The goal, admittedly, is to force even a self-consciousness about the work, but equally to force an anticipatory understanding about its potential effects. The final set of examples are taken from the previous chapter in which CSR is differently manifest in the public images circulated by BP, Target, and Dove (Unilever). This last genre is the most worrisome because it is the most influential.

Corporations like these have enormous amounts of money to spend on promotions and, as a result, the most access to consumer attention.

Ultimately, the burden of responsibility for ethical reflection rests with the designer, and this is the lens through which a vast problem is viewed in this project. The corporate client is not situated as the enemy of a reflective designer, but as an opportunity to work together to minimize masking of troublesome behaviors and positioning misrepresentation as a problem that requires a commitment from both parties to solve. The client cannot remain the same if the designer has changed. If the designer becomes conscious and responsible, these attributes are necessarily brought to the table during the course of designer/client interactions as projects are discussed, worked on, and implemented.

5.2 The Hybrid Method

A method is proposed that is designed to embed ethical considerations within design practice and is derived from two formal methods of ethics: casuistry and communicative ethics. I am arguing that pedagogy incorporates a way of interrogating the image so that it becomes second nature to continue this process in practice in much the same way that formal design knowledge is carried from pedagogy into practice. The proposed method of interrogating an image is intended to infuse the site of image production with a form of reflection about how the image might be received. Although anticipatory, this reflection is based upon an accretion of knowledge from having vetted not only the corporate conditions surrounding the current design project, but other antecedent and concurrent images and how they have behave in circulation and in concert.

Over time, a new body of knowledge would be developed that becomes paradigmatic for casuistry applied to design. Eventually, numerous case studies would be recorded for future reference and design faculty who have developed an expertise in this method would become proficient in helping to constitute relevant groups to examine ethical questions and guide a process, part of which would involve comparing a problem under investigation with prior cases. Several important ethical questions arise. Who may determine that an image is problematic and worthy of investigation? Who should participate in the investigation? To what is this case similar and how was that one resolved? The first two questions are derived from recent iterations of communicative ethics and the last question is derived from casuistry. An assumption must be made from the beginning of the investigation that some form of rational language is shared among the participants despite potentially discrepant points of view about the nature of a problem and how to resolve it, both of which should be deciphered during the process of investigation.

5.2.1 Situating Ethical Enquiry within the Design Project

How can a method of ethics be useful in a practice that typically equates time spent with money earned? This question helps to frame a method for practice so that concerns about how time is used become explicit within the relative isolation of design production. This cannot, however, become rubber-stamping of a superficial branding of a co-marketed approach to philanthropy or social justice. More rigorous and investigative, it needs to ask what constitutes flourishing for more than the designer and client, and also examine the potential for harm of its recipients.

Professor of Social Ethics, William R. O'Neill, SJ,[1] suggested that a study of ethics could start by considering those cases found most interesting in one's personal history. He offered the following questions as relevant ones: why are these cases interesting, what is happening in novel practices such as medicine, biology, religion, business (and now design), what are the problematic cases, what are the cases that are not fully elaborated, and what is new or novel. These are good initial questions to introduce ethical reflection to a group that is unfamiliar with formal theory in ethics. O'Neill then suggested a set of questions that, although they would require a degree of philosophical familiarity to decipher, still have relevance in the design classroom because they make evident the amount of rigor necessary to think critically about the issues, and they imply a methodological rigor. These questions include: what doesn't count as an answer, what does count as an answer, and how has the question changed (over time or in different cultures). O'Neill also asked about what counts as social good and justice, what constitutes human flourishing, and what are images of virtue (which is a favored method in Christian theology and more specifically on Christian virtue ethics). Among his most important points was the belief that there is no common measure of goodness that will be made evident, but also that this is the reason for selecting a discursive method. For designers, and in the context of understanding graphic imagery, his questions, "What is coercive?" and "How can we see justice in the context of the role of images?" are particularly relevant and in need of definition as cases are negotiated. When asking about the usefulness of rules, for example, invoking rules may be helpful in establishing procedures for interrogation of images, but not for issues of exclusion or inclusion of particular genres of content. No one answer is satisfactory because image production is so varied, personal, public and private, and changing quickly.

As already proposed (in Chapter 2.8) as a useful hybrid method, the following discussion is intended to show how casuistry and communicative ethics can work in pedagogy and practice. Communicative ethics offers a functional approach that could be used in the studio environment in which students produce graphic images. Derived from Kant's categorical imperative (grossly oversimplified here, to that which is rational is moral), Frankfurt School philosopher Jürgen Habermas argued for discourse as a means to resolve complex issues. Interested in the development of competency in communication that would allow individuals to engage in rational discourse, Habermas claimed that it was "real argument (that) makes moral insight possible."[2] His conditions were based upon motivating the other actors to rational speech, rather than to influence. Contemporary feminist philosopher Seyla Benhabib further refines communicative ethics and rejects ethical formalism by asking more postmodern questions about authority and who gets to decide who should be heard. Benhabib, therefore, by providing a discursive space for those typically marginalized by (the traditions of) analytic philosophy, also situates argumentation as a replacement for Kantian universalizability.[3] Benhabib focuses on the question, "Instead of asking what I as a single rational moral agent can intend or will to be a universal maxim for all without contradiction, the communicative ethicist asks: what principles of action can we all recognize or agree to as being valid if we engage in practical discourse of a mutual search for justification?"[4] Her break with Habermas is a partial one, but is most distinctive in her understanding of who meets the criteria to have a voice. Benhabib's philosophical critique of what he proposes tends towards circularity, meaning, as she describes it, that the "normative content precedes the moral argument itself."[5] Of course every deliberation must be seeded by something to which a group can begin to respond, something that can be construed as normative.

Any group naturally can be expected to have a variety of passive and assertive participants, as well as a range of points of view, and may need to be reminded of these variations, along with encouraging the acquisition of listening skills. It might also be useful, as cognitive linguist George Lakoff reminds us, that (despite our instincts to do so) it is helpful to make it explicit that we ought not dismiss as less intelligent those points of view in opposition to our own. The discussion might begin with this acknowledgement: moral points of view have been formed by a complex of varying pressures. After identifying points of contention, each individual would be required to argue and inhabit each point of view in a conflict, as Habermas indicated. In order to begin any discussion, some normative premise is required, even the literal one that participants share a verbal language, and have consented to look at a problem brought to the table by someone with whom they may not necessarily agree either prior to or following a discussion.

Applied to design, a method of ethics should investigate what is being designed, the conditions surrounding the inception of the project, its antecedents, the design's intended effect, and the image's potential to help or harm those related to the image (from designer to audience). A pragmatic timeline can be developed that situates ethical inquiry within the course of a studio-based, graphic design project. The goal of the classroom exercise is to examine word and image and employ deliberation as a technique for accessing how to understand what is the "right" action. This involves the development of skill sets such as: learning how to listen as a moral act (as suggested by Jacob Needleman), working to shift the culture from one of blame, a closed position, to one of investigation, a receptive position (as suggested by neo-Kantian Onora O'Neill), and sustaining a certain awareness that contexts are always not fixed (as theorized by Mieke Bal). Participants question, discuss, and understand the potential for change within the discursive space. This pedagogical method weaves ethics-based intellectual activity into the studio in order to build into design education rigorous social responsibility that is based upon more than tacit and personal, moral outrage. Most importantly, it is intended to engage the group while it recognizes the natural investment each member of the group has in the private ownership of his or her own work. These skills are designed for application to future practice.

In order to begin to decipher the nature of ethical decision-making during the process of image development, the image can be understood in multiple ways: as a representation of some kind of content, as inhabiting a certain overall visual form (simply meaning that it is materialized as an object, a video, a page, for example), as a visual language (often referred to as style), and as a piece of a much larger (and potentially unknowable at the time of its production) genre of images in circulation. While the style of a communication may seem to be a trivial attribute of an image and merely a reflection of what is current, it is far from trivial if the image stylistically violates its own content such as the unconsidered application of a whimsical, visual style to address serious content. The educated designer is expected to have a formal understanding of how meaning has been attached to form.

5.2.2 Understanding the Consequences of Design Actions: Conflating External Effects with the Site of Production

Graphic design self-identifies only a small portion of its material production as "socially relevant," the work that often falls in the category of *pro bono* design for nonprofit organizations. It is argued here that most design is socially relevant because of the influence exerted by its manifestation in mass culture. The social relevance of design artifacts often mask or misrepresent social, political, or economic realities. Broadening their understanding of ethics beyond the sustainability concerns made evident in the early 1990s, design's discussion of ethics needs to wrestle its focus from the offenses of toxicity, sustainability, and waste,[6] and refocus on design's persuasive function as a cog within consumer culture. Practices that do not involve public liability (such as business and the non-public-safety-related design disciplines) increasingly are voicing concern for ethics in practice. Underlying this project is the assumption that ethics in design reflects a general human concern for wellbeing. The notion of a universal "fact" indicating duty (the idea that what is logically yields what ought) is not understood here to be productive, particularly because agents who inhabit positions that begin as conflicting ones generally do not agree upon what constitutes "fact." Rather it is proposed that "ought" may be communicatively derived. Because artifacts and activities of design are geared toward the pragmatism of the material (and in more recent cases, strategic) outcome, consequentialism and utility theory, as previously discussed, hold a false allure for design. They are, however, as ethics methods, problematic.[7]

Professional ethics are always in the realm of the applied, but even then they tend to reside at the periphery of professional knowledge. Applied ethics, as an epistemic body outside the material work of design practice and rarely afforded adequate consideration by the practitioner, have not been among the variables in the time equals money equation of a business-centric practice. Inclusion of ethics means shifting some of the pedagogy of what has been central to design, the materiality of its own projects, to understanding its influence. An investigative climate can exist only if there is also a dis-lodging of the idea that if one holds what one believes to be a moral point of view, that someone who does not share that point of view is necessarily immoral. Intrinsically held moral conflicts are inevitable, but not necessarily resolvable (the way ethical conflicts may be).[8] As already noted, not even virtue ethicists can reach any agreement upon which of the virtues constitute virtue ethics.

Design is not a value neutral discipline: it can be as varied as are its practitioners. Does the designer have a *prima facie* duty to "do no harm"? Because much of the work produced in graphic design is short-term with fairly rapid production cycles (especially when compared with other design disciplines), functionality is critical in the selection of a method of ethics in order for that method to remain relevant to practice. It would, therefore, be difficult to embed a rigorous knowledge of Kant's categorical imperative as a method to understand how to choose right behaviors.[9] As discussed earlier, aspects of Seyla Benhabib's iteration of communicative ethics might be more useful.[10] Teleological positions such as consequentialism (including utilitarianism) have already been suggested as less than useful because the focus on outcomes tends to leave little room for examining ramifications that are embedded within the design process prior to a designed outcome. Design needs a method that allows for investigation inside its process.[11] Although casuistry provides a useful method that has already proved recently to be of value in practice-based disciplines such as biomedical ethics,[12] no one method can be understood as entirely suited to design practice. Therefore, a hybrid form may help to reveal problems with the varied lives of the image.

Graphic Design is a relatively unregulated practice with respect to codes, rules, and regulations and is unlike those professional practices with responsibility for public liability (i.e, medicine, law, architecture) that have relied on regulations in order to protect the public. Legal issues that have confronted designers tend to be in the area of copyright and trademark infringement and, therefore, mostly address corporate wellbeing. Most of the codes established for those design-related professions without actual liability for safety (design, illustration, photography) have protected the producers of images and their ownership concerns (intellectual property issues) rather than address any obligation to decipher harm to a public subjected to the images. Most of these codes represent what "one can get away with" rather than limit what one can or should do. Codes of ethics that have been determined by law mostly define the minimum in acceptable standards such as invoking 14^{th} amendment rights of free speech. It is not proposed here that the protection of free speech be devalued, or that a legally de-regulated climate exist. Rather, it is suggested that an ethics in practice could move one to "do no harm" or an even higher standard to "do good."

To reiterate and emphasize design's influence, the following example is offered: recent increases in urban crime have pointed to the social desirability of owning the latest iPod, heavily marketed through seductive graphics of its white wires.[13] I would argue that representations that imply the *necessity* of owning the iPod indicate that the producers of the advertising images for the product failed to address the coercive, elitist, and oppressive power of their images. To some degree, the failure to operate ethically can be defined as having prematurely occluded the options—either one's own or those on the receiving end of the image. Ethics embedded in practice implies an alternative to "business as usual" processes and outcomes. For design, ethics needs to live as a self-reflective process that reveals the potential for the injustice done by less than honest representations such as, I would argue, those that cast owning an iPod as a social necessity. Without removing the pure joy of design's creative process, it is hoped that the designer can ricochet between the heady intuitive space of invention and the more grounded activity of making rational assessments about influence. The space of graphic invention is a relatively "unregulated" one and is, therefore, unlike the rigors of the design process in architecture in which there is always a necessity to engage external constraints imposed through engineering or code requirements. Since the complete reliance upon digital technologies in image production, image producers do not even have the former constraints of production costs that made certain kinds of images too expensive to produce.

The hybridization of casuistry and communicative ethics is intended for use within design curricula and deals particularly with the ethics of images. Operating within the curriculum would remove it from the isolation that occurs when professional educators single out particular requirements for the study of ethics that are not contained within, or related to, project content. Codes of ethics unhappily have had little effect on changing the values of a culture and compliance has generally been viewed as morally trivial in the sense that it represents the minimum in commitment to good behaviors and good work. Codes of ethics for design practitioners have been focused primarily on rights of ownership and issues of intellectual property.

5.2.3 Repositioning Ethical Work

Within the contemporary design academy, corporate design is seen as a form of selling out, a form of moral defect. Many in the design profession suggest that making (real) money as a pre-condition to helping others constitutes a useful behavior. In a very brief article entitled "The Truth About Selling Out," James Bradley, president of Chase Design Group, and designer Margo Chase define selling out in the following way: "Selling out usually means working without integrity; collecting money without being true to your artistic self."[14] They reject the notion that they (Chase Design Group, Los Angeles) have sold out when they see design's role as a commercial enterprise intended to solve business problems. (Although "solving business problems" is often seen as a euphemism for selling more widgets.) "In some circles, the implication seems to be that it is almost immoral to make a decent living doing creative work. We think that is crazy. It is easier to have fun in your creative life if you aren't worried about the rent. It might even be easier to be creative. Certainly, it is easier to give your employees benefits, or to do something for a non-profit you believe in, if you made some money last month."[15] This kind of comment is fairly typical of a design community that has reinvented itself as business strategists who link the success of design with client sales (often manifest by providing less and less information about more goods and services).

There does not appear to be space for "doing good" as a design motivator. The paucity of information supplied within the visible world of commerce (compared with earlier times when fewer goods were available) is the result of the inundation of truly unnecessary goods and services that are substitutional in nature, along with increasingly heavy reliance upon pictorial, rather than verbal, representations. Clients rely upon the visuals to make discrete, one product from another, when the actual distinctions generally are trivial or nonexistent. Bradley's rationalization implies that only that which is extracurricular to how one earns the real money is subject to moral concern, or morality is recast as the provision of benefits that can be offered but may be contingent upon earning money in whatever way is possible. This stance of self-interest in the form of financial self-preservation continues to exist among much of the design community.

Is the moral obligation of a designer to have fun or be creative in the act of designing, or does it begin before starting to work with a particular client? A method that functions well in practice does not deny the designers their profit, but makes routine the process of vetting clients and not categorizing *pro bono* as the only work that is intrinsically good (in the sense of being ethical work). All design work is subject to questions of what it means to behave professionally and with integrity. The most damaging, viewed in terms of the sheer quantity of damage, are likely to be the ones that have the most access to real estate and, therefore, probably represent the profit centers of most design practices. This project rejects the marginalization of investigation of ethical practice operating outside of the profit centers of design businesses.

5.2.4 An Approach to Ethics in Practice

Until recently, casuistry had been in decline from its seventeenth century usage as a method in moral theology. Despite its fall into disuse, casuistry currently is enjoying a renaissance as a practical, case-based method to determine how to think about and resolve complex ethical dilemmas that intervene in practice. Although it is a serious method in Christian ethics, if one were to look at the 1992 Word-A-Day Calendar, one would find the word "casuist" on Monday, October 5 (1992) with the following definition: "n: one skilled in false argument or rationalization." In other words, its unsavory definition suggests one who has learned to bend rules. The very appearance of the word "casuist" in this artifact of popular culture would indicate casuistry's reemergence as a word worth knowing in the present. However, the definition provided also suggests the reason it fell out of favor centuries ago as a serious method. Its current appeal has largely to do with its being a method that welcomes complexity and includes questioning, seeking, and attempts to elicit concerns from those who may enter a discussion at odds. Participants in a deliberation are expected to demonstrate both a willingness to examine fairly what is put before them for serious and purposeful consideration, and an understanding of what in the current case is similar to past cases.

Casuistry's emphasis on understanding the situation in context may make it a suitable method for the complex and conflicting agendas of contemporary life. In life and death cases of biomedical ethics, expert casuists need to be called upon to ferret out all the nuances particular to a case that need to be brought forth. "...(T)he moral problems faced by agents in marginal and ambiguous situations always take them beyond the reach of universal principles and general theories, and require them to strike equitable balances between varied considerations in ways relevant to the details of each particular set of circumstances."[16] Perhaps casuistry allows for and welcomes the uncertainties of hypermodernity better than other methods. It requires evolved senses both of judgment and justice that would allow one to know when to leave the constraints of strict, rule-based methods, at least temporarily, at the margins. If we borrow from Niebuhr's essentially religious question, "What is God doing?" and use his more secular question, "What is going on?" we can see that he suggests that we are not, in fact, asking, "What should we do?"[17] The response to "What should we do?" eventually can be seen as embedded in the "What is going on?" question, eliciting far more of the complexities and nuances of any conflict-laden situation and fixing on the goal of revealing what is not initially explicit. This latter question also suspends the instinct to jump prematurely to the conclusion in order to take action, despite casuistry's moral requirement for resolution.

As a case-based method, casuistry is in current use in complex cases concerning biomedical ethics in which there is a paradigmatic reliance on similar cases. Any process that attempts to conflate entities holding significantly opposed views of what constitutes "success" in a particular situation ought to welcome the opportunity for intra-process reflection and guidance based upon the identification and recognition of similar past circumstances. Because it is not a rule-based system, but one that is motivated by asking questions, it may have found its recent iteration as a result of current global complexity and fragmentation. Casuistry's re-emergence in contemporary culture also may be the result of an increased likelihood that typically marginalized voices reach the light of day due to the availability of communications technologies. The substantial amount of scholarly work from multiple disciplines that has problematized issues of hegemony has also worked in concert with technologies to reveal the concerns of the formerly powerless.

Because the effects of design activity have the potential to produce interference with and change in the status quo, casuistry has a relevant application to the design process. Although this method asks a few seemingly simple questions, answering those questions typically demands a degree of sophistication in order to deliberate well. In the complex biomedical case (i.e. whether to save a life if quality of life is almost certain to be wholly impaired), it assumes that any individual brought into the deliberation has either a level of relevant expertise or a strong personal interest in the outcome of the case. These cases may require that several medical doctors, a psychologist, a bio-ethicist, patient families, and religious leaders assemble to address a single life-and-death question. Some of the parties may appear with deontological constraints that directly conflict with those who want to wait and understand consequences. One should never assume that the parties assembled will approach or define a problem in a uniform way.

As a pose-the-questions, decipher-the-likeness, and then-deliberate method, casuistry makes more sense to design practice than utilitarianism or even consequentialism, both of which focus on ends and diminish the importance of process or means. Neither of these philosophical positions allows for shifting of the end goal. Positions that maintain a focus on outcomes are intrinsically win-lose situations and tend to preserve hegemonic positions. Casuistry offers the possibility of multiple positive outcomes. Within the context of an architectural project, a neighborhood, for example, may resist the construction of a new building, while the owner of the proposed building simply wants to see his or her project realized. The desired ends for these respective positions are, at least on the surface, conflicting and mutually exclusive. Community resistance may be directed at an architecture office that has a commission to build a sewerage treatment plant, a halfway house for ex-convicts, or even a high school that is perceived as a threat to home values in a neighborhood. Though the community may need the facility, no one wants it to be located near them (the NIMBY phenomenon). Often these conflicts get played out in local city halls or the courts and, because of the way they are constituted, result in a win/lose outcome. To focus solely on their respective goals is almost a guarantee of the impossibility of compromise, and certainly the impossibility of a less myopic view. Heated discussions that arise from a real-life situation like the aforementioned tend to be subjective in nature, even if each entity invokes a set of "facts" to prove the rightness of their position. If ethical knowledge acquisition takes place, there actually would be evidence of some shifting for both parties from their respective, original positions. When differing parties define their respective positions too early in a deliberative process, the tendency is to tenaciously cling to their respective answers.

Design methods could benefit by streamlining biomedical casuistry. Embedded within the design process is the designer's notion about how to get from point A to point B. Moving towards a goal needs to be re-conceptualized as an oscillation, backtracking as the designer deals with various authorities and individual wills. The intent of the casuist method would be to inject into the process of creating an artifact, identifiable points of reflection at which the impact of decisions are recognized as having the possibility either to harm or help some one or some thing. In other words, it could be used wherever outcomes have serious consequences. As William Schweiker writes, "The demand facing ethics in a postmodern age, I judge, is to provide an account of moral goodness not reducible to the celebration of power in order to protect and promote the fragility of finite existence."[18] Casuistry's attractiveness as a method for design is that it questions and, therefore, is particularly well suited to the apparent openness of design in process. It relies upon input from a variety of participants. In its current iteration, it negates the idea of a rule-based system of ethics, recognizing the complex fuzziness of real-life situations and the inherent likelihood of conflicting points of view.

Professor Rich Gula, an ethicist and expert casuist from the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley, California, who specializes in complex cases of biomedical ethics, recommends discussions not begin with "What do you want to achieve here?" (This is a variant of "What should be done?") The problem with a question framed in this way is that it encourages participants in the discussion to focus on consequential ends, dig in their heels, and close their minds. "What do we have here?" asks first for analysis as opposed to action. It is perhaps antithetical to the present "just do it" culture that has become accustomed to speeding up and choosing action over contemplation. However, if designers are asked to contemplate images, a reasonable expectation exists that they can be engaged. Even an advertisement in *The New York Times*, for its own ethicist Randy Cohen's column in the Sunday magazine, asked in large headline type, "What Would You Do?"[19] Although the column provides thoughtful answers to readers' questions, the advice is not particularly nuanced. "What do we have here?" invites inclusion, analytical investigation, and suspending action until the issues have been vetted. Within practice, moments can be identified at which decisions that are being made have serious, future consequences.

Listening is critical to the process of casuistry. As a new behavior, the suggestions of contemporary philosopher Jacob Needleman make sense for application in the classroom in general, and the studio in particular. He views the act of "making space" to hear others as a supremely moral act that eludes most of us, noting the human tendency to actively prepare an argument or rebuttal while someone else is speaking.[20] This act of preparation, which actually removes a listener from remaining present in a discussion can be pointed out as the problem it is and can be made explicit to those participants within a design review. Borrowing from Needleman's idea, design reviews could incorporate the ability to make a listening space, and institute it as a necessary skill for those who teach future design practitioners. The listening space becomes even more critical as classrooms are filled with students from different religions, customs, and cultural climates. Within the context of design education and practice, the ability to "make space" to look, to master (at least temporarily) the ability to suspend judgment, becomes a moral skill equally critical to listening. Pedagogical practices could establish "telling spaces" and "looking spaces" as critiques of what the world of power/capital thinks it knows and what it, too, might be taught by practitioners with conscience.

Casuistry asks that we locate paradigms similar to the one under consideration and is offered here for use in a hypermodern world filled with complex issues. It would require the development of paradigmatic cases so that once a group was sitting together to discover the essence of an ethical dilemma, cases with which those trained in casuist methods would be familiar would be selected as references in answer to the question, "what is this like?" In the unusual instance in which the case before a group may not be sufficiently similar to an existing paradigm, a new paradigmatic case that would become part of the larger body of references would result. A casuist method would require that all those who ought to sit at the table be at the table. This might be the very first question addressed, before the particulars of the case are addressed. In design class settings, those present for the discussion might include faculty and students, experts in the content areas, and those who are portrayed in an image. In practice, the client should be present and, ideally, a small group representing the audience for the image under investigation. Someone with an understanding of the casuist method would facilitate the discussion.

5.3 Hypothetical Cases: Attempts at Resolution

Following are several cases that help to understand the problems that may arise as the hybrid method of ethics is applied to a variety of cases. While this project has focused on the obvious genre of corporations that attempt to picture themselves as socially and/or environmentally responsible, what actually needs to take place in order to attempt to resolve problematic cases from any genre of images, is a set of activities that bring people in contact with one another to decipher first, "what is going on" and how best to resolve the conflicting agendas.

The first case looks at the problem of who belongs at the table in complex deliberations and imagines a scenario in which positions of conflict are inherent among the participants. In order to imagine the possibility of any form of consensus and to reject inherent positions of power that point to *a priori* conclusions, it is precisely the group of people who have interest in the outcome that need to be present and fairly heard from during the course of deliberations.

5.3.1 Constituting a Group with Entrenched, Conflicting Positions

The following example is not an example of a conflict over an image. It is an example of a conflict constructed around a business, Metal FX, and what sorts of divergent parties might constitute an ethics roundtable attempting to vet the activities of the business. It has been chosen for several reasons: the actual content of what the business does relates to the production of graphic images, making it absolutely understandable to the design practitioner. It is also a business that appears to thwart current and popular concerns among design practitioners for the health and safety of the planet. Therefore, as a business at this particular time, it has a host of detractors. The goal of the example is to demonstrate the range and complexity of intrinsically varied and entrenched, conflicting viewpoints ("stakeholders" in a situation) that need to come to some resolution.

A hypothetical case study that presents questions about how to understand the nature of contexts and representation is offered. Perhaps even more importantly it clarifies the problems related to compartmentalization and isolation among content specialists who may have a stake in a project's outcome. An adaptation of casuist methodology is recommended to propose ways to discover what is happening behind public representations. In this artificial construct within the text, this example "brings together" parties holding differing points of view as a response to a new business described in an actual article in the *Financial Times* regarding a company that is promoting a new technology used to increase the number of commercially available metallic printing ink colors. Although the example emerges from an environmental question that might affect graphic design practitioners, it is more importantly a description of a process in which resolution is sought among constituents who have discrepant interests in the outcome. By bringing these parties into proximity (here within the text), their respective and conflicting worldviews become apparent. It is not unusual for business people and environmentalists to have divergent, mutually exclusive interests. The casuist method is suggested to resolve differences through dislodging the initial, recalcitrant positions on an issue. Although much of the structuring of the investigative body can be seen as derived directly from communicative ethics, the central question asked to frame the discussion is casuist. Receptivity to position shifting is more likely as a result of framing the initial question as, "What is going on?" posed by H. Richard Niebuhr. The particular significance of this question needs to be understood in opposition to the question, "What should be done?" By asking the question that Niebuhr suggests that we ask, we allow for a disengagement from an entrenched position that clings to a goal-oriented agenda. If the latter question is asked, the answer has been framed so that participants must select action, occluding the possibility of creating a space of reflection and investigation.

I have constructed the following hypothetical scenario pitting environmentalists against business people, and designers against designers, as a response to the newly proposed technology described in the *Financial Times*.[21] The article depicts the rapid evolution of a successful entrepreneurship that is involved in bringing back into widespread use metallic printing inks in offset lithography, the dominant printing technology in commercial use today. These inks have long been valued for their commercial appeal and are used widely in the packaging industry. I have selected the example of this business (which was promoted through announcements sent out by printers shortly after the article appeared) because it is generally accepted now among design industry professionals that metallic ink usage poses multiple environmental threats. Designers who view themselves as respectful of sustainability issues, therefore, have shunned these inks. The article is entitled, "Technology that put a shine on a growing business," and describes the discovery of a new system, including software licensing, for the commercial use of metallic printing. It reported the following news:

> In 2002, a young entrepreneur in Leeds risked everything he had—and he did not have much—to make his business a success. Three years on, Andrew Ainge's print technology company, MetalFX, has generated business around the world, and expects annual revenues in excess of 10 million pounds by 2007. His route to success took him as far afield as China and led him to adopt an innovative technology licensing model that minimises the operation's overheads while maximising its profits. The technology in question is a new method of printing metallic colours. Since it was launched, the system had changed the industry's approach to the use of metallic inks and the visual results—on brochures, packaging, annual reports and so on—have been stunning...Mr. Ainge developed a new kind of ink that enabled the printing of 104m metallic colours in the same run on a five-colour press...Once the process was tested and proven, Mr. Ainge's first challenge was to convince a global audience of both printers and designers of its benefits. The second was how to maximise revenues from the opportunity....Once the technology began to be used to create eye-catching and colourful brochures, posters, packaging and publications, it caught the attention of another group—artists, who were attracted by the possibilities of metallic printing for their creative work." His final business idea was to license the technology. Adam Pritchard, head of investment at Yorkshire's regional development agency was quoted as saying, "If a business as small as MetalFX can sell to more than 120 countries—using innovative ideas, key trade shows and the power of the internet—then, frankly, anything is possible.[22]

Imagine people representing the following actual positions (environmentally conscious designers, designers who are not environmentally conscious, ink and paper manufacturers, state environmental agencies) sitting together in a room to decipher the nature of a conflict resulting from the announcement of the above business. Such conflicting positions routinely exist among the worlds of business, design and sustainability professionals regarding the use of metallic printing inks. These discrepant positions suggest a need for a casuist approach if it were possible to bring these parties together to deliberate in good faith. Because of *where* this article was reported (*Financial Times*), the focus was, as might be expected, on Mr. Ainge's business model. Little was said about metallic inks themselves and no reference was made in the article to environmental concerns or why use of metallic inks had declined, except for the oblique reference made to this company being the reason for a "revitalised interest in them."[23] A working designer would had to have been greatly distanced from design communications for the last decade or two not to know that among the serious sustainability issues graphic designers have confronted as a profession, the negative environmental impact associated with the use of metallic printing inks has been well publicized throughout professional literature. Perhaps this is why the article referred to an industry that was in need of "revitalising." Use of metallic inks would seem rightfully to have been diminished as a result of the growing awareness of its negative environmental impact. Ecologically conscious designers have been making serious efforts to avoid using these inks. Typical of the information disseminated to design professional is the following comment from EcoGraphics, Inc.:

> Metallic inks, e.g. gold, silver, etc., may contain up to 70% pigment derived from heavy metals, some of which are known carcinogens. When material printed with these inks eventually ends up in landfills, the heavy metals can leech out and enter the ground water. To obtain full metallic effect, these inks are nearly always printed on coated (glossy) paper which is less likely to be recycled and more likely to quickly find its way into a landfill.[24]

Most reasonably aware designers know that metallic inks, in order to maintain their maximum reflective property, must be printed on rather heavy, glossy papers. However, on the web site of Ink World Magazine, Associate Editor Jenn Hess, in her article "Just Add Metallics" notes, "Gold and silver are more than just the color of Olympic medals. Adding gold and silver pigments and inks will make packaging sparkle and shine, creating a new, exciting look."[25] The article then discusses performance attributes of metallic inks, pricing concerns, and refers to research on "process improvement" and "radical new pigment design." No reference is made to environmental issues in the entire 4-page article, but rather that "...new product development will be driven by the needs of their (the metallic ink manufacturers') customers."[26] The contents of this article are not surprising, given that its context is a trade magazine of the printing inks industry.

The Connecticut Department of Environmental Protection offers guidelines to those creating printed materials in the Department's "Pollution Prevention Fact Sheet, Sector: Printers/Lithographers, Printing Inks." Under the heading, "Environmental Concerns," the following is noted, "The environmental concerns over inks center around heavy metals, solvents and toxicity...Newer formulations eliminate these metals, sometimes at the expense of color, but improvements continue to be made." The fact sheet also warns of solvents used in inks that evaporate into the atmosphere and form ozone. If inks are not properly disposed of, water contamination poses yet another risk to marine life. The Connecticut site states explicitly that the sheet is intended for information and is not "legal advice."[27]

It is usually not possible to manufacture metallic inks without the use of heavy metal particles. The metallic appearance of these inks is the result of small flakes of actual metals suspended in a substrate. According to Dr. Joy Kunjappu, Ph.D., D.Sc./Chemicals & Consulting, New York, quoting the American Dry Color Manufacturers' Association in the Paint & Coatings Industry web site, "[pigments are] any coloured, black, white or fluorescent particulate solid, which is insoluble in, and essentially unaffected by, the vehicle or substrate in which it is incorporated...A pigment will retain a crystal or particulate structure throughout the colouring process." She also notes that "the use of heavy metal containing formulations are discouraged and regulated due to their toxic nature and difficulties in their disposal."[28] Worldwatch Institute, (doing "independent research for an environmentally sustainable and socially just society") on their web page containing information on Paper Products and Publications, advises the following: "Use lightweight paper…Use uncoated paper whenever possible, minimizing the use of varnishes and facilitating recycling."[29] Metallic ink manufacturers, it should be noted, consistently recommend the use of coated papers because the metallic colors perform best (i.e. retain their reflective properties) on these stocks.

A concern for individual profit in particular versus a concern for the public health in general is the most salient division among the various parties. What exactly is wrong with the way in which this new technology and apparently highly successful business is described in the *Financial Times*? It makes all the necessary points that qualify it as successful given the site of its presentation (a business newspaper). It is fair to assume that in any situation in which capitalist motivation is of central importance to at least certain of the players, there is likely to be a willingness to not include aspects of any decision that interferes with preferences for the telos of the profit motive. An environmental agency, conversely, is primarily charged with the protection of public health and safety. In this situation, the two interest groups generally remain wholly inside their respective worldviews. Each group talks to its constituent audiences who, *a priori*, tend to be receptive to their respective and divergent messages. These parties remain isolated from each other unless some relatively significant public trauma arises, along with potential legal issues that put them at odds in a public venue. These groups then may find themselves in diametric opposition to each other when issues that affect their fundamental reason for being (i.e. to make money or to protect worker's health or the environment) are fore-grounded. These may include concern over byproducts from a manufacturing process, strikes, and law suits. One could argue that American environmental protective legislation tends to represent the bare minimum standards in health and safety because these restrictions on corporations are often perceived as jeopardizing corporate profits. Additionally, corporate lobbyists tend to have greater political clout than environmental lobbyists.

Other players in what seem to be cases of multiple oppositions may become part of a conflict. There are always outside experts (i.e., legal, scientific, or medical) upon whom there can be some reliance. Designers themselves fall into several different camps on sustainability issues. Those who see themselves as profitable packaging or corporate designers tend not to want to relinquish their "rights" to use metallic inks. Other designers who are committed to sustainability will insist that other ways to work need to be negotiated. Niebuhr notes "the importance of making distinctions between proximate and ultimate goals and purposes."[30] His is a critical distinction that must remain active as part of the deliberative content as a challenge to the proximate goals of any single party to a conflict. Niebuhr understands the messiness involved and notes that there is "no manual with an immediate practicality in determining for others what their moral life ought to be."[31] Additionally, Schweiker comments, "Contemporary ethics is best with endless debates about the possibility and necessity of validating a moral outlook,"[32] rejecting the common contemporary and relatively automatic expectations for a smooth process and unimpeded "progress." If one never is snagged in a deliberation, no reason becomes apparent that movement from the entrenched position is necessary.

The groups referenced above represent multiple, conflicting interests: entrepreneurs, trade organizations promoting product usage, designers who specify inks and papers, ecological groups and government. Ideally, bringing together the discordant parties as a response to the article from the *Financial Times* would identify a moment at which diverging views might begin to coalesce. If metallic ink usage was designated as controversial and the various parties described were brought together, along with the environmentally conscious designer and the highly paid corporate designer, how might the parties begin to understand "what is going on" and what the nature of the conflict is. Is everyone present who needs to be present? How is the conflict framed? And finally, how is power distributed at such sites of conflict?

If this were a matter of faith, for someone who has a deep religious faith, the guide for right action may be provided by that faith. But, as Niebuhr suggests, there are different kinds of "devotion." We might consider the following different kinds of devotion: "beauty" for the artist (or designer), "truth" for the scientist, and "efficiency and productivity" for the businessperson.[33] This suggests that once at a table surrounded by parties with conflicting views, the locus of devotion for each participant is determined by the primacy of the nature of the devotion brought to the table. "Ethics, as an intellectual enterprise, enables us to bring more clarity into our interpretation of the social world of which we are a part—not by pure sociological analysis, but by ethical analysis, an analysis of values, goals, purposes, moral claims, and aspirations that compete, conflict, or co-exist uncomfortably. It does not give us an unequivocal rank-order of values to be sought in some universal order of preference to each other."[34] As creatures who make value-based judgments, we are constantly in the process of making decisions in new situations that demand (consciously or unconsciously) that we take moral positions, sometimes breaking those rules according to which we thought we were living.

Moments for ethical deliberations arise from these sites of conflict, particularly where authoritarian positions are revealed in dictatorial or autocratic statements. A space for questioning may be located as an alternative to such totalizing points of view. Statements that reveal no willingness for consensus at points where major decisions are made provide logical places for ethical interception. They must be explicitly identified as moments of resistance, but making points of conflict explicit is particularly problematic in organizational structures with strong hierarchies and obvious imbalances in power. Laws often are passed only after a polarizing debate and deals have been struck to support the opponent's pending legislation. Operating hierarchically, legal resolution to a conflict more often than not represents a greater compromise for the party not in the hegemonic position. The factors that land two parties in a legal contest often find resolution in a system that rewards the party who can hire the best, and often the most expensive, litigator.

One of the most stubborn problems in a deliberation process is the belief that someone whose values differ from your own is perceived as someone who has no values or bad values. When attempting to resolve conflict, it is necessary to relinquish the view that views in opposition to one's own are intrinsically less moral just because they are not congruent with one's own view of morality. George Lakoff may be useful to provide an example of how we can think about opposing value systems and the whole problem of how to loosen the entrenchment of a particular moral worldview. In the following, we can see how a bifurcation between what is understood to be moral can take place in the political arena and how recalcitrant that entrenchment may be. In other words, as difficult as it may seem for progressives to hear, conservatives do believe in the morality of their position with respect to their values. And similarly, progressives believe in the fundamental morality of their position. As a political progressive, Lakoff proposes that progressives develop winning strategies that operate around re-framing concepts through the use of strategic language. His position is relevant here because it helps to understand entrenched belief systems that are easily labeled and dismissed as having no moral worth by someone who does not share the same or even a similar moral worldview. He also makes clear the power advantage held by someone who can create the linguistic frame to control how an issue is viewed just by initiating the language used to describe it. This linguistic power may also be used to create asymmetry within a deliberation.

How, for example, is conflict resolved when we are progressives in a political climate that is dominated by what Lakoff describes as one of strict father morality? Conservative morality is depicted by Lakoff as a strict father morality that upholds the following set of moral values: "Traditional power relations are taken as defining a natural moral order: God above man, man above nature, adults above children, Western culture above non-Western culture, America above other nations."[35] This view places "nature" as something that is in service to man. When a conservative businessperson holds this view of nature as subservient to man (or "nature is there for the taking"), how can the ideologies of the nurturant parent be reconciled with this conservative morality? Lakoff describes progressive values, i.e. the nurturant parent, in the following way: "First, if you empathize with your child, you will provide protection. This comes into politics in many ways. What do you protect your child from? ... from smoking, from poisonous additives in food. So progressive politics focuses on environmental protection...Protection is part of the progressive moral system, but it has not been elaborated on enough." Protection is linguistically reclaimed by progressives from its conservative, military connotations.[36]

According to Lakoff, the nurturant parent's view of community is horizontal rather than hierarchical, operating in support and protection of the environment for future generations. These views would directly affect what action to take in a dilemma over sustainability and dislodge the attribute of "protection" from one or the other moral camps.

Two entirely different views emerge of what constitutes a moral system, both addressing protection, though very differently articulated. Thus, at the least one can see a shared concern. It may be that shared concerns are developed as starting points to resolve discrepant views. Richard B. Miller writes, "In casuistry, one's experiences and habits contribute to the formation of presumptions and paradigms, which in turn are brought to bear upon the variabilities of the moral life."[37] Lakoff points to the difficulty in the possibility of alternative points of view once the language that is used has been cognitively framed by one side of an argument. The established frame provides the only lens through which to view an issue. Lakoff's perspective is offered here to demonstrate the potential for control in a conflict where control resides with those who establish linguistic dominance by framing the problem. This sort of dominance would need to be identified during the course of a deliberation.

If casuistry views resolution as a moral requirement of the process, how are the entrenched points of views described above resolved? Following is a possibility for resolution that acknowledges the deeply held concerns for profit and for the environment. No instantaneous, magic solution is offered, but rather a nuanced movement towards a realization of points of view that do not encompass one's own. Perhaps the profitable MetalFX could devote a reasonable portion of its earnings to researching the development of inks that are biodegradable, do not use actual metal particulates, do not require heavy gloss papers, yet achieve the same dazzling effect. This might actually be a smart (though admittedly potentially an initially expensive) business decision that would be in place prior to environmental regulations that would restrict the use of metallic inks as they are formulated today. There might be cases worth citing in which corporations have worked successfully (profitably) with environmentalists in which profitability is sustained. Over time, environmentally concerned designers would support the new inks rather than boycott their use. In this way, both worldviews might be accommodated, though neither side has shifted its moral position. Those concerned for the earth would know that their concern was being addressed with a plan that might take some time. Those concerned with "sparkle" and profit would know that successful research could result in greater acceptance of their product, perhaps less litigation and, ultimately, more profit. This complex deliberation ultimately could reveal what we ought to do collectively, potentially include a timeline for doing it, and become a paradigmatic case in which business was pitted against environmentalists. On a purely practical level, and though possibly a second choice (after face-to-face meetings) for conducting an investigation into ethical questions, I argue that the feasibility of creating sites of deliberation is a viable option through the availability of telepresencing technologies that allow for everyone who needs to be at a discussion at least be digitally accessible. This technology is usable in the classroom, the design office, and the corporate office.

5.3.2 Classroom Imagery as Ethical Problem

A few pedagogical cases are presented in order to suggest a way to initiate ethics discussions in the context of actual project genres that dominate contemporary pedagogy.

In particular, once a formal skill set has been established, the personal project tends to occupy much of the time spent in undergraduate design education. The effort here is to bring into school the kinds of complex questions that arise in real-world design projects in which external agendas of clients generally subsume personal interests or goals of the designer. This is not an inherently adversarial condition, but it does constitute a condition of having to "answer to" someone outside the self and is indicative of a position that offers far less autonomy over choices than does the class-based project. Depending upon the pedagogical focus of a contemporary design institution, students may or may not be exposed to images that serve the corporation. Since the mid-twentieth century, many design schools have moved towards emphasizing the development of what is termed the personal voice in image production. The content of many projects has shifted to *pro bono* causes, especially social justice issues, and personal expression. While this shift serves the student well in terms of gaining a degree of confidence about how one's personal sensibilities may emerge visually from within a personal project, the focus on personal voice misses the opportunity to develop an understanding of how one situates the self with respect to the objectives of others (clients) who are central to design and routine forces in complex, real-world design projects. Despite required studies in design history that are supposed to link historical conditions and technological limitations to design production, students at any one historical moment gravitate mostly towards a contemporary visual language that is applied to a project, irrespective of its content. These images produced in the classroom often suffer from a failure of understanding images in their historical context and how meanings have become embedded inside and attached to specific historical periods and styles that signify those periods and places.

Also fairly typical is the failure to understand in what world a particular project lives. As an extreme example of the (oxymoronically) universal application of style, a postmodern poster for a contemporary theater production may make perfect sense, but the same complex, overlapping imagery in a Heimlich maneuver poster might result in someone choking to death in a restaurant. This mimetic cascade into style presents an ethical problem worth deciphering. If students have not acquired the knowledge of this distinction, as faculty we may have failed them pedagogically because they will have been ill prepared academically to meet the challenges of the profession in which they have chosen first to study and then to work. The example offered below falls into the category of succumbing to style at the expense of content. However, it also is meant to instruct the student in the critical nature of effects beyond the personal point of view (best accommodated in a painting studio and rarely in a design office).

Since the student's problem is most often explicitly stated as part of a presentation (much the way a professional project may be explicitly stated to the client but almost never to the audience of the project), these venues offer the opportunity to decipher the space between the words used to define the project and how it appears to have been resolved as a visual response to the stated problem. Although the images in the classroom setting seldom relate to the work of the large corporation that operates within a system of what has become, since the 1980s, increasingly deregulated capitalism, it is critical that a design student acquire knowledge of the *process* of vetting an image so that once the student is working in the larger business culture, he or she will have learned how to think critically about the work that images can perform.

Using actual projects that I have selected from a 2006 undergraduate thesis class in graphic design, I am able to identify, given my own understanding of the nature of student work and process, a variety of hypothetical conflicts. Possible ways to interpret the images created by the students can be assessed against design historical conventions, understanding of contemporary imagery, and direct responses from other students. The *a priori* assumption is that designers have agency and images have effect. Graphic Design Professor Anne Bush writes about investigations in the academic settings as a time for understanding one's own position with respect to what one "takes as fact," or methods and judgments that are made.[38] Bush's suggestion helps to frame a process of self-reflection for faculty who might initiate the investigation of the image, dislodging assumptions.

One of the (anonymous) students in the course from which the following examples were taken supplied the class with the following personal project statement.

> Approximately two million lives were lost in the Cambodian "Killing Fields" between 1975-1979. The Survivors scattered across the globe, two of whom managed to escape to the suburbs of California—my parents. By contrasting the first-hand accounts of my parents' survival from the Khmer Rouge regime to my re-creations of the same events, I will explore the discrepancy between personal and public exposure of this tragic event.

Preceding the creation of the images, this statement was not seen as problematic. However, when the student began to make images, although extraordinarily beautiful, they were stylistically disconnected from the content, revealing a mannered treatment of a weighty topic. The stylistic disconnect can be understood as a choice, conscious or not, to bifurcate content from design style (which, as noted, should be part of a student's historical knowledge of image conventions). It implies a substitutional nature of content and educationally reveals a lack of mastery of understanding visual genres. (A movie poster, for example, has a visual language that is distinctly different from a prescription label or a train schedule.) At this moment, a discussion of the ethics of using style so divorced from content (and potentially generic) could have been initiated. Graphic design students in recent decades have been subjected to truncated distortions of postmodern theories, resulting in often meaningless (non-specific and substitutional in nature) visual constructions. This is characterized by a tendency to resist visual specificity and to uncouple content and message, often resulting in an absence of signs, metaphors, and intelligibility.

What do we have here? There are two ethical questions: the first, addressed here, concerns the student's work and the second (which is derived from the observation of a problem in the student's work and not addressed in this project that focuses on the image) could easily concern the larger pedagogical failure and the responsibility of design education to its students. Did this post-modern, decorative pastiche do a kind of violence to the gravity of the Khmer Rouge's treatment of this student's family subject? Did the contemporary and stylistic predictability of the images disconnect first the student producer and subsequently his audience from what was stated to be an extremely personal and significant connection? Did the student understand adequately the complex marriage of photojournalistic integrity and personal voice? This would have allowed for a discussion about representation and unconscious disregard for content and intent. The student stated in the thesis proposal that the discrepancy between private and public would be explored. Graphically, the work could have been interrogated as a form of (unintentional) misrepresentation. In this project, there was not a great amount of consciousness about the relationship between style and content, which for the designer is an ethical responsibility. In this project, does the split between style and content constitute an ethical oversight? This also points to an opportunity for a student to reveal his or her command of how meaning has been attached to images. As faculty, our immediate concern that would make this project ripe for querying was the automatic quality of the image.

Who should sit at the table with the student? A group of faculty, newspaper designers, and students could have been assembled to discuss this project. A documentary photographer, photo theorist, journalist, biographer, and filmmaker would be appropriate participants in the discussion. The student could have been introduced to journalistic images of the coverage of the Khmer Rouge's atrocities. Intervention at an early stage in the design process could have questioned the stylistic detachment as demeaning the significance of the highly personal and tragic subject matter. The images were constituted of generic and mannered, but visually evocative manipulations of the few original photographic images that the student actually had. Before stylizing them, the class was responding to the photographs of his family presented by the student— poignant in their rawness and authenticity, particularly when coupled with the knowledge that they were the only images this student had of his family in Cambodia. Once combined, however, with a decorative, postmodern typography, if one were looking at the piece and could not read the language, the visual handling of the information would not indicate *any* particular subject matter, making it "interchangeable" with any other genre of content, including those far less tragic and personal. This interchangeability is problematic with respect to the seriousness and personal attachment the student had to the massacres by the Khmer Rouge. Additionally, it visually thwarted the student's own statement, raising yet additional questions about the ethics of straying from a fairly explicit statement of content originating with the designer about a communication.

The response to the early presentations by the student helped the student to decipher that he was not working towards his original statement (above) that he had created for himself. Since this was an actual project in a classroom setting, the student had the opportunity to work to meet his own explicit goals for the project. In this instance, the faculty acted as client and helped the student operate at least momentarily on the receiving side of the image. What was most critical was that the student engaged consciously with the outcome so that the design was vetted for maximizing the stated intent, and the full gravity of the topic. The student also learned to understand what about the project was personal and how that personal lived within a communication that was understood as significant both personally and historically. The depth of the project might have been even more profound had the group of people discussing it been more inclusive (as indicated in the suggested list above).

Another student raised in a family with multiple religious backgrounds and a self-declared agnostic, decided to investigate several major, and some not-so-major, religions. The student's process was journalistic, making a commitment to attend services and, when possible, to attend services on major holidays of each of the selected religions during the course of the semester. At the service, the student would photograph and collect any printed materials distributed about the religion at the site. The print references were used to create heavily manipulated images that served as visual commentary on the various religions. Two of the religions banned graven images, but these prohibitions were discounted by the student. Although many students in the school do not consider themselves particularly religious, the project would have provided a perfect opportunity to evaluate the potency and attitude of the images for those who identify strongly with a religion. This project would have been well suited to a discussion about the dramatic responses by the Muslim community to the cartoon images of Muhammed in the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* in 2006. Political cartoonist Art Spiegelman thinks not showing the images is far more onerous than showing them.[39] Classroom discussions could have included participation by those who make political cartoons, photographic images in advertising, photographic images in journalism, and legal experts. The discussions could include questions about how to think ethically about constraints upon images (for example, based upon religious beliefs, cultural customs, or age-appropriateness) and the rights of free speech and free press. Also wrapped into the discussion would be questions about the ethics of parody (which, though legally protected can still be damaging in certain circumstances). The overriding objective here is to engage the students who make images in relative isolation, and even for viewing in relative isolation, to have outside experts engage with design students and faculty on issues about which they have other, potentially more profound, perspectives that may have been trivialized in an image.

Without doubt, design looks at intended audience, but the question of audience could propel the discussion into the area of what, if any, limits should be place on the way various religions or ethnicities are pictured. The legal limits that exist on defamatory verbal language fall into the category of hate speech in the United States. This might present an opportunity to vet defamatory visible language. What was eventually a graphically beautiful book with unifying original imagery, also existed on an ethically tenuous edge in some way. This project could have been discussed in ways similar to cases of ethics in journalism in which questions about what hat one is wearing (human or professional) in order to "get the story" or, in this case, to "get the image." Using images of the homeless already have provoked similar kinds of (unstructured) discussions in the classroom regarding concerns about exploitation while trying to obtain an image. The discussion could have addressed how images may demean and offend, what are the limits of ethical behaviors in the creation of images, and how visual critique is responsibly executed.

Examining the work of an entire group of students would reveal a variety of ethical problems that result from specific images or sets of images. The work provides a starting point to discuss issues that pertain to designed images such as censorship, offensiveness, deliberate misrepresentation, and those avoidable failures to fully investigate the conditions of image development that lead to unintentional misrepresentations that result, at times, simply from inadequate research. The method of analysis is taken from casuistry and its philosophical basis is communicative ethics, but always would include some outside expert from the content area of the project. Architecture Professor Jean-Pierre Protzen points to the asymmetry in how consequences are felt between those who (expertly) wield power and those who are affected by decisions made by these experts.[40] Designers who make decisions about images may not only be incapable of assessing outcomes resulting from their decisions, they also may be less likely to suffer from poor decisions than those who are the recipients of them. In his discussion of the principle of idoneity, Protzen comments "What is idoneous cannot be known in advance."[41] This leaves the design educator in a bit of a dilemma and raises serious questions about what a designer can actually know about the act of designing and, especially, how it will be experienced at the sites of reception. Over time, however, casuistry may provide design with the paradigmatic cases that are used to determine in advance of circulation the potential for harm that the image might do. Designers can easily confuse the eventual material manifestations of their work as evidence of a kind of certainty of outcome that isn't really there. Protzen is recommending that a rigorous dialectic technique be employed in the process of designing that leads one to improve upon what is in process. For design education, he recommends the following: "Subjects for instruction should include but not be limited to methods of identifying conflicting ends and intentions held by various population groups, procedures for eliciting arguments in favor of and against proposed solutions, techniques of conflict resolution, methods of analytic thinking and dialectic techniques."[42] This recommendation makes perfect sense as an evaluative approach to understanding the broad impact of design decisions that are typically evident and assessment discussion-ready within the area of design that produces images. In this instance, even an early iteration is sufficiently committed to a graphic representation that is, from a formal point of view (due to the technology used to create the image), ready to be evaluated.

Casuistry and communicative ethics can be put to work within the duration of a typical semester long project in the following way. As project statements and especially as early project images are generated, preliminary problems are identified by the entire group of faculty and students involved in the course. Individual ethical concerns are generated and potential conflicts between points of view are identified. Readings should begin with Alistair Macintyre in order to understand the goal of a group working to sort out ethical dilemmas. Some design faculty member will need to acquire knowledge in and capable of providing some basic instruction in the casuist method. Not all projects will contain ethically problematic images. For practical reasons, the group should rank images from most-to-least problematic, so that the group will know in advance that the most problematic images will be addressed during the semester. The group is responsible for identifying those images and the nature of the respective ethical problem. Though the attachment of a problematic label is done prior to exposure to the vetting process, an assumption of normativity about what constitutes a problem in representation is understood to exist, but may be subject to a preliminary evaluation by the faculty casuist for the sake of the pragmatics of time constraints.

Next the group must determine who sits at the discussion table. Within the classroom setting, the group of participants is initially constituted by the class registrants. Is anyone missing from the discussion? The group determines the nature of the problem inherent to a particular project and recommends the inclusion of appropriate outside experts (such as content experts). If a case-based system has been evolved, paradigms may become established that include recipients of images. While marketers tend to rely on focus groups constituted by potential consumers, designers mostly avoid them. Designers equate focus groups with the effect homogenizing design work, making perfect sense to marketers who want to know in advance that a new image/product will be well received by its target audience. However if, within a casuist system, recipients of images were among the participants in a deliberative process, their role would be very different from that of a focus group because of the multiple influences and interests present in a conflict-laden scenario.

One-hour within a six-hour per week studio course should be set aside for discussion. As the projects progress, roundtables could occur less frequently and the option would remain for any participant to request a roundtable if or when a problem is identified. For each roundtable, the faculty should provide a preparatory reading for the entire group.[43] Particularly in the early stages of using this proposed hybrid method, discussions should be recorded for the purpose of developing a set of case-based histories that serve as paradigms to guide analysis of difficult design-related ethical problems. At the conclusion of the semester, students should be asked to write evaluations of the roundtables for inclusion in the case-based reference. The class should develop a format for recording the cases that addresses: identification of the problem, choosing participants, useful readings to help resolve differences, what the problem is like (antecedents), and how it lives in the current social network of designed images.

5.3.3 Is Corporate Visual Responsibility possible in practice?

Revisiting the examples from the previous chapter, it is useful to look at how a designer might interact with the following corporations and evaluate why they are selected as problematic. They have distinctly different approaches to managing their identities as responsible corporations that, it can be argued, correlate directly to the different ways in which these three brands are profitable. They do, however, share the following: all approaches are designed to enhance the image of the corporation and manage the public opinion of its behaviors. "What is going on here" remains the initial question in each case. The main focus will be on the Dove campaign because it thwarts our expectations for images in the fashion and beauty genres and *appears* to constitute a radical and fairly large-scale shift in the kinds of imagery used to market this genre of product.

This investigation can begin by returning to some of Professor William O'Neill's questions about what counts as social justice, how the questions have changed over time, and what counts as an answer. Is the imagery used by Dove (a Unilever brand) too good to be true? Upon initial inspection, the images that are used in Dove's "Campaign for Real Beauty" seem at first like a triumph of ethical behavior in corporate marketing. Women of all ages, shapes and sizes appear (seemingly un-retouched), spreading a message of self-acceptance. Dove appears to have changed its question to how can we design a campaign that contains, and therefore appeals to, "real" women as opposed to how can we design a campaign that connects our products to ideals of conventional beauty.

We can begin understanding this case by comparing what we see with what we don't see in the campaign. If I were to suggest that the "campaign for real beauty" is ethically problematic, many would question my position. It is, after all, the result of the whitepapers (as noted on the title page of the 2006 report, "Commissioned by Dove, a Unilever company") titled "Beauty Comes of Age: Findings of the 2006 Dove global study on aging, beauty and well-being" (and still available on line at the campaignforrealbeauty web site) written by academics from prestigious institutions. What Dove has created is an illusion of a self-esteem campaign filled with images that reside in a sea of contradictory images of perfection. This is but one additional example of why images must be examined as a subset of a much larger group of images.

In order to constitute a group to investigate the legitimacy of Dove's "Campaign for Real Beauty," the following participants could be involved: representatives from Dove's marketing group, one or more of the authors of Dove's three ("commissioned" whitepapers), a few of the women who appeared in the ProAging campaign and the Campaign for Real Beauty, the copywriter, the photographer, stylist, and photo retoucher from one of the campaigns, a photography theorist, a feminist theorist, and designers who work on the advertisements. Several questions are worth asking the assembled group. Why is the campaign called "the campaign for real *beauty*" –still referencing women with respect to physical appearance? Did the interviewees in the 2006 whitepaper bring up the issue of media or was the interview *lead* into a response about media? How was the topic of beauty products initiated (i.e., by the interviewer or interviewee)? Are the photographs retouched? What did the raw images look like? How did the designer of the ads manipulate the position and scale of the images? Would *any* woman of a similar age (or weight or appearance) have been acceptable to picture in this campaign? If not, why not? What is really achieved by the interactive nature of the web site of the "campaign for real beauty" that depicts the retouching of an image of an already conventionally attractive model? To use the previously discussed (admittedly strident) prohibition of BITCH magazine that restricts the use of images of women to sell any product, one could ask why Dove, supposedly fighting the superficiality of beauty, uses images of women to sell beauty products (as opposed to images and information about the products themselves). Upon examination, the products (though generally handsomely packaged for a brand at this price point) are made from highly unremarkable ingredients.

What work is done by the use of "ProAge"? As the web site notes, " 'Dove seeks to create an attitudinal change in the anti-aging category—from negative and fear-driven to affirmative and hope-driven,' says Kathy O'Brien, Dove Marketing Director. 'pro-age is about looking great for your age.'"[44] Of course the term ProAge is used to distinguish Dove from the dominant language of competitor's beauty products that promise anti-aging benefits. The web site discusses pro and con reactions to the ads by "real women" discussing their points of view. Have these discussions been scripted? They have clearly been professionally videotaped and edited. What has Dove achieved? Has the Dove brand become the equivalent of the sympathetic listener by anticipating the confusion over unexpected images and further engaging the attention of its audience?

The most recent whitepaper states the (unsurprising) facts that people come in all sizes and shapes and that longevity is increasing. The forward, by Dr. Nancy Etcoff of Harvard University, notes that after interviewing (mostly by phone) 1450 middle-aged women in nine countries, their biggest concern is how they are seen in advertisements. This is the third of three whitepapers commissioned by Dove since 2004 that have addressed new points of view about beauty and well-being (2004), beauty and self-esteem (2005), and the latest on beauty and aging (2006). One of the more interesting findings was related to women over 50 and invisibility (as evidenced in beauty magazines). Not surprising, the same statistic did not apply to men. The report cited a "Paradox of Aging" which translates into taking pride in being a certain age, but responding positively when a younger age is attributed to them. Despite rejecting fears of aging, Dove reports "Nearly all of the women surveyed were concerned about specific physical aspects of aging—most often centered on skin, body, and hair."[45] The study concluded that women unanimously wanted to see a change in society's views on women and aging and that media needed to do a better job of realistically representing these women. The conclusion reads, "Design with Women in mind…create products with women their age (50-64) in mind...eight in ten of these women are more likely to buy a product that represents what it can do, rather than one that makes false claims and promises."[46]

Dove brand seems to have pre-empted the critique of images used to sell products to women and position its product line as a response to the concerns voiced in the whitepapers. But has it really been forthright? Meta tactics, ads about ads, have been used, illusions of transparency of agenda have been established, but all appear to be under the tight control of the brand. Dove has made a smart effort to distinguish its run of the mill product line by interacting and befriending its large and growing audience of average looking girls and aging women, both representing a large consumer demographic. The aforementioned questions are ones that the image producer involved with a client needs to ask to determine, beyond the initial reaction of the seemingly sensitive marketing concept, what is really going on in this campaign. Dove seems to be relying upon the audience not looking behind the superficial surfaces of image-related self esteem campaigns that engage their demographic.

Like most seemingly responsible corporate actions, Unilever had good business reasons for this campaign. Although the campaign provided visual relief from the overly standardized images in fashion and beauty magazines, it was also a strategic move. The "Pro-Age" line, in particular, is timed to appeal to currently aging demographic. Declaring a product to be "pro-age" separates the Dove product line instantly from the multitude of products that have been marketed recently and declare themselves to be anti-aging. So although Dove appears to be sending a message that positively embraces women in a realistic way, its real job is to distinguish the Unilever product from its competition.

Dove's 2005 whitepaper (with research funded by Unilever) entitled, "Beyond Stereotypes: Rebuilding the Foundation of Beauty Beliefs. Findings of the 2005 Dove Global Study."[47] noted,

> Fueled by the results of this study, Dove launched the Campaign for Real Beauty, which challenged currently held beliefs and media portrayals of what real beauty is by showcasing real women viewed as unconventional beauties in their advertising and outreach...Inspired by the 2004 study, Dove decided to take the next step in exploring the impact of society's beauty ideals on the self-worth of women and—importantly—of young girls.[48]

Inserts of the unexpected images started to appear in major fashion magazines like the 6-page piece in the November 2004 issue of *Vogue* magazine. In the April 2007 issue of German magazine *Brigitte Woman*, a magazine for women over 40, Dove's ad for its new Pro-Age lotion featured a tastefully posed, nude women who appears to be in her fifties. Anti-aging cosmetics are big business. When the words "anti-aging" were typed into a google search, over 18,000,000 hits appeared. When "pro-aging" was searched, it was evident that Dove's clever use of language separated the Unilever brand from its competition, with a little over 10,000 hits.[49]

The American Academy of Anti-Aging Medicine[50] is a physician membership organization. Generally respected holistic physician/practitioners like Andrew Weil[51] find problems even with the name. While anti-aging practitioners actually are looking at the illnesses that have been coincident with increased years, Weil argues that aging is a natural phenomenon that is a process connected with everything that is living (from plants to animals). What he is suggesting as a better focus is what some medical practitioners refer to as morbidity compression—meaning a full and active life until near death, with what is hoped to be a rapid final decline. (Weil, himself, now produces a widely distributed product lines including vitamins and skin care products that bear his name.) The Anti-Aging medical community is overly invested in the general public, particularly female, that is attempting to fight diseases of aging (a questionable way to think about the diseases) and not sufficiently removed from various product lines that have been used by the beauty industry as anti-aging products. Dove, through clever and unanticipated visual and verbal languages, has worked to co-opt this large consumer population by depicting itself as sympathetic to the issues of esteem. Upon deeper investigation of the questions noted above, it can be seen simply as a clever approach to marketing its line of products worldwide.

While Target Corporation cannot be faulted for not doing good work, the corporate *representation* of its good deeds always emerge from within a consumer promotion. Recently Target has placed full-page newspaper ads and attached half-sized inserts in their weekly circulars reminding the public that Target is a responsible corporation and that "change" is written into their corporate bylaws. The reminder is that the "change" collected as a 5% of the sales is donated to worthy charities.[52] Target boasts a history of philanthropy and wants to be seen as different from those who have recently jumped into corporate philanthropy marketing, perhaps having earned the company bragging rights that it is not new to the recent marketing trend. Part of the early history of the corporation dating back to 1946 when, according to "At a Glance" on the Target web site, the Dayton Company (parent of Target) established as part of its bylaws the practice of giving back to the community 5% of its (pretax) profits. According to the same fact sheet, Target's first store opened in 1962. What, then, is community-based philanthropy bringing the corporation?

Part of the work of Target's consumer message is to eradicate the distinction between want and need. The 4D ads contain images that animate the products, graphically morphing common kitchen items into body parts. This transformation creates a perception of the product as extension of the person, creating an image of the person becoming one with the product. Rather than objectify the person, it makes the product a recognizable part of the self. If the product is our legs, we cannot imagine being without it (the product)/them (our legs). Target's "need it/want it" ads begin to validate the sense of *wanting* some thing and to transform that wanting into *needing* some thing. Target understands that in Western culture wanting, as an emotion, is equated with self-interest and greed. The ads both legitimize and de-legitimize wanting by making want inseparable from need. By naturalizing "want" as a perfectly acceptable feeling surrounding consumption, the ads work to validate the consumer's desire. But they work simultaneously to manipulate the want by intertwining "want" both musically and verbally with "need." Another recent campaign has played off of the word "less" in "expect more. pay less." by using different root words with the suffix "less" (sometimes correctly spelled, other times incorrectly spelled but easily recognized in an age of text messaging): fabu-less, limit-less, breath-less, and flaw-less.[53] Other advertising wordplay included the "hello goodbuy" campaign, also integrated across media. A self-congratulatory dynamic is set up in which both the consumer and the corporation "feel good."

A second profoundly manipulative tactic used in the motion-based ads of recent seasons operates visually to perform another powerful obliteration. Almost all advertising works in some way to psychologically fuse product with person. Target's advertising, however, masters this fusing *visually* by alternating and combining people and products into wild, activated, but formally constructed kaleidoscopic patterns. The image of the person dissolves into an eye (reinforcing the round target bullseye logo). Or, a person is scaled down to the size of a small object and becomes part of a moving, often radial-patterned image. This visual tactic is distinctly different from the more literal relationships found in most advertising images that display product in a scale appropriate to the scale of the user/consumer. Target has successfully fused the person with the product: they become coincident and inseparable. Together they form the whole and complete the pattern that has a formal gestalt. It is a totalizing image of the consumer who is identified entirely with the purchase.

What is going on here beyond the extraordinarily skilled visual positioning of product? As a company that sells a great variety of products, often well-designed, and at reasonable prices, Target has worked in its primary consumer advertising to fuse the consumer with all of the products that can be consumed at Target stores. As described in the previous chapter on CSR, Target has positioned itself as a local member of the community. An ethics investigation would require an analysis of how Target first establishes its ubiquity on the local landscape and how it constructs its perception as the source for the resolution of all need and want by using its access to enormously talented designers who depict the availability of attractive products presented in visually seductive graphics. How, then, does Target repay our communities for allowing them to establish themselves on the suburban landscapes and selling us all that we need and don't need? The examination of Target's CSR marketing reaffirms the corporation's engagement at the local level of schools, museums, and other cultural events. As already noted, the ads almost universally reinforce the corporate identity through multiple iterations of the bulls-eye and situate some events in the stores, making the community activity the equivalent of an advertising "loss leader" that is, in this case, free but is designed to stimulate sales activity. In less obvious instances, the company uses its philanthropic weight in order to "co-market" with a cultural institution. In general, according the Calvert "Investments that make a difference" web site, Target's company overview receives generally positive comments with respect to building on restored brownfields, partnering with Goodwill to salvage merchandise, and working with Second Harvest to get perishable foods to those in need.[54] Overall, however, the corporate participation is support of community-based projects serves the corporate marketing scheme.

Target does not seem to miss too many marketing possibilities as noted in the following example. First Do No Harm, an ancient standard that could be applied to ethical obligations is borrowed from the Hippocratic Corpus. Taken at face value, it appears to be a minimum standard for behavior, despite the fact that it is not easily achievable if seriously integrated into any practice. When "First Do No Harm" was entered as a search on the Google web site,[55] it linked to a page that contained a Target link. This link appeared at the upper right section of the page (typically for sites that receive the most hits) and connected to the Target web site, showing miscellaneous safety devices such as home smoke detectors available for sale at Target stores. The ethical obligation to "Do No Harm"[56] was directly conflated with a commercial opportunity at Target. In a most literal way, a smoke detector does prevent harm, but this irony speaks volumes about the interrelatedness of the way in which a corporation manages its image of responsibility in service to its potential to increase sales. They are, despite all the evidence of admirable behaviors, a business first that exists to create profits.

BP presents a fairly typical example of greenwashing. As discussed previously, greenwashing, by definition, thwarts accurate representation of corporate behaviors. The questions to be asked in order to vet BP's imagery are: Is the alternative image to a traditional energy corporation's identity to be believed? Is new knowledge leading to sustainable behaviors?

Several responsible environmental watch groups have tracked BP's activities against their claims. Sourcewatch, quoting a column written by researcher Kenny Bruno for CorpWatch, accuses BP of egregious co-opting of environmental language and messages. The site points to BP's claim to be the largest producer of solar energy noting that although this may be reported truthfully in the absolute sense of the comparison, the amount spent on the purchase of Solarex ($45 million in 1999) was minute, relative to what BP spent on their purchase of ARCO ($26.5 billion).[57] The full comparison of expenditures is never offered by BP, rather only by its critics. BP, like most companies, selectively omits information, deceiving by omission versus commission.

Judging from news reports about the behaviors observed by BP that surfaced following its re-branding efforts, it is clear that their new branding paradigm did not include any real concern about what the petroleum industry should *behave* like. PR for the corporation presents one face while investigative journalists and environmentalists present news articles that are filled with what may be termed misconduct. Having switched its name from British Petroleum to BP ("beyond petroleum"), the company employs a variety of graphic tactics that suggest environmental responsibility. In the case of BP, one can analyze with great detail the particular graphic choices made to signify the corporation and determine the anticipated reading of these images. The use of lower case letters in a corporate logotype is interpreted as humanistic or friendly and non-authoritarian. The color palette reflects yellow (sun and solar-related energies) and green (care for the environment) and, increasingly when poor corporate environmental behavior is made public, a green-washed message. As stated on the BP web site, on the "About BP" landing page, the text reminds the reader that included is human energy. The Helios, BP's logo, itself is named for the Greek god of energy.

During the same general timeframe in which these often full-page ads for BP appeared, news stories reflected mismanagement and corporate greed that ultimately harmed both consumer and environment. This was especially evident in the stories regarding the state of disrepair of the Alaska line facilities despite the corporation having been warned about the problems with their equipment in Alaska.

In addition to potential charges of price manipulation in petroleum futures in December 2006, BP had already faced problems in the U.S. including "the fatal explosion at its Texas City refinery in March last year [2005], an oil spill in Alaska in March [2006] and the later closure at Prudhoe Bay [August 2006]."[58] The United States Department of Labor's OSHA found over 300 "egregious, willful violations" in the Texas refinery disaster, resulting in the maximum fine of $21 million which BP agreed to pay, though the company did not admit guilt. The claims for deaths and injuries amounted to $1.6 billion. The *Financial Times* reported the following: "Indeed, an investigation by the Financial Times has shown BP allowed the refinery to deteriorate, in spite of all the red flags. Moreover, it was not the only BP operation in the US that was permitted to do so.

BP Alaska has suffered a string of damaging safety lapses over the past five years…and, according to US regulators, senior executives in London knew that." BP also had been sued by California for air pollution violations.[59] Reflecting on BP's image, chief executive for exploration and production Tony Hayward posted his thoughts on the company's making a virtue of "doing more for less" on BP's internal web site. He also commented that BP had to do more to solidify its relationships with "opinion-formers" in the US, particularly so that when times are bad, there are people around to defend BP.[60]

During 2006, articles appeared in papers such as *The Wall Street Journal*, the *Financial Times*, and *The New York Times*, addressing a host of real problems, often involving ethics issues like safety and price manipulation, that BP faced. Headlines mentioned BP's woes, lawsuits, its suffering reputation, and corporate culture. Analyst of responsible shareholding at Co-Operative Insurance Society, Samantha Lacey, noted "BP had marketed itself as an ethical leader in the oil industry."[61] Having re-branded itself as "Beyond Petroleum" (formerly British Petroleum) "to improve its environmental credentials"… the brand is worth approximately $4 billion "according to Interbrand, the consultancy."[62] The rebranding began in the summer of 2006. On the day after the article about the cracks in BP's reputation appeared in the *Financial Times, The New York Times* ran an Op-Ed piece called "Beyond Propaganda." It was written by creative director John Kenney who worked on the BP re-branding and described what oil company images had looked like: "The typical helicopter shot of the tanker at sea, sunlight reflecting off the logo as it dissolves to a towheaded urchin on the beach, frolicking in the pristine waters. A voice like Morgan Freeman's saying, 'At Gigantico Petroleum, we're on the move to keep the world on the move. And to fill this tanker with cash.'"[63] He thought about energy and the environment, interviewed people on the street and came up with the line, "It's a start" as part of the new "Beyond petroleum" campaign. Initially Kenney claims to actually have believed in the willingness of BP to proactively change the energy landscape. "Think of it. Going beyond petroleum. The best and the brightest...trying to find newer, smarter, cleaner ways of powering the world. Only they didn't go beyond petroleum. They are petroleum."[64]

What could BP have done to make its advertising images less offensive given the background of really egregious corporate decisions? While it is always possible to manage the brand as image, it is not possible to manage the brand as news develops. Rather than publicly admit to mistakes in the full-page ads shown earlier, and possibly earn some modicum of public trust, BP persisted in producing graphic images that ignored the various problems that had been publicized. Eventually, the separation between the controlled BP brand and the news of its disastrous handling of several major events became simultaneously comprehensible. Already seen as a less than responsible corporation, some of the outrage at BP coalesced when BP signed a $500 million research deal with the University of California at Berkeley, termed by some a Faustian deal and problematized as inadequately discussed among campus faculty and students. The company had already lost public trust because of its carelessness with the environment. How, then, could BP possibly have thought that cheerful, toy-like garden graphics and colors would obfuscate the dangers created by the corporation?

The above examples represent a variety of ways to identify ethical problems in images and the making of images that are really incumbent upon the designer to discover before agreeing to work on a project designed to enhance the perception of that client.

The identification itself has most often been based upon ingrained, contemporary views (mainly derived from moral principles originating in Western religions) that have become culturally embedded in how we think about right and wrong behaviors. These are mentioned as starting points with the specific intention that once vetted within the hybrid method proposed in this project, and in the face of conflicting points of view, new ways for designers to think about right actions may be revealed.

5.4 Is responsible work a possibility?

Corporations and those who criticize them have diverging opinions regarding what constitutes responsible behaviors. Should a corporation be allowed to publish squeaky-clean images only when it has taken every reasonable internal step to manage the actual integrity of its behaviors? Once any corporation *pictures* a moral position, I argue that its internal practices should have been vetted so that these practices are in alignment with its public face. Goldman and Papson suggest "as the world grows more unified, it becomes increasingly difficult to suppress entirely those gaps between image and practice, between humanism and capitalism, between moral philosophy and the bottom line of corporate profit growth."[65] These gaps will become increasingly difficult to suppress with cameras in cell phones, Internet access, and social networking sites such as YouTube.

Business Week reported that 53% of 1,800 communications professionals noted, "top management is an organization's conscience." Unethical behavior was shown to have been reprimanded, according to 68% of those surveyed, when it yielded personal gain but only 51% of the time when it yielded corporate gain.[66] Ten of the largest food and beverage manufacturers pledged that at least half of their ads directed to children under 12 years of age would promote a healthy lifestyle. When questioned, the executives could not offer specifically how the new guidelines would be manifest despite the findings of the Institute of Medicine. The Institute determined that "food marketing practices aimed at children were 'out of balance with healthful diets, '" and called on Congress to police the food industry if it failed to police itself.[67]

As a result of self-reflection, Kate Bingaman-Burt began to be repulsed as she began her first job after college designing cards and gifts that she decided people didn't really need. As a form of self-critique, she created a web site that documented every purchase she made, ultimately selling objects such as her drawings of her credit card statements. She understands that the things she sells on Obsessive Consumption" are not necessary, and was quoted as having said, "'The products are aware of their lack of necessity.'"[68] Though small in scale, Bingaman-Burt's reflection identifies the heart of the problem that is at odds with goals of economic growth.

Those outside of marketing seem to be searching for a more serious and rigorous way to create cultures of ethical behavior within the corporation, as opposed to its *appearance*. Plender and Persaud, authors of *All You Need To Know About Ethics and Finance,* make a case for the ethical corporation: when trust is high corporations need to spend less on compliance. Corporate boards and managers, they assert, need to "find practical ways of establishing an ethical culture and pre-empting potentially damaging unethical behavior" (such as Enron). This is seen as a management responsibility and one that needs to be embedded within the corporate culture. "It (individual responsibility) means an organisation open to questioning and amending its behaviour in response to the ethical considerations of its employees, managers and shareholders and, in appropriate measure, its clients, business partners and the community." They argue that although it is challenging to find a moral compass in business, it yields real benefits.[69]

In an article on business education, Bernard Ramanantsoa of HEC School of Management, Paris, in the shadow of business's tarnished image, writes of Jean Cassou's reminder that individual responsibility for one's actions must exist at all levels of business and that business leaders must be open to constructive argument. Conscience is, he argued, the defining attribute of the human being.[70] In a report at the Academy of Management in Atlanta, Arijit Chatterjee and Donald Hambrick (of Pennsylvania State University), suggested that variables such as a CEO's use of the personal pronoun "I,' the size of the photo in the annual report, and the length of the CEO's entry and pay in *Who's Who*, point to large egos and tendencies to take risks. They found a correlation between appearance of text and image size with ego and behaviors.[71] This correlation may point to a CEO whose behavior reveals little concern for the wellbeing of his or her own business community.

Gordon Brown, in a speech to the Social Market Foundation in February 2003 took a political view of markets and public interest. "Markets are part of advancing the public interest and the left are wrong to say they are not; but also markets are not always in the public interest and the right is wrong to automatically equate imposition of markets with the public interest."[72] John Berger problematizes consumption as a way for society "to mask and compensate for all that is undemocratic." He sees publicity (advertising imagery) itself as the cause of this phenomenon because it lives in its own self-interpreted world.[73] Harshly critiquing its role, Berger sums up publicity in the following way:

> Publicity exerts an enormous influence and is a political phenomenon of great importance. But its offer is as narrow as its references are wide. It recognizes

> nothing except the power to acquire. All other human faculties or needs are made subsidiary to this power. All hopes are gathered together, made homogeneous, simplified, so that they become the intense yet vague, magical yet repeatable promise offered in every purchase. No other kind of hope or satisfaction of pleasure can any longer be envisaged within the culture of capitalism...Capitalism survives by forcing the majority, whom it exploits, to define their own interests as narrowly as possible.[74]

Despite Milton Friedman's view of a corporation's obligation to create profit for its shareholders, the obligation to improve the life of someone less fortunate has very old roots. The corporation itself is a subset of human creations. Contemporary regard for social responsibility is tending more and more to create a space for philanthropy and social justice within the profit-centered goal. Much of the recent training around the identity of designer-as-citizen has focused on the idea that designers must assist their corporate clients in portraying the corporation as a good citizen. A variety of conferences and the establishment of branding consultancies now advise businesses on *how social concern should look.* Appearing concerned for the customer or the customer's community has become an important piece of the branding puzzle for many corporations. Designers are particularly effective in creating and managing appearances that may or may not reflect reality.

5.5 A Philanthropic Ideal

The following philanthropic scheme refers only to the issue of giving. I have chosen to include it here because philanthropy constitutes many of the examples previously covered in this project and is representative of a large section of current emphasis on corporate branding and marketing. If we suspend the exigencies of capitalism (i.e., that the economy must continue to grow) along with the idea that a corporation's ethical duty is to its shareholders, a far more comprehensive picture of goodness emerges. I am arguing that this goodness described in the following view of philanthropic behaviors is ideal and, although it cannot be fully implemented in practice, may serve to edify motives for behavior beyond self-serving goals.

Twelfth century Judaic scholar Maimonaides' Ladder of Giving delineates levels of philanthropy, attaches motives to each level, and posits ethical questions about conditions of giving. The highest levels of giving are characterized as anonymous and certainly do not consider a profitable approach for a corporation, particularly when some view the corporation's ethical responsibility is to its shareholders, (an ethical constraint not part of this investigation). This conception of giving is quite disparate from the one that occurs with the publicity attached to contemporary corporate philanthropy. Even when private donors are listed as "anonymous" it is often for the reason that they do not want to be pursued by multiple charities, a form of self-protective anonymity. Maimonides defined the attributes of *tzedakah* (generally translated as charity) in the form of a Ladder of Giving, presented here to help put (corporate) motives into perspective. In Book VII of the *Mishnah Torah* he suggests that the amount set aside for the poor be related proportionately ("in accord with") to the amount of the harvest.[75] The ancient Jewish tradition of giving is tied to performing acts of kindness (*hesed*, transliterated from the Hebrew). The steps of the ladder seem to be a reverse order, beginning what is deemed the lowest level (or rung) of the ladder and presents increasingly higher moral ground or ascending order, a striving. The eight levels are presented as follows:

> The eighth and lowest level of charity is when ones gives charity grudgingly.
> The seventh level is when one gives less than he should, but does so cheerfully.
> The sixth level is when one gives directly to the poor upon being asked.
> The fifth level is when one gives the alms directly to the poor without being asked.

> The fourth level is when the giving is indirect. The recipient knows who the giver is, but the giver does not know the identity of the recipient.
> The third level is when the giver knows the identity of the recipient, but the recipient does not know the identity of the giver.
> The second highest level is when the one who gives is unaware of the recipient, who in turn is unaware of the giver. In contributing to a charity fund, one gives in this way. Communal funds, administered by responsible people, are also in this category.
> The highest form of charity is to help sustain a person *before* he becomes impoverished, by offering a substantial gift in a dignified manner or by extending a suitable loan, or by helping him find employment or establish himself in some business so as to make it unnecessary for him to become dependent upon others.[76]

The preceding list suggests a serious relationship between integrity, human dignity, and multiple categories of anonymity. However, the very nature of anonymity is antithetical to identity, brand recognition, public perceptions, and profit. Anonymity is what the corporation is trying to avoid because it represents the economic kiss of death in a brand-driven, consumer culture. In most cases, corporate philanthropy is situated between levels eight and seven and, on occasion, level six. What anonymity suggests is a purity of motive. This is made explicit here because I am positioning the role of motive in CSR as (generally) suspect—not for the corporation which is probably quite clear about its marketing rationale and goals, but for the consumer who misreads (or fails to take notice of) the motivation.

Some contemporary writers have asked the question about what it means to do "good work," particularly in the face of the pressures of the marketplace.[77] Gardner and his co-authors are interested in work situations that present dilemmas but in which the agent stays true to him- or herself despite perhaps less drastic options to deal with workplace situations that are perceived by the agent as less than ethical. "What a person can or cannot do at work depends on what is considered morally right, or even on what happens to be fashionable at the time."[78] Moral relativism is encountered not only within cultures for a limited time, it also varies from person to person. Junior designers are no strangers to this problem when they are working in offices that take on clients with what may be perceived as less than honorable business practices. The individual's dilemma is directly related to the most central role of the designer: to make the client look good. Therefore, a designer who is not in a situation to choose which clients will have enhanced public images may feel ethically compromised. As recent news surfaced about BP's failures to maintain equipment in Alaska, did those designing BP's full-page environmental responsibility advertisements have a moral obligation to refuse to graphically render an untrue picture? Was their responsibility to the company at which they worked? To BP? Or was their responsibility to their family counting on their financial support? The potential to rationalize a questionable design decision offers the designer many possibilities. Without abandoning capitalism, what are the options? Reasonable questions could be raised about how much visual real estate a corporation devotes to sales of its goods or services when compared with the visual real estate offered for philanthropy. While it is admirable to devote *any* surface to philanthropy, how much *should* be devoted? When there is reasonably substantiated evidence of undesirable corporate behaviors, what is the designer's responsibility with respect to creating representations that counter knowable, factual documentation? This last question strikes at the heart of what designers need to consider.

5.6 Training Designers to Brand Ethics

Both the business school community and the design community (though not the design education community) have been, and are continuing to address the issue of (branding) ethics. Business schools are concerned that their students have received exposure to ethical issues and what is entailed in running a responsible corporation. In an effort to counteract the highly visible scandals in corporate America, many business schools have made ethics coursework a compulsory part of the MBA curriculum. This is part of the bigger picture of how corporations might shift the negative perceptions to more positive ones. However, an article from the *Financial Times* states that "MBA students are the biggest cheats of all graduate students, with 56 per cent admitting to misdemeanours such as using crib notes in exams, plagiarism and downloading essays from the internet."[79] An advertisement for an MBA program at John F. Kennedy University referred to giving its students the skills to become "ethically and socially responsible leaders in the world of business…"[80] Three recently started MBA programs are focused on sustainability, teaching students "to pursue a triple bottom line: profit, people and planet."[81] Ethics has become a piece of the marketing of MBA programs, but it will take time to see how and if the addition manifests in business behaviors.

Designers are increasingly engaged in branding and now appear to be making corporations *look* socially responsible as a response to the demands of competitors. Promoting the branding of ethics to designers and design strategists has become its own business and serves as part of the network that insists upon this form of branding. The teaching of citizenship to those who make images is a form of evidence that particular skills that have existed for many years within the community of professional design consultants have found a new rationale in selling their services to corporations. Once it became evident that major corporations, in the face of increasing concerns about climate change and sustainability, are re-branding themselves to include ethics or CSR as part of a core value, designers jumped on the bandwagon.[82] Design conferences have begun to appear with themes that question the designer's role in telling the truth. "In 1930, the Dadaist Kurt Schwitters drew up a handy chart depicting the percentage to which typical design projects serve two Gods—information and advertising." Peter Hall continues as he questions whether it is "even possible to practice graphic design without a certain amount of institutional lying."[83] In other instances, designers examine social and political concerns, but these are mostly self-serving and actually are more focused internally on the design community as its own audience.[84]

By incorporating into design pedagogy some questions about what constitutes responsible behavior within the profession, ethical behavior is more likely to be perceived as an expected part of practice. Design education, however, has not yet moved this far and a designer's questions typically arise long after the education is complete. For a supposedly cutting edge creative profession, the response to issues of ethics has been hugely reactionary. Most ethical guidelines that exist in creative disciplines (such as the ASMP, American Society of Magazine Photographers) are largely contract-centric and compliance driven without the force of any legislated regulation or authority. Often these guidelines are as perfunctory as the acknowledgment of care so evident in corporate images.

The New York Times reported on Santa Clara University's two-day (and intended to be annual) Ethics Camp for public servants. As one attendee noted, " Unfortunately, the kind of people attending are not the ones who need to."[85] Required courses, recommended courses, conference topics are typical responses to major and visible violations in corporate or public life. Although much is written about responsibility, a checklist mentality seems to guarantee little possibility of change. Thomas Stewart noted, "Post-Enron, post-Shell, post-WorldCom...the collective knickers of the business world are in a twist about ethics, and rightly so...Without ethics to define deals and fair dealing, business will not get done. Rightly, therefore, regulatory bodies have yanked the chain. Rightly, business schools throughout the world have given more prominence to ethics in their curricula...One day this horse (malfeasance) will bolt again—greed is a clever animal."[86]

Stewart sees the choices that managers make, at all levels, to be moral choices. With policies as a start, the actual practice of moral choices and behaviors occurs at a much finer grain, a much smaller scale.[87] Onora O'Neill, who viewed the issue of trust as a social attitude rather than a topic of philosophical enquiry (duties and rights, for example) until relatively recently, remains unconvinced that the push for accountability has done much to increase trust (particularly with respect to government). With images that are not fair representations of their content, one can imagine that trust is broken when discrepancies exist between what is a self-serving image that is generated by a corporation or its agents, and what is investigated and reported to be contradictory to the spirit of the image. Onora O'Neill sees the requirements to report back as actually fostering a culture of suspicion, though she is not arguing for blind trust. She comments, "...I argue that we should place trust with care and discrimination, and that this means that we need to pay more attention to the accuracy of information provided to the public."[88] O'Neill's request for accuracy should also embrace concerns for visual "accuracy" so that designers are neither taught nor expected to lie. Hers is not a plea for de-regulation: rather O'Neill would likely describe government activities as misguided and, therefore, ineffective thus far.

5.7 A Designer's Principles for Ethical Conduct, Ethical Options

In addition to developing a skill based upon the casuist/communicative ethics method recommended in this project for use in deciphering whether or not an image is responsible, several behaviors emerge to aid the individual designer in what ought to be done in the course of considering any project. The designer must begin by determining who the client is, how it treats its employees, what sorts of products it makes, to whom are the products sold, whether the products are safe, how the brand has been represented to the public, and what sorts of political affiliations the corporation has.

1. A designer is responsible for understanding the activities of the clients whom they represent. Due diligence requires the designer to examine financials (annual reports) and, through news archives and litigation records, assess the client's environmental behaviors and social practices as thoroughly as possible. How does the corporation represent itself with respect to social justice, the environment, and safety (for worker and consumer)? Does its representation match its practices? Has it been forthcoming with disclosures when/if behaviors have been less than honest?

2. A designer should be capable of listening to and vetting opposing views in order to formulate a reasoned position regarding what actions to take.

3. A designer should be honest with him- or herself in situating a project with respect to what end he or she sees the work serving: is the work spiritually elevating, intellectually elevating, socially significant, informative (allowing the public to make

better decisions for itself), helping to avert harm, helping those in need, or simply intended to be profitable?

4. A designer should be able to understand the potential for compromise and to explicitly and honestly state his or her individual limits of compromise that will be tolerated. Next the designer must decipher the following: What is the nature and extent of compromise the client is willing to make in practice in order to be represented in a certain manner?

5. A designer should determine if a client is, in fact, educable and receptive to articulated ethical concerns about willful misrepresentations (based upon the research about the client conducted by the designer)? Is the client amenable to a change in representation that constitutes less of a visual lie (if that has been determined to have been a past representational practice)?

6. A designer should be able to determine his or her individual options with respect how a response is formed when approached to work on a particular project. If, for example, it were determined that BP's "beyond petroleum" marketing techniques are perceived as the active constitution of a visual lie, it is reasonable to ask what a designer might do when and if approached by the corporation. The answer is rather complex and depends greatly upon the seniority and moral maturity of the designer. Factors concerning the autonomy of the designer, along with personal obligations, may affect the decision.

Autonomy: Any designer in the position of making decisions about which clients to accept or reject has a fair degree of autonomy regarding whom to work with. If the design firm has plenty of work, and the head of the firm finds the prospect of working with a client determined *a priori* to be morally reprehensible, it is relatively easy to refuse a lucrative project. The person in this position of power is in the numerical minority in the work place and can operate from relatively unexamined, tacit principles of ethics. If, however, the firm is under financial pressures, it is more difficult if refusing to work with a client means having to lay off people who depend upon their jobs to support themselves and/or their families.

Quasi-autonomy: A designer who is employed by a firm that takes on a client who the designer finds to be *a priori* morally reprehensible has several options that include refusing to work for that particular client, resigning from the firm and seeking employment elsewhere, or working on the project and deciding to vet the client based upon the methods of ethics proposed in this project. The latter decision is the most complex, however, I would argue, the most rewarding.

The culture for the designer ought to become a culture of investigation. It constitutes a kind of client-focused research that helps the designer decipher the limits of fair representation. Assuming that one decides to work for BP, one should be aware that existing corporate images have fabricated illusions of respect for the environment that are either untrue or visually understated. If BP's research dollars (at UC Berkeley, for example) are going to a worthy cause, rather than greenwashing the corporate image, the designer, in conjunction with the copywriter, might have the client be direct about acknowledging past mistakes in a specifically typographic way, i.e., "We have made some serious mistakes and are trying to correct them in the following projects:…" rather than have the designer create images of sun and flowers. In this way, the designer can begin to incorporate some information into an image, as opposed to create a blatant obfuscation of a known problem. Because most (though not all) designers tend toward political progressivism, there is some possibility of a willingness to vet a client and take a position, share, accept less for oneself, and be oriented toward the well-being of future generations, as George Lakoff has pointed out. The assumption in this project is that over time, if most designers were trained to reflect upon the above-referenced principles and choices, that large corporations would begin to see that those who create their images are less and less willing to lie on their behalf.

By making points of conflict and/or resistance explicit within a process, it allows the points of deliberation to be made salient and the participants to be representative of the divergent positions. Because the process is deliberative in nature, its inclusiveness is generally appealing as a method for re-solving ethical dilemmas. Through answering the casuist question “What is going on here?” the deeply held, differing moral views of the parties are fore-grounded and might actually yield an understanding of how differently moral they are. Through respect for others to hold views in opposition to one’s own, respective goals are made explicit along with the possibility for compromising not our worldview, but rather how it becomes possible to live that view while accommodating the rights of others to live theirs.

What does a compromise look like? Returning to the hypothetically constructed deliberation regarding metallic inks and the differing points of view of the various parties that are represented above, the group might convene and ask themselves, “What is going on here?” With expert intervention, these differing parties might be brought to the table to reach some agreement not about whether or not metallic inks should be manufactured, promoted and used in printing, but how they might be used. This conflation would require compromise.

Graphic designers need to understand that part of their power results from their unique position to control the images of others (especially through use of photography), with the most powerful control lying in the use of personal images of others. Controlling images, through the quotidian tactics at the disposal of the designer (such as scale, cropping, color adjustment, image manipulation, and surroundings) may be the first and most obvious way to create an ethical problem. Some theological perspectives equate the control over another's (personal) image as control over the other. Perfection that is achieved through intervention with photographic imagery, is also problematic, particularly for women, whose image has been historically, and continues to be, idealized. Having control over imagery raises questions about autonomy, which is an important concern in ethics.[89] Equally problematic, or perhaps more so, is the issue of controlling the geography of the image, meaning literally the economic power to control media surfaces (literally the ability to buy space). If the business school is attempting to train those who will be partnering with designers, then the design schools need to begin to look at design's culpability for the problems created by the images it makes. The table for participation in the resolution of ethical dilemmas needs to be constituted on a case by case basis. The method offered, using both casuistry and recent iterations of communicative ethics, provides an ethically just way to resolve needs when divergent agendas and moral systems collide.

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[1] These questions are the result of my meeting on Monday 23 June 2003, with Professor William R. O'Neill, SJ, Associate Professor of Social Ethics at the Jesuit School of Theology in Berkeley to begin to think about ethics and images.

[2] Jürgen Habermas, "Discourse Ethics: Notes on a Program of Philosophical Justification," in *The Communicative Ethics Controversy* eds. Seyla Benhabib and Fred Dallmayr (Cambridge, MA and London: The MIT Press, 1995), 62. This text would be particularly useful within a design curriculum because

Habermas offers explicit and understandable "rules" for participating in the discourse. Some parts, however, may provide to be difficult reading, and others may provoke questions about what constitutes the "competence to speak."

[3] Seyla Benhabib, "Communicative Ethics and Current Controversies in Practical Philosophy," in *The Communicative Ethics Controversy* eds. Seyla Benhabib and Fred Dallmayr (Cambridge, MA and London: The MIT Press, 1995), 331.

[4] Ibid., 336.

[5] Ibid., 338.

[6] In 1987, the barge laden with garbage from Islip, New York that was refused permission to dock in five states and three countries finally returned, filled with trash, to the port in Brooklyn, creating a memorable image of the environmental problem. answers.com/topic/islip-town-new-york, accessed October 4, 2005.

[7] See Samuel Scheffler's edited volume on *Consequentialism and Its Critics*.

[8] Seyla Benhabib makes a distinction between moral and ethical universalizability in communicative Ethics.

[9] See Immanuel Kant's *Foundations of the Metaphysics of Morals*.

[10] See Seyla Benhabib and Fred Dallmayr, eds. *The Communicative Ethics Controversy*. Dallmayr's introduction, Benhabib's summation, and Habermas's piece are particularly useful in understanding earlier and later iterations of communicative ethics.

[11] See Samuel Scheffler, ed., *Consequentialism and Its Critics*.

[12] See Richard Niebuhr, *The Responsible Self*.

[13] "Robberies are up 20% in the subways in NYC due SOLELY to iPod snatching." forums.ipodlounge.com. (accessedOctober 5, 2005).

[14] James Bradley and Margo Chase, "The Truth About Selling Out," *Create Magazine*, Summer 2006, 84.

[15] Ibid., 85.

[16] Albert R. Jonsen and Stephen Toulmin, *The Abuse of Casuistry: A History of Moral Reasoning* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 306.

[17] H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Responsible Self, An Essay in Christian Moral Philosophy* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Know Press, 1963), 14.

[18] William Schweiker, in *The Responsible Self, An Essay in Christian Moral Philosophy*, H. Richard Niebuhr (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, original date of publication 1963) xiii. The forward was written for this edition published in 1999.

[19] *The New York Times*, Tuesday 31 July 2007, C18.

[20] Radio broadcast of 14 March 2007, (National Public Radio, San Francisco Bay Area, 88.5FM). Contemporary philosopher Jacob Needleman talks about listening and the ability for a person to *really make room* to allow the thoughts of the other to seep in. He describes this ability as a thoroughly moral act that is extremely difficult and rare to find. Needleman also makes a distinction between seeing a person as bad versus seeing an idea, plan, etc., as bad.

[21] Marcus Gibson, "Technology that put a shine on a growing business," *Financial Times*, 16 March 2005, 9.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

[24] http://www.ecographics.com/metallic.htm (Accessed 3/16/05).

[25] http://www.inkworldmagazine.com/dec003.htm, 1. (Accessed 3/16/05)

[26] Ibid., 3.

[27] http://dep.state.ct.us/wst/p2/p2printer/prinink.htm (Accessed 3/27/05).

[28] http://www.pcimag.com.CDA/ArticleInformation/features/BNP_Features_Item/0,1846,9176,00.html, 1 and 2, 2004. (posted 08/28/200) (Accessed 3/27/05)

[29] http://www.worldwatch.org/about/green (Accessed 3/27/05).

[30] H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Responsible Self, An Essay in Christian Moral Philosophy* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Know Press, 1963), 11.

[31] Ibid., 13.

[32] William Schweiker, in *The Responsible Self, An Essay in Christian Moral Philosophy*, H. Richard Niebuhr (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, original date of publication 1963) xiii. The forward was written for this edition published in 1999.

[33] H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Responsible Self, An Essay in Christian Moral Philosophy* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Know Press, 1963), 17.
[34] Ibid., 18. *(my emphasis)*
[35] George Lakoff, *Don't Think of an Elephant: The Essential Guide for Progressives*. (White River, VT: Chelsea Green Publishing), 82.
[36] Ibid., 12.
[37] Richard B. Miller, *Casuistry and Modern Ethics: A Poetics of Practical Reasoning*. (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), 240.
[38] Anne Bush, "Beyond Pro Bono: Graphic Design's Social Work," in *citizen designer: perspectives on design responsibility*, ed. Steven Heller and Véronique Vienne (New York: Allworth Press, 2003), 31.
[39] Art Spiegelman, "Drawing Blood: Outrageous Cartoons and the Art of Outrage," *Harper's Magazine*. June 2006. 43-52.
[40] Jean-Pierre Protzen, "Reflections on the Fable of the Caliph, the Ten Architects and the Philosopher," *Journal of Architectural Education*, 1981, 34:4, 2.
[41] Ibid., 6.
[42] Ibid., 8.
[43] Readings may also include Habermas and Benhabib on communicative ethics, Lakoff on cognitive linguistics and how framing occurs, Bal and Bryson on semiotics and context, and Onora O'Neill on trust and blame.
[44] "Too Young to be Old: Dove Pro-Age." campaignforrealbeauty.com/pressInThe News_proage. (accessed 22 September 2008).
[45] Dr. Robert Butler and others. "Beauty Comes of Age." Findings of the 2006 Dove global study on aging, beauty and well-being." Commissioned by Dove, a Unilever company. September 2006. Online at campaignforrealbeauty.com/DoveBeautyWhitePaper.pdf.
[46] Ibid., 48.
[47] Dr. Nancy Etcoff and others. "Beyond Stereotypes— Rebuilding the Foundation of Beauty Beliefs." Findings of the 2005 Dove Global Study. Commissioned by Dove, a Unilever Beauty Brand. February 2006. Online at Dove.com.
[48] Ibid., 3
[49] These reflect the numbers on Google as of June 2008.
[50] http://www.worldhealth.net/p/96.html (accessed 11 June 2007).
[51] Andrew Weil on PBS, 11 June 2007.
[52] *The New York Times*, Sunday 18 February 2007 and insert *San Francisco Chronicle*, Sunday 18 February 2007.
[53] Seen in television advertising, Sunday newspaper inserts, and 2007 catalogs.
[54] Calvert Snapshot™ Target Company Overview. http://www.calvert.com (accessed 15 September 2008).
[55] Accessed 17 February 2007.
[56] The following appeared as an answer to the question of whether the obligation to "First Do No Harm" is part of the Hippocratic Oath, raised in the Anicent/Classical History forum (online). From N.S. Gill, Your Guide to Ancient / Classical History. 'Having just read the translation to English of Hippocrates's oath, I was surprised to see that "first do no harm" did not appear in the text as is commonly quoted. Any idea where the quote comes from?" No, the "first do no harm" doesn't exactly come from the Hippocratic Oath, but it does in essence come from the Hippocratic Corpus. A related section from the Hippocratic Oath has been translated as "I will follow that system of regimen which, according to my ability and judgment, I consider for the benefit of my patients, and abstain from whatever is deleterious and mischievous. I will give no deadly medicine to any one if asked, nor suggest any such counsel; and in like manner I will not give to a woman a pessary to produce abortion. With purity and with holiness I will pass my life and practice my Art. I will not cut persons laboring under the stone, but will leave this to be done by men who are practitioners of this work. Into whatever houses I enter, I will go into them for the benefit of the sick, and will abstain from every voluntary act of mischief and corruption; and, further from the seduction of females or males, of freemen and slaves.' But while not harming the patient is explicit, this section doesn't make doing no harm the first concern of the Hippocratic physician.")
(Accessed 17 Feb 2007). http://ancienthistory.about.com/od/greekmedicine/f/HippocraticOath.htm.
Target "do no harm" is shown at the Google Page in the first image:

http://www.google.com/search?source=ig&hl=en&q=%22first+do+no+harm%22&btnG=Google+Search)
(Target "SPONSORED LINK"
http://www.target.com/gp/browse.html/602-7226781-7127009?node=1038622&AFID=Google&LNM=First_Do_No_Harm&LID=1647662&ref=tgt_adv_XSG T1759]

[57] http://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php?title=BP (Accessed 10 June 2008). Under the heading, "BP's rebranding as 'green.'"

[58] Jeremy Grant, "BP could face US charges," *Financial Times*, Thursday 14 December 2006, 17.

[59] Sheila McNulty, "Blowdown: how faults at BP led to one of America's worst industrial disasters," *Financial Times*, Tuesday 19 December 2006, 11.

[60] Sheila McNulty, "BP memo attacks its leadership strategy," *Financial Times*, Monday 18 December 2006, 1.

[61] Carola Hoyos and others. "The cracks in BP's reputation deepen." *Financial Times,* August 12/August 13 2006, 9.

[62] Ibid.

[63] John Kenney, "Beyond Propaganda." *The New York Times*, Monday, 14 August 2006, A25.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Robert Goldman and Stephen Papson, *NIKE Culture* (London: SAGE Publications, 1998), 184.

[66] Deborah Stead, ed. "UpFront: The Big Picture," *Business Week*, 19 June 2006, 13.

[67] Andrew Martin, "Leading Makers Agree to Put Limits on Junk Food Advertising Directed at Children," *The New York Times,* Wednesday, 15 November 2006, C3.

[68] Rob Walker, "Consumed: Buyer Be Aware. Products that are meant to make you think—about your purchase," *The New York Times Magazine,* 19 November 2006, 32.

[69] John Plender and Avinash Persaud, "Failure of Business Ethics Part 1: When compliance is not enough," *Financial Times*, Tuesday August 22, 2006, 5.

[70] Bernard Ramanantsoa, "The ethics of individual responsibility," *Financial Times,* Monday September 11, 2006, 3.

[71] Francesco Guerrera, "Forget the salary packages, look at the size of their egos," *Financial Times*, August 26, 2006, 7.

[72] "Comment & Analysis: This stable isle: how Labour has steered an economy going global." *Financial Times,* Monday 18 September 2006, 13.

[73] John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: British Broadcasting Company and Penguin Books Ltd., 1972), 149.

[74] Ibid., 153-154.

[75] Philip Birnbaum ed., *Maimonides'M* ishneh *Torah.* (New York: Hebrew Publishing Company, 1985), 154.

[76] Rabbi Hayim Halevy Donin, *To Be A Jew: A Guide to Jewish Observance in Contemporary Life* (New York: Basic Books, 1972), 50.

[77] Howard Gardner and others, *Good Work: When Ethics and Excellence Meet* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 4.

[78] Ibid., 18.

[79] Della Bradshaw, "International Economy: MBA students cheat the most, says survey," *Financial Times,* Thursday, 21 September 2006, 3.

[80] *San Francisco Chronicle,* Friday, 12 May 2006, B2.

[81] Carolyn Said, "These MBA degrees have a green tint," *San Francisco Chronicle*, Sunday 25 February 2007, B1 and B5.

[82] See the promotional literature of the Design Management Institute.

[83] Hall, Peter. "Truth and Message." Text from conference announcement, Design Inquiry* 2004: Truth & Message, June 13-18.

[84] Peace posters, for example, have been created by a group of designers but these visual efforts at social commentary tend to remain internal to the design community—what is known as "design for designers." This genre of self-congratulatory work has little public impact.

[85] Brown, Patricia Leigh. "At Ethics Camp, Not-So-Tall Tales From the Dark Side." *The New York Times.* "Friday, 23 June 2006, A25.

[86] Stewart, Thomas. "Managers look for the moral dimension." *Financial Times*, Friday 27 August 2004, 7.
[87] Ibid.
[88] O'Neill, Onora. "The Philosophy of Trust," http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio4/news/takingissue 20020411.shtml (Accessed 10 February 2007).
[89] This topic of control over another's image was discussed in Berkeley, California, with Rabbi Gordon Freeman on 21 May 2006.

Chapter 6: CONCLUSION

All of the discussion in this work is directed at the graphic design community who are actively participating in pedagogy and practice. Although there are no illusions here about the ability to grandly influence the corporation in particular, or capitalism in general, what can be influenced is how the designer perceives and fashions his or her role in the larger complex of images. The onus of responsibility for creating images that have integrity rests with the graphic designer. This is the piece of the larger network that can be changed through a different pedagogy that should, over time, yield a change in how the practitioner conducts him/herself in practice. Rather than live in the rarefied world of idealism, it lives pragmatically by targeting what designers have control over and what is in the power of the designer to change. Since this project was begun, enormous instability has entered the global economic system and perhaps the timing is perfect to initiate a rigorous assault on the design of greed. The method of addressing the problems identified are intended to make the refusal to lie with images a sustainable behavior long after philanthropy may disappear from its status in marketing at the time of this project. If graphic designers are able first to confront and then to resist both the ease with which we have become amused and entertained by our own images (and those of our colleagues) and the ease with which we have become so comfortable in *not* vetting what we produce, we may be able initially to enter a phase of disengagement from our design process as usual, and subsequently emerge with a new understanding of what responsible practice means for the profession. By offering a new piece of pedagogy, this work has attempted to alter how designers view and conduct their work over the course of professional practice by attacking the problem of failures of conscience/consciousness at the most formative frame in a designer's development—an individual's design education. It is the particularity of a design education that typically is the single most influential factor in determining how designers view their positions as practitioners.

The graphic image in popular culture and the process of making of these seductive images and *mis*representations in the service of consumerism have begged for the inclusion of a reflective, evaluative process to be made central to the act of designing. This has, to date, been little discussed within a profession that considers its ethical responsibilities to extend only so far as the environmental impact of its material activities or to reside at the margins of business centric practices. The near-crisis state of the environment has arisen not only through the direct over-production of products, but more importantly as a result of the images of products that have, in fact, made owning them seem urgent and even necessary. Graphic design must confront its culpability in what is seen here as a large and destructive cycle. The production of the desire to consume, as a result of exposure to images should be seen as the most important aspect about which graphic design can examine its ethical role and, therefore, its responsibilities. Graphic designers need to unpack the meaning of "compelling" when this language is used in praise of an image. Designers must be clear that the compelling image is not serving to mask, to intentionally misrepresent, or, in its most egregious but potentially rectifiable form, to unconsciously create a visual untruth that is the result of the designer having simply neglected to query his or her own production.

As much of graphic design practice has been reconfigured as branding, design seems to be losing its love of the erudite, visual metaphor. Much of the graphic design knowledge that has evolved into branding knowledge has been used to focus attention on a new genre of images that has done visual work to help the corporation look responsible, even when it isn't. Although most of the images examined herein have been taken from print media, the overriding question is not one of medium, but rather what work the image itself does as a force within popular culture. Most consumer-oriented images, in fact, have been designed as campaigns that exist across a variety of media. The images are produced with increasing speed and use much less cumbersome technologies with much faster learning curves and ease of access than those used a half-century ago. Images are also more quickly replaced, enjoy more exposure (both intended and not), are more easily appropriated, are readily evident in social networking sites, and are more reinforcing of other similar genres of commercial imagery.

This project has shifted the central ethical question facing designers away from specifically environmental ones to the responsibility of the designer as image producer. This work contains the kernel of a method of ethics intended for use in design education as a means to evaluate the nature of the images that are made and to investigate what work these images are doing. By using a method like casuistry, it is clear that over time a set of paradigmatic cases would need to be developed. No intention is implied to arrive at any form of codified representation of what constitutes responsible image making, but rather to offer a method for interrogating the image. The overriding goal of this work is to accept as central to graphic design practice a process for ethical enquiry as way to decipher the integrity of images that graphic designers produce. This requires an expansion of what is currently considered to constitute design expertise.

The position that the occasional *pro bono* work and self-congratulatory competitions that constitute design for designers meet sufficient levels of ethical responsibility is soundly rejected. Designers need to re-examine exactly where their influence is most acutely felt. *Pro bono* work and "socially relevant" competitions remain largely insignificant when compared with the large scope and impact of consumer-based imagery created by designers. It is this latter, large genre of imagery that, although least likely, is most in need of reflection to determine the level of its responsibility as a representation. This activity demands that image producers also produce knowledge of the image's contexts of creation and reception. As corporations that remain the main sources of income for most design firms and agencies begin to embrace Corporate Social Responsibility as a core value in conducting business, graphic design needs to rethink its own form of social responsibility that reflects the terms of its own production. These terms, as I have argued, include questioning what constitutes responsible image and word usage for each condition of production. I have suggested a method for self-regulation that is founded upon thinking past the myopic immediacy of and sheer delight in producing the compelling image and the potential to anticipate the effect of the images within a far broader context of reception. The power that images exert do need to be understood within the broader constitution of the single image as part of a vast network of images and understanding how the network in which the image operates needs to become part of the design process. The ubiquitous nature of the image network will only increase as new technologies provide more access for mimesis and what is already, and will continue to, expand into new sites for visual real estate. The amount of surface available for commercial images will increase along with the production of desire and its concomitant result, the pressure to consume.

What has happened in the examination of the visible face of Corporate Social Responsibility, what CSR *looks* like in venues of popular culture, is a result of the trend for the design profession to spawn a sub-set of itself as a new group of branding strategists who have convinced corporations that they need to present to the consumer more than an identity that is recognizable. Rather, they have described new ways to anthropomorphize the corporation as sentient being—with a particular "look and feel." Design and branding experts have begun to convince the corporation that the environment is understood by the general public to survive or perish as a result of how the corporation behaves. The corporation then must figure out how to remain non-antagonistic to a public that has simultaneously been groomed to want the goods that the corporation produces, but is also acutely aware, as a result of the daily news headlines, just how dire the environmental crisis is. What designers know about the creation of compelling or startling consumer-focused images has been refocused to brand ethics for the corporation. For designers, this raises the question of what particular sorts of words, images, colors, and media will help the corporation present a concerned and responsible face, particularly in the case of branding ethics in which giving a little is linked directly to acquiring a lot. Designers, agencies, marketers, and branding strategists have begun to turn their talents, expertise, and knowledge to what can only be described as the branding of ethics. The questions for the designer remain. Is the image fair? Is the image just? Does the image deliberately misrepresent or manipulate what is known and knowable about the activities of the client? Although these questions do not address internal corporate management matters of equitable labor issues, safe manufacturing procedures, etc., they do require image makers to question what the images they are creating really stand for and to master responsibility within their own domain along with a reasonable knowledge of ethical business practices. If design is the last stop on the way to forming or influencing public opinion, designers have a responsibility to ask their clients what the face of CSR can, in good conscience, represent.

Although this project has focused entirely on the work of image-based design and is particularly focused on those disciplines generally considered two-dimensional ones such as graphic design, communication design, photography, and illustration, it is suggested that the hybrid method proposed also be considered for a broader application to other design disciplines such as product design, fashion design, and architecture. The investigation might apply as well to four-dimensional design such as interactive and motion-based disciplines. Each of these disciplines will have to define its own paradigmatic cases, although many may still incorporate a vetting of the image because the various non-two dimensional disciplines also rely heavily upon the two-dimensional image as a means of representation.

This project has recommended methods for beginning to construct ethics-based questions and situate them within design practice. This will require that the schools responsible for educating design, branding, marketing, and business professionals do more than provide students with a superficial, compliance checklist for having covered particular coursework in ethics or a professional code of ethics that lives mostly in the form of public relations and outside the pragmatics of practice. It becomes incumbent upon these educational institutions to understand how to close the distance between idealized representations, so much a part of what design does so well, and the less-than-admirable behaviors of some corporations that transpire behind their public representations. Designers must work to close the gap between what a corporation does and how it looks so that the act of representing becomes an informed one. Most designers already know what a responsible brand looks like. However, as gatekeepers who expose the supposedly responsible brand to the public, designers must understand what it means *to be* a responsible brand. They must have vetted, as thoroughly as possible, the relationship between what the images they make stand for and what are the actual corporate behaviors behind the images. Only then will designers be poised to do what designers do best: make good clients look good. Only then will designers have practiced corporate visual responsibility.

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Dr. Andrew Weil appeared on PBS, San Francisco Bay Area, Channel 9, 11 June 2007.

ADDENDUM

Interview Questions
(Leslie Becker, Protocol #2006-2-30)

DATE OF INTERVIEW:
CODE:

A. Your Current Status and General Interests
1. What is your current grade level at school?
2. What is your age?
3. How long have you been at this school?
4. Do you have other prior schooling?
5. What is your major?
6. What kind of work would you like to do when you have finished school?
7. Do you have any work experience?
8. Do you live in a dormitory? If "yes," do you share fashion and beauty tips with your dorm-mates?
9. How do you like to spend your free time?
10. Do you consider yourself a "shopper"?
11. Do you shop alone or with friends or family?
12. How would you describe your interest in fashion and cosmetics?

B. Your Relationship to Magazines
1. Do you regularly read any newspapers or magazines? If "yes," which ones?
2. Do you subscribe to any magazines? If "yes," which ones?
3. How long have you been reading fashion and beauty magazines?
4. (If applicable) Can you tell me why you buy and read fashion and beauty magazines?
5. Do you recall which was the first one that you read? How did you learn about it?
6. Do you read the articles in a fashion or beauty magazine? If "yes," why do you read the articles?
7. What kinds of articles tend to attract you?
8. Have you ever bought something as a direct result of having seen it in a magazine?
9. If "yes," what did you purchase? How did you feel after purchasing it?
10. Tell me about your decision to buy (or not buy) something you saw in a magazine.
11. Do you see yourself as someone who responds to ads in magazines?
12. What do you feel when you look at fashion and beauty products in a magazine ad or "editorial"?
13. Do you think that magazines make you want things that you don't really need?
14. Do you save your magazines? If "yes," why and for how long?

C. The Images in Fashion and Beauty Magazines
1. When you see images in magazines, do you think about whether or not they are

advertisements?
2. Do you ever feel pressure from the images you see in magazines? If "yes," can you describe that pressure?
3. Do any particular kinds of images seem more important to you than others? If "yes," why?
4. When you see celebrity images advertising fashion or beauty products, is the product more appealing to you than if it were presented on an unknown model?
5. Are any particular kinds of words used with images more important to you than others? If "yes," why?
6. Do you expect beauty products to do what they say they will do in an advertisement?
7. Do you believe that photographs in magazines accurately represent what someone looks like?
8. Can you give any examples of ads that really stand out for you?
9. How would you describe your emotional response to advertisements about the latest fashions and beauty products? (Please be as specific as possible.)
10. Have you ever seen an ad that made you feel uncomfortable?
11. If "yes," could you explain why?

D. Miscellaneous
1. How would you describe the difference between "need" and "want"?
2. Is there anything else you would like to tell me about your relationship to what you see in magazines?
3. Is it acceptable for me to contact you again if I have any further questions or need to clarify one of your responses?

Thank you.