

**AN ANALYSIS OF RACIAL STEREOTYPING IN SABC-TV COMMERCIALS  
IN THE CONTEXT OF REFORM, 1978-1992**

Alexander Robert Holt

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in the Centre for Cultural and Media Studies, University of Natal, Durban.

Durban, December, 1998

I declare this dissertation is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Humanities, University of Natal, Durban. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.

Alexander Robert Holt © Copyright  
December, 1998

**DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to my dear aunt, Lina Mariani, who sadly passed away on 26 October 1998. Your diverse artistic talents have provided me with the space for creative thinking.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The work presented here came about as a result of a discussion I had a few years ago with Professor Keyan Tomaselli. It was about the possibility of combining my interests in history, ideology, and film studies, with some experience and academic knowledge of the creative aspects of advertising. Professor Tomaselli's diligence, productivity and contribution to the field of media studies and to cultural studies have served as a profound inspiration to the completion of this project. His supervision has provided direction and support.

I would like to thank the following people who helped me in the earlier stages of this work. Shahida Cassim for the generous advice and encouragement she gave about conducting advertising research. Professor Bill Freund for his suggestions on how to write a study of ideology without losing sight of political economy. Dr. Eric Louw for his theoretical knowledge, his criticism, and many ideas about the study of media practices.

Several people at the Centre for Cultural and Media have been a source of friendship and support. Susan Govender variously contributed her administrative skills to facilitate the progress of this project. Dorothy Roome has been a friend whose energy and determination set an example. Khatija Khan has been a source of good humour and interesting ideas. Michele Tager kindly read through many chapters and gave some valuable comments.

I especially wish to thank two people who have given valuable advice and support at various stages of this project. Dr. Ruth Teer-Tomaselli has always provided direction based on kindness and good sense at some of the most difficult of moments. Arnold Shepperson has always been ready to give technical assistance or to answer my questions on issues broaching philosophical matters.

Tom O'Regan, a visiting Professor from the Centre for Research into Culture and Media, Murdoch University, Western Australia, read an earlier version of this thesis. His criticism and suggestions and several stimulating briefing sessions have made a valuable contribution. I am entirely responsible for any remaining weaknesses in the thesis.

The following companies provided research material in the form of advertising commercial history reels: South African Breweries (Castle Lager); Unifoods (Rama); Lever Brothers (OMO); Sanlam (campaign featuring babies); Engen (Mobil commercials). While it has not been possible to process all of these history reels to be used as case studies in the present thesis, all material was carefully examined and given due consideration.

I further wish to thank the following individuals and organisations. Ansuya Chetty of Audio Visual Alternatives (AVA) for her assistance and for allowing the use of VHS editing facilities for the production of stills. Alum Mpofo of the SABC provided me with source material on SABC-TV broadcasting developments. Mike Maxwell, Dean of Academic Planning at the Natal Technikon, shared with me his desktop publishing expertise, thus making it possible to reformat and transfer an unwieldy manuscript onto a single CD, ready for publication either in print or on the internet.

Finally, I thank my family for their unremitting support -- my brother, Neil, and his wife, Beverley, for financing the continuation and completion of the research, and my mother who has always encouraged me to seek academic success.

The **Human Sciences Research Council** provided the original financial assistance to make the initiation of this project possible.

**ABSTRACT**

This thesis uses racial stereotyping as a critical approach to the analysis of television advertising commercials broadcast by the SABC during the period of Reform in South Africa, 1978-1992. Due respect is given to theoretical debates about the ideological role of consumer advertising. In the light of various possible causes, such as an increasing importance of blacks to the consumer market, government co-option in terms of 'Total Strategy', or calls by the business sector for a strong black middle class, particular attention is given to the underlying dynamics of black middle class depiction in advertisements. The **Introduction** outlines the main arguments of the thesis, key theoretical moves, and discusses research sources. **Chapter 1** clarifies the concept of stereotype, the nature of racial stereotyping, and proposes a category framework for the analysis of racial stereotyping in a reformist apartheid context. **Chapter 2** marries a racial stereotyping critical approach of consumer advertising in South Africa with theoretically-informed advertising criticism in terms of a conception of *consumption as a means of hegemony*. **Chapter 3** outlines aspects of the post-World War II political economy which have underpinned the ensuing forms of South African racial stereotyping. **Chapter 4** examines the basis of the SABC-TV broadcasting dispensation and its influence upon the forms of racial stereotyping in commercials. **Chapter 5** examines the use of political and public service advertising during the P.W. Botha era, in consideration of what influence such political dimensions of Reform might have had upon the ideological content of advertising in general. **Chapter 6** examines advertising production practices during the period of Reform in order to assess the position of the advertising industry with regard to the changing forms in racial stereotyping. **Chapter 7** applies the preceding theorisation and assessments about the relationship between the political economy and changing forms of racial stereotyping in SABC-TV commercials in a case study based on the advertising commercial 'history reel' for *Castle Lager*. **Chapter 8** gives further verification in a case study of the history reel for *Rama* margarine. The **Conclusion** sums up the preceding chapters and reassess earlier observations. Appendices in **Volume II** of the thesis provide 830 shot-by-shot descriptions and 890 stills for 41 commercials that comprise the two case studies.

## OUTLINE OF SABC-TV BROADCASTING DEVELOPMENTS, 1976-1992

### 1975/6 **Introduction of television with launch of TV1**

TV1 programmes were aimed at an all white audience. Broadcast time was divided equally between English and Afrikaans. Advertising commercials were permitted from 1978 onwards. Strict language purity was stipulated within programming as well as in advertising commercials.

### 1982 **Introduction of TV2 and TV3**

TV2 and TV3 were launched together as one channel but were split into two separate services in 1983. TV2 broadcast in the Nguni languages, Zulu and Xhosa, while TV3 broadcast in the SeSotho languages, Tswana, North Sotho and South Sotho. These services were aimed primarily at an emerging urban black consumer market. Market research had shown that the *lingua franca* of urban blacks was English, however strict language purity was maintained within programming and advertisements for separately designated black ethnic groups.

### 1984 **Introduction of TV4**

TV4 seems to have been aimed as an additional entertainment channel with programmes mainly in English. It is possible that this channel was also intended to address the needs of some advertisers who wanted to reach a racially integrated consumer market, and whose advertising requirements could be better addressed with a single commercial in English.

### 1990 **Introduction of TSS**

This channel was launched to accommodate surplus sports programmes that could not be broadcast in the TV1 schedule. TSS soon developed into a channel in its own right, but its footprint remained limited around metropolitan areas.

### 1992 **Introduction of CCV-TV**

In January 1992, TV2, TV3, and TV4 were merged into what was meant to be a multicultural channel, 'Contemporary Community Values Television' or CCV-TV. This development was clearly in line with political negotiations that were taking place towards the achievement of a democratic constitution in South Africa. The form of CCV-TV programming constituted a radical departure from previous policy based on language and ethnic differentiation. The objective of CCV-TV was to attract viewers from all cultural groupings. However, most of these changes could still be described as adaptations of the old system, more substantive changes had yet to occur.

## CONTENTS

### VOLUME I

Introduction: Arguments, theoretical moves and research sources	7
Chapter 1. Towards a workable definition of stereotyping	30
Chapter 2. Consumption as a means of hegemony	44
Chapter 3. The political economy of racial stereotyping in South Africa	72
Chapter 4. Categories of South African racial stereotyping in relation to broadcasting design	101
Chapter 5. Political dimensions of reform as an influence on advertising	128
Chapter 6. Structural processes of reform as an influence on advertising	140
Chapter 7. How the 'other' was invited to stay: case study on Castle Lager history reel (beer)	161
Chapter 8. Trying to hit them where they live: case study on Rama history reel (margarine)	192
Conclusion	218
Sources	224

### VOLUME II

240-515

Catalogue of History Reels and other and other Appendices. **See contents on pages 246-7.**

## **ARGUMENTS, THEORETICAL MOVES, AND RESEARCH SOURCES**

The purpose of this introductory chapter is to rehearse in summary the main arguments of the thesis and to outline the key theoretical moves being made. An analysis of racial stereotyping in television advertising in the context of period of Reform requires the interrelationship of several areas of study: stereotyping theory, film theory, theoretically-informed advertising criticism, the history and political economy of post-World War II South Africa, the introduction and development of television broadcasting in South Africa, as well as an understanding of local marketing and advertising practices. The fact that theoretically-informed analysis of stereotyping in advertising is largely uncharted territory further complicates this study. Coupled to this problem is the fact that a variety of instruments (be they administrative, technological, ideological, or theoretical) when enacted in the South African context, often lead to counter-intuitive results. Thus, regressive ethnic stereotypes may have been 'good' in certain South African instances and progressive ones 'bad' in others. The incorporation of 'black' ethnicity in advertising in the West is held to be largely symbolic and masks the lack of real incorporation. However, in South Africa, given the rise of the black consumer, this sometimes prefigured genuine black incorporation in spite of government attempts to manipulate ethnicity as an instrument for apartheid exclusion. A discourse geared towards stereotypes of minorities in a dominant ethnicity context, which sees them as bad, may be functional in a multiracial and multicultural context.

Instances such as these are symptomatic of a more general problem encountered in the application of theories from First World contexts to the South African context (Muller and Tomaselli 1990; Louw, 1991). Third World countries might not always follow the same patterns or even stages of development that have occurred previously in the advanced industrial states. Yet Third World countries are profoundly affected by current development theories and policies practised in the advanced industrial (or post-industrial states). From a globalisation point of view, technological developments that have rendered certain modes of production and their attenuating labour reproduction requirements obsolete, inevitably bear influence upon Third World countries. While not underestimating the level of South African sophistication in industrialisation and business management, these observations must to some extent hold true about future development of the South African social formation. Care should therefore be exercised in the application of theories and concepts imported from abroad. Theoretical insight might be enhanced by first establishing how concepts such as 'racial stereotyping' as well as the more established critical approaches to the study of advertising, relate to their own originating contexts. The value of such a method lies in its more systematic information about how such concepts might relate to the South African context: whether the relationship is similar enough to the situation that gave rise to the original theoretical formulation, or whether some adaptation is required.<sup>1</sup> By developing approaches based upon what might be called 'relative analogy', or 'contextual interrelationship' techniques, it may be possible to

avoid the clouding over of local practices with foreign meanings. The application of mis-matched, anachronistic or strategically inept theories to local contexts might thus be avoided. At the same time, the scrutiny of critical concepts from other countries (rather than their unquestioned assimilation) should not be regarded as a new or further form of 'separate development'. The intention here is to facilitate conceptual clarity and better understanding about the relationship of local advertising practices to South African reform processes. How does one apply 'relative analogy'? It is an approach which takes into cognisance, as far as practicable, the original contextual processes that gave rise to the theories being considered. Theories are thus selected and applied by assessment and comparison to find out how appropriate their contextual relationships are to local contextual processes.

A key theoretical move of this thesis is to establish a relationship between a stereotyping critical approach and the main corpus of theoretically-informed advertising criticism. This process of exploration is initiated in Chapter 1 with clarification in three aspects of primary relevance: the concept of stereotype; the relationship of stereotypes to ideology; and the nature of 'racial stereotyping'. The genealogy of the concept of stereotype is traced from what seem to be some of its earliest origins, to its more formal definition by Walter Lippmann (1922). From a review of Perkins's (1979) examination of the conception of stereotypes, it becomes apparent that certain stereotypes are more closely related to dominant ideological processes than others. In particular, the positive stereotypes in the mass media, with which most people so readily (and often unconsciously) identify, might be understood to articulate something similar to what Althusser (1971) conceived of as an imaginary relationship to our real conditions of existence. One way of regarding such stereotypes would be as agents of what Althusser (1971) has called *interpellation*. These positive stereotypes play a role in class formation, or in the forms of socialisation that give the appearance of classless social structures in post-industrial societies. On the other hand, pejorative stereotyping (especially racial stereotyping as a pejorative representation) has little basis in the mainstream media discourse of the predominantly liberal political economies of Western countries<sup>2</sup>. Such pejorative stereotypes are either residual from earlier eras, or might occasionally emanate from more extremist-inclined groups situated outside the mainstream of political discourse. In South Africa, during the period from 1978 to 1992, overt pejorative racial stereotyping also came to be incongruous with mainstream media practices. However, although not overtly pejorative, the forms of racial stereotyping directed at the black indigenous population during this period tended to be defined by ethnicity<sup>3</sup> or by departures from this tendency. For analytical purposes it is helpful to consider the forms of racial stereotyping of blacks in South Africa in terms of the following category framework: i) pejorative; ii) ethnic; iii) ethnic middle class; and iv) non-ethnic middle class.

It was observed above that the South African context may in some instances be found to differ from the political economies of the advanced industrial states. The slow and hesitant transition in SABC-TV commercials, from separate advertisements featuring ethnic categories of racial stereotyping (and their accompanied discourse of 'structured absences'), to the apparently non-ethnic, non-racial, black bourgeois or affirmatively-inclined stereotypes of 'integrated' advertising, is consistent with this



observation. The terms of economic and social change entailed by 'reform' might be expected to have manifested specific idiosyncratic tendencies when enacted upon a context that was in some respects still subject to a form of detached colonialism. Pejorative racial stereotypes, similar to those of the advanced industrial democracies, were sometimes also present but were incongruous with apartheid. In the case of pre-Reformist apartheid, pejorative stereotypes of blacks would have undermined the supposed integrity<sup>4</sup> of separate development. While, in the case of Reformist apartheid such stereotypes would readily have been recognisable in First World terms as aspects of racial oppression<sup>5</sup>.

It was stated above that one of the key theoretical moves of this thesis will be place a racial stereotyping critical approach within the main tenets of theoretically-informed advertising criticism<sup>6</sup>. The forms of racial stereotyping in South African television advertising commercials therefore need to be considered in the light of the fundamental contentions of theoretically-informed advertising criticism. This undertaking presents two main areas of difficulty. Firstly, in the advanced industrial democracies the study of advertising as a cultural phenomenon has been a tentative field. The debate about the social role of advertising concretised during the period from the mid-1970s to the latter half of the 1980s after the publication of several important works (see Pollay, 1978; Leiss, Kline & Jhally, 1986:5-6). By the end of the 1980s, advertising was increasingly becoming a subject of interest to the humanities.<sup>7</sup> Secondly, the fact that most of the critical ideas about the economic and social role of advertising in South Africa are predominantly informed by advertising criticism from First World countries, is also problematic. The drift of pre-post structural theoretically-informed critical positions is that advertising generally plays an ancillary ideological role that helps dilute class struggle. Advertising is thus supposed to assume the role of an 'ideological state apparatus' or factor of hegemony. However (as will become apparent in succeeding chapters), because in an apartheid context force *always* tended to predominate over consent, any achievement of hegemony in relation to blacks existed only tentatively. While hegemony in South Africa during the apartheid period and its reform must be understood in qualified terms, First World theoretically-informed advertising criticism tends to see advertising as a principal ideological means through which consumption is established as a means of hegemony without any such qualification.

The main purpose of Chapter 2 will thus be to focus on advertising criticism with the object of marrying a stereotyping approach to the general oeuvre of theoretically-informed advertising criticism. Theoretically-informed criticism claims that advertising plays an additional role to that of facilitating the mass marketing and distribution of manufactured goods: the advertising of consumer products also sells the capitalist system. Several distinctions can be made between the different theoretically-informed critical positions. Some of these positions maintain or imply that the ideological role of consumer advertising is determinist or conspiratorial (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1944; Ewen, 1976). Other positions see this role in more contingent terms (Williams, [1960] 1980<sup>8</sup>; Inglis, (1972). A distinction can also be made in terms of the fact that some of these positions tend to see the ideology of consumer advertising in rather absolute terms (Ewen, 1976), while other positions allow for

the possibility of our being able to resist its ideology (Williams, [1960] 1980). Nevertheless, from an assessment of the various theoretically-informed positions this thesis posits that it is both possible and viable to support a critical approach that holds advertising as the agency responsible for establishing and maintaining *consumption as a means of hegemony* in a consumer or market democracy situation (Williams, [1960] 1980; Gramsci, 1971).

In seeking to integrate a stereotyping approach with theoretically-informed advertising criticism, the problem is approached through a determination of the ideological location of stereotypes within this oblique role of advertising as facilitator of *consumption as a means of hegemony*. One finds the relationship between advertising and stereotyping to be a special one because it is located in the very area of advanced industrial production and mass distribution of consumer goods and services. It is these goods and services that have enabled a bourgeois lifestyle to become broadly disseminated in its petty bourgeois forms. It is here that answers should be sought about the primary role of stereotyping in advertising. Inherent in the nature of advertising for consumer goods is the constant re-constitution and re-articulation of petty bourgeois stereotypes. These positive stereotypes are intertwined with the products or services that are being sold, either through the depiction of the human circumstances of the *use* of such goods, or through association of products with image or lifestyle implications that respondents will aspire to<sup>9</sup>.

A very brief outline here of the historical background which has given rise to this position of prominence for modern advertising will give a better understanding of the nature of its ideological role. Advertising is a cultural form as old as urban society (Pope, 1983:4). The transformation from entrepreneurial capitalism to monopoly capitalism at the end of the 19th century led to a transition to large scale mass production. Large scale mass production is dependent upon heavy capital outlay (for machinery, buildings, large inventories of raw materials, and for labour costs). A predictable flow of industrially produced goods is required in order to amortise these investments. A sustained level of consumption is needed in order to maintain the desired production levels. To ensure such consumption, industrialists need to be able to organise and where possible control the markets for their goods (Williams, [1960] 1980:177-8), rather than to simply inform and supply their customers. The organisation and control of consumer markets entails constant efforts for the further construction, definition and expansion of such markets. It is at this point in the history of industrial capitalism that advertising begins to assume a new role. As Williams ([1960] 1980:178) points out:

That this period of fundamental change in the economy is the key to the emergence of full-scale modern advertising is shown also by the radical changes in the organisation of advertising itself.

From the eighteenth century onwards certain shops, which had been collection points for advertisements for newspapers, evolved into agencies which bought and resold the space to advertisers. While continuing to sell space for the newspapers, these agencies began (with increasing emphasis after the 1880's) to change their function to one of offering advice and service to manufacturers (Turner, 1952). By the turn of the century, newspapers had their own advertising

managers, while agencies stopped selling space and concentrated on serving and advising manufacturers, and booking space after a campaign had been agreed upon. In conjunction with the continuing transformation of existing media, and the establishment of new media (Williams, 1990:9-31), advertising institutional practices became more firmly established after each of the two world wars. Particularly after the World War II reconstruction initiated by the Marshall Plan, and during the Cold War period, advertising is believed to have contributed to the extension of consumer democracies and the stabilisation of working classes across Western Europe (Sinclair, 1986:7-8).

If one looks at the role of 'racial' stereotyping in South African advertising, and particularly in television commercials, several factors will become apparent with respect to the above observations. Post-World War II South African society comprised a relatively affluent white ruling class that was predominantly English-speaking, and a slightly larger Afrikaans-speaking group that was well into the process of capital accumulation and conversion to an urban base. A small black middle class with limited capital resources at their disposal also existed. The much larger black working class was at that stage economically and strategically very weak.<sup>10</sup> The largest population sector consisted of marginally-educated rural blacks who subsisted off the land, either in the reserves<sup>11</sup> or on white farms. During the post-World War II period in South Africa there was nothing equivalent of a Marshall Plan or consumer democracy to address the state of underdevelopment, or to 'stabilise' the majority black population (through access to consumer goods and services and appropriate psychological orientation). Indeed, no such solution has ever been applied to Third World sectors of the non-core capitalist centres of the West, and such a course of action would in all probability have been incompatible with South Africa's status or location within the system of international economic relations of the time. Although the implication of economic determinism should be avoided, the pattern suggests that black underdevelopment should not be simply regarded as a denial consistent only with a localised apartheid situation. With the coming to power of the National Party, further Afrikaner working class stabilisation did occur through the extension of state-sponsored job opportunities in the parastatals<sup>12</sup>. However, earlier racial discrimination practised against blacks became entrenched through the more formal establishment of apartheid.

In Chapter 3, some of the aspects of post-World War II political economy which have underpinned the ensuing forms of South African racial stereotyping are outlined. In the face of the combined effects of many factors, apartheid was a self-conflicting system applied with some experimentation and varying degrees of forcefulness over the years that followed (Hindson, 1987; Lipton, 1986). The most significant of the factors that stood in contradiction to the success of apartheid were internal resistance by blacks, international opposition, the failing objectives of the Bantustan project<sup>13</sup>, and (particularly important to the present research) the structural contradictions arising out of an economic dependence on black labour coupled with growing black consumer power. As in the case of other post-World War II fascist regimes during the Cold War, apartheid South Africa's continuing ability to negotiate its co-existence within the international Western hegemonic order was based upon certain key factors: this country's strategic significance at the time, its history of some communist party activity, and

the potential susceptibility of previously colonial black states in Africa to align themselves with the then Soviet-orchestrated Third World.

If the constitution or re-articulation of petty bourgeois stereotypes is inherent within the advertising process for the promotion of consumer goods and services, then an understanding of 'racial' stereotyping in South African advertising must be dependent upon an understanding of the relationship between capitalism and apartheid. The apartheid project, as theorised by H.F. Verwoerd<sup>14</sup> in terms of Bantustans, envisaged eventual total national separation between whites and blacks. The clarification and maintenance of ethnicity to define and erect different black nation states was one of the key underpinning factors in the application of Verwoerd's conception of apartheid. This discourse was enacted into law through a variety of legislation, and thus necessarily permeated the daily practices of institutions of the public and private spheres. Under these circumstances, ethnically-influenced forms of stereotyping were a key and defining characteristic of black racial stereotyping. However, if this form ethnic stereotyping becomes entrenched in a colonial context (especially when it manifests itself in product advertising) it might act in contradiction to continuing industrialisation, urbanisation and growth in monopoly capitalism, and particularly to longer term requirements for urban social integration on a class basis. In the absence of significant migration from the First World, consumer market growth in South Africa was dependent on the upward mobility of blacks. However, during the Cold War period capitalism in South Africa existed in a complicated situation of simultaneous connivance, opposition, and, with respect to longer term processes, organically in dynamic tension with apartheid. The story of racial stereotyping in South African advertising lies essentially within this dynamic tension. What one broadly sees during the period of reform of the 1980s is a difficult and variously impeded movement from ethnic black stereotyping towards a universal petty bourgeois stereotype<sup>15</sup>.

Economic growth and increased black employment in the industrial or service sectors meant that a growing number of blacks were augmenting the market for consumer goods and services, and therefore entering processes that would lead them away from an ethnic interpellation. Thus processes of a 'reformation' in terms of change in the structure of the social formation were in motion long before political reform. It would seem that apartheid (as practised during Verwoerd's tenure as prime minister) was framed upon an understanding and anticipation of these integrative processes of industrial capitalism, and sought to control and reverse these processes (see Pelzer, 1966). Political reform actually begins in the Vorster<sup>16</sup> era, with improved relations between the government and the business sector and the institution of the Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions (1977-9). These Commissions, aimed at revising or removing restrictions upon black employment and urbanisation, spelt the death of the underlying principle of Verwoerdian apartheid: ultimate total separation<sup>17</sup>. However, these events were certainly not the end of apartheid, as the system continued even with the loss of any teleological sense, and with its theoretical and constitutional coherence undermined. For almost three decades after Verwoerd, apartheid remained quite intact in terms of its underpinning legislation, and in terms of its complex oscillations in the psyche of the white ruling classes.

Apartheid factors manifesting themselves at various levels continued to impose impediments or distortions upon the development of a middle class inclusive of blacks. But it must also be emphasised that impediments to the further development of middle class blacks were economic as well as political, because economic growth turned out to be inconsistent.

Chapter 4 outlines the ensuing broadcasting dispensation of the national broadcaster, the SABC, a body firmly in control of the government. Television was also introduced during the B.J. Vorster era in 1976. When television advertising commenced in 1978, some of the early TV1 commercials included the portrayal of blacks. In a few of these early commercials, it is possible to find examples of black depictions that are pejorative in the First World sense of the term. But, as will be argued in Chapter 4, such pejorative depictions in the mass media tend to be rejected by the aggrieved group. In any society with pretensions to rationality, prejudice can never simply be justified as prejudice but needs to be disguised as something else. If pejorative stereotypes in the mass media make a prejudice public, just grounds are established for calls for redress, and may thus constitute a precursor to some form of affirmative action. It is only in the so-called 'reform era' during the P.W. Botha<sup>18</sup> government that the television broadcasting infrastructure was extended with TV2/3 in 1982, and only then did televised 'apartheid racial stereotyping' become truly feasible. In this respect, Chapter 4 explains how the question of 'structured absences' became relevant in the gatekeeping<sup>19</sup> rules of the television broadcasting medium. The term 'structured absence' refers to what a text 'cannot say'. A tacit set of rules will often develop in text production practices which will underpin the forms of representation. In terms of the strict application of Verwoerdian apartheid, texts designed for white consumption would have totally excluded blacks or presented them as being related to their own homelands. While texts designed by whites for black consumption would have tended towards the representation of a black world, where social interaction with whites was mostly absent. However, this principle could not be properly applied in television advertising before the 1982 advent of channels specifically intended for blacks. The TV2/3 channels introduced in 1982 were designed to broadcast their programming and advertising in the vernacular, to which strict adherence was enforced in television commercials. P.W. Botha is on record as conceding that black middle classes were a good thing, in as far as these classes might have operated as a resistance to the growth of communism. But he made an important qualification that black middle classes should nevertheless have identified themselves in terms of various different black 'nations' in South Africa. Radio Bantu and TV2/3 might be seen to have been interpreting and applying this policy during most of the reform period.

SABC-TV broadcasting regulations and practices were a powerful influence in structuring and underpinning forms of racial stereotyping in television commercials. The transition in forms of racial stereotyping in South Africa was indeed taking place from an ethnic category to a more Westernised middle class category. But in terms of its chronological occurrence within SABC-TV broadcasting practices, one might thus categorise the stereotyping of blacks in SABC-TV commercials, as follows: 1) pejorative (limited); 2) ethnic (structured absences); 3) ethnic middle class (structured absences);

4) integrated (non ethnic) middle class. In responding to integrative economic dynamics, some advertisers during this period were finding that conceptualisation and communication in terms of a separate *white* market and *black* market was in certain instances inappropriate. However, SABC-TV broadcasting policy continued to be restrictive after the introduction of TV2/3 in 1982, because it was dedicated to maintaining ethnicity to support the development of 'ethnic black middle classes'. While this underlying purpose prevailed with the broadcaster, advertisers who wished to conceptualise commercials in terms of a single market approach were either prevented from doing so, or their task was frustrated and made more difficult. The final section of Chapter 4 re-examines the gatekeeping role of the SABC *vis-à-vis* the reform of apartheid, and tries to assess the extent to which this influence was predominant or determining amongst the material structural factors restricting the transformation to more racially integrated forms of stereotyping in advertising commercials. It appears that conservative influences originated from a combination of factors. What was in some instances a genuine need to communicate in ethnic terms, might in many instances also have served as an excuse for entrenched residual racist thinking at the various levels related to the advertising process, such as marketing, research, and broadcasting. In this context, the SABC as gatekeeper was in a powerful position to inhibit change, but was not, so to speak, 'all alone out there'. A quite considerable capacity to counter the influence of apartheid (in the manner it articulated itself through SABC-TV broadcasting regulations), surely must have rested with advertisers that were paying for it, especially the more dominant corporations of the business sector. Such pressure does seem to have gathered momentum from 1985 onwards.

After the mid-1980s, SABC-TV rules of acceptance for commercials were to some extent relaxed. Integrated marketing approaches did become possible through TV1 and through TV4, but the vernacular language requirements of TV2/3 remained in place. However, in some instances left-wing critics do not seem to have fully appreciated the significance of these apartheid media restrictions. In fact, these restrictions were inconsistent with historical materialist conceptions of normal capitalism which is based upon expanding processes of industrialisation and the growth of consumer markets. As pointed out above, these are the very processes that are believed to have brought about the development of modern advertising. Instead, some critics collapsed their interpretation of the growing interest of marketers in black consumers as evidence of a general capitalist conspiracy with the reformist National Party government and with Total Strategy<sup>20</sup>. This view may have been encouraged by the fact that some advertising practitioners added to the confusion by canvassing for government use of political or public service advertising to sell reform or certain of its aspects to either the white electorate and/or to the (at that stage the still non-enfranchised) majority black population.

Political advertising or public service advertising can be distinguished in terms of the mode of action of their ideological role from that of consumer product advertising. Chapter 5 specifically examines political and public service advertising in South Africa during the 1980s. It appears that in spite of consistent advocacy by some members of the advertising profession<sup>21</sup> for the need for political advertising, there was little that was 'Total' or wilfully co-ordinated with government interests in the manner this industry operated

during the reform era. After the mid-1980s, television commercials for consumer products (especially in the case of beer advertising) indeed began to stereotype blacks in highly affirmative middle class roles, and to depict them together with whites in integrated commercials flighted on TV1 and TV4. In terms of theoretical debates about the ideological role of consumer product advertising, this development would on the whole seem to have been more affirmatively (and politically) motivated than being simply contingent to the selling of beer. However, from the case study in Chapter 7 it becomes apparent that the ideology of these commercials is not indicative of any conspiracy with 'Total Strategy'. When closely examined these commercials indicate that a schism indeed had occurred between English-speaking capital and the National Party government after 1985.

### ADVERTISING IN THE CONTEXT OF 'REFORM'

A logical initial question to be asked in any study of South African advertising in relation to the reformist discourse of the 1980s, is what role advertising might possibly have played in relation to apartheid? Could advertising have reinforced apartheid, eroded it, or have been simply irrelevant? Or, could advertising have been doing most of these things at the same time? It is within the realms of possibility that 'reform' in its political dimension affected advertising (not necessarily only consumer product advertising) on three levels: (i) as a strategy to achieve some sort of social engineering goal -- in terms of the government's Total Strategy, or in terms of the predominately English-speaking capital-inspired alternative of an integrated and inclusive middle class; (ii) as an instrument of diplomacy to produce images that would favourably have influenced world opinion towards the South African government<sup>22</sup>; and (iii) as an ideological discourse interpellating advertising practitioners to be amenable to the performance of any of the former tasks. If one considers this matter at the level of production practices in advertising agencies, one might inquire about how and through what path any reformist ideological shift communicated itself into these practices. It seems quite logical that in one of its aspects political discourse would have been able to affect advertising fairly directly through government influence upon the SABC and through the determining of broadcasting regulations. But in another aspect, political discourse mostly would have affected advertising less directly, through ideological interpellation of practitioners at the various institutional levels involved in the production of the advertising text. During the latter 1980s period of crisis, such ideological interpellation within the then dominant white middle class group (from where marketing and media practitioners were mostly drawn) was complex, fluctuating and divergent.

One of the problems with Marxist analyses of consumer advertising is the fact that its ideological role is usually seen as *necessary* for the reproduction of the system. While it is recognised that such 'functional' necessity emerges historically, the historical relationship between advertising and economic and social change is understood in deterministic and instrumental rather than dialectical terms (Sinclair, 1987:24-25). Stuart Ewen's (1976) Marxist approach to the role played by advertising in the United States in the 1920s falls into a group of studies that adopt a somewhat conspiratorial or deterministic view (*ibid*). On

the opposite end of the spectrum, a left-Leavisite approach such as Fred Inglis (1972) adopts a rather more organic view (*ibid*). According to Inglis the system becomes reified as if it has a logic of its own, independent of the individual or collective actions of human agents. The difficulty of arriving at a suitably balanced approach remains a key problem in theoretically-informed advertising criticism. This question also belongs to one of the more fundamental debates in cultural studies: the problem of understanding how events in the 'superstructure' might relate to events in the 'substructure':

Any modern approach to a Marxist theory of culture must begin by considering the proposition of a determining base and a determined superstructure. From a strictly theoretical point of view this is not, in fact, where we might choose to begin. It would be in many ways preferable if we could begin from a proposition which originally was equally central, equally authentic: namely the proposition that social being determines social consciousness (Williams, [1973] 1980:31).

It is accepted that the concept of base and superstructure is a simplification. Nevertheless, considered as a metaphor, base and superstructure remains a useful tool for the determination of initial bearings within the confusion about how the ideological role of consumer advertising occurs. Advertising practices are part of the selling process. There is some ambivalence in orthodox Marxism whether the *selling* of goods should be located at the productive base (and thus be considered a 'productive activity') or whether it should be located as a superstructural, 'non productive' activity (Williams, [1973] 1980:35). According to Marx's original thesis, it is quite unlikely that advertising at that stage of its development could have been given any recognition as a productive activity. However, within a late capitalist framework (Mandel, 1978), the 'information age', where media and advertising and other parts of the service sector have become key areas of economic activity, and significant contributors to gross national product (Arriaga, 1984), the original Marxist framework is surely no longer applicable. The question of whether or not advertising should be seen as a 'productive activity' needs to be approached cautiously. What seems to be a logical, and most important observation, is that if advertising is to be considered an activity of the 'superstructures', it must be distinguished by the fact that it is more directly motivated by substructural events than other media texts. Although it might be argued that the 'added value' of an advertisement in certain cases is more important to the consumer than the actual product being advertised, consumer product advertisements continue to be primarily intended as vehicles for facilitating the movement of products or services. In comparison to other texts such as poems, novels, feature films<sup>23</sup>, or soap operas, a difference exists in the fact that advertisements and their ideology are not in purpose principally the product *intended* for 'consumption'. In order to reach a balanced assessment of the role of South African advertising in relation to the reformist objectives of South African capitalism, and those of the state as articulated by Afrikaner Nationalist governments (whose position after the late 1960s was a shifting one), a particularly sensitive approach is needed.

A complicating factor in the study of racial stereotyping in advertising in the context of reform in South Africa is the fact that change in the forms of black depiction has simultaneously also been



affected by structural or organic processes as well as political discourse. Structural economic processes, these deeper or underpinning currents of reform, operated upon the social formation so that the market for consumer goods and services was gradually transformed. It is the business of marketing, advertising, and broadcasting institutions to be quite sensitive to the consumer market. This influence upon South African advertising is consistent with what might be termed contingent ideological processes normally inherent in consumer product advertising (Chapter 2). In some cases this effect would not have been altogether dissimilar or completely separable from some effects that reformist political discourse might have had upon advertising. In other cases it is quite probable that the responses of institutional practices to structural change were not always necessarily in tune with contemporaneous political imperatives of 'reform'.

Reform in South Africa has been fundamentally organically related to the drive to monopoly capitalism, to changing industrial structure, to changes in labour relations, and to changes in urbanisation policy. These processes bear some relationship to the typical processes that are supposed to have brought about the development of modern advertising in the First World (Williams, [1960] 1980; Turner, 1952; Schudson, 1984; Ewen, 1976). Representing itself through such changing material conditions or structural processes, this aspect of reform was affecting 'the market' for consumer goods. Product advertising responded directly to this influence.<sup>24</sup> But it is also quite probable that some of the political/ideological aspects of reform also influenced advertising practices less directly through the *interpellation* of practitioners within reformist discourse at various levels of what has been described as an institutional production loop (Hall, 1980:128-138). To do justice to this complexity, changing racial stereotypes might be considered to have been affected by two separate influences dually mediating their way through advertising and broadcasting production practices: i) reform as a political discourse and ii) reform in terms of its preceding or underlying structural processes.

The intention of this thesis is to examine racial stereotyping in SABC-TV advertising commercials for consumer products or services (the main type of advertising on television). It is usually the more pervasive consumer product advertising that gives rise to criticism against advertising. However, a tendency exists for popular opinion to lump all types of advertising together (Sinclair, 1987:4). It has been pointed out above that in the earlier part of the 1980s considerable publicity had been given in the popular press to advocates of advertising as a means of facilitating the reform process. What was being suggested was that advertising could act as a vehicle for persuasion or propaganda for gaining public acceptance of certain policies or for effecting social change. What was being canvassed was political advertising, and possibly also public service advertising.<sup>25</sup> As far as popular opinion is concerned, it is not unlikely that this discourse rubbed off onto product advertising and became confused with it. In line with a popular South African reading of Vance Packard's (1957) advertising criticism (which focuses on manipulation or 'brainwashing'), possibly coupled with some academically-orientated applications of determinist assessments, such as Ewen (1976), a belief might have arisen (and perhaps also been fostered by some advertising practitioners)<sup>26</sup> that product advertising could be used or was being used to facilitate reform, by creating or co-opting black middle classes. The inception of direct political advertising in South Africa during the P.W. Botha

era probably set the tone for the relationship between reformist discourse and the advertising industry (Vorster, 1986). Chapter 5 thus pays some attention to this particular form, political advertising.

In order to obtain a more sensitive reading with regard to the above observations, Chapter 6 follows with an examination of the relationship between advertising and reform as a structural process. The organic type of reform predicted by O'Dowd (1964)<sup>27</sup> drew some of its parallels from English social history. However, for a contextual situation such as South Africa the pace of social change suggested by O'Dowd turned out to be too limited in relation to what was necessary (in terms of the expectations of the black majority and the mounting international objections to apartheid). Reform as a structural process, i.e. at an organically occurring level (through the gradual extension of consumption as opposed to mere subsistence to urbanised members of the indigenous population), was not substantial enough to bring about any dramatic reversal in the level of underdevelopment of the indigenous population as a whole. Nevertheless, the gradual effects of such structural processes did change the pattern of a consumer market that previously depended primarily upon white spending power. This process of extension already formed the underlying basis for some degree of an organic transition towards non-ethnic black middle class stereotypes in advertising. The facts that are outlined in Chapter 4 indicate that in spite of reform, such organic processes towards the formation of a more genuine black middle class were actually being thwarted by the ambivalent position of the government, and by entrenched or residual apartheid thinking in broadcasting, marketing and advertising practices. An organic transition that preceded any 'conspiratorial' schemes to create or co-opt black middle classes (if any such dubious conspiratorial schemes existed) was being retarded. This process of organic change occurred prior to: a) late 1970s or early 1980s co-optive possibilities, while rapprochement between English-dominated capital and government endured; b) the public ideological divergence from the policies of the P.W. Botha government; this divergence was implicit in some of the forms of affirmative depiction of black character in consumer advertising by the business sector, particularly corporations associated with the English-dominated branch of South African capital from the second half of the 1980s onwards<sup>28</sup>. In Chapter 6, the responses of marketing and advertising practices are examined in the light of structural changes in the consumer market and reformist political discourse. This study has found no evidence of any co-ordination between government and capital in South Africa for the foundation of a consistent strategy in communications aimed at consumers, and this fact to some extent detracts from the potential applicability of theories suggesting conspiracy with regard to the ideological component of consumer product advertising.

The area of confusion around what role product advertising might have played in 'reform as a political discourse' arises from the issue of black middle class 'co-option' during the 1980s. From the review of critical advertising theories given above (outlined in more detail in Chapter 2), it seems that under normal circumstances any middle class socialisation effected by product advertising occurs contingently. Under normal circumstances product advertising is not ideological through a *conscious intention* to be so. The

primary purpose of product advertising is to sell goods, and thus needs to be clearly-focussed to achieving this purpose. It was pointed out above that in capitalist economies the apparent primary economic purpose of most consumer advertising is to help maintain the projected production capacity of factories by facilitating distribution and consumption of their products within specified periods of time (Turner, 1952; Williams, [1960] 1980; Schudson, 1984; Pope, 1983). There are two fundamental purposes that advertising practitioners are supposed to have to keep in mind when creating advertisements for products: “moving the product off the shelf” and/or “protecting the brand” (from competitors). Advertising does this along with many other components of the marketing cycle: market research, promotions, publicity, sales representatives, supermarkets, merchandising. In instances where black middle class formation was consistent with the selling of goods or services, some advertisements may possibly have promoted it by contributing to processes of further consumer market expansion. But consumer product advertising does not normally direct itself at people who are not, in the foreseeable future, likely to have any money to buy the particular goods or services on offer. Thus, any latitude for advertising practitioners to concentrate their creative efforts in the realisation of overt political purposes was likely to have been limited, difficult, and problematic.

However, circumstances during the period of reform in South Africa were extraordinary rather than normal. During the 1980s crisis period there was much discussion within the business sector about the need to develop a ‘stable’ black middle class. This view also came to be shared by the P.W. Botha government, but with the important reservations pointed out above (these ‘reservations’ will be further elaborated below and in Chapter 3). Given the fact that the general ideological climate was reformist during the 1980s, some examination needs to be made of how and at what levels advertising practices might have been subject to these extraordinary influences. It must be taken into account that the process of production of major advertising campaigns takes place on many levels. Each level involves the input of one or more individual practitioners, with ‘execution’ taking place at each stage of the process (Crompton, 1979; O’Toole, 1981). So within the limitations of the primary purpose of selling goods, the opportunity to influence content in accordance with reformist discourse (in terms of which some practitioners might have been interpellated) did exist at each level of the advertisement production process. The case study in Chapter 7 (empirically verifiable in Appendix 1B) indicates that advertising commercials for Castle Lager indeed took on a more proactive reformist role after 1984 or 1985. But the ideology of these commercials diverged in a considerably more progressive direction than the reformist scenario of the National Party run government. This suggests that after the mid-1980s the capitalist state was beginning to move faster than its government, and Afrikaner-dominated legislative and repressive agencies were able to follow. Similar trends to those noted in the Castle Lager advertising commercial history reel applied across all other brands of beer. As demonstrated in the analysis of the Rama margarine advertising commercial history reel in Chapter 8, these trends were also reflected in the television advertising for other products and services, but generally intensified at a later stage, in the late 1980s or early 1990s. The emergence of this affirmative tendency in consumer advertising in the second half of the 1980s goes towards confirming that there was no conspiracy with government policy or with Total Strategy. It seems that these advertisements were

heralding the coming to power of the ANC. During the second half of the 1980s it was the major South African capitalist corporations in particular<sup>29</sup> that were re-positioning themselves in anticipation of the coming of a new political order. From a critical advertising studies point of view, this development further suggests that the ideological content of these advertisements was quite extraordinary and in some respects might be akin to the type of shift that has occurred in the nature of product advertising in the advanced industrial states during exceptional periods such as the First or Second World Wars.<sup>30</sup> It does in fact seem that in the context of a so called organic crisis in South Africa (Saul, 1986), coupled with growing paralysis in the government's application of reform, the corporate sector generally more pro-active role was reflected in their consumer advertising after 1984. What thus came to be depicted was an integrated society that was ahead of the apartheid reality of the time.

It seems that any strategic co-ordination between the business sector and the government in relation to product advertising was not likely to have been achievable, and this became less likely after the 1984 Tricameral Parliament elections. Reform during the P.W. Botha era was problematic. After the parting of ways between English-dominated capital<sup>31</sup> and the government, from 1984/5 onwards, there was little likelihood that any significant co-ordination or collusion could occur between the government, advertisers and the SABC.<sup>32</sup> To facilitate an assessment of the effects of reform on advertising some clarification is needed of apartheid and the problematic nature of its reform during the P.W. Botha era. It is postulated that political reform is usually a relationship between material conditions or structural processes and political responses to them by a dominant political order. At this point in time, though acknowledged as necessary, reform was still a rather a difficult rationalisation for Afrikaner Nationalist Party politicians. It was appreciated that reform was needed in order to appease blacks, that it would counter-act what was considered to be the threat of communism, that it would address the requirements of world opinion and those of South African capital. However, in spite of what was termed *Total Strategy*, during the P.W. Botha era no clear reform blue-print on how to respond to the underlying structural processes was ever devised. The reasons for this are obvious. Any logical unfolding of political reform contained an inherent contradiction: the implicit dis-empowerment of Afrikanerdom and the empowerment of blacks. The Nationalist Party government was therefore bound to a double agenda in its implementation of reform. This type of contradictory application which developed in political reform, in order to circumvent the threats posed to Afrikaner hegemony, was largely unacceptable to blacks and did little to pacify the tensions in the country. This matter also led to tensions between capital and the Afrikaner-controlled government bureaucracy. A deterioration in the previously much publicised 'reconciliation' between the dominant English-speaking sector of monopoly capital and the government followed. This renewed schism tended to re-emphasise the incoherence factor in the form of the South African state during apartheid. In due course the substantial residual power which in the South African state, as in many other countries in the West has actually resided with capital, made its appearance to intervene within the parameters formerly the prerogative of the Afrikaner National Party government. The ideology of Castle Lager advertising commercials after 1984 also gives a foretaste of this residual power of capital. By mid-1989, P.W. Botha came to be succeeded by a more amenable F.W. de Klerk (see Saunders et al, 1992:487-496).

## NOTES ON RESEARCH SOURCES

The theorisation of the categories of South African racial stereotyping was initially assembled through the consideration of a combination of factors derived from both secondary and primary research sources. Chapters 7 and 8 consist of the two case studies which respectively examine the history reels of advertising commercials for Castle Lager (beer) and Rama (margarine). The systematic analysis of the history reels for Castle Lager and Rama brings about a further interaction and intermeshing between theorisation and empiricism. These two products are targeted at a mass market and are 'brand leaders' in their particular product categories. Because the market for these products cuts across the social formation, their advertising is likely to provide some evidence of underlying social, economic, and political dynamics. A further dimension is thus added by providing source material which is both confirming and contradictory and which is based on an organising principle largely independent of the researcher. The analytical procedure initially followed in writing the two case studies was to give overviews in chronological order of each the two history reels, specifying key characteristics of trends observed. However, in the case of Castle Lager the complexity of the campaign history made it difficult to sustain strict chronological order in the assessment. Several Castle Lager advertising campaigns, each seemingly intended for specific purposes, were found to be running concurrently. (The case studies refer to 'shots'<sup>33</sup> that have been catalogued and specially numbered and supported with stills in appendices to be found in Volume II of the thesis. Various observations are assessed and interrelated between the Castle Lager and Rama history reels.)

It does not seem that media researchers are fully aware of the importance of history reels of advertising commercials as primary sources for research. The advantages of using history reels to address some the problems of constructing a representative sample of advertising commercials for use in social research is discussed below.

### THE ADVERTISING COMMERCIAL 'HISTORY REEL' AS A RESEARCH SOURCE

Most of the published critical works on advertising are based on print advertisements (Williamson, 1978; Leis, Kline & Jhally, 1986; Marchand, 1985; Ewen, 1976). On the other hand, a few works that have criticised television commercials have tended to concentrate on only one or a few randomly selected commercials that most pertinently illustrate the observations being brought across (Dyer, 1982; Bertelsen, 1985). Critical studies on print advertisements have usually entailed fairly rigorous and systematic research, based either on content analysis (Marchand, 1985; Pollay, 1985), or approaches combining both content analysis and semiotics (Leis, Kline & Jhally, 1986). The development of a suitable methodological framework for researching print advertisements is easier and more straightforward than in the case of television commercials. In the study of print advertisements the research material is to some extent already organised by virtue of the fact that advertisements studied are usually from issues of a magazine or newspaper taken over a period of time, and this historical ordering readily informs methodology at a basic level.

To obtain an equivalent methodological starting point in the case of electronic media, one might consider studying all television commercials broadcast by a particular station over a period of time, an almost impossible task. Or, one might try to narrow down focus, and still maintain a systematic approach, by concentrating on commercials for particular product categories. However, even if this approach is feasible (from the point of view that master tapes have been kept by television stations, or tapes are available from tracking companies; and that the researcher is able to gain access to this material) it would still be a very labour-intensive and prohibitively expensive procedure. Thus, a researcher might be left with an uneasy alternative of basing a selection on commercials which seem relevant to his/her hypotheses. One of the criticisms that have been levelled at Judith Williamson's outstanding analysis of print advertising, *Decoding Advertisements* (1978), is that the magazine advertisements used for her research had been collected over a period of time on the basis that she found them interesting.<sup>34</sup> One should not underestimate the inherent pitfalls if the original organizing principle of the research material is not an archaeology independent from the life of the researcher.

A history reel is a video tape consisting of a chronological record of advertising commercials for a particular product or service. The availability of advertising commercials already arranged in the form of history reels is a great asset to the academic researcher. A history reel concentrates on one product. The individual commercials of a particular product history reel being already organised in a chronological order, in terms of production and broadcast, must undoubtedly bear various relationships to each other. For the marketer, a history reel can provide valuable clues about how and why a brand is perceived in a particular way. Advertising agencies and marketing departments of most major companies selling products or services to the public should maintain history reels of the television commercials that have been broadcast for each of their brands. If this information is cross-referenced with market research findings, some of the most important strengths of a brand should become evident. By providing such insights or suggestions about how the image of a brand has been evolving, history reels can help indicate future direction for brand development. History reels can also contribute to a sense of continuity within marketing departments by providing valuable orientation for new staff.

For the researcher whose interest lies primarily in the social and cultural role of modern advertising, history reels can make an overwhelming **research task** more manageable. Particularly, if one wishes to study a topic as complex as racial stereotyping in television commercials during the period of reform in South Africa, one is faced with some difficulties in locating and selecting material to make up an adequate research source. There are two main problems. The first problem is accessing something as ephemeral and ubiquitous as a television commercial broadcast a decade or so ago. As was pointed out, advertising tracking organisations exist (such as Ornicco<sup>35</sup>) from where this material can be purchased, but the costs to the academic researcher can be quite prohibitive. Even if assuming that it were possible to randomly access past commercials, the second problem is one of selection. The prospect of deciding which commercials to use for research purposes amounts to a methodological nightmare. Sheer volume and diversity of choice can all so easily lead to the selection of commercials that are consistent with emerging

theoretical development. A good history reel, one which comprehensively documents the development of the advertising for a particular single product, can solve some of these problems. History reels are likely to already exist within marketing departments or advertising agencies. Even if, as was the case with this study, these usually have to be 'down-loaded' onto VHS from U-Matic tapes, the research material is already relatively concentrated and ordered. The academic researcher should initially approach the marketing departments of corporate advertisers, as the authority to assist lies principally with the client company rather than their advertising agencies. It would be necessary to budget for dubbing, video tapes, and delivery costs, but this expense would be relatively modest compared to the cost of buying material from research organisations that cater for the business sector.

The researcher is able to choose advertising commercial history reels for types of product that have been targeted in the areas of 'the market' most likely to have been influential with regards to the phenomena s/he is trying to understand. Also, one can select products from companies associated with particular groups of capital. In this particular study, 'mass market' / leading brand products such as Castle Lager and Rama were deemed likely to give a good indication of signs of the tensions between apartheid and reform (further explanation regarding the logic behind the selection of these products is given in Chapter 7 and Chapter 8). Advertising commercials are obviously products of the social contexts within which they were produced and into which they were broadcast. Viewed over a period of time, the relationships between the different commercials on a history reel must be indicative of signs of social change.

Basing research upon a product history reel which has been carefully catalogued allows for more considered conclusions. It should be possible to consider observations regarding a particular edited shot within a commercial not only in context of that commercial, but also interrelated with observations about earlier and/or later commercials on the reel. By making a catalogue of every shot of each commercial of an entire history reel, one is including examples possibly contradictory to one's basic arguments as well as examples that support them. This lends an important strength to the methodology. In the criticism of texts comprising moving images, one often finds observations or conclusions that are heavily weighted upon specific instants of the whole text. It is possible that such 'instants' are indicative or defining moments of the whole text. Ultimately, however, the proper defining moment of a text of moving images (and sound) must be judged as the total sequential effect this text is likely to have upon the receiver or audience. The reader of critical studies that are based on the analysis of moving image texts is not usually given any readily available access for independent judgement of the whole text. The principle behind the form of writing of the case studies in Chapter 7 and Chapter 8 is designed to reduce this problem. The reasoning presented in the case studies is as comprehensive of the totality of the research sample as has been possible, and this totality is at the same time represented in the appendices in Volume II so that an alternative judgemental process might not be precluded.

It should, however, also be taken into consideration that a history reel, like any other research source, may have certain limitations. It is not unusual for individuals or institutions to wish to portray their past in what they regard to be the best light possible. The possibility may not be ruled out that in some instances a history reel might turn out to be more of a 'showreel', and not a true representation of all the commercials broadcast for a product or service. Advertising commercials regarded to have failed in some way or other may have been excised from material made available to a researcher. In this study a comparison for the period 1985-1990 has been made of the Castle Lager history reel with an extract of tracked Castle Lager commercials from a list of all alcoholic beverage commercials broadcast for this period (see Vol. II, Appendix 1A-1), and a reasonable degree of correlation has been found between the two accounts. Obviously, the greater the number of history reels used in conjunction with each other, the more accurate the research observations are likely to be. However, in order to put the work on a verifiably accurate and self-sufficient basis it is necessary that each advertising commercial of the research sample be catalogued and numbered in terms of its 'shots', so that precise referencing will be possible. This is very demanding and time consuming work for one researcher to do. Thus, only the history reels for Castle Lager and Rama margarine have been catalogued for this study.

The reasoning behind the demanding exercise of cataloguing history reels (See Appendices 1B & 2B) derives from several considerations. Firstly, the researcher is impelled by a sense of responsibility implicitly bestowed upon anyone who sets out to produce a study that claims to provide general conclusions regarding the practices of an institution as complex as the advertising industry. It is not unfounded to regard this topic as one that deals with issues that continue to be quite sensitive, and therefore fraught with political implications. Yet it is not within the capacity of only one researcher working on a self-financed project to survey anything more than what amounts to a relatively minimal research sample. Notwithstanding these difficulties, one has either to produce a fair and just account or none at all. It is thus imperative that a strategically chosen sample be used for such a study; and that it should be as thoroughly and minutely researched as circumstances allow. The research sample should be strategic in the terms of the research questions, but at the same time it should not precipitate research findings. Secondly, the provision of catalogued transcripts of the research samples as appendices enable the thesis to stand as a self-sufficient research document. The expedience of directing readers to view video tapes as substance to one's arguments is a thoroughly unsatisfactory solution.<sup>36</sup> Even in the case of electronic visual media, research should be a wholly written work able to stand by itself. Advertising commercials only become properly viable as research material after they have been catalogued and their shots enumerated. In the case of present study, I feel that one needs to be able to make specific statements which are supported by reference to particular shots, and that verbal description and stills of key frames of these shots within the context of the remaining shots of the commercial should be available in an appendix. Furthermore, that it should be possible to consider individual commercials within the context of rest of the commercials on a history reel.

The type of information provided in the catalogue of shots in the Castle Lager and Rama history reels is mainly about the people appearing in the frames of each shot: whether they are whites or blacks, their manner of dress, their body language, their class, etc. Description of the action has been made



in terms of location of people or objects in relation to frame borders, and the order of transition that occurs through the duration of a shot. Camera movements, approximate focal lengths of lenses, types and approximate direction of lighting, colours and other mise-en-scène details are also sometimes included in the catalogues (see also Introduction to Volume II).

#### NOTE ON *FINANCIAL MAIL* AS A RESEARCH SOURCE

To complement some practical advertising experience gained while working as a copywriter, the researcher has extensively used reports on advertising appearing in the *Financial Mail*. Particularly, the *Financial Mail* supplements, *Advertising: A Survey* from 1978 to 1991, have been quite valuable. Over the years the *Financial Mail* provided occasional but in-depth coverage of the South African advertising industry, of commercial aspects of broadcasting, and of the print media. These Special Supplements, as well as other reports in the *Financial Mail*, provide a unique picture of the changing relations within these industries. The advantage of the *Financial Mail* reports over the advertising trade press is that the former are often based on interviews with important industry personnel, which in a publication of general business interest tend to be more broad ranging and searching, and are reproduced at greater length and with higher standards of editing. On the other hand, articles in the advertising trade press are by design generally short and 'punchy' to keep in tune with the ephemeral 'buzz' requirements of the advertising fraternity.

In the 1980s era of apartheid reform, institutions of cultural production, such as advertising agencies or the broadcaster (SABC), had assumed an air of apparent openness. On the surface it appeared as if a climate of dialogue and free speech existed, even if this freedom of speech could mostly be exercised only by whites. It was nevertheless not very easy to obtain information deemed to be sensitive, and such practical inhibitions became even stronger after the state of emergency in the second half of the 1980s. During this era, even the framing of the title of this thesis as an 'Analysis of Racial Stereotyping in SABC-TV commercials ...' immediately placed the thrust of the research in a controversial area, thus making potential respondents aloof. Research for this thesis was in fact delayed and frustrated by initial difficulty experienced in gaining access to a copy of the Castle Lager history reel. This difficulty may or may not have been entirely attributable to factors that were only apartheid-related. However, after 1994 it was possible to obtain advertising commercial history reels from no less than five companies in a very short period of time, including the Castle Lager history reel. If during the 1980s, and even the early 1990s, there had been some caution or reluctance, in the post-1994 period people contacted showed an apparent eagerness to be associated with a research project that deals with racial stereotyping.

To some extent the *Financial Mail* has been used as a compromise research source, but a very effective one. With a very limited research budget, long periods of empirical research in the form of interviews with advertising personnel in Sandton<sup>37</sup>, Johannesburg, have always been out of the question. However, I believe that emphasis on the *Financial Mail* as a primary research source<sup>38</sup> advantageously gives this particular work a more historical than sociological orientation. Original interviews, as an addition, certainly are very

useful and add more dimension to this work. Some limited reference is made to information gained from interviews but this information is mostly cited as additional confirming evidence rather than as substantive confirmation in support of concepts and conclusion. Concepts and conclusions have invariably been derived from published primary or secondary sources. Extensive use of the *Financial Mail* as a source arguably has several important advantages over the extensive reliance upon interviews. It has been suggested (Greenberg, 1987) that a major weakness of the work of Merle Lipton (1986) derives from its heavy reliance upon interviews that cannot be verified for their accuracy. On the other hand, my use of the *Financial Mail* has been carefully referenced and this is a source that it can readily be referred to or verified by future researchers. Also, it would be inaccurate to regard my reliance of the *Financial Mail* as a primary source for this thesis as *uncritical*. The importance of this publication lies precisely in the fact that it was a voice of English-orientated capital in South Africa. Quantitative research findings from commercial research organisations that have been published in the *Financial Mail* have sometimes been relied upon in some parts of this thesis to further substantiate arguments. The fact that an ideological element may exist in the manner of framing and/or interpretation of the findings of research from commercially-orientated market research organisations has been noted. However, in South Africa this data bank has generally been influential to both liberal and left-wing academic research, and usually with little circumspection.

Much of the material in the *Financial Mail* is based on interviews with key advertising personnel. Basing research upon printed primary sources such as relevant newspapers or magazines (rather than conducting ones own interviews) gives a better historical perspective, because it allows the researcher to observe changing perceptions as these take place over a considerable period of time. This would not be possible with self-conducted contemporary interviews. Although interviewees may discuss matters retrospectively, when uttered contemporaneously the events of the past are always being related to and rationalised with a present state of consciousness. Thus, a primary research source such as the *Financial Mail* allows the researcher to gain a more accurate sense of the interplay which was occurring between the different interest groups. Also, the people that were interviewed in the *Financial Mail* were well aware that their comments would soon be published and be widely read by their peers. This fact no doubt imparted a greater degree of discipline and basic factual accuracy upon their statements, while at the same time positioning these statements within one or other dominant ideological discourses of the time.

- 1 Tomaselli KG (1992) gives a critique of South African intercultural communication theory's unproblematised distortions of American instances.
- 2 In the United States, conservative political forces in the latter 1970s and during the 1980s made inroads upon social programs instituted in the 1960s and 1970s to redress the mainly black disadvantaged (Leiman, 1993:2). However, it would be politically very inappropriate for this attack to become represented as pejorative racial stereotypes in the mass media. Characters on depicted on television in the United States have always been inclined to be middle or upper middle class; now, in the 1990s, black people have become an equal and everyday part of this upwardly mobile world (Jhally & Lewis, 1992:131). The current tendency in television media practices in advanced industrial democracies in general seems to be reflective of an ideology that emphasises progressive self-reliance and upward mobility of blacks.
- 3 The term ethnic has its roots in the Greek term *ethnikos*, which originally meant 'national' or 'of a nation'. According to Williams (1976:119), this term was widely used in the senses of heathen, pagan, or Gentile, until the 19th century, when this sense was generally superseded by the sense of a racial characteristic. *Ethnics* came to be used in the United States as a polite term for

Jews, Italians and other lesser breads'. The negative apprehension of ethnicity obviously requires the existence of a 'non-ethnic' or someone from another, usually more dominant culture or nation. Short of class or economic differences, members of an ethnic group is not likely to be able to regard, from within the vantage point of their own culture, any major 'otherness' in members of their own group. In a South African context during the period of apartheid, the motives of the government were to racially differentiate groups in the country, as a means of preventing absorption of elements of the indigenous black population into the white nation-state, in order to ensure European and particularly Afrikaner hegemony within this state. Government institutions articulated this policy with an emphasis upon the preservation or resurrection of aspects of the traditionally-based tribal cultures of the indigenous population. English-speaking academics tended to criticise the ensuing forms of government directed social and political development as being based upon *ethnicity*.

- 4 If blacks are portrayed in negative roles, the inequality of separate development becomes revealed. On the other hand 'structured absences' may to some extent prevent inequality from becoming apparent (see Chapter 4).
- 5 Pieter Fourie (1982) develops a model of intercultural communication to support his argument for the need for positive depictions of blacks in South African cinema. Photographic representation depicting black and white relations were likely to be seized upon as examples of the prevailing imbalance in race relations. In this respect, the South African film maker was urged to be premeditated in portraying relations that were as 'normal' as possible, or at least that their films should have sought solutions to 'abnormal' race relations (1982:67).
- 6 Informed by various strains of Marxist theory or departures therefrom (See Sinclair, 1987:11).
- 7 In 1992 a critical approach to the study of advertising was being offered as a subject in the Humanities Faculty at the University of Technology, Sydney, Australia.
- 8 This important essay was originally written as a chapter in *The Long Revolution* (1961) but withdrawn from that book for inclusion in a collective book on adverting which was never published. It was published in part in *New Left Review*, 4, July/August 1960, while the *Afterword* to this essay was published in *The Listener*, 31 July, 1969. It is available in *Problems in Materialism and Culture* (Williams, 1980). The original date of publication should however be noted. Various concepts articulated in Williams's essay have profoundly inspired many later authors contributing to the critical debate about advertising.
- 9 Regardless of whether an advertising approach concentrates on the product ("reason why"/USP approach), or focuses upon the problems of the consumer ("lifestyle"), a discourse of middle class stereotyping still applies (see Chapter 2). However, in the case of "lifestyle" oriented approaches, the resulting image associations and interpellatory force of the stereotyping is likely to be more calculated and powerful, as the analysis of Williamson (1978) indicates.
- 10 African trade unions never actually became illegal but instead legislation had been enacted which made it extremely difficult for them to function effectively (Lodge, 1987: 188).
- 11 Tribally controlled regions that had been protected from white colonialisation. These regions later formed the basis for the apartheid project of establishing independent black states.
- 12 The economic policies of the PACT government had earlier set the scene for government intervention in the South African economy. A political alliance in 1924, between white labour and white Afrikaner dominated rural capital, had resulted in the formation of the PACT government. This alliance entrenched the economic position of both white labour and white farming interests, *vis-à-vis* those of South African blacks. The PACT government also embarked on a determined policy of industrialisation based on direct investment by the government and the creation of a wide range of protective tariffs designed to raise domestic price levels to the point at which certain commodities, previously imported, could be profitably produced within South Africa. In 1927 a bill was passed establishing the wholly state-owned iron and steel corporation, ISCOR. By 1977 the total output of the public corporations contributed 11% to the country's total manufacturing production (See Natrass, 1981:163). Other important state-owned corporations were SOEKOR (oil exploration), SASOL (oil from coal production), ARMSCOR (arms production), postal services and telecommunications, SABC (public broadcaster), SAR (railways).
- 13 In terms of the Bantustan Project, as envisaged by Prime Minister H.F. Verwoerd, it was intended that about 13% of the land of South Africa previously allocated as 'native reserves' would be consolidated into independent states. Although, in theory, all indigenous inhabitants of South Africa would eventually have had to locate themselves within the new states, there were some powerful factors suggesting that this was not likely to be realised. The South African economy was dependent on black labour. Many blacks had so called Section 10 rights (Hindson, 1987) entitling them to permanent residence in urban areas. Also, the Bantustans were never likely to gain any international recognition as independent states.
- 14 H.F. Verwoerd was the third South African prime minister after the Afrikaner Nationalist government came to power in 1948 (first came D.F. Malan, then J.G. Strydom, then Verwoerd). Verwoerd belonged the minority Lutheran branch of Protestantism, rather than the majority Calvinist group within Afrikanerdom. Verwoerd was 'new' Afrikaner in the sense that he was born in Holland and migrated to Africa with his parents as a child (Davenport, 1991:352).
- 15 The recent research on South African television advertising by Cassim & Monteiro (1998) points out that there is "a significant over-representation of blacks in professional occupations and significant under representation of blacks in low-skilled occupations". It was

also observed that the subjects depicted were mostly young adults, dressed in high fashion clothing, and spoke in English more than any other language.

16 B.J. Vorster followed as South African prime minister after Verwoerd was assassinated in September 1966.

17 According to Stadler (1987:96-100;165-167), the progress of the reform movement may be traced in three phases. The first phase consists of the changes within as well as between parliamentary politics, leading to the expulsion of the *verkrampes* (right wing conservatives) from the National Party. The Wiehahn and Riekert commissions were part of second phase. This phase was shaped by the failure of the first phase to achieve any significant advance through parliament, and was probably also accelerated by the strikes of the 1970s and the popular struggles beginning with the 1976 Soweto school children's revolt. This second phase took the form of attempts to reconstruct government policy through various ad hoc devices available internally to the government, of which commissions of inquiry, particularly those orchestrated by experts, became favourite instruments.

The strategy of stabilisation which developed after 1976 was based on the recognition of permanent African urban communities and the consequent attempt to establish appropriate political, fiscal and administrative structures. The policy was largely the work of two groups, the Riekert Commission (1977-9) which formulated its principles, and the Grosskopf Committee (1980-1) which considered the legislative implications of the Riekert Commission. The reports of both groups stressed the permanence of the urban black population, and addressed themselves to questions of defining this population and regulating the future entry of people into the urban areas.

The relative success of the Wiehahn commission in the area of labour relations reform compared with the failure of the Riekert Commission to come up with a solution to the problem of urbanisation, enhanced the reputation and political authority of neutral experts, and coincided with the reconstruction of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) as an instrument of reform during the late 1970s and early 1980s. The second phase nevertheless consisted of piecemeal and reversible efforts to introduce changes within the party-legislative-bureaucratic structures. The third phase which symbolically coincided (though historically preceded) P.W. Botha's accession to the premiership in 1978 and saw a profound shift in the state's structure.

18 After B.J. Vorster, P.W. Botha followed initially as prime minister and then as executive president after the amendment of the South African constitution.

19 For an explanation of gatekeeping theory refer to Dimmick T, "The Gatekeeper: An Uncertainty Theory", *Journalism Monograph* no. 37, 1974; see also White DM "The Gatekeeper a Case Study", in Dexter LA and White DM (ed.): *People Society and Mass Communications*. Glencoe: Free Press, 1964.

20 *Total Strategy* refers to militarist concept tested in the peripheries of Western dominance during the Cold War, and adapted to local conditions by the South African defence force. While fighting the 'communist inspired' guerrillas or 'terrorists', every effort had to be made to win the hearts and minds of certain sections of the population that the insurgents were trying to liberate (Tomaselli & Louw, 1989).

21 The chief executive of Lindsay Smithers (FCB) South Africa, Len van Zyl, wrote in the 'In My Opinion' columns of the *Financial Mail* outlining the reasons for his opposition to political advertising (*Financial Mail*, 7 March 1986:64). According to Van Zyl any product which doesn't meet its advertised promise will not be repurchased by the consumer, (not strictly speaking correct as products such as cigarettes, perfumes etc. do not have any objectively discernible benefit). However, according to Van Zyl, public esteem of advertising as an institution could be seriously damaged by the consequences of false claims of political advertisements which unlike in the case of products have to be endured for a five year term. Van Zyl's apparent reservation about political advertising were consistent with the views of John O'Toole, executive chairman of Foote, Cone and Belding (FCB) in the United States (O'Toole, 1981). George Lois (1979) outlines his views for being in favour of political advertising and offers a basis for what he believes to be a disciplined and effective approach.

22 In the earlier 1980s particularly through SABC influences in favour of the government. But in the latter 1980s more through business sector influences, in terms of a general improvement in the image of the South African state.

23 It is noted that a slight exception exists in the case of feature films. There is trend to insert various branded products in some broadly marketed feature films in return for compensation to the film producers by the manufacturers of these products.

24 See 'Black Spending in Focus', Special Report: Black Market, *Financial Mail*, 24 November, 1978:5-24.

25 An example of a public service advertising might be a press advertisement warning women about the dangers of contracting German Measles during pregnancy. In carefully scrutinised, what is defined as 'public service advertising' might often be found to have political implications. In an apartheid context or any other non-democratic situation, the implications of public service advertising to hegemony become more profound.

26 Advertising practitioners themselves, such as for example Tredoux in Frederikse (1986:66); might have added to the confusion by implying that product advertising could play such a role in reform strategy: "The skilled magicians, the masters of the masses, must be seen as ultimately involved in the general weakness which they not only exploit but are exploited by" (Williams, [1960] 1980:189-190).

27 Michael O'Dowd (1964) had applied Rostow (1960), *Stages of Economic Growth*, to the South African context, arguing that

democratic change would come about with economic development.

- <sup>28</sup> Since about 1984, Sanlam, a corporation associated with Afrikaner capital, had featured babies in its television commercials for life assurance schemes (Willoughby, 1991). This campaign had initially featured white babies that were predominantly blond, but by the end of the 1980s Sanlamt also began to include black babies in some commercials. However, it would be fair to associate the changing forms in the Sanlam commercials more with the type of pragmatic contextual adaptation that was generally occurring in television advertising by the end of the 1980s, than with the apartheid probing approach adopted much earlier by Castle Lager (Chapter 7).
- <sup>29</sup> In the 1970s and earlier 1980s it was foreign corporations such as for example Polaroid or Mobil that had ideologically challenged apartheid.
- <sup>30</sup> While product advertising has continued during major war situations, rather than sell scarce or unobtainable goods, its orientation has shifted more towards 'issue advertising' or 'corporate advertising' approaches: promoting the name of the manufacturer while at the same time keeping in view the industrial power of the state (Watkins, 1949:149).
- <sup>31</sup> Capital owned by the English-speaking section of the South African white population, historically connected to British imperialism.
- <sup>32</sup> See Alison-Broomhead et al (1986): "The Visual Role of the Rubicons as Part of Reform Strategy". Paper presented at the Association for Sociology in Southern Africa Conference, University of Natal, Durban (July). This research is available on CCMS web page, [www.und.ac.za/und/ccms](http://www.und.ac.za/und/ccms)
- <sup>33</sup> What is meant here by use of the term a 'shot' is each separate edited frame sequence within a television commercial. When constructed together in their designed order of projection by the producers of a television commercial, these 'shots' are intended to communicate its full meaning.
- <sup>34</sup> "I arrived in Berkeley with a bulging file of advertisements collected over many years. I had been tearing them out of magazines, and keeping them with a vague hope of coming to terms with their effect on me" (Williamson, 1978:9).
- <sup>35</sup> Ornico Productions, P.O. Box 783691, Sandton 2146, South Africa. Facsimile 011-7839931.
- <sup>36</sup> A VHS video tape containing the history reel of Castle Lager advertising commercials(English language) and the history reel of Rama (all languages broadcast) has nevertheless been deposited with the Malherbe Library, University of Natal.
- <sup>37</sup> The advertising industry in South Africa is largely concentrated in Johannesburg, with head offices of many of the most important advertising agencies in the suburb of Sandton. Cape Town possess some advertising industry infrastructure, while Durban is relatively peripheral.
- <sup>38</sup> Reference to the *Financial Mail* as a *primary* source is in terms of the methodology of historiography. Sociological methods might regard the *FM* as a *secondary* source.

## TOWARDS A WORKABLE DEFINITION OF STEREOTYPING

This chapter will clarify the definition of the concept of stereotype, the relationship of stereotypes to ideology, and the nature of racial stereotyping. There appears to be some overlap between Walter Lippmann's (1922) concept of a stereotype and Louis Althusser's (1971) concept of ideology. This correspondence possibly derives from the fact that both Lippmann and Althusser might have been drawing from the same Platonist strand of European rationalism. An understanding of the relationship between stereotypes and advertisements will be facilitated through a consideration of stereotypes in terms of Althusser's conception of ideology. Of particular importance is the possible role of certain forms of stereotype<sup>1</sup> in the process that Althusser (1971) has called *interpellation*. A tentative paper by Tessa Perkins (1979) will be used to throw light on this matter. Perkins tells us that: "stereotypes seem to be ideological phenomena and should therefore be capable of being accounted for by any theory of ideology; conversely as ideological phenomena of a peculiarly 'public' and easily identifiable kind they may provide a useful means of studying the practice of ideology". No one as far as I know has ever developed Perkins's tentative paper. This chapter will also explain what 'racial' stereotyping is. What particularly needs to be observed is that First World conceptions of racial stereotyping generally presume it to be a pejorative discourse, while in South Africa the special stereotyping distinctions deriving from ethnicity and its relationship to apartheid are an important factor during the period under study. This chapter proposes several categories of South African racial stereotyping which go some way towards explicating the complexity of the South African situation with regard to racial stereotyping.

Added to the difficulty of counter-intuitive meanings when some concepts are enacted in a South African context, is the fact that a full understanding of stereotypes continues to be somewhat incomplete and controversial even in First World contexts. Barker (1989:210) categorically dismisses the usefulness of the concept of a stereotype as a tool for media research:

My conclusion is that the concept of a 'stereotype' is useless as a tool for investigation of media texts. It is dangerous on both epistemological and political grounds. Its view of influence and learning is empiricist and individualistic, and leads to the anti-democratic politics which Lippmann first set into it. Finally, it leads to an arbitrary reading of texts which tells us only about the worries of the analyst.

Some theorists have successfully based their investigations on racial depiction in South African film and television on the concept of myth, instead of the concept of stereotype. For instance, in *Myth Race and Power*, Tomaselli *et al* (1986) use *myth* to discuss the way different groups in South Africa have been imaged on film and television. Bertelsen (1985) also uses the concept of myth<sup>2</sup> in her pioneering essay which analyses the depictions in early TV2 ethnic commercials aimed at the 'black

market'. With respect to the difficulties Barker has with the concept of stereotype, myth might be a less problematic concept to work with. But given that the term stereotype is now so generally used in media studies, with the presumption that its meaning and implications are unproblematic, the term has acquired a meaning and focus that will not satisfactorily be replaced by other available conceptions. For instance, a critic of the calibre of Edward Said is able to write thus:

One aspect of the electronic, postmodern world is that there has been a reinforcement of the stereotypes by which the Orient is viewed. Television, the films, and all the media's resources have forced information into more and more standardised models. So far as the Orient is concerned, standardisation and cultural stereotyping have intensified the hold of nineteenth-century academic and imaginative demonology of 'The Mysterious Orient' (Said 1985:26).

Thus, despite some grounds for Barker's reservations, stereotyping is a concept that has become so well-established that it cannot simply be dispensed with. And, as Said's use of the term stereotyping above suggests, it is a term particularly relevant to visual media and mass-communicative processes of standardised information. Also, it is impossible to ignore that the concept of 'stereotype' enjoys a generalised academic as well as a popular usage which 'myth' does not. The concept of stereotype therefore needs some clarification.

Some awareness of the existence of stereotypes (or something closely akin) has long existed within philosophical thinking. A well-known early example is Plato's allegory of 'the Cave' in *The Republic*. Here, perception was conceived of in terms of shadows dancing upon the wall in an underground cave while the real scene was taking place outside in front of a fire. These shadows were being witnessed by lifelong prisoners chained to an opposite wall so that they could not turn around to see the real events taking place behind their backs (Walsh, 1985:24-28). The fundamental idea that human beings are incapable of seeing the real world but see instead a sort of 'cutout' of the most salient features of any phenomenon also occurs in the concept of a stereotype. Most modern day conceptions of ideology bear some relationship to this idea.

The modern conception of stereotypes as a consequence and prediction of human behaviour first entered social science literature after Walter Lippmann, an American journalist, coined the term in his book *Public Opinion* (Lippmann, 1922:79-156). The fact that stereotypes were only widely recognised after being identified by a journalist working in a highly industrialised and sophisticated society, is not without significance. In societies of increasing complexity, the gap between simple popular conceptions and objective reality widens (Albig, 1956:81; Fiske, 1982:83-5; Said 1985:26). In societies where the nature of social interaction is comparatively uncomplicated, 'stereotypes' may essentially be more accurate. Thus, the phenomenon of stereotyping is pertinent in the increasingly fragmented levels of labour division and more intense media environments of the mass communications era.

Lippmann (1922) never summed up his account of stereotypes in any concise paragraph. Although *Public Opinion* devotes five chapters to a discussion of stereotypes, this account remains an impressionistic one. Possibly, Lippmann intentionally avoids a concise definition of so complex a subject. Part of Lippmann's argument is that all definitions are essentially simplifying procedures, and therefore dependent on stereotyping practices. Nelson Cauthen et al (1971:108) single out the following premises of Lippmann's (1922) argument: stereotypes are part of a simplifying mechanism to handle the "real environment (which) is altogether too big, too complex, and too fleeting for direct acquaintance". A person's actions are not based on "direct and certain knowledge, but on pictures made by himself or given to him". It is "the way in which the world is imagined (that) determines at any particular moment what men will do". Thus, we react, not to the real world, but to our reconstruction of it, "the picture in our head". Cauthen et al (1971:103) also point out that in recent times a stereotype has come to mean a "category that singles out an individual as sharing assumed characteristics on the basis of his group membership".

What is remarkable about Lippmann's early description of stereotypes is the resemblance it in many respects bears to Althusser's concept of ideology as a "representation of the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence" (Althusser, 1971:152). This suggests that stereotypes might play an important role in the ideological process Althusser calls the interpellation or 'hailing' of individual subjects:

I shall then suggest that ideology 'acts' or 'functions' in such a way that it 'recruits' subjects among the individuals (it recruits them all) or 'transforms' the individuals into subjects (it transforms them all) by that very precise operation which I have called *interpellation* or hailing, and which can be imagined along the lines of the most commonplace everyday police (or other) hailing: 'Hey you there!' (Althusser, 1971:162-3)

In *Rethinking Stereotypes*, Perkins (1979) points out that the generally accepted definitions and assumptions about stereotypes actually prevent one from making any theoretical statements about how stereotypes work ideologically. Perkins's reassessment goes some way in elucidating the complexities involved by indicating "where we should look for answers to these problems" (1979:135). She also proposes some "tentative hypotheses about stereotypes which might provide ideas for future research and have some relevance for political action" (*ibid*). A caveat in the first paragraph of her paper warns: "it should be regarded strictly as a working paper many of whose ideas are insufficiently worked out" (Perkins 1979:135). Perkins nevertheless does go some way towards rehabilitating stereotyping as a critical concept more amenable to the study of ideology.<sup>3</sup> Perkins's discussion of stereotypes is based on some explicit presuppositions about ideology:

Ideology must be understood as being both a 'worked out' system of ideas and being inconsistent, incoherent and unsystematic. The two levels are not totally separate or independent of each other — on the contrary, 'Every philosophical current leaves behind a sedimentation of "common sense" ... Common sense ... is continually transforming itself with scientific ideas ...' (Gramsci, 1971:326). We cannot



understand ideology as operating merely in one of these modes, at one level only. It is the coexistence of both levels and their articulation with each other as well as with other practices that is crucial to any theorisation of how ideology functions, or of how any particular component functions. ... Potentially, stereotypes provide a means of studying a cross-section of ideology rather than a single stratum (Perkins, 1979:136).

According to Perkins (1971:136), it was a mistaken reluctance on the part of anti-historicists such as Althusser to posit any quality as a 'human' capacity that ultimately led them to a historicist position:

...any theory which purports to explain ideology must be able to explain the emergence of counter-ideologies and related phenomena. The problem surely is that while we must recognise (and theorise) the extent to which ideology does determine thought (and activity), we must allow that this determination is not, and cannot be, total. It might be that we must posit the capacity for creative non-ideologically-determined thought (I call it 'creative' for want of a better word), as a human capacity, rather than merely as an ideological effect which is therefore by implication false. ... Behind Gramsci's notion of hegemony lies a recognition that the effectiveness of ideology cannot be relied on, but is constantly vulnerable, constantly a source of, and a 'site' of conflict. The definition of ideology cannot, in this view, presuppose that it is unilateral and unproblematically effective. An additional point I would wish to emphasise is that the problem is not merely to bring the recalcitrant back into line. It is the ideology itself which has to be constantly recreated and redefined. While the broad outlines of the ruling ideology are firm and *relatively* stable, the solutions to specific problems are not pre-given, they do not emerge 'logically' or automatically. They are negotiated within a framework. And this negotiation is itself a source of ideology's effectiveness, of particular contradictions and the location of future problems (Perkins, 1979:136-7).

According to Perkins (1979:138) there are ten dominant, and often misleading assumptions about the nature of stereotypes, which often prevent us from making theoretical statements about how stereotypes function ideologically: (1) always erroneous in content; (2) pejorative concepts; (3) and about groups with whom we have little/no social contact; by implication therefore, stereotypes are not held about one's own group; (4) about minority groups (or about oppressed groups); (5) simple; (6) rigid and do not change; (7) not structurally reinforced. It is also assumed that the existence of contradictory stereotypes is evidence that they are erroneous, but of nothing else; (9) people either 'hold' stereotypes of a group (believe them to be true) or do not; (10) because someone holds a stereotype of a group, his/her behaviour towards a member of that group can be predicted.

Lippmann's four key characteristics for a concept to be referred to as a 'stereotype', which have led to the above assumptions, describe only one form of stereotype (Perkins, 1979:139). Lippmann's four key characteristics are: i) the implication that it is a simple rather than complex or differentiated concept; ii) erroneous rather than accurate; iii) secondhand, rather than from direct experience; iv) and resistant to modification by new experience. Although stereotypes do take this form on occasions, it is only the first of these characteristics that can be considered as part of the definition of 'stereotype', and even here Perkins has some reservations.

The conclusions of an examination of Lippmann's four key characteristics (Perkins, 1979:140-1), may be summarised as follows: i) **the question of accuracy** appears to be central in the discussion of stereotypes ... possibility that stereotypes very often have the same structure as ideology in so far as they are both true and false; ii) ... it is misleading to say stereotypes are simple *rather than* complex. They are simple and complex; iii) **Secondhandness** is in any case a characteristic of the vast majority of our concepts, and cannot therefore be used to distinguish between stereotypes and other concepts; iv) We cannot simply assert that stereotypes are **rigid**. We must look at the social relationships to which they refer, and their conceptual status, and ask under what conditions stereotypes are more or less resistant to modification. This is not to deny that stereotypes are 'strong' concepts, and this may be a distinguishing feature.

However, any attempt to broaden the definition of stereotype to make it applicable to the analysis of ideology runs the risk that a stereotype will simply become indistinguishable from 'role' (Perkins, 1979:141). The definition of oneself, and others, as a member of a group is absolutely essential to the ideological effectiveness of stereotypes. Roles describe the dynamic aspects of status (Perkins, 1979:142). What then is the relationship between role, status and stereotype? *Status* refers to a position in society which entails a certain set of rights and duties (Perkins, 1979:142-3). *Role* refers to the performance of those rights and duties: it is relational. *Stereotype* refers to both the role and status at the same time, and the reference is perhaps always predominantly evaluative. Roles and statuses are also, of course, intrinsically evaluative concepts but the nature and presentness of the evaluation is different. A stereotype brings to the surface and makes explicit and central what is concealed in the concepts of status or role.

Pejorativeness has become almost built into the meaning of the word 'stereotype' (Perkins, 1979:144). However, positive stereotypes are an intrinsic part of ideology and are important in the socialisation of both dominant and oppressed groups. In order to focus attention on the ideological nature of stereotypes it might be much more useful to talk of pejorative and laudatory stereotypes, rather than to conceal 'pejorativeness' in the meaning of the term. In the chapters that follow, it will be argued that it is the existence of positive and negative stereotypes, and the function of their relationship to each other in the process of socialisation, that offers the key to an understanding of nature of stereotyping in advertisements. This is also the key to an understanding of the peculiar nature of 'racial' stereotyping in advertisements during the period of reform in South Africa.

The nature and form of stereotypes vary (Perkins 1979:145). This variation may not be arbitrary but may be related to the ideological or aesthetic functions of the stereotypes and/or to the structural position of the stereotyped group. We need to define 'stereotype' in a sufficiently open way so as to allow for the various forms it takes and yet try to isolate its distinctive characteristics. Perkins believes that the following characteristics are essential parts of the definition of stereotypes:

- a) A group concept: It describes a group. Personality traits (broadly defined) predominate.

- b) It is held by a group: There is a very considerable uniformity about its content. 'Private' stereotypes cannot exist.
- c) Reflects an 'inferior judgmental process': (But not therefore leading necessarily to an inaccurate conclusion.) Stereotypes short-circuit or block capacity for objective and analytic judgements in favour of well-worn catch-all reactions. To some extent all concepts do this — stereotypes do it to a much greater extent.
- d) (b) and (c) give rise to *simple structure* (mentioned earlier) which frequently conceals complexity (see (e)).
- e) High probability that social stereotypes will be predominantly evaluative.
- f) A concept — and like other concepts it is a selective, cognitive organising system, and a feature of human thought.

What should be understood is that being group concepts, the same stereotypes might be regarded either as positive or negative by different groups, depending on their respective points of view. The existence of stereotyping that might be regarded as positive underpins the fundamental theorisation of this thesis. For instance, black depiction in the post-1985 Castle Lager advertisements might be regarded as being strongly affirmative. It will be outlined in Chapter 7 that in commercials such as *Canoe Race* (1989) 'race' and 'ethnicity' have completely fallen away, while what is predominant in the stereotyping is 'class'. The manner of depiction in *Canoe Race* (1989) suggests that these might be young black male corporate executives during their time of leisure activity, and greater dominance is given to blacks than to whites within the frame composition of some of the shots. During the 1980s, from a liberal point of view, as well as from a South African left point of view, I believe, such stereotypes of blacks would have been considered as positive, and thus have gone largely unnoticed or unrecognised as 'stereotypes'.<sup>4</sup> But a more radical Marxist point of view might have considered these same 'positive' stereotypes negatively: as evidence that capitalism was in the process of co-opting blacks as 'new middle classes' (one might say, in a manner the reforming apartheid system of Afrikaner Nationalists or 'Total Strategy' had never been able to co-opt blacks). Another example: P.W. Botha and his supporters would have felt more comfortable with 'ethnic black middle class stereotypes', which they would have considered as particularly positive ... because such stereotypes countered communism, while at the same time identifying with the different black 'nations' or Bantustans! **But** both English-speaking liberals and all those on the left would have considered such stereotypes as negative (and most probably as pejorative). On the other hand, an academic researcher such as Mersham (1985) considered such ethnically-orientated stereotypes (or the broadcasting structure that underpinned them) as positive, because according to his assessment consistency was being maintained with the existent the ethnic and cultural topography of South Africa.

### WHAT IS RACIAL STEREOTYPING?

Some reassessment of the term 'racial stereotyping' is also needed before an attempt can be made to locate it within the structural dynamics of the South African political economy during the period of reform. As Perkins would suggest, in First World contexts the common usage of the term racial stereotyping has been

usually reserved exclusively for pejorative depictions. However, in South Africa, the meaning of the term 'racial stereotyping' differed during the 1980s from the way it has been understood in advanced industrial centres such as Europe and the United States. One finds racial stereotyping in South Africa during the 1980s to have been more directly informed by the political economy, legislation, and government policies related to the Bantustan project (see Chapter 3). When applied to depictions during the period of reformist apartheid, as well as to the earlier post-World War II period, the term includes certain idiosyncratic South African stereotyping practices which can be distinguished by the fact that they were not overtly pejorative.

#### PARALLELS IN STUDIES OF GENDER AND RACISM

In advanced industrial societies, the two most controversial areas where stereotypes are believed to operate, are gender and race. However, some paucity exists in works that deal with racial stereotyping in terms of ideology. Works that use the term 'racial' stereotyping in their examination of the social construction of race, usually do so in less critical a manner than is suggested by the precepts for its definition outlined by Perkins. For example, Courtney and Whipple's *Sex Stereotyping in Advertising* (1983) apparently studies gender in advertising through the concept of stereotype. From its title, this work suggests itself to be particularly focused upon an aspect of stereotyping in advertising, and that it might be a useful source of inspiration to the present work in terms of methodology. However, the analysis which follows is in terms of a somewhat looser conception of stereotypes that fails to clearly distinguish them from roles. Bronwyn Adams (1985) -- *Stereotypical Role Portrayals of Black Women in SABC-TV Commercials, and their Effects on Black Female Consumers* is similarly disappointing as a source of inspiration for the present work. Adams offers a tentative examination of both race and gender in SABC-TV commercials targeted at the black market. However, Adams does not apply the term racial stereotyping with much critical reflection. An entire chapter devoted to racial stereotyping discusses the problems advertisers face in creating 'suitable' black role portrayals, in the sense that blacks can in psychological terms positively identify with such roles. Adams fails to give any consideration to the concept 'racial stereotype' as such, or to its relevance to the South African political economy of the time.

The last two decades of critical work by feminists has caused research in areas relating to gender stereotyping to generally attract more interest than racial stereotyping. A work whose methodology has given some inspiration to the present thesis is Goffman's *Gender Advertisements* (1979). This work analyses and discusses visual communication and gender display in advertising. One of its strengths derives from its systematic reference and its documentation with a comprehensive selection of examples of gender portrayals from advertising photography.

In South Africa, Michelle Friedman (1986) has examined the social construction of gender through a study of advertisements in issues of *The Natal Mercury* (a daily newspaper) between 1910 and 1980. Friedman does not claim to consider gender portrayals in terms of stereotypes. But her approach, to contextualise *changing* gender portrayals in terms of the history of the social formations structurally underpinning them, does provide some inspiration to the present study. Racial stereotyping obviously needs to be considered

in terms of the social formation and political economy to which it is structurally related. In this respect, two other works have also been particularly useful. The first is Belinda Bozzoli (1981), *The Political Nature of a Ruling Class: Capitalism and Ideology in South Africa 1890-1933*. This study examines the role played by 'organic intellectuals' (attached to the capitalist class) in shaping the processes of state and class formation during earlier decades when the foundations of modern South Africa were being laid. The second work is *Currents of Power: State Broadcasting in South Africa* by Ruth Tomaselli *et al* (1989). Considered together these two works offer some indication towards an understanding of the complexities regarding the 'interest translation' of the capitalist class in the post World War II period: during the era of ascendancy of the Afrikaner Nationalists, and during the 1980s particularly with regard to the introduction of the ethnically and racially designated TV2/3 channels, and the underlying dynamism for reform of SABC-TV broadcasting.

A study of racial stereotyping in South African advertising should also be aware of studies of racism in the mass media that have not been framed strictly in terms of racial stereotyping. Here one can mention the widely quoted study of racism in Britain by Paul Hartmann and Charles Husband (1973; 1974). This research consists of a content analysis of race-related stories found in four British newspapers between 1963-1970. Hartmann and Husband sought to discover links between the stereotypical media roles of coloured people and a measured attitudinal change in white school children. In common with most 'effects research', this work is open to the criticism that it fails to avoid some of the pitfalls of the so-called 'hypodermic approach' (Barratt, 1986). However, Hartmann and Husband's work has been argued to be theoretically more sophisticated than most effects research (*ibid*).

To an analysis of racial stereotyping in South Africa, works such as Hartmann and Husband confirm that a contextual variation exists in the meaning of racial stereotyping. Colonial forms of racial stereotyping (especially South African variations during different stages of apartheid) quite probably play a different role from racial stereotyping in the advanced industrial democracies. In these latter countries one finds a general understanding that *pejorativeness* is strongly built into the meaning of racial stereotyping. It will be argued in later chapters that although a few rare instances of pejorative racial stereotyping persisted during the reform period in South Africa, it is the local ethnically-orientated variations and transitions from these that are of key importance. These variations were pegged around ideas that presumably were always ideologically motivated, but nevertheless these ideas remained open to debate: the need for 'cultural authenticity', or the need to preserve 'cultural heritage' in the face of cultural imperialism (e.g. see Mersham, 1985).

It also is important that some awareness should be built into this research of how racial stereotyping might be perceived and internalised by oppressed peoples themselves. Two works by Franz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (1968) and *Black Skins, White Masks* (1973) are seminal to the study of the psychological effects of colonialism and racism upon the subjectivities of the oppressed. This however is another study. Bernard Magubane's *The Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa* (1979)

also deserves some mention in this respect. This work provides an insight into the underpinnings of racism in South Africa from the point of view of a black South African writing from exile during the 1970s. It is important to note that Magubane tended to identify apartheid more strongly with the interests of First World imperialism and South African mining capital than with Afrikaner Nationalism. The nature of the relationship between 'race' and 'capital', particularly the 'functionality' or 'disfunctionality' of apartheid to capitalism during different eras, has been a key debate within South African historiography. Bozolli (1981:2-3) outlines three broad approaches that have been adopted. Firstly, Legassick (1974) provided a periodisation of the evolution of racism in terms of the evolution of capitalism itself, and of the interests, particularly the economic interests of capital as a whole. Secondly, Johnstone (1976) related specific structures and ideologies of racism within the mining industry between 1911 and 1924 to the particular accumulation requirements of mining capital itself, and the form taken by their realisation within the historical evolution of South African society. Thirdly, Wolpe (1972) related particular aspects of South African racism to particular needs of capital, citing the reproduction of labour as the problem to which territorial segregation was the solution. However, Lipton (1986) tends to shift the pivotal point of the structural forces underpinning apartheid away from capital:

Apartheid cannot simply be explained as the outcome of capitalism or of racism. Its origins lie in a complex interaction between class interests (of white labour as well as sections of capital) and racism/ethnicity and security factors (Lipton, 1986:365).

My position (as will be outlined in Chapter 3) focuses particularly upon post World War II structural process underpinning apartheid. Drawing upon all of the above positions, I also focus attention upon the important influence of larger contextual dynamics of the Cold War period. After 1924 domestic capital had gained ascendancy over imperial capital (Natrass, 1981:162-3). South Africa thus does not simply conform to a model of peripheral, colonial economy underdeveloped by metropolitan, imperial capital. However, notwithstanding the fact that post World War II economic growth came to be increasingly dependent upon blacks, for labour power and as a market for domestically produced goods and services, blacks continued to be excluded as citizens of the industrial state. To South Africans, Afrikaner Nationalism during the post-World War II period appeared as something totally indigenous, which indeed it was. But there were some parallels with suppressive fascist regimes during this period in countries such as Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, etc., where the bulk of the population appeared to Western interests as potentially vulnerable to the influence of Soviet communism. Thus, a redefined type of dependency might nevertheless be seen to have existed within the forms through which Afrikaner governments, in spite of apartheid, were able to negotiate viable relations with the West.

Frederikse (1986) deals particularly with the history of the period under study and has been a useful and provocative work (see Chapter 5). Frederikse does not specifically use the term stereotype. But in the course of her examination of 'Total Strategy' and 'reform', when she touches on a matter of primary concern to this thesis: the potentially co-optive use of racial stereotyping in advertising. In terms of advertising criticism Frederikse's position tends to fall within a category that might be labelled as left-wing 'conspiratorial'

(Sinclair 1987). Frederikse does however provide some very valuable points of reference, especially through some of her interviews that at times have a knack of being outstandingly pertinent and provocative.

As one reviews works with their focus on gender, race, or class stereotyping, or looser concepts of racism, it increasingly becomes apparent that part of the conceptual problem being investigated is that of arriving at a suitable or workable definition of the term 'racial stereotyping'. Notwithstanding the fact that considerable research has been done on stereotyping in the advanced industrial democracies (see Cauthen *et al* 1971), a field specifically using the concept of racial stereotype will remain at an inconclusive stage until the concept is more rigorously defined. This, however, has not prevented the common sense understanding of the term racial stereotyping to become widely used. Consistent with the critique of the conventional definition of stereotyping (Perkins, 1978:138), one finds racial stereotyping is an almost *sui generis* term to describe depictions of ethnic or racial minorities in mass media, almost exclusively if such depictions are considered to be of an overtly pejorative nature. This assumption is implicit in some of the studies cited above. As a consequence of what might be seen to be an ideologically problematic definition, it would be unconventional to apply the term racial stereotyping to affirmative depictions of black people in the advanced industrial democracies.

In a First World context the term racial stereotyping means the pejorative description of minorities. In the English-speaking world use of the term racial stereotyping has developed mainly in the United States and Britain (Cauthen *et al*, 1971). In these advanced industrial states, racial stereotyping has constituted the more visible end of a panoply of constraints applied to people from former subject colonies, migrant workers or people who have become citizens. In this context, pejorativeness may communicate itself in new ways that are not initially perceived as pejorative. For instance, in England blacks represent 4 percent of the population but constitute over 30 percent of professional sportsmen. This is believed to result from stereotypical preconceptions within the society that lead mainly black male school children to be encouraged to become involved in athletics or other sports.<sup>5</sup> This aspect of racial stereotyping is not usually recognised as such because it is not readily identified as pejorative within the dominant value systems of advanced industrial democracies. In the case of the United States, blacks have their roots deeper than the periodic post World War II imports of cheap or unskilled labour into Western Europe. Nonetheless, the common sense understanding of the term racial stereotyping in the United States and Western Europe derive from the 1960s and 1970s and is not essentially dissimilar. In these contexts, the term racial stereotyping refers to the fact that people of different racial, ethnic, or cultural backgrounds (and since World War II 'ethnic' has usually meant of a darker skin tone<sup>6</sup>) have been portrayed systematically or on recurrent occasions in predictably inferior roles. Or, alternatively, that they have come to be seen as displaying idiosyncrasies usually associated with their particular group by the commonsense or dominant point of view (Cauthen *et al*, 1971:104).<sup>7</sup>

It seems that media institutions in the advanced industrial democracies as a rule are quite sensitive to accusations of racial stereotyping and quickly respond with a discourse of 'affirmative action' or

non-pejorative middle class stereotypes of the aggrieved minority group. In certain circumstances, pejorative racial stereotyping possibly represents a threat to effective hegemony: if racism manifests itself in the mainstream media it might well be indicative of a possible ideological alliance between petty bourgeois media practitioners and indigenous working classes. In some instances, residual concepts of nationalism (such as those that were canvassed by the National Front or the late Enoch Powell in Britain) have given rise to resentment about the presence and job competition of immigrant minorities. Such easily recognisable negative racial stereotypes (not consistent with currently more sophisticated forms of racial ordering within the political economy) can be considered to be an 'ideological aberration', in the sense that they too readily provoke oppositional response from minority groups, leading to a rejection of the intended interpellation (see Gilroy, 1987).

If affirmative depictions are more effective in interpellating minority groups than negative racial stereotyping, such depictions must be considered as ideologically more effective. In practice, affirmative images are usually even further removed from ethnographic veracity than racial stereotyping of a pejorative inclination. This 'applied ethnography' (ostensibly supposed to have an assimilative role) often does little more than to further contribute to a sanitized plastic world of the so-called post-modern era. The ideological dimensions of affirmative imagery should not be overlooked. With regard to social portrayal in cinematic discourse in the developed countries, Robert Stam and Louise Spence (1985:634-5) point out that the insistence on 'positive images', finally, obscures the fact that 'nice' images might at times be as pernicious as overtly degrading ones, providing a bourgeois facade for paternalism, a more pervasive common sense racism. It might thus be fair to say that in the advanced industrial democracies pejorative racial stereotyping, when it still occurs, results from a malfunctioning in the dominant ideological process. It is perhaps an irony that such pejorative depictions of non-middle class members of society amount to a more accurately ethnographic representation<sup>8</sup>, in so far as the real conditions of existence of these groups are more revealed than concealed. One might conclude from this that the dominant ideology of affirmative action is a more finely tuned ideology.

Although there were some parallels between reformist discourse in South Africa and affirmative action strategies practised in the First World, there were also some very acute discrepancies. I will show in Chapter 7 that after the mid-1980s beer advertising in South Africa assumed a pro-active role in promoting affirmative imagery. (This matter is of crucial importance to the debates about the ideological role of consumer advertising which will be outlined in Chapter 2.) However, it is also maintained that in the South African case these affirmative depictions of black characters should not be considered to be the same as the 'token blacks' of the 1970s affirmative discourse from the advanced industrial states. In the South African case, there was a more profound underlying imperative for such depictions: both in terms of the overall importance of black consumers to the market for products such as beer, and also in terms of the realisation by capital that the future lay in labour reproduction in terms of blacks skilled with professional and managerial abilities. What is extraordinary in terms of theoretically-informed advertising criticism is that consumer advertising should have assumed such a visibly overt ideological role.



## CATEGORIES OF SOUTH AFRICAN RACIAL STEREOTYPING

In South Africa, in addition to its First World pejorative meaning, the term racial stereotyping has included various forms of ethnic stereotyping meant to represent groups within the majority black population. Some of the meanings given to the term racial stereotyping during the 1980s were related to the media representations stemming from the ethnic engineering project of an apartheid government. In terms of the political economy (which will be outlined in Chapter 3), the chronological movement of racial stereotyping in South Africa has arguably been from ethnic to non-ethnic or westernised black middle class depiction. It will also be argued that in terms of social dynamics, pejorative black depictions are more of a reformist than an apartheid form. As will be outlined in Chapter 4, due to the peculiarities of the South African situation in the 1980s, there were not many clear cut instances of pejorative racial stereotypes in advertisements, and due to the fact that the ethnic channels TV2/3 only began broadcasting in 1982, the few instances preceded ethnic and ethnic middle class depiction in television advertisements. Classification of racial stereotyping in SABC-TV advertising commercials might be thus made according to the following scheme, which is outlined in greater detail in Chapter 4:

- i) **Pejorative depictions** of blacks as in early TV1 commercials, similar to the First World conceptions of racial stereotyping. As will be explained below, this form featured less prominently in South Africa.
- ii) **Ethnic stereotypes** on TV2/3, similar to the objectives of Radio Bantu (see Strydom, 1976).
- iii) **Ethnic black middle class** stereotypes on TV2/3. A transitory form consistent with the P.W. Botha government's conception of black middle classes as 'amongst the nations of South Africa' in order to facilitate plans of 'consociational democracy'<sup>9</sup> engineering.
- iv) **'Positive', non-ethnic black middle class** depictions on TV1 and TV4. Fundamentally the most important form, representing 'New South Africa ideology' from the business sector, but also structurally underpinned in terms of economic transformation.

This thesis makes a point of the fact that the South African context has in certain important respects differed in its structural dynamics from the political economies of the advanced industrial states. What one sees in SABC-TV commercials, in terms of the economic and social changes entailed by reform, is a hesitant movement from separate advertisements featuring ethnic categories of racial stereotyping (and their accompanied discourse of 'structured absences' during the 1980s), to the apparently non-ethnic, non-racial, black middle class or affirmative stereotypes of 'integrated' advertising of the 1990s. Pejorative racial stereotypes, similar to those of the advanced industrial democracies, were at times also present but were incongruous with apartheid: firstly, prior to the P.W. Botha reformist stage, such stereotypes would have undermined the supposed integrity<sup>10</sup> of separate development; secondly, in the case of later reformist apartheid such stereotypes would be easily recognisable in First World terms as aspects of racial oppression.

## CONCLUSION

This chapter laid the ground for establishing a relationship between a stereotyping critical approach and the main corpus of theoretically-informed advertising criticism. This process of exploration was initiated with clarification in three key aspects to this study: the definition of the concept of stereotype; the relationship of stereotypes to ideology; and the nature of 'racial stereotyping'. There are strong indications that stereotypes are closely related to ideology. It is primarily contended that the positive stereotypes in the mass media, the depictions we so readily and often unconsciously identify with, articulate what Althusser (1971) has called our imaginary relationship to our real conditions of existence. The forms of positive stereotype which occur most particularly in advertising are prime agents of interpellation and play an important role in class formation.

How do the forms of racial stereotyping that occurred in South African advertising during reform locate within a theory of advertising criticism?

Chapter 2 will review theoretically-informed advertising criticism and further elaborate on the linkage between stereotypes, consumer advertising, and the power relationships underpinning the ideological aspect of hegemony in consumer democracy situations. It will be further contended that in respect of blacks as consumers, and in terms of reproduction of labour, the forms of racial stereotyping in South Africa, particularly as represented in advertisements, have articulated salient points in the course of movement (or stereotypical change) within a restricted aspect of consumption as means of hegemony.

- <sup>1</sup> Perkins (1979) points out that different types of stereotypes exist.
- <sup>2</sup> Bertelsen's essay *Black Advertising as Myth: The Case of TV2* remains instructive for its incisiveness and the strong critical frame of reference she maintains throughout.
- <sup>3</sup> Barker (1989:207&308) obliquely refers to Perkins (1979), but does not comment on the viability or otherwise of this reassessment.
- <sup>4</sup> There is little doubt that these depictions were intended to be aspirational to blacks. It is debatable whether or not blacks identified with these depictions, most probably they did. Research on such matters is often highly confidential as this information is of obvious strategic value to competitors. Unless a high level of trust has been established, no advertising agency or client marketing department will readily give away such research to academic researchers. Someone like Eric Mafuna (who like most marketing or advertising practitioners was always canvassing for his particular brand of research or advertising philosophy) might have argued that depictions of blacks canoeing or water skiing etc. were quite out of touch with the average down-to-earth township black (see Chapter 6). But once again Mafuna's arguments are patently laced with rhetoric.
- <sup>5</sup> BBC World Service Report, 3 May 1990; see also Perkins, 1979:141.
- <sup>6</sup> In the post Cold-War period, given the wide media coverage of the rise of ethnically based nationalisms in Eastern Europe, the term 'ethnic' probably will no longer be used quite so narrowly.

- <sup>7</sup> The prevalence of pejorative stereotypes with racist undertones applied to non-blacks have persisted in some cases, such as in the case of Irish (Catholics) in Britain, a practice which possibly deserves more critical attention than it receives. Similarly, in South Africa up until the early 1980s stereotypes of working class Afrikaners were quite popular amongst white English-speaking middle classes: a key example being the 'Van der Merwe' jokes, communicated primarily through word-of-mouth.
- <sup>8</sup> Although any attempt to document or *re-present* a social group is bound to be to some extent distorted, it is possible to posit that one can distinguish between different levels of such distortion. Given within certain limitations, a distinction might be made between greater or lesser degrees of ethnographic veracity; in terms of identifiably greater or lesser deviation in the representation from the actual reality of a social group (see Heider, 1976; Banks, 1992).
- <sup>9</sup> According to an academic paper presented by Lipjardt (1977), at the Rand Afrikaans University, 'consociational democracy' rather than 'majority rule' offered the means for the survival of democracy in deeply divided societies.
- <sup>10</sup> If blacks are portrayed in negative roles, the inequality of separate development becomes revealed. On the other hand 'structured absences' may to some extent prevent inequality from becoming apparent. In other words, what is present in the images must be understood in terms to what is concealed, or absent (see Tomaselli, 1996:237).

## Chapter 2

**CONSUMPTION AS A MEANS OF HEGEMONY**

This chapter considers the power relations endowed with the mass marketing of goods and services in a capitalist economy, and the particular nature of such power relations in a South African apartheid context. One of the key arguments outlined is that *consumption* might be conceived as a *means of hegemony*. In order to develop this argument several critical positions about the ideological role of advertising are reviewed. The assessment draws inspiration from John Sinclair's excellent review of advertising in cultural theory, *Images Incorporated* (1987), then further develops from the theoretical position of Raymond Williams [1960] 1980.

If the post-World War II leftist social critique from the advanced industrial democracies is correct, some tripartite relationship must exist between power, democracy and consumption. The implication is that in the modern capitalist state, *democracy* can only be extended (without power slipping away from established ruling classes) if some degree of mass consumption can at the same time also be extended. Apropos to this conception, the relationship between stereotyping and consumer advertising should be sought in the role that advertising plays as facilitator of *consumption as a means of hegemony*. In performing this ideological aspect of hegemony<sup>1</sup>, the aggregate or archetypal human stereotype communicated by advertising must amount to a laudatory petty bourgeois stereotype. It is in the very arena of advanced industrial production and mass distribution of consumer goods and services that some of the most pervasive forms of stereotyping occur. These are *positive* stereotypes that are not intended to be readily noticeable as stereotypes but are rather designed so that audiences will readily identify with them.

Consumer goods and services have enabled a bourgeois lifestyle to become more broadly disseminated in its petty bourgeois forms. Advertising constantly re-constitutes and re-articulates petty bourgeois stereotypes and intertwines these with consumer goods or services: either through the depiction of the human circumstances of the use of such goods or services, or within the processes through which the self-identity of individuals accrues out of the symbols and connotations associated with certain brands of product or service<sup>2</sup>. My contention is that at this point of the consumption moment the interpellatory role of stereotypes in advertisements is achieved. Concomitant with these observations, theoretically-informed critiques claim that in the process of facilitating the marketing and distribution of manufactured goods, consumer advertising plays a further role of selling the capitalist system (Williamson, 1978:13). Advertising helps maintain societies based upon a form of hierarchical order where upward positioning comes with the acquisition of certain types of goods or services. It might thus be argued that class antagonisms have to a large extent become displaced by a general belief that the present order potentially offers everyone opportunity for equality on the basis of freedom and self-determination (Baudrillard, 1968). If this indeed is the case, consumer advertising might in effect act as a powerful instrument of social pacification.

Some differing critical positions about advertising have been derived from Marx. An important distinguishing characteristic of these critiques is how they position themselves with regard to the ideological role of modern advertising. According to Sinclair (1987:25), some critiques tend towards falling back into the cliché of capitalism as a ruling class conspiracy, while others tend to reify 'the system', that is, talking about it as if it has a logic of its own, independent from the collective actions of human agents. On the one end of the critical spectrum one finds the works of Adorno and Horkheimer (1944), Marcuse (1964), or Ewen (1976) who suggest that the ideological aspects of consumer advertising are total, determinist and/or conspiratorial. At the opposite extreme, Inglis (1972), writing from a Left-Leavisite position, also sees the emergence of advertising as a necessary tool of the capitalist order, but considers the emergence of its prominent modern role as more of an organic outgrowth of the system than a conscious strategy. Most promising for the analysis of the role of advertising in society are middle ground approaches, such as the cultural materialism of Raymond Williams ([1960] 1980). Williams traces the rise of modern advertising (and the assumption of its ideological role) in terms of changes in society and the economy, and the changing organisations and intentions resulting from the transition from entrepreneurial capitalism to monopoly capitalism. While not neglecting the all important aspect of *intentions and interests* of dominant groups, the assumption of an ideological role by modern advertising thus appears to be more of a process that has arisen contingently to the selling of goods and services. Also, Williams's position is consistent with a Gramscian concept of hegemony, which allows for the possibility of some degree of resistance to the ideology of advertising.

The debate has also devolved upon the important question of whether or not goods should be seen as 'needs' only in terms of their use value, whether it is historically and anthropologically accurate to distinguish between 'true needs' or 'false needs' (see Leiss, Kline & Jhally, 1986; Sinclair 1987; Jhally, 1987). On the basis of anthropological evidence, such as that reported by Douglas and Isherwood (1978), or by Sahlins (1972), post-structuralist positions maintain that all needs are generated within a symbolic field. In particular, the critique of Sut Jhally (1987), which will be outlined below, has important implications with respect to certain aspects of the theoretical position of Williams's ([1960] 1980). Jhally suggests that Williams mis-directed the development of theoretically-informed advertising criticism:

The contention that goods should be important to people for what they are *used* for rather than their *symbolic* meaning is very difficult to uphold in the light of the historical, anthropological and cross-cultural evidence. In all cultures at all time, it is the relation between use and symbol that provides the concrete context for the playing out of the universal person-object relation. The present radical critique of advertising is unbalanced in its perception of the 'proper' or 'rational' relation between use and symbol. It suffers from what could be called 'commodity vision' - the problem of capitalist commodities has not been sufficiently distinguished from the problem of objects in general. While the person-object relation has been set within the context of power, the critique as presently conceptualised has lost the link with culture and history. That Raymond Williams should fall into this misperception is extremely surprising, for in the rest of his magnificent corpus of writings he strongly focuses on the central role that culture has played in the development of human societies (Jhally, 1987:4).

However, it seems that Jhally might not have fully appreciated Williams's position. It is difficult to see how Williams could have been oblivious of 'anthropological and cross-cultural evidence', as it is aspects of such knowledge that form the basis of his argument. Hence the title of this essay in which he suggests that a relationship exists between some of the forms of inducement used in modern advertisements and the magical incantations of more primitive societies. Underlying the contention between Williams and some social anthropologists is the question of whether or not a different form of democracy might be feasible: one that can support and be supported by a reformed economic system where there is no longer a *consumption* market to be supplied, and where the use of human labour and resources is shaped by more general social decisions.

However, this chapter is mainly interested with the power relations implicit in the social meanings attached to the mass marketing of goods and services. The issue of whether or not human nature can overcome its undue dependence upon the symbolic meaning of goods is not a key issue here. The assessment to follow draws upon Williams ([1960] 1980) to develop the conception of advertising as a facilitator of *consumption as a means of hegemony*<sup>3</sup>. Various other critical positions and their contradictory implications are also taken into account. Ultimately, the key issue is the relevance of ideological meaning of goods to racial stereotyping and the South African context. Pivotal to this thesis is the fact that most observations of theoretically-informed advertising criticism are from First World contexts. Such leftist critiques maintain that consumer advertising has played an important role in the advancement of consumer democracies, especially in post-World War II Europe. However, during this period consumer advertising in South Africa was not advancing a consumer democracy of this order. Thus, the final question this chapter will explore is the validity of an essentially First World critique to a situation such as South Africa during the 1980s, where the majority of the population had only limited access to consumer goods and services, and where whatever 'pacification' such goods and services might have bestowed was bound to have been limited.

Eve Bertelsen (1985), for example, appears to have criticised the petty bourgeois depictions directed at blacks in early SABC-TV2 commercials in terms of three aspects: i) a criticism that might be validly also applied to First World advertising: that the freedom indicated (for the head of a black household in a Sunshine D margarine commercial) was "a freedom to consume"; but ii), this freedom must be seen to differ from general consumer discourse in the First World: it was "within a strict closure", because "in all this" the "white man" though apparently absent from representation in the text "was the constitutive principle, the creator"; iii) a criticism also not so applicable to First World advertising: the degree of inconsistency between the conditions that were being depicted in advertisements for blacks and the far harsher conditions that existed in reality. Thus, if a pacification aspect of hegemony is the normal ideological discourse of consumer advertising<sup>4</sup> in the First World, in what manner and to what extent did racial stereotyping in South African advertising (television commercials) work to sell apartheid? In what sense might racial stereotyping (especially its ethnic varieties) during 1960s and 1970s era of apartheid, and also during the Reform period of the 1980s, be considered to have been mediating some form of *restricted aspect of consumption as a means of hegemony*?

## CRITICAL APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF ADVERTISING

This part of the chapter reviews various theoretically-informed critical approaches but draws upon Williams ([1960] 1980) in particular to outline a conception of *consumption as a means of hegemony*. Some liberal critical approaches, or works which either criticise advertising indirectly, or are useful to an understanding of the political economy of modern advertising will also be considered. As Sinclair (1987:11) has pointed out:

In the critical study of advertising today, one can still find liberal and conservative analyses, but it is the Marxist, or more accurately, the neo-Marxist or 'Marxisant' perspectives which have come to provide the dominant paradigm ...

In terms of liberal analyses one can name Vance Packard (1957), who focused on the so called 'depth approach' in persuasion. Both Leiss, Kline & Jhally (1986:20) and Sinclair (1987:9), point out that Packard does not take issue with the practice of advertising as such, nor with the form of economic and social organisation that underpins it. These writers consider Packard's approach to be somewhat sensationalist-inclined. Packard's main interest was to expose certain techniques being used by unscrupulous advertising agencies.<sup>5</sup> The critical approach adopted by Wilson Bryan Key (1972 & 1976), who focuses on the matter of subliminal sexual messages in advertisements, might also be accused of being more sensationalist than theoretically-based. However, even if critics such as Packard and Key do not take broader socio-economic implications into consideration, the fact that unorthodox methods of psychological persuasion might have been used to effect sales (and still be used) is by no means inconsistent with a broad conception of *consumption as a means of hegemony*. However, the emphasis on 'manipulation' implies helplessness and inability to resist on the part of the recipients of advertising messages, something which is not quite consistent with a conception of hegemony.

A non-Marxist critique of advertising that is of considerable relevance to a conception of *consumption as a means of hegemony* is *The Affluent Society* (1958), by John Kenneth Galbraith. This was the first major critique of the apparent stability and prosperity of the post-World War II economic order. Writing from a neo-liberal reformist position, Galbraith's primary interest was the nature of the economic system that needed to utilise persuasion through advertising.<sup>6</sup> According to Galbraith (1958), economic growth had been achieved through the creation of artificial wants — the "squirrel wheel" of what he called the "Dependence Effect". Advertising and salesmanship played a key role in the affluent society by "creating desires" and bringing into existence wants that previously did not exist. Production, not only passively through emulation, but actively through advertising and related activities, creates wants it seeks to satisfy (Galbraith, 1958:131-7). Marxist economists, Baran and Sweezy (1966), confirmed Galbraith's negative assessment. They also identified persuasion through advertising as one of the most important processes, through which the new capitalist democracy was being established:

...the central function of advertising and of all that goes with it in the economy of monopoly capitalism lies in its effect on the magnitude of aggregate effective demand and thus on level of income and employment (Baran and Sweezy 1966:127-8).

What seems to underpin Galbraith's critique is an implicit questioning of the influence and the wisdom of certain aspects of socio-economic policy based upon the economic theory of John Maynard Keynes. A formula based upon Keynes's idea of manipulating 'aggregate effective demand' in order to increase production was initially adopted by liberal governments in both Britain and the United States, but subsequently also by conservatives. Artificially stimulated consumption, increased production, economic growth and higher levels of employment become a key for winning votes and political power (Galbraith 1958:188-91). In his critique of advertising and consumption, Williams ([1960] 1980) bears a certain degree of consistency with some of Galbraith's observations about the problems of the modern capitalist economy. In particular, both Williams ([1960] 1980) and Galbraith (1958) suggest that advanced capitalist economies are irresponsible, that some of the products manufactured might be unnecessary, and that as a consequence human needs have to be constantly redefined by advertising.

Some mention might also be made here about the type of advertising criticism that Sinclair (1987:11), quoted above, refers to as 'conservative'. Rather than being directed against capitalism, this position is characterised by the fact that it is a critique of modernism and its perceived vulgar popular forms such as advertising. Examples would be Leavis (1948) or Thompson (1963). This type of criticism belongs to a tradition that predates the full development of modern advertising (an indication that a more thorough understanding of the ideological role of modern advertising in capitalist economies might be obtained if its development is traced historically). Samuel Johnson's writings in the *Idler* in 1758 (cited in Turner, 1952), might be regarded as an earlier example of the conservative tradition of advertising criticism:

The trade of advertising is now so near to perfection that it is not easy to propose any improvement

In view of the subsequent further sophistication of advertising purposes and procedure, Johnson's observations are generally held to have been premature (Williams, [1960] 1980; Dyer, 1982; Sinclair R, 1985; Sinclair J, 1987). However, Johnson's comments should also be understood in terms of his characteristically wry wit; the fundamental perceptiveness of his statement should not be underestimated. It should not be assumed (as sometimes has been the case) that Johnson meant to preclude the possibility of future developments in advertising methodology. What seems to be conveniently overlooked by some commentators is that the extract is a final punch-line to a more important preceding conclusion:

Promise, large promise is the soul of an Advertisement. I remember a washbowl that had a quality truly wonderful — it gave an exquisite edge to the razor! The trade of advertising is now so near to perfection that it is not easy to propose any improvement.

In principle these observations were not premature but remain perfectly valid today. *Promise, large promise*, continues to be the soul of advertisements in advanced industrial societies in the twentieth century.

One of the most profoundly influential critiques of advertising has been that of Williams ([1960] 1980), *Advertising: the Magic System*. According to Williams ([1960] 1980:187), once advanced productive



techniques have entered a society, new questions of structure and purpose in social organisation are posed. Somewhat idealistically, perhaps, Williams believed that one set of answers is the development of 'genuine democracy'. Genuine democracy according to Williams would be a system where the human needs of all the people in a society are taken as the central purpose of all social activity, so that politics is not a system of government but of self-government, and the systems of production and communication are rooted in human needs and the development of human capacities (*ibid*). But instead of this ideal, the set of answers that advanced industrial democracies have applied to these questions retain a limited social purpose (*ibid*). In this respect, Williams (1980: 193) considers advertising in its modern forms to be one of the consequences of social failure to find means of public information and decision over a wide range of everyday economic life.

Williams takes particular exception at the very idea of 'consumption' and finds the fact that the term 'consumer' has so generally been accepted with so little questioning to be a matter of concern:

The popularity of 'consumer', as a way of describing the ordinary member of modern capitalist society in a main part of his economic capacity, is very significant. The description is spreading very rapidly, and is now being used by people to whom it ought, logically, to be very repugnant ... This metaphor drawn from the stomach or the furnace is only partially relevant even to our use of things. Yet we say 'consumer', rather than 'user', because in the form of society we have now, and in the forms of thinking which it almost imperceptibly fosters, it is as consumers that the majority of people are seen. We are the market which the system of industrial production has organised. We are the channels through which the product flows and disappears. In every respect of social communication, and in every version of what we are as a community, the pressure of a system of industrial production is towards these impersonal forms (Williams, [1960] 1980:187).

One should note the distinction Williams maintains between 'consumer' and 'user', as this is a matter pivotal to his argument. Although Williams was writing in the early 1960s (or perhaps the end of the 1950s), his eclectic methodology produced a more sophisticated assessment than some of the Marxist positions of the time, and possibly also some that have followed in the 1970s and 1980s:

The real business of the historian of advertising is ... to trace the development from processes of specific attention and information to an institutionalised system of commercial information and persuasion; to relate this to changes in society and in the economy; and to trace changes in method in the context of changing organisations and intentions (Williams [1960] 1980:170).

It is important to note the above emphasis on 'changing organisations and intentions', and by inference, Williams's pervading belief in the possibility of reshaping society through the intervention of human intention.<sup>7</sup> Williams's analysis of the modern institution of advertising anticipates and contradicts some of the post-structuralist arguments. As will be further outlined below, some post-structuralist critiques suggest that goods have *never* been primarily desired for their use-value and therefore can never be so. On the basis of anthropological evidence, a view has been put forward that in all forms of human society it has been the symbolic meaning of goods that has been of primary importance. Williams's critique is remarkable for its

grasp of the inter-linkages between the various social, economic, political, historical, and institutional practices, and for his ability to come to an estimation of the institution of advertising within this complexity.

Williams ([1960] 1980:187) briefly traces the evolution of the specific power relations that he believes retain a negative purpose within the prevailing system:

In the first phase, loyal subjects as they were previously seen, became the labour market of industrial 'hands'. Later, as the 'hands' reject this version of themselves, and claim a higher human status, the emphasis is changed. Any real concession of higher status would mean the end of class-society and the coming of socialist democracy. But intermediate concessions have been possible, including *material* concessions. Thus, the 'subjects' become the 'electorate', and 'the mob' becomes 'public opinion'.

The consumer democracy phase might be seen as an intermediate stage of *material* concessions, where the majority of people are regarded as consumers, as *the market* which the system of industrial production has organised. (In South Africa, the absence of this intermediate stage has been marked by apartheid.) According to Williams, the contemporary point of view that regards citizens as consumers derives from the fact that control of the means of production and distribution rests in minority hands (Williams [1960] 1980:187-188;193).

Taking these arguments a stage further, one might argue that it is this *consumption* aspect that has been characteristic of hegemony in the post-World War II period in advanced industrial democracies. From the point of view of the Left, the long post-War World War II boom gradually but inexorably subordinated labour to capital within the stabilised parliamentary democracies and emergent consumer societies of Western Europe (Anderson, P. 1983:15). Relatively full employment almost until the 1980s, increased wages for workers, and the emergence of new 'middle class' occupations made it possible and also necessary for increasing numbers of people to participate in this new 'affluent society'. As John Berger (1972:142) has put it:

Publicity is addressed to those who constitute the market, to the spectator buyer who is also the consumer-producer from whom profits are made twice over — as worker and then as buyer. The only places relatively free of publicity are the quarters of the very rich; their money is theirs to keep.

This type of Leftist criticism has implied that *consumption*, orchestrated through consumer advertising, in conjunction with other instruments of the marketing process (which might include industrial design, planned obsolescence, fashion, supermarkets, merchandising, consumer credit, etc.), performs a complex and multifarious role. By enticing the working classes to spend their money on a wide array of consumer goods, even the higher wages capitalism has to pay to buy *stabilised* working classes are recouped<sup>8</sup>. Consumption as an aspect of hegemony is the means by which advanced capitalism has been able to avoid fundamental redistribution of wealth while at the same time circumventing its own contradictions<sup>9</sup>.

One might reasonably question the continuing relevance of the Marxist critique in the 1990s, or of the idiosyncratic brand of socialist radicalism that Williams developed and maintained till the end of his life. However, Williams's reservations about the term 'consumer' should not be dismissed without some consideration. Are the negative connotations simply etymological, or does the popular or common sense meaning of 'consumer' continue to be informed by a role it still plays in economic theory? The assessment of Galbraith (1958) also seems to support the suggestion that by reducing every ordinary citizen to a cypher of mathematical calculation in economic theory, the term does have an inherent tendency to be de-humanising, and as Williams puts it:

An irresponsible economic system can supply the 'consumption' market, whereas it could only meet the criterion of human use by becoming genuinely responsible: that is to say, shaped in its use of human labour and resources by general social decisions (Williams, [1960] 1980:188).

Williams ([1960] 1980:188) does point out that since consumption within limits is a satisfactory activity, it can plausibly be offered as a commanding social purpose. But, he adds, that consumption can never satisfy human needs because many of these are social, such as roads, hospitals, schools and quiet. Such social human needs can never be served by the consumption ideal. In fact these needs will always be denied because consumption tends to materialise as an individual activity (Williams, [1960] 1980:188). At the basis of Williams's argument is a clear vision that human needs can be objectively assessed; that a criterion of human use of goods does in fact exist; and that it would be possible to properly establish this, if the *intention* to do so were present in the framing of social policies. Collins & Murrone (1996:14) attempt to address some of these issues by emphasising that people should be seen both as 'citizens and consumers', and that people's interests as citizens and consumers are interdependent. It is not within the scope of the present work to venture any viable alternatives to 'consumer democracy'.<sup>10</sup> However, the informing of an analysis of racial stereotyping in South Africa with a critique of consumption serves to highlight one stark alternative of denial of normal consumer status to the larger part of the population and the application of forceful repression instead.

The concept of hegemony became particularly important to culturalist perspectives, such as that of Williams.<sup>11</sup> Hegemony represents a process whereby certain definitions of reality attain dominance in a society. In this manner one class or social group gains a controlling influence over other classes, but more through their consent than through the use of force. According to Gramsci (1971:80):

The normal exercise of hegemony ... is characterised by a combination of force and consent, which balance each other out reciprocally, without force predominating excessively over consent. Indeed, the attempt is always made to ensure that force would appear to be based on the consent of the majority expressed by the so called organs of public opinion - newspapers and associations - which therefore in certain situations are multiplied.

It is important to note Gramsci's position that force should not excessively predominate over consent. It should also be noted that Gramsci says that in certain situations organs of public opinion such as newspapers and associations are multiplied (in terms of Althusser these are instruments of ideology) to give the

appearance that the use of force has been based on consent. In his account of hegemony, Gramsci does not specifically refer to the advertising and consumption equation, though he does point out that:

Undoubtedly the fact of hegemony presupposes that account be taken of the interests and tendencies of the groups over which hegemony is to be exercised, and that in certain circumstances equilibrium should be formed - in other words that the leading group should make sacrifices of an economic corporate kind. But there is no doubt that such sacrifices cannot touch the essential; for though hegemony is ethical-political, it must necessarily be based on the decisive function exercised by the leading group in the decisive nucleus of economic activity (Gramsci, 1971:161)

There is some essential correspondence between this statement and the effective application of Keynesian economic theory, which has given rise to the ensuing criticism by Galbraith (1958), or by Williams (1960). In the case of Europe consumption became more clearly pronounced as a factor in hegemony in the post-World War II period. In terms of the assessment of Stuart Ewen (1976), to be discussed below, advertising communications are assumed to have already become a very relevant hegemonic factor in the United States in the 1920s. It might be suggested that the post-World War II consumer democracies have been characterised by the development of a form of hegemony where the effective achievement of consent makes resort to force even less frequent than had been envisaged by Gramsci. In his adoption of the concept of hegemony, Williams ([1973] 1980:39) reads in his notion of 'selective tradition'. The manner in which advertising processes relate with and impact ideologically upon society is quite consistent with this understanding of hegemony:

... from a whole possible area of past and present, certain meanings and practices are chosen for emphasis, certain other meanings and practices are neglected and excluded. *Even more crucially, some of these meanings and practices are reinterpreted, diluted, or put into forms which support or at least do not contradict other elements within the effective dominant culture* (Williams, [1973] 1980:39; italics have been added).

Consistent with this conception, Sinclair (1987:38) points out, the study of advertising shows that the dominant commercial forces construct their markets of consumers out of the complex historical experience and material conditions of social groups who are addressed according to their demographic characteristics. If the code of a message does not fit into the audience's experiences they may reject the meaning given and substitute their own interpretation (*ibid*). However, media institutions such as advertising agencies and the commercial press have become particularly adept in miming the language of the culture of their target groups, so that a newspaper or an advertisement might seem to speak to workers from their own position in society and to represent their own interests (*ibid*). (In this respect see also Chapter 6, about how the selection and appropriation of stereotypes comes about during the creative process of writing advertisements.) Although, there may be 'aberrant decodings' or 'negotiated meanings', for example, some people might subvert fashion by hacking the legs off their new jeans, or by tearing holes on them, such 'popular absorption' of culture (Fiske, 1989) is often the point from where the cutting edge of fashion is inspired. Thus, the apprehension and commercial exploitation of this source is also the life and breath of

advertising agencies. It might be suggested that the process of assimilation of aberrant decodings also plays a role in constantly informing, inspiring, modernising and rejuvenating the dominant ideology. The subordinate groups may take pride in the fact that the dominant culture takes heed of them, and that the dominant culture may in some respects even be irrevocably changed by them. However, the essential power relations usually tend to remain unchanged. Indeed, this point of dialogue which occurs between popular culture and the dominant culture should not be underestimated or belittled, as hegemony does allow limited power inflections from the less dominant sectors of society. Nevertheless, twenty years on, the original conclusions of Judith Williamson (1978: 178) still have some validity:

Thus ideologies cannot be known and undone, so much as engaged with - in a sort of running battle, almost a race since the pace at which all their forms, especially advertising, reabsorb all critical material, is alarmingly fast.

Not all sources of Western Marxist social criticism that have been influential to theoretically-informed debates about advertising readily fit into a hegemony framework. The works of Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer (1944), and Herbert Marcuse (1964) are of particular interest here. It is generally accepted that the Frankfurt School's Critical Theory was a pessimistic doctrine that gave little scope for oppositional readings of the dominant culture, and thus *praxis* or practical efforts on the part of individuals or as groups to resist and oppose their domination (Held, 1980; Jay, 1973). In *The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception* (1944), Adorno and Horkheimer make the following statement:

Culture is a paradoxical commodity. So completely is it subject to the law of exchange that it is no longer exchanged; it is so blindly consumed in use that it can no longer be used. Therefore it amalgamates with advertising. The more meaningless the latter becomes under a monopoly, the more omnipotent it becomes (1944:161).

This statement is typical of Frankfurt School pessimism. Adjectives such as “completely”, “blindly”, “meaningless”, “omnipotent”, indicate a condition that seems to be total and absolute and which offers little if anything in exchange to the subordinate classes. But despite this aspect, the above statement also bears some parallel to a key observation by Williams ([1960] 1980: 185), namely, that modern advertising exploits our capacity for *not* being sensibly materialist in our use of goods. Williams's implication is that we do have a potential for being *sensibly materialist*, and that if this capacity became more widely exercised, much of the advertising projected at us would be an insane irrelevance (1980: 185). Adorno and Horkheimer (1944: 161) also draw our attention to the totalitarian drive in capitalism through monopolisation, and to the application of technology in both production and social organisation.<sup>12</sup> Despite their pessimism, Adorno and Horkheimer (1944: 121) believed that, “This is the result not of a law of movement in technology but of its function in today's economy”. There seems to be some recognition in this statement that technology itself is not problematic, but rather the manner in which it was being put to use. Here again, there is some correspondence with Williams's ([1960] 1980: 187) similar, but rather more positive observation: that once advanced productive techniques have entered a society, new questions of structure and purpose in social organisation are posed.

Some more peripheral adherents to the Frankfurt School had a less pessimistic vision which saw opportunities for using technology to serve oppositional struggle. Walter Benjamin's essay, *The Work of Art in an Era of Mechanical Reproduction*<sup>13</sup> has been seminal to theorisation about the potential utilisation of technology for social liberation. One can discern the inspiration of both Adorno and Horkheimer (1944) and of Benjamin (1979) in John Berger's seminal work on art criticism *Ways of Seeing* (1972). In Berger's chapter on advertising (publicity) there is a profound application of Benjamin's inspiration, for instance:

... a technical development made it easy to translate the language of oil painting into publicity clichés... Colour photography is to the spectator-buyer what oil was to the spectator owner (Berger, 1972:140).

In a manner perhaps similar to how Benjamin (1979) in the pre-World War II period had regarded the potential of cinema in class struggle, Kathy Myers in *Understains* (1987) also advocates the use of advertising techniques by the British Left in order to attain political ends. Myers seems to adopt a view of advertising as a sophisticated communication form of the advanced industrial stage:

Advertising is a metaphor for the age. Used and abused as the key to private profits, it still provides the most sophisticated economic and ideological analysis of the desires, aims and ambitions of that strife-torn plunder pit called Britain. It provides a method for understanding the link between images and Utopias, occupation and ambition, class and culture, commodities and capitalism. It provides an analysis which is, by definition, political. The left ignores that at its peril (Myers 1987:151).

By the time of World War II, the Frankfurt School had moved to the United States, but was only to become influential in English-speaking countries in the 1960s and 1970s with the works of Herbert Marcuse. In *One Dimensional Man* (1964), Marcuse shows how modern capitalism achieves social control through a type of *soft* totalitarianism in which all sources of opposition are absorbed into the dominant *universe of discourse* and thus neutralised. This view addresses similar problems to Williams ([1960] 1980), however, in as far as domination is seen as total and absolute, Marcuse's assessment is not consistent with a position of consumption as a means of hegemony. Capitalism is seen to superimpose *false needs* on individuals in order to press them into the service of the system, depriving them of the very consciousness which would have enabled them to realise that their needs are false:

We may distinguish both true and false needs...Most of the prevailing needs to relax, to have fun, to behave and consume in accordance with the advertisements, to love and to hate what others love and hate, belong to this category of false needs (Marcuse, 1964:21-2).

It has already been pointed out above (in relation to Williams's notion about the *sensible* use of goods), that some social anthropologists have challenged the validity of a conception of *true* or *false* needs, arguing that all needs are culturally determined, and that in all societies goods have always been primarily evaluated through their signficatory meaning rather than in terms of use-value (Douglas and Isherwood, 1978). Frankfurt School critical theory, particularly the work of Adorno and Horkheimer (1944), seems to have been quite influential to Stuart Ewen's (1976) important critical work on American advertising in the 1920s,

*Captains of Consciousness*. This study has been described as a Marxist historical analysis which sees advertising as being instrumental to capitalism (Tedlow, 1976). Ewen contends that advertising in the United States in the 1920s was a 'cultural apparatus' purposefully developed by a certain group of identifiable 'captains of consciousness':

Beyond standing at the helm of the industrial machines, businessmen understood the social nature of their hegemony. They looked beyond their nineteenth century characterisation as captains of industry toward a position in which they could control the entire social realm. They aspired to become captains of consciousness (Ewen, 1976:19).

According to Ewen, advertising was used deliberately as part of a strategy to integrate culturally diverse immigrant working classes into a single national culture through the 'imperialisation of the psyche'. Ewen does not make any reference to Williams ([1960] 1980) or review any works which consider the development of the ideological role of modern advertising more in terms being contingent to the growth and development of 20th Century capitalism. Sinclair (1987:25) points out that although Ewen's critique does show some recognition of the fact such a project of 'ideological consumerisation' generated resistance as well as complacency, and contradictions as well as consensus, these more dialectical elements of his thesis are a token gesture when the thrust of the work is so clearly set within a problematic of manipulation.<sup>14</sup>

It has been pointed out by Tedlow (1976) that Ewen's critique does not account for a powerful counter-tendency in advertising methodology that has continued to concentrate more on the product than the consumer. Rather than sell the system, this approach is designed to move merchandise pure and simple, and focuses on the product to find a 'reason why' a consumer should purchase, instead of trying to exploit the personal shortcomings of the consumer (Pollay, 1985; Fox, 1984).<sup>15</sup> However, contra Tedlow (1976), advertisements based upon a 'reason why' approach might still have an ideological role to play. While the ideology of 'lifestyle advertising' approaches might result from a calculated manipulation of stereotypes in terms of the shortcomings of the individual, a reason why (product differentiation/USP) approach also works ideologically, but at a different level. Advertisements based on a reason why approach tend to be comparative with other products, and therefore competitive. The cumulative effect of this form of advertising arguably results in a re-affirmation of capitalist industrial society as the engine of technological evolution and progress. However, such advertisements are more designed to appeal to reason and therefore not quite as consistent with the irrational responses imputed by some critics in the term 'consumer'. The research of Leiss, Kline and Jhally (1986) might lead one to assume that lifestyle advertising is a late capitalist or post-modern form, while reason why (product differentiation/USP) is a residual form from an industrial modernist era earlier this century. However, some informed practitioners of advertising claim that prolonged deviation from giving consumers a reason why they should buy can result in apathy towards a product brand (Wight, 1972), and according to Fox (1984), both approaches have been in use since the early part of this century. If this be the case, there might be some grounds to Williams's ([1960] 1980) implication that we might also have a capacity for being sensibly materialist, and that the application of the consumer concept tends to obscure this fact.

Sinclair (1987:41) points out that for all its theoretical strengths, the Culturalist perspective for the analysis of advertising in society has been greatly overshadowed by another strain of thought developed from Western Marxism, namely the structuralism of Louis Althusser. Like culturalism, structuralism had sought to go beyond Marx's old base/superstructure metaphor in order to explain how the capitalist economic order creates its own kind of culture. What was decisive about the economic order (Althusser, 1971), was not so much that it was a system of production, but that it organised society so as to ensure the 'reproduction' of the system of production. Thus all culture becomes equated with ideology which has the function of constituting individuals as subjects, calling each one into place as a loyal bearer (trager) or supporter of the ruling ideology by which the social formation is reproduced. Althusser originally argued that this ideological inculcation is achieved through the *Ideological State Apparatuses* (ISA's)<sup>16</sup>, which include the family and school as well as communication media and, by implication, advertising. These 'apparatuses' are unified by the ruling ideology which they institutionalise in their actual practices as a 'material force'. Individuals are called up or 'interpellated' into the places in society which ideology already has prepared for them, and these 'apparatuses' induce people to recognise that they belong in the slots to which they have been assigned. These places are not their 'real' positions, however, for they can never be shown their real positions: "What is represented in ideology is ... not the system of real relations which govern the existence of individuals, but the imaginary relation of those individuals to the real relations in which they live" (Althusser 1971:155). It was pointed out in Chapter 1 that the concept of stereotype bears close similarity with this conception from Althusser. Stereotypes, or something very closely akin, presumably play an important role in the process Althusser refers to as *interpellation*.

The influence of Althusser is apparent in Judith Williamson's *Decoding Advertisements* (1978). Williamson uses a complex application of structuralist ideas to show how advertising translates 'use-value' into 'exchange value'. The importance of Williamson's (1978) work lies in the fact that her analysis provides some indication about the sign mechanisms through which positive forms of stereotyping achieve their interpellatory role in advertisements. According to Williamson (1978), advertisements constitute us as 'active receivers', but only because they call us into places they have already prepared for us. This is achieved through the way advertisements address us (appellation), and through the 'absences' in their structure which we are required to fill.<sup>17</sup> Appellation works at both the individual and collective levels. At the individual level, Williamson applies Lacan's (1968) theory of how the subject ('us') is formed by language to explain how advertisements operate psychologically by offering us a coherent, unified self which each and all desire but can never attain. In buying products with certain images we create ourselves, our personality, our qualities, even our past and future. At the collective level, the theory of totemism (Levi-Strauss's, 1966 & 1970), serves to explain the process of 'recognition' from which we identify ourselves by the use of certain product brands.

A shortcoming of Williamson's work is that her research and decodings are based on a sample of magazine advertisements that has been assembled unsystematically over a period of several years (1978:9). Advertisements deriving from a 'reason why' or USP technique have been underestimated, while the more ideologically-inclined techniques have been emphasised. It is not without some justification that Sinclair



(1987:51-2) criticises Williamson on the basis that the ‘decodings’ she provides suggest that her method systematically favours the meanings inscribed in the advertisements themselves while ignoring their contexts in the cultivation of consumer markets and the external reality of the society at any given time. Though ‘we’ supply the ‘currency’ of meaning, we do not all carry the same currency any more than we respond to the same appellation. Williamson (1978:184) does nevertheless acknowledge that abstraction is a weakness of the structuralist method: real ‘subjects’ have real needs, she admits, including the desire to share meaning with others, but advertising exploits these with its promises of false fulfilment. We are conscious that these promises are false and regard advertising with scepticism: so advertising is not ideological brainwashing forced on us from above. It is the capacity of advertising to constantly exchange one meaning for another which keeps it a step ahead of consciousness, transforming the challenge of social movements and even criticism against itself to its own terms. Thus, Williamson moves closer to the Culturalist conception of hegemony which allows for the possibility of a theoretical praxis as in Williams ([1960] 1980), avoiding the shortcomings of more extreme structuralist approaches that are unable to account for so called ‘aberrant decoding’. Also, unlike some post-structuralists who believe meaning is only to be found in the structure of signs in a text and its relation to other texts, Williamson argued that meaning depends on the exchange between signs and specific, concrete receivers, people for whom and in whose system of belief, they have meaning. Williamson recognises the limitations of structuralist and semiological approaches, warning that analysis of internal structures of signs within advertisements and of the ideological referent systems or discourses within culture can become an end in itself if we lose sight of how advertising fits into the structures of production and communication.

Williamson does not elaborate her position regarding the debate about the human propensity to evaluate goods for their meaning as signs rather than purely for their efficacy as implements. She does however seem to consider the translation of ‘use value’ of products into ‘exchange value’ without any such circumspection (Williamson 1978:12). As was pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, Williams’s ([1960] 1980) position on the ‘sensible’ use of goods, which tends to underpin the culturalist praxis-oriented attempt to mobilise advertising criticism against the consumption-driven mode of monopoly capitalist production, is challenged by later works of advertising criticism such as that of Sut Jhally (1987). These later works are underpinned by an anthropology of consumption which contends that all societies in history and even pre-history have been consumer societies. According to this view, goods have universally been valued for their cultural meanings rather than for their usefulness or their capacity to satisfy human needs. The distinction between use-value and exchange-value made by classical economists, and carried over into Marx’s critique of the fetish of commodities under capitalism, is thus repudiated by the anthropology of consumption (Sinclair 1987:53). Loss of this distinction may have far-reaching implications. Post-structural critics of consumption are provided with a counter-theory which directs them to the abandonment of the negative dialectic, perhaps pointing the way towards a reconciliation between a toned-down form of Marxism and mainstream liberal social theory.

The work of Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, *The World of Goods* (1978) is one of the most sustained efforts to develop an anthropology of consumption. Douglas’s theory of culture generally draws on the

Durkheimian tradition of cultural anthropology to investigate the structure of meanings and moral order. According to Douglas and Isherwood (1978), goods have meaning in society because they are needed for making visible the 'categories of culture'. Unlike the mainstream post-structuralists who still see a system of meaning derived from a repressive hierarchy for its own reproduction, Douglas and Isherwood (1978) see meaning arising out of active and consensual participation of everyone in a process of sharing meaning. They acknowledge that goods are used and valued unequally and function as social markers but are not concerned with issues of social inequality or conflict over socially generated scarcity of goods. In accordance with their non-radical positions, they see the resulting competition as healthy: "How else should one relate to the Joneses if not by keeping up with them" (Douglas and Isherwood, 1978:125).

It has been observed by Sinclair (1987:57) that the work of Douglas and Isherwood has important implications for the critique of advertising, because it infers that the continuous growth of capitalism's system of meanings based on brand names has not simply been invented by advertising. These indications suggest that advertising and marketing have built on an already established capacity for learning, grading and sharing names which mark the social world. It might be noted here that the fact that Douglas and Isherwood and other anthropologists may have established a pre-existent or innate human capacity for 'learning, grading, and sharing names', does not necessarily prove that this capacity is an immutable aspect of a 'human nature' or that its constant nourishing is itself an indispensable or dominant human 'need'. It seems that Williams ([1960] 1980:185) may have been aware that human beings are not by 'nature' sensibly materialist; however he seems to have believed that if our cultural pattern was different we might be socialised to be more 'sensibly materialist'. The title of his essay, Williams ([1960] 1980), suggests that advertising plays a major part in perpetuating what might be interpreted as a collective superstitious regression within social consciousness (because 'consumption' is useful in underpinning the status quo):

If we were sensibly materialist, in that part of our living in which we use things, we should find most advertising to be an insane irrelevance. Beer would be enough for us without the additional promise that in drinking it we would show ourselves to be manly, young at heart, or neighbourly. A washing machine would be a useful machine to wash clothes, rather than an indication that we are forward-looking or a object of envy to our neighbours. But if these associations sell beer and washing machines, as some of the evidence suggests, it is clear that we have a cultural pattern in which objects are not enough but must be validated, if only in fantasy, by association with social and personal meanings which in a different cultural pattern might be more directly available. The short description of what we have is *magic*: a highly organised and professional system of magical inducements and satisfactions, functionally very similar to magical systems in simpler societies, but rather strangely co-existent with a highly developed scientific technology (Williams, [1960] 1980:185).

Williams ([1960] 1980) is quite aware that some of the symbols used in advertising are based upon residual cultural forms from a primitive human past, but believes that the exploitation of this phenomenon by advertising has amounted to a form of wilful regression within the social forms of advanced industrial democracy. Williams's further implication is that this has led to a suspension of the development of forms of social progress more appropriate to prevailing levels of technological progress:

Advertising, in its modern forms, then operates to preserve the consumption ideal from the criticism inexorably made of it by experience. If the consumption of individual goods leaves that whole area of human need unsatisfied, the attempt is made, by magic, to associate this consumption with human desires to which it has no real reference (Williams, [1960] 1980:189).

Judith Williamson (1978) reinforced these contentions of Williams ([1960] 1980) when she applied Levi-Strauss (1966 & 1970) to show how advertising instills its attractiveness into manufactured goods. True to his characteristic optimism, Williams seems to have believed that it should be possible for industrial society to come to a reassessment of its intentions and begin to make more rational decisions in the sphere of production and distribution. Thus, genuine use-value should form the basis in production and distribution, instead of continuing over-emphasis upon symbolic values underpinned by motivations similar to the superstitiously-related motivations of more primitive cultures. It seems that the anthropology of consumption does not consider this to be possible, because all societies in the past have valued goods 'superstitiously'.

During the 1980s, insights from social anthropology were interpreted in post-structuralist perspectives. In *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign* (1981), Jean Baudrillard retains the negative dialectic while taking the cultural meaning of goods to be more decisive for political economy than to their origins in social labour. Goods speak a language within a meaningful 'system of objects', says Baudrillard, but they also conceal a hierarchy of social groups, a system of social relations into which we are placed according to the meaning of the goods we consume: "Through objects, each individual and each group searches out his/her place in an order" (Baudrillard, 1981:38). Baudrillard considers all needs to be socially defined, to have an ideological origin. Thus, the only needs which exist in individuals are those which the capitalist system imbues in them according to the functional requirements of its own reproduction. Along with the more conventional critique of consumer society such as Galbraith's, Baudrillard identifies the rise of the individual consumer as the means by which capitalism circumvented the issue of wealth re-distribution and secured its legitimacy in spite of its contradictions, which is basically also consistent with the observations from Berger (1972), cited above. Also, similarly to Marcuse, Baudrillard sees the 'liberalisation' of capitalism as a mask for a more effective repression. Baudrillard re-defines consumption as a 'mechanism' which binds individuals to itself, concealing class differences while at the same time reproducing them under the title of democracy of consumption, a point which has also been noted by Williamson (1978:13).

William Leiss's primary interest in *The Limits to Satisfaction* (1976), are the ecological effects of Western capitalism. Leiss, applies a similar view to Baudrillard but on a more universal basis. He begins with Marx's theory of commodity fetishism but also adopts the view that ideological mystification of commodities is not unique to capitalism. Leiss follows the ideas of Marshall Sahlins (1972) who also believes use-value to be a matter of cultural definition in any society, pointing out that utility is framed by cultural context and that even our interaction with the most mundane and 'ordinary' of objects in daily life is mediated within a symbolic field. Also, not unlike Williamson, Leiss conceives of a system of persons on the one hand which is made to correspond to a system of goods on the other. Thus, it becomes increasingly difficult for individual subjects

to maintain an individual coherent identity because as product differentiation becomes increasingly finite their needs are made to look ever more fragmented. In post-structuralist terms this phenomenon is identified as the ‘de-centring’ of the individual — personal identity becomes supple and is constantly being reshaped by the daily message mix. Along with Williamson, Leiss observes how traditional images of nature are recreated by advertising, exploiting whatever yearnings may remain for a more harmonious and natural environment than is readily accessible in the advanced industrial democracies. Such practices can be seen to further compound the individual’s destabilisation or psychic fragmentation by virtually eliminating any remaining capacity to judge which goods might satisfy which needs. In a sense, views such as those of Baudrillard or Leiss, refer to a yet more subtle version of the conceptions of Marcuse (1964). Late capitalism, however, does not only ‘absorb’ all sources of opposition. With individuals deprived of their capacity to focus on what is amiss in their lives, dissatisfactions can no longer coalesce and become coherent at a collective level as opposition.

Sut Jhally in *The Codes of Advertising* (1987) studies advertising in terms of Marx’s theory of fetishism, but follows Douglas and Isherwood (1978) and Sahlins (1976) with respect to the signifiatory aspect of goods. Thus, Jhally (1987:3) believes that Williams’s observation that we are in fact *not materialistic<sup>18</sup> enough*, has stalled the development of a truly adequate perception of the role of advertising in modern consumer societies. Unfortunately, Jhally’s reading of Williams ([1960] 1980) is a superficial one. Firstly, Jhally (1987:3) introduces Williams directly after he has discussed Stuart Ewen’s *Captains of Consciousness* (1976) and refers to what he presents as verbatim Williams (1980, p185). This juxtaposition creates an unintended implication that Williams’s position might be a development upon Ewen (1976). In fact, Jhally is not referring to the original publication date of *Advertising the Magic System*, (1960), but to a 1980 republication in a collection of Williams’s essays. Secondly, Jhally imputes certain meanings to what Williams ([1960] 1980) said; however, these meanings seem to be Jhally’s interpretation. This apparent stylistic carelessness on the part of Jhally is disturbing because it comes at a point of the introduction of a major theoretical reappraisal. In fact, Williams’s actual words are “quite evidently not *materialist* enough” ([1960] 1980:185). Jhally goes on to claim that:

The contention that goods should be important to people for what they are ‘used’ for rather than their ‘symbolic’ meaning is very difficult to uphold in the light of the historical, anthropological and cross-cultural evidence. In all cultures at all times, it is the relation between use and symbol that provides the concrete context for the playing out of the universal person-object relationship. The present radical critique of advertising is unbalanced in its perception of the ‘proper’ or ‘rational’ relation between use and symbol (Jhally, 1987:3).

The history of advertising campaigns and different product development strategies and resulting types of advertising in the twentieth century (Wight, 1972; Fox, 1984), suggest that Williams’s views do have some validity. For instance, when the Cadbury’s advertising says ‘a glass and a half of milk’ (and this is pictured on the wrapper) people are not being motivated to buy Cadbury’s chocolate through associated symbolic meanings or social connotations of the brand, but because the taste actually confirms that good ingredients are being used. Or, supposing a brand of refrigerator uses seventy-five per cent less electricity than other

brands, and this fact is advertised on the basis of a huge annual cost saving in electricity consumption. The success of advertisements such as these (and in some instances, such as the Cadbury's example, a return to these forms after the failure of more symbolically-orientated advertisements), suggests that Williams's belief in the capacity of human beings to be sensibly 'materialist' is not altogether unsound. Nor should it be assumed that Williams's ideas have arisen due to an unfamiliarity with the discoveries of social anthropology. Williams's understanding of the term 'materialist' should not be confused with 'materialistic'<sup>19</sup>. Williams probably meant exactly what he was saying: that if we were *sensibly* materialist (or allowed to become more *sensibly* materialist, which he believed might be possible under different conditions), goods would then be assessed more for their use-value, without confusion through undue emphasis on their residual symbolic meaning. As a committed activist, Williams's adoption of a stance that might have mobilised advertising criticism as praxis (against monopoly capitalist criteria in production priorities and methods of distribution) would most likely have been intentional. The elevation of human choice in spite of the findings of social anthropologists would have been intrinsic to the humanism which permeates Williams's writings.

#### **CONSUMPTION AS A MEANS OF HEGEMONY UNDER A RESTRICTED ASPECT: RACIAL STEREOTYPING AS A CRITICAL APPROACH TO SOUTH AFRICAN ADVERTISING**

Having outlined some of the key of the debates of theoretically-informed advertising criticism, some repetition of earlier remarks about the South African context is needed. It is pivotal that the above observations are based upon theoretically-informed advertising criticism from a First World context. The Leftist critique has maintained that consumer advertising plays an important role in the advancement of consumer democracies, especially in post-World War II Europe. However, during this period, consumer advertising in South Africa was not advancing a consumer democracy of this order. The final section of this chapter will therefore explore the question about what sort of validity an essentially First World critique has in a situation such as South Africa during the 1980s, where the majority of the population had only limited access to consumer goods and services, and where whatever 'pacification' such goods and services might have bestowed was bound to have been limited? If a pacificatory aspect of hegemony is the normal ideological discourse of consumer advertising<sup>20</sup> in the First World, in what manner and to what extent did 'racial stereotyping' in South African advertising (television commercials) work to sell apartheid? Might racial stereotyping (especially its ethnic varieties) during 1960s and 1970s era of apartheid, and also during the earlier reform period of the 1980s, be considered to have been mediating a *restricted aspect of consumption as a means of hegemony*?

It is generally accepted that in the post-World War II period Afrikaner Nationalism was the applying instrument of racism in South Africa. However, a critical analysis of the relationship between the order of racial stereotyping in South African advertisements needs to consider the basis of consumption as a means of hegemony in terms of factors of economic as well as political conditioning. Only with respect to English-speaking whites (cultural descendants of the core capitalist centre) has advertising always been able to play a role in disseminating petty bourgeois stereotypes. Subsequent to the conversion of South

Africa into capitalism after the Boer War, even Afrikaners were for a considerable period not fully included within middle class consumption hegemony (O'Meara, 1983).<sup>21</sup> Thus, if historical material conditions precluded South African capitalism from extending a universalised bourgeois lifestyle to include the more substantial part of the black population, the capacity of advertising to extend the attendant petty bourgeois stereotypes would also have been constrained. From this position racial stereotyping in South Africa (in as far as its ethnic varieties are concerned) might be considered to have been mediating *a restricted aspect of consumption as a means of hegemony*. The reform of apartheid and faltering economic growth reveal a difficult and variously impeded movement towards a universalised bourgeois stereotype. It is thus that transition in the forms of racial stereotyping in South African advertisements might be considered to have been taking place between the general categories of ethnic, ethnic middle class, and a more universal or integrated all-inclusive non-ethnic middle class. The black middle class co-option or stabilisation aspects of Reform policy (which are discussed below) might have borne some vague similarity to post-World War II stabilisation of working classes in the advanced industrial countries. Advertising criticism from this source must be considered to be relevant and appears to have been informative to the account of Bertlesen (1985), and possibly of Frederikse (1986). But due to its African/Third World post-colonial nature, the South African capitalist industrial context also has some complex differences from such First World contexts.

There appears to be some latitude or relativity in the definition of 'middle classes' in the 20th Century, particularly of what constitutes the so called 'petty bourgeoisie'. A very important aspect of being 'middle class' is the form of consciousness that comes through the daily shaping of life with a regular and uninterrupted access to consumer goods and services (Leiss Kline & Jhally, 1986:3). With regard to the issue of class analysis, it might be noted here that working classes in the post-World War II consumer democracies have increasingly become identified as the petty bourgeoisie. As Williamson (1978:13) points out:

But in our society, while the real distinctions between people are created by their role in the *process* of production, as workers, it is the *products* of their own work that are used, in the false categories invoked by advertising, to obscure the real structure of society by replacing class with the distinctions made by the consumption of particular goods (Williamson, 1978:13).

These new middle classes or petty bourgeoisies comprise of a rather broad group of subjects with considerable range in income earnings and with varying 'lifestyles'. It is worth noting with regard to range in income that according to Schudson (1984:28):

... advertising tends to follow affluence. It is possible that the growth in sales or per capita sales that so many products have experienced in the past thirty or forty years is best explained as being a result of the general rise in disposable consumer income and the concurrent growth in consumer credit.

The nature of the black middle classes in South Africa is also a debatable matter. Those who constituted South African black middle classes during the 1980s reform era might have differed from conventional or post-World War II appraisals of middle classes in the First World. The South African 'black middle classes'

were still quite marginal in terms of qualitative aspects of middle class life, with comparatively little general rise in black consumer income or growth in black consumer credit. The following extract seems to confirm that a more general exposure and access to consumer goods and services, though growing, was still relatively limited:

Because of the high incidence of unemployment (and imprisonment), the average black customer's likely to take noticeably longer than agreed to complete his HP or account payments ... If a customer completes a 24 month commitment in only 30 months, we still regard him as a good one. (Sidney Ellerine, furniture retailer, as quoted in Special Report: Black Market, *Financial Mail*, 24 November 1978).

Nevertheless, even if access to goods and services remained relatively restricted when compared to First World standards, from the point of view of the majority of blacks who were unemployed any black person fortunate enough to have had a steady job might have appeared to belong to the black middle classes. In spite of an apartheid situation, some resemblance does exist with the development of middle classes in the First World. During the post-World War II period the South African political economy underwent various re-alignments within the given limits to consumption (Lipton, 1986). These re-alignments often coincided with changes in effective head-of-state (see Chapter 3). In spite of restrictive aspects, such as influx controls (to prevent migration of blacks from rural areas to 'first world' or urban areas), native African urbanisation and levels of employment continued to grow (Hindson, 1987). Consumption therefore did grow to some extent as a result of industrial growth and greater reliance on African labour. This process might be regarded as evidence of an underlying naturally occurring or organic social reform, as had been envisaged in terms of modernisation theory by O'Dowd (1964). The recognition of Indians and coloureds as middle class consumers might be seen to have come about somewhat organically during the 1970s, after these population groups increasingly began to be included in marketing plans for what had previously been conceived as the 'white market' (Sinclair 1985:60-2). This development seems to confirm that some organic development towards a racially integrated middle class market was taking place. The broadening of the constitution in the 1984 tricameral parliamentary dispensation, to include Coloureds and Indians might be seen to have followed this broadening of 'consumption'.

However, limitations to consumption in South Africa have meant that as long as apartheid prevailed, whatever has existed of the 'affluent society' remained mostly the preserve of white society. Consumer advertising continued to be directed primarily at the white petty bourgeois consuming aristocracy. Although South African media studies developed quite quickly after the mid-1980s (Tomaselli KG *et al*, 1986; Tomaselli KG *et al*, 1987; Tomaselli RE *et al*, 1989), surprisingly little attention was paid to consumer advertising relative to the considerable number of critical studies focussing on apartheid during the 1980s. In a social context where there was little effort to relieve the miserable economic and social conditions of blacks, 'theoretically-informed' criticism of the role of advertising in this capitalist society was slow to come forth. The most obvious response for critics of apartheid would have been to take advertising to task for *not* sufficiently *including* blacks in its so-called blandishments. The limitations to black

consumption in the context of white affluence spoke loudly of fundamental injustice. Thus for most of the apartheid period liberal positions and those of the more Marxists-orientated left coincided in viewing this deprivation as a negative social factor. Theoretically-informed critics could hardly point a finger at advertising as an instrument for the extension of *consumption as a means of hegemony* for capitalist interests in South Africa, while this development remained so markedly absent in relation to blacks. Under these circumstances advertising criticism such as that of Vance Packard, which focusses on unscrupulous manipulation, was likely to be prevalent. And, indeed, it appears that theoretically-inclined advertising criticism tended to concentrate more on gender issues (Frenkel, Orkin & Wolf, 1980; Friedman, 1986), or post-structuralist concerns (Coetzee, 1980).

During most of the period of apartheid the South African state was so structured that the government and the largest sector of capital to all intents and purposes seemed to be either disunited or in confronted opposition. However, from about 1979 until the 1984 Tricameral election, some degree of rapprochement occurred between English-dominated capital and the P.W. Botha government with regard to the policy of Reform and its implementation. This development possibly inspired the theoretically-inclined works of advertising criticism of Bertelsen (1985) and of Frederikse (1986). Such critical attention was probably alerted by reports that the business sector in conjunction with the government's 'Total Strategy' scenario planned to 'stabilise' black middle classes (e.g. see Hudson & Sarakinsky, 1986; Frederikse, 1986). The issue of any possible connivance between the business community and the government to structure consumer advertising so that it would be in tune with 'Total Strategy' during the 1980s, is of considerable interest to debates about the nature of the ideological role of advertising: that is, about whether this ideology occurs contingently or conspiratorially (see Chapter 5). During the 1980s there was a government sponsored co-option programme, but this in some respects was self-frustrated and contradictory. It was always intended that this programme should be reconciled with a still largely intact ethnic dispensation. This initially resulted in a strictly enforced genre of ethnic black middle class stereotypes in SABC-TV commercials on TV2/3.

The observations of Bertelsen (1985) were inspired through her semiotic analysis of the racial stereotyping in one the early vernacular television commercials broadcast after the TV2 channel began operating in 1982. This commercial for *Sunshine D* margarine is indicative of a particular moment of the early 1980s social and political context:

But who is this typical black man of the advertisements? Here we see the precise anti-thesis of material conditions. He is invariably head of a contented nuclear family ... well-nourished, loved and appreciated, contented and free... But it is freedom within a strict closure. He is free to consume. His happiness, his choices, his authority exists solely within the ambit of white society whose dream he inhabits, manifested here specifically in the advertiser's mythology. He is for the moment free to play at being a man. And where is the white man? He is everywhere, but unseen. His approving, normative gaze must be understood. For he is, in all this, the constitutive principle, the creator. (Bertelsen, 1985:7-8).



In terms of racial stereotyping the form suggested here is one that might be called incipient ethnic middle black class. The social context where this form was most manifest or dominant was during the pre-1984 period, while rapprochement between English and Afrikaner dominated capitals had not yet foundered and while the reform process under P.W. Botha had not yet been discredited. Bertelsen points the way towards a fusion of neo-marxist advertising criticism with South African social history. At the time, there seemed to be some limited but purposeful movement to extend consumption to certain groups of South African blacks, but this development was intended to take place in a selective, ethnic, and exclusive manner. It is this 'co-optation' issue that first attracted the interest of theoretically-informed analysis to South African advertising. However, while the P.W. Botha administration remained in office, this more actively reformist stance continued to be qualified through an insistence upon the preservation of the ethnic factor in state planning. This Reform scenario might thus be seen as a veneer imposed by a government in fact not fully committed to bringing legislation into consistency with long-standing underlying processes of black consumption. Reform during the P.W. Botha era was not being propelled by underlying processes of capitalism indicative of the emergence of *consumption as a means of hegemony* on a more universal basis. Politically imposed restrictions to movement to non-ethnic black bourgeois stereotypes were only fully suspended during the F.W. de Klerk in the beginning of the 1990s.

After the 1984 Tricameral elections, a parting of ways developed between the dominant English-speaking sector of capital and the P.W. Botha government. The early end of the so called 'rapprochement' prevented any coherent or planned approach between capital and the state from developing. Thus, short of having try to elucidate some underlying rationale or method out the ensuing confusion of the 1980s, no lucid 'capitalist' ideological plan ever existed to criticise<sup>22</sup>. Some important First World social critics suggest that the most sophisticated form of ideology in modern capitalist states during the second half of the twentieth century involves our daily life concern with consumer goods and services, and that this ideology is directed and fostered by advertising (Leiss, Kline and Jhally 1986:3-4; Jhally, 1987:1). However, this form *hegemony* certainly did not fully fit into the South African context while most of the population was still excluded from consumer status.<sup>23</sup> Supportable at more abstract levels of theory, perhaps, but criticising advertising on the basis that it was trying to give *more* consumer goods to the deprived majority was a rather difficult argument to put forth in the context of the harsh repressive measures most black South Africans had to live with.<sup>24</sup>

In terms of the role advertising is sometimes reputed to have played in the development of consumer democracies in the advanced industrial states, the translation of apartheid restrictions into media practices, particularly the SABC-enforced practice of allowing only ethnic language commercials to be broadcast to the *urbanised* black population through TV2/3, was undoubtedly 'dysfunctional' and retrograde. On the other hand, in respect of rural dwellers, who lived rurally according to continental African standards (and only spoke their vernacular), a case might be made, as per Mersham (1985), for the 'authenticity' of ethnic communication. Here, again, the intention of the government might well have been to entrench traditional cultures so that rural blacks would identify more strongly with their intended 'nations'. But it is unlikely that ethnic advertising always worked this way. Consumer goods, which methods of industrial mass production

have made possible, might be considered to inherently contain a universalisation of the bourgeois stereotype.<sup>25</sup> Thus in a rural context, the advertising of products in ethnic terms (and any related ethnic stereotypes) would have been contributing to the historical role which advertising has played in other societies: the gradual conversion of rural dwellers into consumers and ultimately attracting them to urban centres. Here, from a marketing point of view, education about consumer products as such was needed. The lifestyle and culture arising from the use of consumer products had not yet developed sufficiently. Therefore, in some instances, the ethnic contextualisation of consumer products might have facilitated their initiation by making such products seem culturally more acceptable (Van der Reis, 1967), an effect not necessarily supportive of apartheid in the long term.

In the case of urban blacks, the positive effects of naturally occurring structural reform on their standard of living had made them the chief consumers of a wide variety of goods. This process made it increasingly possible (and attractive) for marketers to achieve urban distribution for some of their products by advertising with a single campaign to all groups. This meant producing a single TV commercial in English and broadcasting on TV1 and TV4 (until the beginning of the 1990s the language requirement of TV2/3 still prevented the flighting of non-vernacular commercials). Significantly, large numbers of blacks were also audiences of the supposedly 'white' media, especially television, so it was often quite possible to reach the urban 'black market' by advertising on those channels alone. Also, according to market research (Corder, 1986: 14-17), educated South Africans of all races held fairly similar views and values. So with a little imagination and 'creativity', which after all are supposed to be the chief resource of advertising agencies, it is not inconceivable that the 'cultural gap' between blacks and whites could have been bridged. There are some indications that this was happening as, according to Green and Lascaris (1988: 114), the trend between 1979 and 1987 was for both blacks and whites to become consistently less unfavourably disposed to advertisements depicting whites and blacks together. After the mid-1980s, for example, beer advertising became predominantly non-racial (see Chapter 7). NB!

For most of the second half of the twentieth century, the brewing industry was an unparalleled example of monopoly capitalism in South Africa, as all brands were owned by a single company that successfully stifled attempts by entrepreneurial capitalists to establish themselves in this market<sup>26</sup>. However, monopoly in the instance of the South African brewing industry seems to have worked positively against media apartheid. By virtue of its monopoly it seems that this sector was able to combine unity of purpose with muscle in terms of advertising expenditure. The inhibitory barriers institutionalised within broadcasting and marketing, which tended to perpetuate regressive ethnic stereotypes in advertising to urban black audiences, were thus first overcome in beer advertising.

The most important form of 'racial stereotyping' of blacks in South African mass media, an emergent form during the 1980s, indicates a historical conjuncture where black media depictions did at last begin to be consistent with a conception of *consumption as a means of hegemony*. Blacks were depicted in progressively more middle class roles *without* differentiation on an ethnic or racial basis.

Various instances of this approach were already occurring in advertisements after the mid-1980s. Such 'integrated', 'multiracial' or 'non-racial' advertisements were a realisation of a so-called 'horizontal approach' to marketing that had been advocated in the late 1970s by Sandra van der Merwe (1979:13-18).<sup>27</sup> These earlier marketing theorisations suggest that some underlying material basis existed to inspire them. A later version of this principle, suggested by Sinclair (1985:66), conceptualised a non-racial segmentation of the South consumer market in terms of seven bands. This concept was further developed by Green and Lascaris (1988:17-25), in terms of what they referred to as a 'blobs into bands' scheme. It must be taken into account that during the 1970s and 1980s there was an underlying yearning, especially on the part of the English-speaking business community, to persuade themselves and others that signs existed of a natural or organic economic evolution that would carry the social formation away from apartheid. The statistics of black consumption do give some structural validity for this point of view.

With the adoption of the principle of integration in beer advertising (see Chapter 7), tentative instances of racially integrated advertising became more frequent, suggesting that an emergent new form in black social depiction had finally arrived. Instead of pejorative black racial stereotypes, or ethnic black racial stereotypes, or even ethnic black middle class racial stereotypes (by either setting or language), advertisements based on this type of approach depicted 'positive' black roles and situations. These depictions were usually of Westernised non-ethnic petty bourgeois blacks, sometimes incorporating a Rasta or 'proud-to-be-black' youth approach. These depictions might be considered as 'progressive' rather than regressive racial stereotyping in SABC-TV commercials. Presumably, these communications were targeted at blacks (and whites) whose psychological profile was conceived in what in fact amounted to progressively more middle class terms (see Corder, 1986:14-17).

Although non-ethnic black middle class stereotyping might suggest some relationship to affirmative depictions of people of colour in the First World, that is 'positive' stereotypes that were sometimes referred to by critics as 'token blacks', there was a fundamental difference. At the same time as being affirmative, a genuine underlying economic basis/marketing strategy for such advertisements in fact existed in the South African context. While 'affirmative action' in the advanced industrial democracies has sometimes in economic terms been more of a cosmetic or ideological factor, these black consumers of a developing South African industrial economy were not merely 'token blacks'. In this respect it could be said that advertising was performing its ideological role of 'psychic consumerisation' (Ewen, 1976) for monopoly capitalism. Until the arrival of F.W. de Klerk in 1989, these were early indications of an emergent form. This new form seems to have been underpinned by a combination of underlying structural economic developments upon the consumer market with the reformist discourse of the business sector (rather than with the government's brand of reformist discourse). The reformist discourse from the business sector in the second half of the 1980s can be distinguished from the reformist strategies of the government during the earlier part of the 1980s. But with the hesitant economic growth during the 1980s and without political change and greater capital transfer to black South Africans, it was still uncertain if non-ethnic black middle class stereotypes would be able to prevail within media practices. After the end of 1991 it seemed clear that a non-socialist

order would result from pending political negotiations for a more democratic state. Advertising was therefore bound to continue to play a prominent role in production and distribution decisions in a post-apartheid South Africa. Thus non-racial black middle class depictions in advertising were virtually assured to become the norm.

To liberal critics of apartheid this discourse would not have been identifiable as racial stereotyping. It would instead have been welcomed as a harbinger of the final demise of apartheid and foretaste of a non-racial democratic society. However, if considered from the point of view of a neo-marxist analysis of advertising (which as outlined above has been shared a diversity of Left-wing critics), some circumspection is required. Is it not in fact the non-pejorative, non-racial, non-ethnic depictions of the late 1980s and 1990s that should be regarded as the most insidious? From such a point of view, it would appear that advertising, no longer bridled to apartheid, would at last be able to freely render its ministry upon the working classes or proletariat in the manner it has been known to do in the advanced industrial democracies. Consumption in the form of an apparently universal middle class lifestyle would become inscribed as the alternative to what Williams ([1960] 1980:170-195), perhaps over-idealistically, had considered within the realms of possibility ... if there could have been 'true democracy'. The benefits of a more rational system of decision-making (than possible while the means of production and distribution remained in minority hands) might have resulted in an unpolluted environment, better health services and education, and so on.

However, a certain inconsistency begins to suggest itself when these observations from theoretically-informed advertising criticism are considered in terms of the South African context. In terms of the stage of development of South Africa's industrial base, either in the short or medium term, whatever growing affluence has existed amongst black South Africans has only been available to a relatively small minority. For at least the next two generations it is difficult to see how further economic growth on the basis of the present industrial substructure could possibly permit any appreciable growth in the number of black 'middle class' job holders or 'consumers' relative to those who will remain not privileged enough to qualify as consumers in the First World sense of the term. For most blacks the portrayed petty bourgeois lifestyles would have operated as a powerful stimulus for something worth striving for, as labourers or more likely in a struggling 'informal sector' (see Wilkinson and Webster, 1985; Rudman, 1988; Innes, 1987). Thus, monopoly capital in South Africa may have succeeded in shedding an apartheid system which so tellingly revealed the inequities of its social order in black and white for all the world to see (Saul, 1986). If previously outlawed organisations were in due course to become integrated in a new ruling oligarchy, the exercise of capitalist hegemony in South Africa will be placed on a more sound footing.

Finally, while drawing attention to the economic limitations to consumption in a South African context, one also should not lose sight of the fact that the development of apartheid was a complexly motivated process that cannot be explained entirely in materialist terms. Vectors of materialism have undoubtedly been powerful determinants in the integration and the disintegration of the formal apartheid system. But a narrow interpretation of historical material conditions does not fully account for the structural underpinning of

apartheid racial stereotypes. An equally important underpinning factor of apartheid, and the articulation of its racial stereotypes, was the colonial/post-colonial situation resulting in an unsettled dichotomy of nationhood between South Africans of indigenous African ancestry and South Africans of European ancestry. This matter will be explored more fully in Chapter 3. In this respect, ethnic stereotyping might be regarded as a manifestation of colonial racist ideology, attuned to the purpose of identifying and justifying 'borders' that in geographical terms did not always fully exist, but which apartheid logic sought to create and maintain.

- <sup>1</sup> Hegemony, "can be differentiated into its various economic, political and ideological regions" (Eagleton, 1989: 171).
- <sup>2</sup> In combination with other agents of socialisation, such self-identity gradually and in some respect temporally accrues from image associations that come with the possession of certain types of advertised goods or services. Thus, a form of equality is seemingly obtainable in a universe of fluctuating models of desirable self-identification that are purchasable together with certain types of consumer goods or services. For Baudrillard (1981), particularly, what the system of objects refers to is a status hierarchy signified by consumption.
- <sup>3</sup> Williams's 'structure of feeling' and Gramsci's conception of 'hegemony' are plainly akin (Ferrara, 1989:105).
- <sup>4</sup> To sell consumer democracy and further the 'pacification of class struggle' by disseminating laudatory middle class stereotypes.
- <sup>5</sup> Both Sinclair (1987:9) and Leiss et al (1986:20) single out the following statement as confirmation of the limitations of Packard's critical position: "Advertising ... not only plays a vital role in promoting our economic growth but is a colourful, diverting aspect of American life; and many of the creations of ad men are tasteful, honest works of artistry" (Packard, 1957:15). Following Baran and Sweezy (1966:132), Sinclair believes that Packard's work belongs to a tradition of American muckraking journalism. Some of this criticism is a perhaps a little harsh. Surely Packard was being slightly complimentary so as not alienate his contacts who had provided him information. Packard's later books such as *The Status Seekers* (1959), *The Wastemakers* (1960), and *The Pyramid Climbers* (1962), though albeit not in overtly Marxist theoretical terms, do tackle wider contextual issues. Packard's social crusade therefore continued beyond merely exposing a 'depth approach' or which he believed was being practised by some advertising agencies.
- <sup>6</sup> Philip Kleinman (1977), a British journalist who has specialised in writing about the advertising industry, believes that Galbraith's critique has been one of the most damaging and difficult to rebut effectively. More so than the more sensationalist-inclined critique of the same period, Vance Packard's *Hidden Persuaders* (1957), which is usually cited as major criticism against the advertising industry. The authoritative force of Galbraith's work may lie in the fact that while it is based within an analysis of the political economy of advanced capitalism, it comes from within the establishment, from an apparently reputable non-Marxist source. Perhaps, Galbraith has to be taken seriously because he cannot easily be faulted in terms of methodology and neither can he be simply dismissed as subversion.
- <sup>7</sup> A good example of William's emphasis upon practices and intentions, and of his resistance to formalism as a mode of thought, is his critique of Marshall McLuhan's conception of 'The Medium is the Message', Williams (1990:126-128).
- <sup>8</sup> In this respect, (conservative) prime minister Harold Macmillan's famous catch-phrase directed at the post-World War II working classes in Britain ('You've never had it so good') is perhaps noteworthy. A rather similar political advertising slogan ('You Never Had It So Good') was used by the Democrats in the 1952 US presidential elections (Rees, 1982).
- <sup>9</sup> From a liberal point of view (Bell, 1962), capitalism and consumer democracy encompassed the generation and distribution of greater wealth and the end of conflict over a scarcity of the essentials for human life.

- <sup>10</sup> Consumer democracy, like earlier forms of socio-economic organisation might be seen as a passing stage. In terms of twentieth century globalism, consumer (or market) democracy is increasingly coming to represent the optimum, as a system of economic organisation which might provide dignity and quality of life wherever it can become established. But in terms of technological and social evolution, this stage might in the future be superseded. Leiss (1976) suggests that, as it is practised at present, this order is a problematic one that will ultimately encounter its limitations through the destruction of the environment and exhaustion of the earth's resources. A recent report of the World Wild Life Fund (BBC World 3 October 1998) claims that human consumption is already approaching a level that the world can no longer sustain, with 30% of nature having been destroyed between 1970 and 1998.
- <sup>11</sup> Eagleton (1989:170) points out that Williams greeted the idea of hegemony with acclaim and put it to powerful use in his work; but one of the reasons for this might have been a certain hostility to the notion of ideology, for which hegemony possibly substitutes.
- <sup>12</sup> Contemporary with the Frankfurt School's radical or Marxist engagement of mass culture, a similar question about the need to conserve 'true values' against the culture of industrial society was also being raised by conservative cultural critics such as Leavis (1948) in Britain.
- <sup>13</sup> Published in a collection of some of Benjamin's writings, *Illuminations*, Fontana, Glasgow, 1979.
- <sup>14</sup> In some respects Julie Frederikse's *A Different Kind of War* (1986), where she discusses advertising and marketing in relation to 'Total Strategy' during the PW Botha years of reform in South Africa (see Chapter 5), suggests a view bearing some similarity to Ewen's (1976) position.
- <sup>15</sup> The "reason why" approach was pioneered in the 1920s by Albert Lasker (Lasker, 1987) and his copywriters J.E. Kennedy and Claude Hopkins (Hopkins, 1927). "Reason why" is the logical outcome from a basic idea which was first enunciated by J.E. Kennedy, that advertising was 'salesmanship in print' (O'Toole, 1981). Although this observation might now appear rather obvious and dated, it had profound implications in its time. In his book, *Scientific Advertising*, Rosser Reeves (1961), presented what has been an influential treatise for what he called a "unique selling proposition" (USP) approach to advertising. Although Reeves's USP approach led to some extreme or distorted applications, it is essentially a re-statement and further sophistication of the "reason why" tradition. This approach tends to be more limited to products that can actually be differentiated from each other, that have a specific difference that can be presented as a viable USP (Trott, 1979). Applying a USP approach to products that are much alike, or whose differences are not very tangible (such as perfumes, beer, or cigarettes) becomes more problematic. But even in such cases, thinking in terms of USP can help clear up confusion by providing a sound starting point. For example, conception of the advertising for Heineken beer, one of the most remarkable British advertising campaigns of the 1970s and 1980s ("Heineken Refreshes the Parts that Other Beers Cannot Reach"), is clearly derived from a USP approach that has been applied to a product without any very tangible intrinsic difference (see Mayle, 1983). With most brands of beer on sale in Britain being reasonably palatable, this campaign is in effect paradoxically trying to be 'sensibly materialist' by claiming a rather unlikely use- advantage over other beers. This is an advertising concept for the advertising connoisseur, as it implicitly comments on advertising history, advertising criticism, and the evolution of different advertising approaches. The disarming humour of the Heineken campaign derives from the fact that the claim is so manifestly deceptive that nobody can reasonably claim to have been deceived. The result of this approach is a different type of advertising campaign that can be very successful and long-running without primarily relying on stereotypically-related image connotations for its branding. Advertising for products that are more difficult to differentiate from their competitors usually tends to appeal more to the emotions than to the senses. Such advertising thus tends to be based more on suggestion than persuasion, and be more creative and 'soft-sell', than basically quantitatively research-based and 'hardsell'. It was the idiosyncratic reactions to extreme applications of USP, or interpretations of it, by William Bernbach (Bernbach, 1965; Fox 1984) and by David Ogilvy ([1963] 1986), that came together to form the foundation international advertising agency methodology in the 1980s and 1990s. It is primarily on the basis of this body of knowledge or understanding about products, alongside with knowledge about consumers and media, that claims can be made for advertising to be a discipline (Mayer, 1958; Pope, 1983; Fox, 1984; Schudson, 1984).
- <sup>16</sup> However, in *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* Althusser (1971) is critical of the ISA conception and rejects it.
- <sup>17</sup> Williamson's reference to 'absences' in the 'structure' of advertisements, which the receivers of the text are intended to fill, should not be confused with the conception of 'structured absences' (Chapter 7).
- <sup>18</sup> Williams's words are actually: "It is often said that our society is too materialist, and that advertising reflects this. We are in a phase of a relatively rapid distribution of what are called 'consumer goods', and advertising with its emphasis on 'bringing the good things of life', is taken as a central reason for this. But it seems to me that in this respect our society is evidently not quite materialist enough, and this paradoxically, is the result of a failure of social meanings, values, and ideals" (Williams, [1960] 1980:185)
- <sup>19</sup> One can have little doubt that Williams is very specific in his use of words. In *Keywords* (1976), Williams adopts a historical approach to trace the shifting forms and meaning of politically relevant words, including Materialism. Williams's use of the term 'materialist enough' should be assessed in relation to his own self-identification as a 'cultural materialist'. "He will out-Marxize the Marxists by going the whole hog, extending materialism full-bloodedly to cultural practices too; but in thus pressing Marxist logic to an extreme, he will undo the base-superstructure distinction and so retain a certain critical distance" (Eagleton, 1989:6).
- <sup>20</sup> To sell consumer democracy and further the 'pacification of class struggle' by disseminating laudatory middle class stereotypes.

- <sup>21</sup> Consistent with their underclass status, the ideology of the English-speaking media persisted to stereotype Afrikaners as culturally inferior well into the 1970s. Only when Afrikaners in sufficient numbers were deemed to have adopted the appropriate petty bourgeois outlook did such negative stereotypes begin to recede.
- <sup>22</sup> Although the research in Chapter 7 will show that after 1984 a dramatic change began to emerge in the advertising of Castle Lager, such instances of black affirmation in advertisements seem to signal the growing conflict of interests between the largest sector of capital and the government, and as suggested earlier in this chapter, due to the peculiarities of the South African situation this development met with what might be described as a relatively quiet approval from liberal as well Marxist-orientated critics of apartheid.
- <sup>23</sup> During the 1960s and 1970s no overt attempt was made to 'stabilise' black middle classes through an extension of consumption. In response to rising black wages advertising might gradually have been contributing to such an effect, but this was nothing alarming enough to alert theoretically-informed to advertising critics. Consumer advertising continued to be largely concentrated on whites (the white market) who controlled most of the disposable income for consumer products.
- <sup>24</sup> Indeed, from a departure point of theorisation suggested earlier in this chapter (Williams, [1960] 1980), the impression might tentatively arise that the Bantustan policy in South Africa possessed some unintended merit by virtue of the fact that it denied or restricted integration into the first world sector, and therefore denied access to consumption. Verwoerd had rejected the *Tomlinson Report* which had advocated the purposeful development of the reserves through government and business sector investment (Marquard, 1969:37-40; Hindson, 1987). However, by that stage the reserves were no longer performing their earlier purpose of cushioning the impact of Western culture on a primitive subsistence economy. The livelihood of blacks whether they lived in the reserves or a white area depended on the economy of an industrialising South Africa. The conception of tribal lands could not be reconciled with a modern industrial economy as tribalism had received its death-blow with industrialisation. Apartheid, with its emphasis on ethnicity and 'separate development', could never restore or contribute anything to the chain of indigenous culture development that had been interrupted by foreign invasion and colonialism, instead it restricted the efforts of blacks to come to terms with industrial society. For even as Williams ([1960] 1980:188) concedes, 'consumption', which industrial production makes possible, is within limits a satisfactory activity.
- <sup>25</sup> Even if such goods are not directly related with petty bourgeois stereotypes in their advertising, in the longer term access to such goods alters the mode of living from pre-modern culture to modern.
- <sup>26</sup> The 1990s a rival brand, *Windhoek Lager* from Namibia, did begin to make successful inroads in the South African beer drinking market.
- <sup>27</sup> Sandra van der Merwe was a leading South African marketing executive in a largely male dominated field. She was also an author and professor of marketing at the University of Witwatersrand Graduate School of Business Administration (see *Financial Mail*, 25 January 1980, pg. 283). She had worked her way up the ranks of commerce from the retailing industry and rose into prominence in the 1970s and 1980s but later settled in Switzerland.

## **POLITICAL ECONOMY OF RACIAL STEREOTYPING IN SOUTH AFRICA**

This chapter outlines some important aspects of the post-World War II South African political economy which have underpinned the ensuing forms of racial stereotyping. The fact that South Africa is by no means a fully-fledged consumer or market democracy<sup>1</sup> is of key importance to this study. Some attention will be given to how South Africa was interlocked with broader international relations during the post-World War II period. South Africa's position as a peripheral western state in the context of the Cold War was conducive to the apartheid project. It is possible to distinguish different eras in terms of various Nationalist Party administrations of the government. Apartheid reached its zenith in the premiership of H.F. Verwoerd (1958-66), thereafter beginning a gradual process of dissolution. During these eras the apartheid system might be seen to have undergone several modifications or involuntary stages of experimentation. By the end of the 1970s, underlying organic processes for change in South Africa had gathered greater momentum. In particular, problems related to black urbanisation, labour legislation, permanent residential rights for blacks, and the right to own property in areas deemed to have been part of 'white' South Africa could no longer be sidestepped. Some important groundwork to address these problems had already been started by the government during the B.J. Vorster era, but this only came into fruition during the P.W. Botha era. The institution of an official policy of reform came at the beginning of the 1980s with a growing rapprochement between the business community and the government under P.W. Botha. However, after the 1983 Tricameral parliamentary dispensation was strongly rejected by the excluded black majority, the business sector (particularly English-dominated capital) distanced itself from the government.<sup>2</sup> By the end of the 1980s South Africa's location within the broader international context was becoming increasingly tenuous, partly as a result of the growing success of anti-apartheid organisations, and particularly because the strategic significance of this country was greatly diminished with the Cold War drawing to a close.

One of the most distinctive characteristic about the term 'racial stereotyping' as it has been applied in South Africa is that it has also tended to encompass what might be called 'ethnic stereotyping'. (The nature of ethnic stereotyping in South Africa will be explained more fully in Chapter 4, where it is discussed with relation to the SABC-TV broadcasting dispensation.) This distinguishes South African racial stereotyping from the common sense understanding of racial stereotyping in the advanced industrial or market democracies, where its meaning has been limited to pejorative representations of blacks or other ethnic minorities. Forms of racial stereotyping similar to the pejoratively-inclined depictions of minorities in the advanced industrial democracies also occurred in some South African advertisements, but for reasons which will be explained below these were more limited. Thus, the uncritical application of the term 'racial stereotyping' to describe certain of the ethnically sensitive practices in South African mass media, is not entirely unproblematic. During



the reform period of the 1980s use of the term 'racial stereotyping' in South Africa might implicitly have identified some specifically apartheid-related practices with a fundamentally different order of racial stereotyping that had occurred, or was still in some instances occurring, in the consumer democracies (or more lately market democracies) in the advanced industrial states.

Any study of racial stereotyping in South Africa needs to pay particular attention to the practice of applied ethnicity. In a situation where ethnicity is actually being enforced, it permeates all social practices. Its prevalence even in what might be supposed to be ideological apparatuses such as broadcasting, must amount to more than merely an ideological practice. As in other African countries, colonialism (or more particularly, also the process of industrialisation in South Africa), destroyed or eroded the material basis for the perpetuation of traditional cultures. In situations where large numbers of a pre-industrial population are being attracted to urban centres, and where their indigenous cultures have been detached from their originating productive bases, the intuitive or common sense formation of self-identity in the consciousness of these subjects is bound to be problematic. As a new urban-informed class culture begins to take shape, the normal course of events might be for 'ethnic' remnants from an old cultural formation to become residual in folklore. In First World contexts, state intervention has usually been directed at promoting the assimilation of diverse ethnic groups within an overriding national culture, as in the case of the United States in the 1920s (Ewen, 1976).<sup>3</sup> As will be outlined in Chapter 4, the intentions of SABC-TV2/3 to address this problem in the 1980s were limited by contradictory apartheid objectives. Parameters for the re-generation of ethnicity were specifically designed in broadcasting policy so that political division of the indigenous population could be emphasised and perpetuated (Tomaselli RE *et al*, 1989:153-176).

Although racism was generally reformed in the West after World War II, it is contended that South Africa's problematic location in a threatened international capitalist hegemonic order during the Cold War was also one of the key underlying factors preventing the state<sup>1</sup> from adopting an assimilative course in relation to blacks until the late 1980s. It was principally this context that enabled Afrikaner governments to assert authority and (within some limitations) play out Afrikaner grievances and paranoia resulting from earlier experiences of British imperialism. One of the results of this legacy for the indigenous black population was that ethnic remnants from a past form of existence (one that had been interrupted by the arrival of European settlers and colonialism), came to be revitalised and nurtured by post-World War II Afrikaner-dominated government. These ethnic remnants were projected as definitive cultural formations and became underpinned through the identification of 'different nations' or 'Bantustans' and the creation of 'homeland governments'.

Although the principle of 'divide and rule' on the basis of ethnic differences is not a South African invention, after World War II South Africa was unique as a capitalist economy and Westernised English-speaking country where the discourse of ethnic separation was being applied on the larger part of the population with such visible political motivations. As Docherty (1981:40) observed:

The development of capitalism in South Africa has been characterised by the continued use of institutionalised violence, both in order to secure a cheap labour supply (and thus extract a vast amount of surplus value) and to keep the source of that labour supply economically and politically powerless. In no sense therefore has hegemony, which implies class-rule by consent of the subordinated classes, been obtained over the entire social formation. Where hegemony has been relatively successfully achieved is within the ideological unity of 'the white population'<sup>5</sup>.

Racial stereotyping in the advanced industrial democracies has possibly worked to constrain the employment opportunities of immigrant minorities, or is an indication of residual racist sentiments at certain levels of the social formation (Hartmann & Husband, 1974). In South Africa, some of the practices that were termed 'racial stereotyping' during the period of apartheid were intended to perform a far more central and complex purpose. This is not to say that blacks or ethnic minorities in the advanced industrial democracies have been fully integrated within the hegemony of the state, but as minorities their threat posed to the status quo has been very limited compared to the case of blacks in South Africa. If, as Docherty (1981) suggests, the black population fell outside the scope of hegemony, the ethnic variety of racial stereotyping (to be discussed below) must be seen more as an ancillary to the so-called repressive apparatuses than as simply ideological. Probably more akin to 'institutionalised violence', it might be located somewhere between the sphere of ideological practices and the repressive arm of the state. If not part of 'the violence of the state', ethnic racial stereotyping, communicated by means of an ethnic media dispensation, was closely related to it. Ethnic stereotyping might be seen as having belonged with other fundamentals of apartheid social engineering, such as influx control, forced removals, group areas, Bantu Education<sup>6</sup>, the Bantustans, etc. In the 1980s, during the final phase of apartheid, media practices based on ethnic stereotyping became components of a system whereby the dominant culture of the ruling tricameral ethnic alliance, attempted and to some extent succeeded, in determining the shape and form of the subordinate cultures of the majority of the population by defining the different shades of ethnic consciousness amongst black South Africans. These stereotyping practices can be seen as aspects of a repressive apparatus because they were underpinned by the institutional machinery of the government. But in so far as affecting the way whites viewed and related to blacks, all South African racial stereotyping practices have operated in a more conventional ideological manner.

The research and theoretical works on racial stereotyping in the advanced industrial democracies, have concentrated on *minority* groups (see Chapter 1) and are not readily applicable to the South African context<sup>7</sup>. The situation of blacks in the South African social formation differed obviously from that of blacks in the advanced industrial democracies. Though blacks in South Africa were darker-skinned they were not in reality a racial minority or labour migrants from former colonies. While the Bantustan project still remained intact, Afrikaner Nationalist ideology indeed tried to entertain such an analogy. But broader international credibility about the justice of such a dispensation was never likely to be attained (see Tomaselli, Louw, Tomaselli, 1990). The government failed to acquire stakes in international information systems (as for example revealed

by the Muldergate<sup>8</sup> information scandal), which might have provided the necessary advantage in agenda-setting and discursive manipulation.<sup>9</sup>

An overview of the South African situation during the post-World War II period presents a contrasting picture with what was occurring in the more advanced industrial states. While the countries of Western Europe in particular were undergoing economic growth and becoming more democratic, South Africa was also experiencing economic growth, but the new government in power was instituting apartheid and entrenching an undemocratic state. Whereas in the advanced industrial democracies increased consumption has been 'necessary' for stabilisation, money circulation, and realisation of surplus value, it seems that one of the 'functions' apartheid came to serve was the facilitation of a system of local resource rationing necessary to South Africa's peripheral capitalism. After 1948, apartheid deflected pressures for a broader extension of consumption that democracy might rapidly have converged onto capital. This breathing space provided for further capital accumulation and concentration. There is no reason why capitalism could not have gradually eroded apartheid (eg. Lipton, 1986), while apartheid was at the same time 'functional' to capitalism by ensuring that such erosion of material deprivation remained a gradual enough process with which capital could cope (without sacrificing any of its own growth momentum). Thus, contrary to Lipton (1986), 'dysfunction' at some particular points of the system need not necessarily mean that apartheid was 'dysfunctional' to the overall long term, as well as many other immediate interests of South African capitalism during the post-World War II period.

After 1948, South African capitalism was only required to acquiesce to the cost of a relatively limited extension of 'consumer democracy' to encompass poor whites (mostly Afrikaners) — through a tax burden and implicit socialism in the further development of the parastatals which provided for job opportunities and Afrikaner upliftment. To facilitate the development of the parastatals and state created jobs, a diversion of local and international loan capital from the private sector to the public sector persisted till about 1979 (Natrass 1981:83-4). Thus, after World War II, the political importance of consumer democracy and therefore advertising came to function quite normally in respect of all whites. Within the ideological unity of this group, achievement of hegemony<sup>10</sup> was relatively successful. In the later phase (1980s onwards), when the advanced industrial democracies had developed into their post-industrial stages as stable consumer democracies, South Africa was becoming more democratic by reforming apartheid. But by this stage reform had to take place within a context of a downturn in economic growth and a dramatic upswing in population numbers. It would therefore seem that an opportunity had irretrievably been lost. The ideal moment for general social responsibility in South African state planning, and for the extension of consumer democracy, would have been in the immediate post-World War II period. This might possibly have been achieved by expanding on the limited black social mobility which had taken place during the war, while economic growth to finance it was steady and while demographically the population numbers that had to be reached were far fewer. Post-World War II political developments for South African blacks however followed a different course. 'Democracy'

continued to be denied to most of the population<sup>11</sup>, and so did its attendant palliative of consumption continue to be available only on a limited basis. Even worse for blacks, whatever improvements their status had acquired during World War II<sup>12</sup> were being reversed:

Urban Africans — the workers, businessmen, and professional men and women, who are the pride of our people in the stubborn and victorious march towards modernisation and progress — are to be treated as outcasts ... Every vestige of rights and opportunities will be ruthlessly destroyed (Mandela, 1965:70-71).

During the period of rapid economic growth in the 1960s and 1970s organic intellectuals of South African capital, such as O'Dowd (1964), had predicted that economic growth and a rising standard of living would in due course displace apartheid. O'Dowd's work thus implicitly conceded a material factor to have been dominant in apartheid.<sup>13</sup> But by the early 1980s, after it had been realised that rapid growth in the economy had clearly faltered, some captains of industry were claiming that "the cake has not been big enough"<sup>14</sup> to be shared round. The business sector was now canvassing for 'deregulation' as a means of overcoming economic stagnation. By implication, too much regulation was seen as being the main cause of stagnation (Wassenaar, 1977).<sup>15</sup> The growing view amongst the business sector during the second half of the 1980s was that if market forces were released from what were being perceived primarily as apartheid-related restrictions, a form of economic growth consistent with increased employment and an extension of consumption would occur more or less naturally in a free market situation. (This was supposed likely to take place if the government could have been persuaded to make the requisite reforms for a lifting of economic and cultural sanctions and renewed investment from abroad.) But this sudden faith in reduced government regulation was inspired more by monetarist economic theories dominant in Britain and the United States during the 1980s (see Innes, 1987), than specifically from any analysis of the South African context. It would seem that these theories were integral to the ideological front underpinning the Reagan/Thatcher policies of sustaining or fostering economic growth, while switching from state-sponsored social or consumption-related programmes in favour of increased military spending in preparation for the final stage of confrontation in the Cold War.

In South Africa deregulation was being linked by some members of the business community (e.g. Green & Lascaris, 1988) to the putative virtues of a 'Third World Destiny', practised in some apparently successful and 'non-racist' capitalist countries such as Brazil.<sup>16</sup> A dual economy was envisaged, comprising an official sector and an unofficial sector euphemistically considered to be 'more vibrant'. The Brazilian example of a 'multi-racial' society which allows for great contrasts between a few huge fortunes and dire poverty and political impotence for the majority, was considered particularly attractive as a model for future South African development.<sup>17</sup> But ideas for the future continued to be confused and seemed to alternate between uncertain scenarios. As an incentive for rapid transition to black majority rule, the West from time to time suggested the possibility of a 'Marshall Plan' for a post-Apartheid South Africa<sup>18</sup>. Arguably, some major assistance to make transition stable might have been owed to South Africa by the advanced industrial West

whose post-World War II prosperity had been advanced through the importation of minerals from South Africa at price levels too low to have been possible from any form of labour organisation other than that provided by apartheid. But such arguments were misplaced, as in the case of South Africa nothing on the scale of a 'Marshall Plan' (which had provided the basis for the establishment of post-World War II consumer democracies in Europe), was ever likely to be forthcoming.

Firstly, in the case of post-World War II Europe, the Marshall Plan had been intended to reinforce the strategic interests of the West in general and extend economic interests of the United States in particular. Though South Africa was strategically important during the two world wars, and during the Cold War, it has seemed far less so in the 1990s. Secondly, in the case of South Africa, actually stabilising the country by transforming a population that to a considerable extent remained unurbanised and with low levels of education, would in relative terms have required considerably more resources and time than had been necessary for 'stabilisation' of post-war Europe. The conditions of the South African context have differed considerably from those anywhere in the advanced industrial democracies during the post-World War II period. The key concepts of advertising criticism from advanced industrial countries no doubt do bear some relevance to South Africa, because Third World societies are forced to attempt their long term development within a larger framework imposed by those countries. However, it is not easy to discern which period of earlier development, from which advanced industrial country, most readily resembles post-World War II South Africa. No exact parallel is really possible. In some respects, what has been claimed to have been the role played by consumer advertising in capital's integration of diverse immigrant cultures in the United States during the 1920s (Ewen, 1976), might be more relevant to the South African case than post-World War II stabilisation in Europe. A parallel between the United States in the 1920s and the South African reform context derives from mainly two factors. Firstly, like the South African industrial base and local monopoly capitalism, the substructure and monopoly capitalism of the United States were at an earlier stage of development in the 1920s. Secondly, some parallel might exist in the forging a middle class consumer society in the United States (out of an ethnically diverse and potentially explosive mixture of immigrant working classes), and South Africa's need to overcome post-colonial Third World problems which have been further exacerbated by apartheid's applied social disintegration.

### **POST COLONIAL OR CRYPTO COLONIAL?**

Those subjected to media racial stereotyping in South Africa were the indigenous inhabitants who constituted the bulk of the labour force. They vastly outnumbered the dominant white group who were mainly descendants of settlers from the European countries that today form part of the main advanced industrial democracies. On the one hand, if compared to the United States, Canada, or Australia, South Africa can be seen as a case of imperfect colonisation. Unlike South Africa, these former colonies developed into advanced industrial democracies with populations which are, in principle at least, fully integrated. Under the strain of massive European immigration, their indigenous

inhabitants had by the end of the 19th century, generally ceased to be of any political relevance, or economically important as labour. In this respect it must perhaps be conceded that in spite of the ravages of conquest, oppression and apartheid, 19th Century British liberalism and South Africa's Christian missionary tradition generally operated much more effectively in protecting 'aboriginals' than in other former colonies where the activities of white settlers were less carefully monitored (e.g., see Rutherford, 1988). The future will be in a better position to judge whether capitalist utilisation of labour from the indigenous population in South Africa should be seen as destructive or constructive. Exploitative as this might have been, integration into the colonial economy nevertheless empowered the indigenous population by socialising them into industrial society and by making them indispensable components of the economic system, even during the later period when apartheid was supposed to exclude them.

The fact that the descendants of pre-colonial indigenous inhabitants strongly characterised the nation (in spite of apartheid) has made South Africa unique amongst Western industrial societies in the New World. South Africa's African character has been preserved, while at the same time a more general transformation to petty bourgeois consumer society still remains incomplete. Although the colonial bourgeoisie may have wished for such a transformation to come about, they were for the most part only able to conceptualise this in terms of a state excluding the indigenous African population. For example, Jan Smuts was an Afrikaner visionary and Boer<sup>19</sup> general who having fought against Britain during the Boer War (1899-1902), later played a key part in the conception of the British 'Commonwealth' as an entity within which a future South Africa would play a prominent First World role (Hancock and Van der Poel, 1966-1973). But not unlike his fellow imperialist bourgeoisie peers<sup>20</sup>, Smuts was never able to identify indigenous black populations as full citizens of South Africa or of other Commonwealth states (*ibid*). After 1948, this inconsistency matured into fully-fledged apartheid. While the international world order had become considerably transformed in the post-World War II period, Afrikaner-Nationalist governments nonetheless desperately clung to the idea that South Africa was a fully integrated member of the West or First World.<sup>21</sup>

Another way of looking at South Africa under apartheid, is from the perspective of the rest of Africa. From this point of view South Africa could to some extent have been conceived as an African country still embraced by earlier patterns of colonialism. Though to all intents and purposes recognised internationally as an independent state, from an African perspective, and possibly according to principles sometimes applied in the critical analysis of international imperialism, South Africa retained certain aspects of 'imperfect decolonisation'. In the early part of the 20th Century, in the more industrialised part of the world, Britain had developed various mechanisms through which government in the colonies mostly devolved to the settlers. Consistent with their many purposes, the constitutional forms that evolved might be seen to have also concealed the imperialistic expansion of the then dominant superpower. Among terms that have been used are 'representative government', or 'responsible government', or 'dominion status', and eventually even 'full independence' in the post-World War II period. The earlier of these forms mostly

delegated control of important vested interests to a class of local 'owners' or managers, who were emigrants or descendants from the colonising power.<sup>22</sup> Initially the interior ruling classes or local managers were almost exclusively of European origin. In the post-World War II period, a more sophisticated variation of this comprador mechanism came to operate, through the bourgeois classes of independent African states, and even the ruling classes of the more revolutionary independent states. These classes eventually found it necessary to come to terms with Western institutions such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the mostly United States based transnational companies that regulate the relationship between the Third World and the advanced industrial states led by the United States (Rodney, 1972; Hayter, 1971).

This account is not meant to diminish the significance of local historical events whereby former colonies gained independence. What *is* suggested is that whether or not always overtly apparent, a considerable amount of residual influence has continued to reside in the former colonial powers or their successor, the United States. Such external influences must be borne in mind when considering the 'political economies' of the more peripheral Western states. At the same time, it must also be taken into account that South Africa has had some unique features in 'post' colonial African history. The South African economy did not revolve entirely around the export of primary goods. By African standards, local capitalism had achieved an exceptionally high level of secondary industrialisation. A considerable service sector had also developed.

#### **LARGER CONTEXTUAL DYNAMICS**

Some key shifts in the South African political economy had occurred as early as the 1920s. South Africa's indigenous black population already formed an integral part of the industrial labour force. Thus, in terms of structural dynamics some limited upward mobility, with all the commensurate effects this might have had on economic, social and government structures, was already called for (see Johnstone, 1970). Without losing sight of the fact that the search is for a more accurate analysis of apartheid rather than for apologies, it must be considered that such a course of action by capitalists in South Africa would have been inconsistent with the dominant norms practised in Europe and the United States, at that time still strongly prejudiced on a racial basis. Thus, while the pre-World War II essentially racist international agenda prevailed in the metropolises, successive generations of ruling classes in South Africa were able to safely ignore any need for reform. It should be remembered that 'segregation' or apartheid was still legally practised in the United States, the very heart of advanced industrial democracy, right into the 1960s and 1970s. This means that contradictory influences upon South Africa continued to radiate from this powerful source even after World War II.

Atrocities committed by Germany during World War II were a manifestation of racist thinking taken to the full inhumanity of its logical conclusion. The shock of World War II atrocities brought about a period of self-introspection within the developing entity of an 'international community of

nations'. The League of Nations, which had been founded at the end of the World War I, was replaced by the United Nations at the end of World War II. The principle of non-racism was enshrined in the founding charter of the United Nations. There was a major retreat from most of the more obvious facets of racist dogma in the manner that the Western democracies conducted their relations. The Soviet Union, whose socialist ideology already outlawed racism, came to have an advantage in relating to the Third World. Somewhat erroneously, the Russians appeared (especially to black Africans), as the only European power never to have been actively involved in the colonial exploitation of non-whites, even prior to the Soviet Union<sup>23</sup>. In the post-World War II period, the Soviet Union systematically championed the rights and interests of Third World countries in order to gain diplomatic advantage over the West (see Gromyko, 1989). This complex situation in the international context had profound implications upon white-ruled South Africa. On the one hand the West's diplomatic interests *vis-à-vis* Africa and the rest of the Third World placed it under pressure to compete with the Soviet Union for influence, making it pretty clear that South Africa had to be left out on a limb. Yet at the same time, while the Cold War prevailed, it was also important to Western strategic thinking that a 'dependable pro-Western government' should be in power in Pretoria.

The complexity of vested interests has strongly affected how influence or international hegemony<sup>24</sup> of the metropole capitalist centres is exercised. Such influence is difficult to determine as it is more often characterised by inaction or omission rather than action, and by tacit understandings and unspoken agreements rather than open declarations. As much as through international conferences and signed agreements and treaties, decisive politics have also a habit of transpiring more silently through a coalescence of interests of divergent groups<sup>25</sup>. Such perhaps was the case in South Africa in the post-World War II period leading up to 1948. In this respect, it is interesting to compare Jan Smuts's decisive play in 1939, when he took South Africa into the conflict on the side of Britain, with a rather less-spirited display against the Afrikaner Nationalists in the period leading up to 1948 and afterwards (see Hancock, 1968). In a new context the options and possibilities for further creative politics were limited to a player encumbered by the baggage of a previous era, Smuts knew that the time had come for him to opt out (see Hancock and Van der Poole 1996-1973). For divergent reasons, the Afrikaner Nationalist victory at the polls and the subsequent severance of the British link became a matter consistent with dominant interests (except those of black South Africans). English-speaking white South Africans had long identified with the British connection. Afrikaner Nationalists hankered after a republic, while for the metropolitan power it became increasingly apparent that the South African interests would constitute acute embarrassment and political liability in a new non-racial British Commonwealth.

These interests represented themselves in a new tacit coalition between capitalists and the white working classes in South Africa. Though capitalists may not have appreciated the finer points of apartheid with the same insipid alacrity and enthusiasm of the Afrikaner ideologues, in practice they condoned apartheid because it was convenient. After World War II, the political infrastructure of English-dominated capital found itself culturally too close to the official position of its allies in the



West, and therefore would have been vulnerable to political pressure from them. Neither side could have wanted such a scenario to come to pass. The security of western interests in South Africa might have been jeopardised as external political pressure would have found itself more duty-bound in terms of the post-World War II value system (or according to its public performance on the international political arena) to exert itself upon any undemocratic regime controlled by fellow liberals. On the other hand, the more insular Afrikaner political tradition could both position itself and be positioned as the forthright or unreasonable 'White Tribe of Africa' (Harrison, 1981; Tomaselli *et al* 1986), sturdy Voortrekker opponents of 'international communist conspiracy'. Thus, the post-World War II storm of African decolonisation, was successfully ridden out by opting for a Republic and severing ties with the British. The options involved were few, and the events that transpired could not have been unpredictable to western strategies in the game of international power politics.

After their defeat and subjection to capitalism in the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902), Afrikaner Nationalists had variously been effectively prevented from accession to state power. But according to popular mythology, Afrikaner Nationalists are held to have successfully mobilised themselves through their various organisations or institutions to seize control of the state by 1948. The efficacy of such Afrikaner mobilisation has been given a fair degree of research attention (see O'Meara, 1983; Dunbar Moodie, 1975). But given the initially marginal nature of the 1948 Afrikaner Nationalist victory, one wonders if the myth of Afrikaner cultural and economic mobilisation would have gained the same historical prominence had Afrikaners finally failed to secure the government, as might well have been the case had this not actually been in the broader post-World War II interests of the West. There is some evidence of financial assistance given to an Afrikaner Nationalist publishing group by mining capital during this period (Potter, 1975:70). 'Assistance', consisting of more covert measures such as 'political inaction' is difficult to measure, but the possible magnitude of its implications should not be underestimated<sup>26</sup>. Subsequently, the English fraction of South African capital and English-speaking South Africans generally performed as an opposition of limited effect in organisations such as the United Party or Progressive Party.

During the 1970s and 1980s there was much South African academic debate regarding the relationship between capitalism and race or racism, whether apartheid was 'functional' or 'dysfunctional' to capitalism<sup>27</sup>. This equation underpinned the question as to whether or not capital was structurally in complicity with apartheid. But given the intensity with which the West was consumed in perceiving the Soviet Union and communism as a threat during the post-World War II/Cold War era, the correct formulation should be what would have been *more* dysfunctional to capitalism: apartheid or the instability of rapid progression to black majority rule, during an era when South Africa might have become aligned with the then Soviet-orchestrated Third World? This conception might go some way in explaining the theoretical anomaly whereby the English fraction of capital (that has always dominated the capital sector) appeared to be politically impotent from 1948 until the latter half of the 1980s. Given the choice between black majority rule and Afrikaner rule, at an earlier stage at least, Afrikaner rule being more familiar and predictable, was therefore

deemed to be a lesser of two evils. An alternative approach to 'separate development', as apartheid came to be called, would have been the early adoption of a single South Africa national strategy designed to at least gradually merge all South Africans into a single nation. As is well known, the opposite procedure was followed. But even so, the history shows that Afrikaner Nationalist governments were in the long run not completely free to operate in whatever way they might have wished. One might say that their relative autonomy was in final instances limited by the requirements of the capitalist substructure.

On the level of international diplomacy, governments of the metropolitan industrial centres increasingly criticised the racial policies of the South African ruling classes after the end of World War II, as was incumbent on them to do in terms of the United Nations Charter. A rather visible signal of this discourse of disapproval was Harold Macmillan's 'Winds of Change' speech to the Cape Parliament in February 1960. This speech was apparently meant to serve notice to South Africa (and to black African states), that her racial policies were not acceptable to the West, and that if a choice had to be made between the friendship of two hundred million blacks and four million whites, there would be no question about how Britain would choose (Marquard, 1969:24). Up until the death of Hendrik Verwoerd in 1966, South African governments responded to criticism by insisting upon another principle of the United Nations Charter, that of non-interference in another state's internal affairs. But later, the crumbling of such resistance gave birth to the early stages of political reform. Intervention in the Angolan Civil War during the B.J. Vorster era (see below) was an important turning point. This event affected the international standing of South Africa in a complex manner: a certain matrix consisting of a new sovereignty, insularity, and whatever claims to 'innocence' that might temporarily have accrued through the 1961 'rebirth' as a republic were forfeited. With this new republic, Afrikanerdom had also implicitly freed itself from the imperialism it had been subjected to by the Boer War. However, with intervention in Angola, B.J. Vorster joined South Africa in a pact with the imperialism of the United States (see Johnson, 1977:133-163). Subsequent to Angola, Afrikaner governments became much more susceptible to international criticism. A country that had so visibly intervened in the affairs of another, could hardly continue to insist that other countries should allow it to solve its own problems.

In practical terms, opposition to apartheid in the earlier years had only assumed the form of sports boycotts and a United Nations resolution banning the sale of arms. Some Western nations indirectly violated the arms ban by providing technological assistance to the South African government, so that self-sufficiency in the manufacture of armaments could be achieved (Klare, 1979; Rogers, 1979).<sup>28</sup> While the struggle between Nato and the Warsaw Pact prevailed, South African governments were often able to find some leeway in a deeply divided world of conflicting interests. But by the 1980s, when reform in South Africa had relatively speaking gathered a fair degree of momentum, one finds that the previously mainly vocal opposition from the West had also finally gathered itself into practical measures. Economic sanctions such as disinvestment, trade embargoes of South African products, the calling in of loans and a refusal to provide new loans, the cancellation of landing rights to South African Airways by some countries, put the economic squeeze on South Africa.

A chain of interrelated causes can be identified for this seemingly contradictory rapid deterioration of South Africa's international standing in the face of reform. Possibly images of unrest and its forceful suppression in the 1980s (which were at first widely publicised in the relatively more open society of the P.W. Botha era), helped to toughen public opinion in the West against South Africa (Tomaselli RE, 1989). During its early period, while still brimming over with self-confidence, the Botha government had agreed to participate in the popular American *Nightline* television programme, in a special series on South Africa. It is possible that South Africa's department of foreign affairs naively believed that *Nightline* offered an opportunity to put 'South Africa's case' persuasively across to Americans (See Tomaselli KG, 1986b). However, the motives behind the American network's interest were probably more calculating: to make South Africa an issue in domestic American politics. In an unequal bout that followed with the vastly more complex and powerful ideological discourse of the centre of advanced capitalism itself, the fledgling but relatively puny South African attempt to sell the virtues of reformist apartheid was more than smothered in the first few minutes. As far as positively influencing American audiences, the experiment was an unmitigated disaster from beginning to end. In the final episode of the series, P.W. Botha himself was interviewed and came across in a rather poor light. Reminiscent of the techniques used to give Richard Nixon negative connotations in the Kennedy/Nixon debates (McGinnis, 1969), camera positioning and lighting were calculated to make P.W. Botha appear quite ominous, while rhetorically he was cornered into reinforcing every negative stereotype American viewers might have held about Afrikaner nationalism.

Another cause adding to the intensification of international pressure upon the South African state in the face of reform, might have been the very fact that even with the limited concessions of the New Constitution of 1984, and implementation of the new Tricameral Parliament, Pretoria itself had at last been forced to concede in front of the gaze of the whole world that the legitimacy of its previous constitutional status had in fact been in question. The price paid for a betterment in international relations in the earlier phase of the P.W. Botha government, when the black population remained relatively tranquil, proved to be restrictive when a new phase of unrest broke out. Unlike Sharpeville in 1960, or the Soweto uprising of 1976, the wave of internal resistance in the 1980s could no longer be smothered by resort to force. And, unlike previous eras, international pressures against South Africa in the latter half of the 1980s assumed a more threatening form. On this occasion, diplomatic censure came also from various advanced industrial democracies in western Europe that Pretoria had always considered allies. A semi-withdrawal of international recognition from this quarter cast doubt on the very legitimacy of the South African state, as constituted, and must have been a severe psychological blow for Pretoria.

In terms of the denouement that took place in the Cold War, these developments might be taken as an indication that post-World War II history was now marching against the apartheid state: the West no longer found its interests in South Africa important enough to make continued co-operation with Afrikaner Nationalism necessary. Along with the many diverse factors that had contributed to the survival of apartheid, the East/West confrontation during the Cold War undoubtedly played the most

vital role. Repressive regimes in the peripheries of Western capitalism, from South America to South Africa, were typical in underdeveloped countries in the uneasy post-World War II/Cold War period. In terms of the perceived 'communist threat', continued existence of regimes even more repressive and deplorable than South Africa did not only have to be tolerated by liberal opinion in the advanced industrial democracies, but many such right-wing regimes were openly or covertly sponsored by these countries. But with the advent of the reformist Gorbachev and his policies of 'perestroika' and 'glasnost', the Soviet 'enemy' began to crumble and disintegrate seemingly by itself without even a shot being fired. An uncertain concept of the 'New World Order' came into prominence. However, the indications were not entirely promising about the 'New World Order'. While the United States appeared to be concerned about the spread of nuclear weapons technology or chemical weapons, there was no indication that advanced industrial states intended to bring about any curtailment to their own manufacture and marketing of armaments.<sup>29</sup> What did seem likely in the 'New World Order' was that conflict between the West and the old Soviet Union through proxy wars would no longer prevail. Consequently, Pretoria's doggedly unwavering dependability had become a dispensable factor in future calculations. Reduced too was the much-touted importance of South Africa's strategic minerals, because rather than wishing to deprive the West of such materials, Gorbachev's new Soviet Union urgently needed 'investment' or 'aid' from the West for which these previously scarce strategic minerals and other resources were gladly being exchanged.

Broadly, one may conclude that during the post-World War II/Cold War period the more hawkish and confrontational the constellation of Western governments towards the Soviet Union, the less pressure South African governments experienced to reform apartheid. In periods when more liberal politics prevailed in the West, when either democrats were in power in the United States or Labour in Britain, South Africa found itself more prominently on the defensive.

#### **FORMATIVE ERAS OF SOUTH AFRICAN RACIAL STEREOTYPING**

The South African state variously adjusted to change in the key factors affecting it during the post-World War II period. As outlined above, these factors involved a complex interplay between South Africa's relationship with the centre of gravity to which Western nations aligned themselves. This interplay orchestrated itself around South Africa's links with its main trading partners, and around the all important political relationship with the United States as superpower and dominant Western state. But added to this interplay must be the key dynamic of South Africa's own internal political economy, which includes the phases of political dissent of the mainly black South African working classes. If viewed over a period of time, one can see that these adjustments to change have made some cultural forms once taken for granted in respect of black/white relations, seem increasingly less tenable. There is no clear cut-off point between the termination of one stage and the beginning of another: earlier forms may sometimes continue alongside the newer emergent forms that at times may be wrestling with forms currently dominant. In this respect, Williams's (1977:121-7) concept of dominant, emergent and residual cultural forms, is very useful. In the case of South Africa, the different stages to which cultural forms are attached must be seen to have occurred in a more rapid sequence.

than in the English social formation (from where Williams derived his concepts, from a process which he called "The Long Revolution").

It is useful for analytical purposes to further sketch some of the highlights of the political history of apartheid and related eras in the social formation. These eras seem to structurally underpin some of the key categories within which racial stereotypes directed at the indigenous African population have been generated. Although cultural forms, and especially stereotypes, are most typical during the eras when their structural underpinning is what one might call the dominant order, such forms can be resilient to change, often continuing to be structurally reinforced under changed conditions, and thus active beyond what might appear to be their particular eras (Perkins, 1979:151). Some difficulty exists in ascertaining the beginning of 'reform' in South Africa, because reform as structural organic change was already occurring at various levels before it became official policy (see Hindson, 1987).

It will not escape the notice of future historians that the three consecutive leaders preceding F.W. de Klerk, on whom the effective power of the South African government rested, left office under precipitous circumstances. To anyone who lived through this period it will also be apparent that social changes were not phased and gradual between changes in leadership, but accelerated initially after each new leader re-appointed the hierarchy of his administration. During this period South Africa was a unique member of the Western world. The ruling government gradually had to face the opposition of not only the Eastern Bloc and Third World countries, but also that of its own strategic allies. The South African situation became not too dissimilar to that of some South American countries during their less democratic stages. However, South Africa, as a former British colony and largely English-speaking country, was far more sensitively linked to the media networks and therefore the consciousness of the advanced Western democracies.

#### **VERWOERDIAN APARTHEID ERA (1958-1966), ETHNIC STEREOTYPING**

The birth of an officially supported policy of ethnic stereotyping is to be found in the post-1948 period. In terms of unofficial or 'naturally occurring' reform this period was actually regressive. It saw reversal of any limited gains black South Africans might have made in establishing a petty bourgeois class during World War II. Segregation was further developed, culminating in Verwoerd's theorisation of apartheid doctrine around the Bantustan concept. Ethnic stereotyping is intrinsically related to the Bantustan policy.

This period coincides with mass relocations of blacks in terms of apartheid town planning and the geographic and population incorporation required to make the Bantustans a reality. It was the period when influx controls were being strictly enforced on the flow of black labour to industry. This was the time when the purposes of Bantu Education Act of 1953<sup>30</sup> were being extended. It was the period of strict apartheid. But it was also a period during which apartheid had definite direction and

consistency and was considered a feasible project by a large proportion of South Africans of European ancestry. Afrikaners and many English speakers alike were persuaded by Verwoerd's republican rhetoric, which consisted of a talent for combining a forthright and simplistic analysis with unusual clarity of thought and presentation. Popular white support for apartheid was demonstrated in a referendum amongst whites on the issue of a Republic in October 1960. The removal of the British Crown as constitutional head-of-state was imperative if the apartheid project was to proceed unimpeded. This strategy was perhaps not entirely satisfactory because at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference held in London in March 1961 Verwoerd was forced to withdraw South Africa's application for continued Commonwealth membership due to strong opposition from mostly Third World member countries led by India (Davenport, 1991:360-1; Menzies, 1969:198-210).

The implementation of Verwoerd's apartheid plans had required the calling of a state of emergency to counter internal resistance from the black population. In March 1960, 69 black pass law protesters had been shot dead at Sharpeville, triggering off a major flight of foreign capital and focusing world attention on the policies which had directly led to this tragedy. Verwoerd however managed a dramatic recovery, based on tight fiscal policies and the importation of white skilled labour. The period was subsequently characterised by one of the highest rates of economic growth in the Western world.

In the larger context, a period of relative complacency followed after internal black resistance had been crushed. This was assisted by the fact that at that stage South Africa still enjoyed some measure of reassurance internationally, through the support of a few powerful world leaders of the old school. For instance, the prime minister of Australia, Robert Menzies (1969:198-210) was supportive, and the President of France, Charles de Gaulle supplied Mirage jets and other military hardware in exchange for gold bullion. However, by 1963, the United States under J.F. Kennedy was already seriously antagonised through a race-related diplomatic incident where Verwoerd had insisted that black American sailors serving on visiting American warships should not be allowed shore passes because they would be required to observe petty apartheid restrictions. Verwoerd probably more than any South African leader before or since, actually believed and acted as if South Africa was an independent sovereign state almost on par with its former World War II allies.<sup>31</sup> By arbitrarily creating borders and placing groups within those boundaries and then aspiring to give them 'independence', Verwoerd's Bantustan policy was most audacious in the fact that it mimicked earlier actions of the imperialist superpowers. But what was lacking was sufficient influence at the centre of the capitalist system and in the United Nations Security Council to legitimise this aggression. What is rather difficult to explain is the fact that despite the notorious nature of the apartheid he was building, Verwoerd actually commanded a certain degree of awe and respect internationally as a major world leader, while he was still alive. On the 6th of September 1966, Verwoerd was stabbed to death in parliament at the point when he was about to make an important policy speech (Davenport, 1991:367). Although apartheid continued for decades after Verwoerd, his death was followed by the slow degeneration of the system he had not so much invented but rather was able to fashion with his idiosyncratic interpretation of the circumstances he had found on hand.

### **B.J. VORSTER ERA (1966-1978), PEJORATIVE RACIAL STEREOTYPING**

In principle, pejorative racial stereotyping is inconsistent with the strict practice of theoretical apartheid. It is a catalyst for affirmative action and a precursor to assimilation. When applied to media practices, strict apartheid would require all representations to the coloniser ruling classes (whites) to totally exclude (or 'structure the absence'), of colonised indigenous people. This absence should include the black working classes, even if in actual fact they continue to 'minister to the labour needs' of the coloniser. It is probable that one of the less openly voiced reasons why the National Party (while still under Verwoerdian control) had resisted pressure from English-dominated capital for the introduction of television, was precisely an understanding that, even with separate channels for each group, perfect exclusion would never have been possible.<sup>32</sup> Under Vorster, who was more inclined to appease English-speaking capitalists than Verwoerd, the state was at last allowed to take the plunge and enter the television era with a limited service aimed at whites. But rather than allow any degree of free enterprise participation, which English-dominated capital might have preferred, all television had to be under the firm control of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC).

Although little else with immediate effect was done in the post-1966 era to overturn the major tenets of Verwoerdian apartheid, there was a gradual 'running out of steam' in the planning for the long term application of the system. At the same time, important structural changes within the economy began to occur, (such as the entrenchment of monopoly capitalist interests in industrial production), which made the positive realisation of Verwoerdian apartheid seem less likely.

Cautious of reactionary right-wing elements still within his own political party, B.J. Vorster cultivated a public impression that he did not tolerate even the least bit of interference or advice from the business community. In practice, however, Vorster was more of a pragmatist in his dealings with private industry. It is not surprising therefore that Vorster enjoyed a relatively positive portrayal from most the English press. Related to structural changes within the economy, the Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions of Inquiry were instituted.<sup>33</sup> The implementation of the recommendations of the Wiehahn and Riekert reports in the P.W. Botha era represented a major departure from a Verwoerdian blueprint that had envisaged economic growth exclusively on the basis of the importation of skilled white labour migrants, rather than the training of blacks. The Vorster era must therefore be seen as the formative period of official reform.

Vorster also launched an outward-looking policy and made some immediate minor reforms to petty apartheid as part of his bid to improve relations with black African states. At one point he even made a 'give us six months' speech (to reform). However, intervention in the Angolan war at what might appear to have been the behest of United States secretary of state, Henry Kissinger (Johnson, 1977:133-163), put an untimely end to South African 'detente'. Previously, South Africa had consistently preached to other countries in Africa the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of another country, but this doctrine was all too readily abandoned when called upon to participate in the Cold War calculations of the West.

The Vorster regime was one of severe repression in the form of press censorship, bannings, house arrests, and intimidation of activists, refusal of visas to foreign journalists and churchmen and their frequent deportations. Vorster ruled with an iron fist, with the aid of a shadowy organisation called the 'Bureau of State Security' (BOSS), headed by a General Van den Bergh. The Soweto riots<sup>34</sup> which broke out in 1976, resulted in further isolation of South Africa. Television was finally introduced the same year (1976), broadcasting alternatively in English and Afrikaans. A popular Black Consciousness activist, Steve Biko<sup>35</sup>, was killed while in detention, leading to further erosion of whatever remained of South Africa's international standing after the debacle of the Angolan war. Widespread corruption under Vorster culminated in the so-called Muldergate scandal (Rees and Day, 1980). Fallout from this debacle led to the collapse of the then government.

### **P.W. BOTHA ERA (1978-1989), ETHNIC & NON-ETHNIC BLACK MIDDLE CLASS STEREOTYPING**

In the post-Muldergate era<sup>36</sup> (1979ff), power shifted to the Cape caucus of the National Party, considered to be more liberal than Transvaal Nationalists, who at that stage were supposed to be more conservatively inclined (eg., Mann, 1986; Lipton, 1986; Charney 1983). The Bureau of State Security was disbanded or redesigned, as were the more overt trappings of a police state. Reform officially began with relaxation in the control of information — books of authors critical of petty-apartheid were un-banned, and suddenly appeared prominently displayed on the shelves of bookshops. Film censorship was also somewhat relaxed as the Directorate of Publications freed itself from Dutch Reform Church influence and developed more systematic class-based controls (Tomaselli KG, 1988). These media adjustments can be interpreted as material manifestations of a changing ideological agenda. Meanings and practices previously excluded from hegemony were now being included. It is not unfair to infer that the dominant ideological currents were now operating to gently prime the white electorate for the planned 'New Constitution' which was to include people of colour -- a dramatic change for many whites still conditioned to think in diametrically opposite terms by Verwoerdian ideology.

For whites, at least, the early Botha regime was relatively a more liberal and open society than they had previously enjoyed. It was probably intended that South Africa could be governed in a more subtle manner, by reliance on sophisticated forms of ideological control, rather than the crude repressive machinery of the state and routine censorship favoured by B.J. Vorster. The 1980s were thus an era when communications media acquired particular importance politically (Tomaselli KG *et al*, 1987; Tomaselli RE *et al*, 1989). During this era, the government attempted a shift to what might be called ideological apparatuses rather than repressive apparatuses as its primary means of social control. Had this move succeeded, South Africa could have acquired the trappings of an advanced industrial democracy rather than those of repressive developing nations at the peripheries of Western influence.

The P.W. Botha government had come into office with the wind firmly in its sails. A dramatic rise in the price of gold, temporarily achieving an almost incredible level of over US \$850 an ounce (see Davenport, 1991:409) during the initial stages of the Afghanistan crisis, contributed to a short-lived economic boom of



1980-81. Ronald Reagan, who replaced Jimmy Carter as President of the United States, was more friendly towards South Africa. Reagan re-armed the West in the wake of the Russian intervention in Afghanistan and restored a deep-chill in East-West relations, reminiscent of the Cold War in the fifties and sixties. In this new scenario of international tension, South Africa seemed a strategically important ally again. Thus, under an umbrella of what came to be called 'constructive engagement' a certain degree of overt United States support for South Africa followed during Reagan's first term of office. This windfall for the South African government was further augmented by the emergence of the staunchly 'pro-South Africa' Margaret Thatcher, who replaced the relatively left-inclined British Labour Government under James Callaghan. In South Africa this confident period under Botha was also characterised by extremely good relations between the government and the local business sector, whose support, expertise, and advice were openly enlisted at various specially convened 'conferences' (Mann, 1986).

The recommendations of the Wiehahn (unions) and Riekert (urbanisation) Commissions of Inquiry were implemented. TV2/3 began to broadcast in January 1982 (see Chapter 4). But after 1982, South Africa moved into a deep recession. The negative effects of this recession on the black working classes combined with the exclusion of blacks from the new constitutional dispensation, led to the emergence of a formidable oppositional force organised under the banner of the United Democratic Front (UDF). A long spate of uncontrollable township unrest followed. This eventually led to the declaration of a state of emergency — something which the government had seemed to want to avoid as much as possible. Return to increased repression of earlier eras represented a failure of P.W. Botha's initiatives of reform. In the eyes of Western governments, P.W. Botha had been expected to replace crude methods previously employed for maintaining the compliance of the indigenous African population during less sophisticated eras, not to renew such methods.

P.W. Botha's new constitutional dispensation included a transformation of the South African system of government from the Westminster model inherited from Britain to an executive presidency. This gave P.W. Botha the power to grant reforms to blacks far beyond anything South African prime ministers depending on white electoral support, were capable of in the past. One can surmise that P.W. Botha's propulsion into this position was quietly being orchestrated by the Western powers, especially Britain (see Barber et al, 1982). Policy-makers in Britain, other parts of Western Europe, and the United States, were well aware of how effectively the apparent veto of settler electorates could function as a stumbling block to reform in their favoured dependencies. P.W. Botha had fallen into the trap of assuming powers which he then could not bring himself to use to destroy apartheid. Such 'radical' adjustment to the nature of the South African state proved too foreign to P.W. Botha's formative experiences as a politician. P.W. Botha proved to be quite unyielding to the wishes of South African capital as well as to international pressure, in some respects closer to Verwoerd than to Vorster. This became apparent in the so called 'Rubicon' speeches<sup>37</sup>, which apparently were anti-climactic to the expectations of overseas and local capitalists, whose business interests the crisis appeared to place under stress (see Allison-Broomhead et al 1986). After a short illness, and what might be seen as a putsch amongst the South African ruling oligarchy, P.W. Botha was succeeded by a more 'conciliatory' F.W. de Klerk.

F.W. de Klerk appeared to be more studied and sensitive to the political requirements of the new moment, able to interpellate himself beyond only the discourses of local politics, a man more cut out to implement the post-Cold War peripheral conflict cessation scenario in South Africa, and therefore also more acceptable to the West.

### **RETHINKING REFORM AND APARTHEID**

Being such familiar terms to most South Africans, 'reform' and its object 'apartheid' might seem to have been quite self-explanatory. But before one can critically analyse developments in South African television advertising in relation to the context of reform, one must first have a 'good sense' rather than a 'common sense' understanding of these terms. Only then does the inherently contradictory nature of reform in South Africa become apparent. In actual fact, reform is always a somewhat nebulous concept because it encompasses an interplay between theoretical principles, ideological factors, and material developments. Precisely because political reform invariably includes an ideological component, its meaning (both in theory and in practical applications) should never be expected to be straightforward.

In the case of 'apartheid', here too the ease and frequency with which the term was used to describe South African conditions sometimes tended to conceal a complexity that was far from self-explanatory. When the term apartheid is examined critically, it is also found to encompass some intricate relations. The most important feature of apartheid in the analysis of racial stereotyping was undoubtedly the manner in which it stratified the indigenous African population into different groups and reintegrated them in terms of racial characteristics that identified each group with a certain Bantustan. It is generally acknowledged that apartheid was not simply an irrational policy premised on racial differences, that it was also designed to enforce extreme racial inequality, thereby facilitating the exploitation of mainly black labour by the white owners of the means of production. However, despite the importance of such broad economic elements in the structural underpinnings of apartheid-related phenomena, such as ethnic racial stereotyping, it is also necessary to consider another factor in order to understand the situation more fully. Apartheid *did* also include a psychological or irrational factor and this fact made it difficult for any Afrikaner Nationalist government to design or abide by any clear blueprint for reform. Any blueprint necessitating progressive introduction of genuine reforms would have threatened what Afrikaner Nationalists at the time saw as their dominant position within white hegemony. It is quite important to notice such irrational aspects that limited the scope of reform. This question will be further touched upon in the following chapter in the course of outlining the conservation of 'ethnic black middle class stereotyping' in SABC-TV commercials during the P.W. Botha reform era.

This less rational element of apartheid and its reform in fact radiated from an insecurity common to settler societies in many parts of the world. It cannot strictly speaking be racial in origin. It stems from an inherent fear or guilt regarding legitimacy of 'title to the land'. In countries where the indigenous peoples have not

been completely exterminated<sup>38</sup> (or are in the process of being so), this tension manifests itself in their continuous subjugation. For example, strong taboos have continued to exist in the United States with regard to the media portrayal of indigenous Americans. The case of chief Johnny Big Tree, is edifying here. This chief of an indigenous American tribe had been the original model for the bust minted on the Indian nickel coin. When in the mid-1960s chief Johnny Big Tree was found to be still living, it was decided by the editor of *Esquire* magazine and its advertising agency to feature him on the front cover of an edition carrying an article on indigenous Americans (Lois, 1979:246-7). The fact that this particular edition achieved the worst sales in the magazine's history, was at that time attributed to an aversion to publicity about indigenous Americans by its target market, middle-income Americans. George Lois, one of America's most famous advertising art directors, admits that in creating this cover, he overlooked a prevailing discourse which (at the time) required a 'structured absence', as far as indigenous Americans were concerned. Racism practised against black minorities in the United States and in Britain is of a different order and obviously *does not* include this motive, whereas the discreet oppression of indigenous Americans in the United States and in Canada, certainly does. The position of indigenous Australians or aboriginals (Rutherford, 1988) has been quite similar to that of indigenous Americans. It is difficult to sustain a view that this sort of oppression is merely informed by racism. Apartheid to some degree also combined this particular element in addition to its more closely observed racist and labour exploitation elements. In a colonial situation, 'racism' masks the unredressed colonial crimes against humanity perpetrated by the original Western colonising nations and their settlers. In the type of segregation practised against blacks in the United States this has obviously never been a key issue, because their negro slave ancestors possessed no better title to the new land than their invading white settler masters.

Problems of guilt and fear within the colonial psyche, particularly fear in the case of South Africa, account for the often so-called 'schizophrenic' or contradictory behaviour of the state in dismantling apartheid. National Party politicians, especially in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, could not have manipulated the 'swart gevaar' (black danger) card so effectively, had the capacity to do so not already been inherent in the situation. 'Swart gevaar' was really a misnomer for the danger of the indigenous inhabitants that had been proletarianised by capitalism, and who in this colonial instance happened to be black. These implications become clearer when considered in relation to H.F. Verwoerd's repeated claim: "this is our country, we have no where else to go". Verwoerd and P.W. Botha made a similar mistake of thinking that they could overestimate the importance of the Afrikaner nation at the expense of the dynamism and momentum of economic forces. There were several occasions during the deepening crisis of the P.W. Botha era, when steps towards national reconciliation, requiring the abandonment of key apartheid components, seem to have been impeded by this very insecurity. This may have been the underlying reason why P.W. Botha's ill-fated Rubicon speeches failed to satisfy international opinion (see Allison-Broomhead et al, 1986). The international community, especially Europe, were simply expecting too much from some quarters of their colonial offspring in South Africa. In the de Klerk era, when major reforms to apartheid at last seemed in the offing, General Olusegun Obasanjo, an eminent visitor to South Africa from Nigeria, seems to have been conscious

of this endemic insecurity when he tried to conciliate and reassure white South Africans with the following statement: "Africa is your home and you have no where else to go, and it is also our home and we have no where else to go..." (SABC-TV Newscast, July 1990).

### **REFORM: BETWEEN MATERIAL CONDITIONS AND POLITICAL RESPONSES**

Reform was by no means unique to the final stages of South African apartheid. It crops up at various stages in the political history of many countries. In the context of the industrial revolution and the struggle for political democracy in England, Edmund Burke had claimed:

Reform is not change in the substance or in the primary modification of the object, but a direct application of a remedy to the grievance complained of (quoted in Williams, 1958:27).

The usual course for conservative opinion to follow, when forced to introduce reforms, is not to resist them altogether, but to avoid schemes of wholesale innovation or radical reconstruction. Reforms in South Africa were perhaps being conceded with some similarity to this pattern. Indeed, P.W. Botha was very stubborn and hesitant in conceding reforms under pressure. P.W. Botha had been instituted as head of a state whose integrity (as he saw it, according to his interpellation), was now being challenged by the call for major change in 'substance and primary modification'. The South African state was firmly in the orbit of Western culture, and administered by people who shared similar values to the major Western countries. It also was perhaps slightly unfounded for critics from those fundamentally conservative states to have expected the application of reform here to have been discursively different from the application of reform there. The implication (possibly to some extent true) was that South Africa was in fact some sort of autonomous Western colony, different of course from the dependency of many African states, but with limitations to its sovereignty nonetheless.

The intention or application of 'reform' as a 'political discourse' should not be taken to mean anything more than its literal meaning: retaining the original with varying degrees of alteration to its shape (see Allison-Broomhead et al, 1986). In practice, 'reform' becomes a political relationship to underlying structural processes. But it would be untenable for analytical purposes, to consider South African 'reform' simply as a one-sided 'political discourse' of 'the ruling National Party' without paying due attention to an interplay between structural processes and political responses to them. According to the interpretation of O'Dowd (1964), reform would have come about almost naturally in South Africa, through structural change from a South African 'long revolution' of sorts, in an era of sustained economic growth. This is not to say that had sufficient economic growth occurred, the issue of national dichotomy between a settler state and the tentative state of the indigenous African population would have disappeared as a problem that sooner or later needed to be addressed and possibly resolved. Due to disproportionate population growth relative to economic growth, the pace of naturally occurring or organic reform turned out to have been much slower than expected, and by the 1980s, some sort of 'quick fix' was required. Structural

problems within the order of the political economy and its related social formation had developed into what was termed an ‘organic crisis’ (Saul, 1986), with the danger of spontaneous change in the form of an uncontrollable violent revolution becoming a distinct possibility. As was pointed out above, it was no longer politically possible to correct this organic crisis within local capitalism by resorting to further repression, as might have been the case in earlier eras.

From the professed point of view of the English-speaking white middle classes, it had generally been hoped that ‘reform’ should ideally be a process of transforming South Africa from apartheid into a Western-style capitalist ‘multi-racial’ or ‘non racial’ democracy. This was the ideological packaging of reform which the white middle classes had liked to play ball with for as long as possible: it was a ball that would only go through the goal posts tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow. In fact, the economic underpinnings to make this possible did not exist. On the other hand, the more radical left-wing scenario of massive wealth redistribution and nationalisation of certain key capitalist assets, (such as the wording of the *Freedom Charter*<sup>39</sup> could have been taken to imply), was equally unrealistic within the context of dominant international economic relations. Ultimately, any black majority-ruled South Africa would have had to depend on trade, foreign investment, loans and aid from the West, in order to achieve economic growth.

If apartheid was an economic structure based on racial inequality in which class was determining, by replacing exploitation on the basis of race with exploitation entirely on the basis of class, it might in theory have seemed possible to achieve a type of reform acceptable to the West. But without some degree of wealth redistribution, or very rapid wealth creation, the removal of formal apartheid legislation would have exposed an even more dramatic class division. Without a vibrant and growing economy, the practical side of reform, black upliftment, would have placed an apartheid government electorally in a difficult position. It would have been necessary to lower the standard of living of working class and petty bourgeois whites. During the 1980s and 1990s a progressive lowering of the standard of living of whites did in fact occur, as a result of rising black wages and a reduction of the various channels of state patronage to whites. By then, however, the political repercussions of this change were apparently buffered by a structural shift in the social formation resulting from a larger proportion of the National Party electorate having become more middle class, and thus less affected (see Charney, 1983). Also important, were the changes made to the constitution by P.W. Botha. These changes had in fact weakened the veto power previously held by the white electorate.

The main point is, however, that limiting the state’s system of discriminatory socialism, which provided its benefits preferentially to working class or poorer whites, could not divert sufficient funds to similarly raise the living standard of a far greater number of poor blacks. Sufficient economic growth and an increase in new job opportunities were a prerequisite to a satisfactory improvement in the standard of living of blacks. In the absence of growth in the economy, other avenues for restructuring had to be sought. Thus, after the mid-1980s, those who perhaps continue to fulfil the role of organic

intellectuals for South African capitalist interests were no longer thinking so much in terms of O'Dowd (1964). Instead, a new rhetoric was being formulated around the putative virtues of a 'Third World' or Brazilian scenario: 'deregulations', 'the informal sector', 'free enterprise' and so on, became key terms (Green and Lascaris, 1988; Rudman, 1988). At the same time, the standard of living of some urban blacks was apparently being raised to form what was termed 'black middle classes'. But give and take the differences and attrition between English-dominated capital, Afrikaner-dominated capital, and the Afrikaner-controlled government, the underlying economic structure based on a massively disproportionate distribution of wealth was to be left largely intact.

The severity of crises reform is supposed to manage can vary. While controlled reform can correct structural problems it seeks to overcome, as has been the case in the English social formation (O'Dowd, 1964; Williams, 1958), a danger also exists that reform itself might be overcome by the very structural processes it seeks to modify. I understand National Party reform policy during the P.W. Botha era to have been intended as a partial suppression of racial inequality which would not have fundamentally disturbed the underlying economic and class-race organisation. While the P.W. Botha government was no doubt all too aware of the obvious pitfalls in the implementation of reform, it had no clear blueprint on how to go about avoiding these. The objectives of the P.W. Botha government's reform agenda were more complicated than those of capital. Both the National Party government and the business community as a whole obviously wished to preserve the capitalist economic system, but the government also wished to preserve an undiminished Afrikaner role in hegemony. Thus, reforms were not applied in any progressive manner, but in stops and starts. As Stephen Friedman pointed out:

...co-optation implies that the co-optees must be given real benefits at the expense of those excluded from the deal. For apartheid to offer selected black groups enough to recruit them as allies, it would have to change its nature so as to become an entirely different system. Such a system of non-racial elitism may be on the agenda of some of the more far sighted business planners — but it has not been on the state's agenda throughout the reform period nor is it now. Government planners believe, probably correctly, that even a system which extended political influence to a minority of blacks would fatally erode the white supremacy they seek to maintain (Friedman, 1987:82).

Thus, in spite of the 'rapprochement' after November 1979, when a pragmatic alliance had replaced the previous hostility between English-dominated fractions of capital and the Afrikaans fractions of capital and the government and the military and police arms (Mann, 1986; Graaf, 1988), government bureaucrats felt too insecure to fully implement even this limited reform scenario demanded by much of the corporate sector. The logical unfoldment of these limited reforms was threatening, because without division on the basis of race, the level of Afrikaner nationalist hegemony would become diminished. The implication was gradual black empowerment and Afrikaner dis-empowerment. It will be shown in the following chapter how this dilemma affected the design, the development, and the management of SABC television broadcasting during this period, as the SABC has been a finely-tuned interpreter of prevailing government policy.

Visible racial elements were also retained in the design of the Tricameral Parliament in 1983. According to the tricameral parliamentary structure, the National Party government attempted to co-opt Coloureds and Indians in an unequal alliance with the Afrikaner-dominated ruling National Party, which remained totally dominant in the white House of Assembly. Blacks continued to be marginalised within this essentially racist dispensation, though 'autonomous' city council status was imposed on them in a desperate attempt by the National Party government at bureaucratic co-optation of some petty bourgeois blacks willing to act against the black working classes. By October 1984, the state faced a severe crisis of hegemony, from which it never fully recovered (Pinnock, 1991). The unresolvable problem of genuine political rights for blacks for which neither capital nor the government were at the time able to offer any practical solution, remained. Intense political pressure from white Afrikaner conservatives, coupled with a lack of economic growth, constrained even the National Party's limited reform to such an extent, that by the end of 1988 it was thought by the liberal English-language press to be either dead or in 'intensive care'.

In the context of the grave internal and international crisis, South African business interests had opened up a new front from 1985 onwards with political initiatives which led to talks with the exiled African Nationalist Congress (ANC) at Lusaka and Dakar. This avenue, though bitterly disapproved by P.W. Botha, could not be prevented, as in the last instance the relative autonomy of Pretoria governments had been subject to the dominant sector of local capital, and the international hegemony exercised by the major Western powers. Another, possibly no less valid point of view, could interpret these events as the belated prevalence of a good sense for economic survival by the South African state.

The events which followed P.W. Botha's reform programme show that the hegemony with which his government had hoped to maintain political control of reform, was not immune to the forces of dissent. As a result of his cautious and hesitant nature, P.W. Botha lost the confidence of the South African business community as well as that of Western governments. Through the imposition of sanctions, South Africa became increasingly isolated both diplomatically and economically. Processes were thus set in motion through which P.W. Botha, in spite of his reluctance, was inevitably forced to give up his position as president of South Africa (Saunders et al, 1992:487-490). In any scenario where a unitary state was to be retained it seemed likely that once repressive apparatuses (legislative, administrative, police, military, and perhaps under certain circumstances, even broadcasting), of the then state were suspended, the forces released would in due course have resulted in the merging of such contrivances as 'the four race groups' or 'different nations' ('whites', blacks, coloureds and Indians), into a more coherent social formation. P.W. Botha had been unwilling to entertain any eventuality that might in future have entailed a relative impotence of Afrikaner interests. On the other hand, after the mid-1980s, the dominant sector of capital, having utilised the breathing space provided by apartheid to multiply its assets manifold, and then successfully divest internationally (Kaplan, 1983), seems to have felt confident enough to risk the turbulence of restructuring and was becoming less ambivalent in its rejection of the apartheid system.

In the F.W. de Klerk era (1989-1994), reform of racial inequality was intended to go further, while it was hoped that the underlying economic and class organisation would be preserved. For this to be fulfilled it was necessary to incorporate into the state the more moderate elements of previously exiled ANC elites and to gradually wean radicals away from some of the more idealistic clauses of the *Freedom Charter*. Radical groups had believed that a redistribution of wealth as called for by the *Freedom Charter* offered a viable means for raising the standard of living of blacks. This would have entailed the nationalisation of the mines, banks, heavy industry and redistribution of land. But such a course would not only have affected big capital negatively. Movement away from the private sector would have undermined the value of the South African currency and further weakened the economy. Reform was in fact designed to prevent conditions progressing into a revolutionary situation where such an eventuality might come about (see Saul, 1986). This radical option might initially have appeared attractive to the socialistically-inclined, however the public sector in South Africa was already overgrown relative to developments which were taking place internationally. The elements of Marxist economic thinking which had gone into the writing of the *Freedom Charter* in 1955 were completely incongruous with international economic relations by the time of the end of the Cold War and collapse of the Eastern Bloc. A South African economy based on socialism would have found few viable economic links, save perhaps with beleaguered Cuba or North Korea. Thus, by 1992 the *Freedom Charter*, which occasionally had loomed on the horizon almost like South African Magna Carta, seemed on its way to becoming a dead letter as far as its more radical provisions were concerned, barely two years after its popular revitalisation.

In 1991 F.W. de Klerk's National Party still considered itself as the key instrument through which a new South Africa could be achieved. The National Party now claimed (unlike the Conservative Party), that it would not exclude anyone in terms of race or colour, provided they shared the same *values*.<sup>40</sup> The intention of this new philosophy was no doubt to attract black membership and the support of as many black voters as possible prior to the 1994 first democratic elections, that by then had become inevitable. At the time, F.W. de Klerk still claimed that there was a growing black support for the National Party, and that quite likely he would be able to defeat the ANC at the polls. Although F.W. de Klerk seemed quite successful in convincing his white supporters, overseas observers considered this position to be quite ludicrous. Opinion polls also indicated an overwhelming preference for the ANC amongst blacks.

<sup>1</sup> In his address in Caracas, with reference to the political relationship between Venezuela and the United States, U.S. President, Bill Clinton, reiterated that, "market democracies can deliver" (CNN, 14 October 1997). It is debatable how much difference actually exists between 'consumer' or 'market' democracy. The term 'market democracy' seems more able to circumvent some of the



pejorative baggage (Williams [1960] 1980:187) attached to the term consumer. These two terms are underpinned by what are claimed to be different approaches in the capitalist distribution of manufactured goods or services. Thus, consumer democracy would be more consistent with a scenario where needs (or wants) are *created* by advertising, subsequent to industry having fulfilled its productive capacity (Galbraith, 1958:131-7). A market democracy orientation suggests that needs (or wants) have primacy, with research first identifying these, and the production of appropriate goods and services following (Levitt 1986:142).

- <sup>2</sup> The new constitution of 1983 distinguished between 'general affairs', matters that were common to different racial groups, from 'own affairs', matters particular only to a certain racial group. The main features were the establishment of an executive presidency, two new parliamentary assemblies, the House of Representatives for coloureds and the House of Delegates for Indians. The existing whites-only House of Assembly was retained and the previous Senate became the President's Council.
- <sup>3</sup> The intention has not always been to necessarily extinguish ethnic identities, but rather to make them ascribe to an overriding national identity. This seems to be the case with Australian national policy of multi-culturalism (see Stratton & Ang, 1994). 'Multi-culturalism' in Australia seems to apply more easily if the ethnic minorities are immigrants (for example, from South East Asia), but is more problematically applicable in the case of the indigenous inhabitants or 'Aboriginals'.
- <sup>4</sup> My conception of the South African 'state' in this thesis tends to be a somewhat broader one, consisting of an interplay between Afrikaner Nationalist governments, the local capitalist order, the enfranchised white population, the tenuous state of the indigenous African population, and the interlocking of this equation into the sphere of influence of the West during the Cold War.
- <sup>5</sup> As was pointed out in Chapter 2, the Gramscian account of hegemony suggests that force might occasionally be resorted to (and to some extent this seems to have initially been the case during anti-Vietnam War protests in the USA, the 1968 revolts in France; or the securing of compliance with Western interests through the imposition of military juntas upon certain countries during the Cold War). However, it is probably fair to say that in the post-World War II consumer democracies, consent has generally been the norm beyond Gramsci's conception. By '*continued* use of institutionalised violence' the above quote suggests that force, in respect of blacks in South Africa, predominated over consent.
- <sup>6</sup> Part of the design of the Bantu Education Act of 1953 was to discourage the emergence of any broad South Africanism, especially through the form of socialisation of black school children that was occurring at some schools run by missionaries. In pursuit of this policy the government took over all existing African schools and brought these under the direct control of the Department of Native Affairs. The immediate management of these schools was placed in the hands of Bantu school boards. At Bantu schools, vernacular instruction was enforced in the junior level, both English and Afrikaans became compulsory subjects in the higher primary, and a differential syllabus, geared to the Government's conception of African education needs, was laid down. In earlier years, H.F. Verwoerd had publicly and explicitly referred to Bantu Education as education for a menial place in society, but according to Davenport (1991), Bantu Education did not diverge from 'white' education to the extent that the original policy had required (Stadler, 1987:178; Davenport 1991:338,389-70).
- <sup>7</sup> The works of Edward Said and Franz Fanon mentioned in Chapter 1 are not aimed at examining the experience of prejudice by minorities. These two works are useful inspiration for explicating certain specific problems, but also not entirely applicable to the South African case.
- <sup>8</sup> The Muldergate Information Scandal took its name from Dr C.P. Mulder who was minister in charge of the Department of Information. The Prime Minister, B.J. Vorster had obtained authority from parliament to establish a Security Services Special Account in 1969, which was to be subject to official audit only to the extent that the Minister of Finance determined, in consultation with the Prime Minister. In November 1976, the Auditor-General noticed irregularities about the manner in which the Department of Information's secret funds were being invested, and he drew B.J. Vorster's attention to the matter in June 1977. Rumours about these irregularities affected the succession to the premiership, for Dr C.P. Mulder was the main contender for the post in his capacity as leader of the Nationalist Party in the Transvaal. When the National Party caucus met on 27 September, a successful challenge for the premiership was mounted by the then Minister of Defence, P.W. Botha. Aspects of the Information Scandal included the setting up of a pro-National Party English language newspaper in South Africa, *The Citizen*. There had also been plans to buy foreign newspapers or magazines for the purposes of promoting the dissemination of favourably-inclined information about South Africa. But some of the fuller implications of 'Muldergate' (hence the matter of 'scandal') have remained concealed (see Rees & Day, 1980; Davenport, 1991:394-6).
- <sup>9</sup> During the Cold War, ideological intervention on this level remained the exclusive prerogative of the major advanced industrial states in the West, and possibly some of their closest allies. After the Cold War even Britain came under increasing diplomatic pressure from the USA and military pressure from the Irish Republican Army (IRA), to come to a settlement (previously the Irish nationalists had been projected as nothing more than terrorists).
- <sup>10</sup> In the post World War II consumer democracy sense of the term 'hegemony', where the force component very rarely if ever is resorted to.

- <sup>11</sup> Through a denial of what the left in the advanced industrial West has argued to be a qualified remedy of consumption and ineffectual political representation (Williams, [1960] 1980:187).
- <sup>12</sup> In response to demands by manufacturing interests for labour, the United Party had relaxed influx controls during World War II (Stadler, 1987:91). This had led to a growth in the economic and strategic contribution of blacks.
- <sup>13</sup> O'Dowd's analysis was basically an extension of Rostow (1960), *The Stages of Economic Growth*, to the South African example of capitalist economies. In its assessment of capitalist economies, Rostow's (1971) work seems to avoid any elaboration on the important example of South African capitalism. Rostow's main concern seems to have been to vindicate capitalist forms of socio-economic development in the face of the Marxist-Leninist critique of capitalism during the Cold War. Possibly, the South African example would have undermined Rostow's arguments or given cause for embarrassment in view of the West's dependence at that stage on large quantities of apartheid produced South African gold.
- <sup>14</sup> Zac de Beer as quoted in Saul (1986:6); see also, "Interview:Gavin Relly",in *Leadership* vol.4 1985 no.3,pp 11-20.
- <sup>15</sup> Also, although this was not openly considered, the fact that South African monopoly capital had been able to concentrate its efforts in a program of corporate internationalisation of its own (Kaplan, 1983), instead of having to build up export-oriented local industries, no doubt contributed to the downturn in internal economic growth during the 1970s.
- <sup>16</sup> In the 1990s it became more widely revealed in international news media that death squads are able to operate with impunity in Brazil, killing mostly homeless street children of African ancestry; also, handicapped people trying to earn their living as informal vendors have been viciously clubbed by the police in that country. Hardly a scenario for post-apartheid South Africa to emulate.
- <sup>17</sup> Green & Lascaris, 1988:103-104; also Lascaris in *Financial Mail*, Advertising Supplement July 1988:52.
- <sup>18</sup> By the end of 1994 it became clear that the US was only going to offer to South Africa USD 600 million over a period of three years, a sum dubbed by President Mandela as 'peanuts'. Unlike most of his Afrikaner predecessors (but perhaps a little like Jan Smuts), Mandela has been forged with stature and international standing by his past history, and this permits him to be more forthright about his opinions.
- <sup>19</sup> The Boers were a community of agrarian-based Afrikaners, 'boer' being a Dutch (or Afrikaans) word for 'farmer'. This community had its origins in the 17th century settlement and establishment of a replenishment station at the Cape of Good Hope by the Dutch East India Company. The Boers variously resisted the coming British rule, most prominently by embarking upon a major evacuation, the so called 'Great Trek' after the 1834 War with the Xhosas, and subsequently taking up arms at the end of the 19th century to resist British incorporation of the Boer Republics of Transvaal and the Orange Free State (Marquard, 1969:9-16).
- <sup>20</sup> See various references in Smuts's correspondence and speeches (Hancock and Van der Pool, 1966-1973).
- <sup>21</sup> Another facet of the Smuts inheritance Afrikaner Nationalists were determined to keep was Namibia. Captured by Smuts during World War I at the insistence of Britain (against the wishes of most of the other Boer War Afrikaner generals who had to be forcibly suppressed for the military operation to proceed from South Africa). Smuts had been promised the incorporation of (South West Africa) Namibia into South Africa but this option came to be strongly opposed by the president of the United States, Woodrow Wilson. Smuts and his British friends found a compromise by devising what was termed a "C" class mandate or 'Sacred Trust' (under the League of Nations) which implied potential future annexation (see Hancock and Van der Poole, 1966-1973).
- <sup>22</sup> From experience in colonial relations, this course of action was also intended to defuse pressures for autonomy by the colonial capitalist base. In the case of the American colony such pressures could not be properly addressed and had led to conflict and the severing of links with the dominant capitalism of the mother country.
- <sup>23</sup> The Russians had subjected the Chinese and other asian nations, but this was not a widely recognised fact by African countries in the post-World War II period.
- <sup>24</sup> Gills (1993) discusses the concept of hegemony with regard to how it has been shown to extend to international relations.
- <sup>25</sup> The resort to the term 'conspiracy theory' misses the point because in all likelihood 'conspiracy', in terms of how it is normally understood, only very rarely needs to be resorted to as an urgent corrective measure. Although covert, such instances if and when they do occur might be considered in terms of Clausewitz's dictum of war as an extension of diplomacy by other means, as small acts of a secret and undeclared war.
- <sup>26</sup> Examples might possibly be Jan Smuts' tardiness in failing to up-date the delineation of electoral constituencies prior to the 1948 election; or the 'deaf ear' he turned to E.G. Malherbe's attempt facilitate Havenga's defection to the United Party early after 1948 (see Hancock, 1968).

- <sup>27</sup> In her introduction, Bozoli (1981) outlines the apartheid debate in South African historiography. See also Lipton (1986).
- <sup>28</sup> One thing which 'the West' appears to have ensured with the various contenders for the South African government was the dismantling of the more dangerous elements of the South African weapons arsenal in time for the first democratic elections in 1994.
- <sup>29</sup> Jan Smuts (1918), in his "*League of Nations: a practical suggestion*", had at the end of World War I proposed a cessation in the production of weapons of war (alongside with the elimination of essentially criminal activities interlocking into the world economy, such as trade in narcotics and international slave trafficking).
- <sup>30</sup> See earlier an footnote in this chapter.
- <sup>31</sup> In the post-apartheid era, Nelson Mandela has occasionally embarked on an independent foreign policy by acting in contradiction to the policies of the United States. In particular, his recent intercession (Commonwealth Conference, October 1997) on behalf of the Libyan government over Lockerby. While the Middle East remains an arena of unresolved conflict to the West, Mandela was attempting to precipitate an unwelcome extension of the post-Cold War process of un-demonising states or groups previously labelled as 'terrorist'.
- <sup>32</sup> In an important Statement of Policy speech in parliament on 9 March 1960, Verwoerd had deliberated at some length on the government's position regarding television (Pelzer, 1966:346-353). Here Verwoerd did not entirely rule out the eventual introduction of television, but presented a treatise of problems: costs, technological, social etc. that would need to be overcome. At one point even comparing television to poison gas or the atom bomb:
- In this case the attitude should be adopted that when a new discovery entails a danger, one should rather be careful and refrain from introducing that discovery until such time as the necessary knowledge is available on how the harmful consequences of that modern discovery can be warded off (ibid:348).
- The closest Verwoerd comes in this speech to acknowledging the existence of blacks, is when he talks about the problem of 'the fair treatment of the various language groups', something which he thought would not happen if a commercial service (or one not under the proper control) was established (ibid:354). It might be concluded from this speech, that given the resources available, it was realised that this project would be difficult, very expensive, and that it would take time to achieve.
- <sup>33</sup> The Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions were discussed previously in the **Introduction** to this thesis.
- <sup>34</sup> An illegal student march on 16 June 1976 was stopped by police bullets with loss of life. The occasion of the march was a rejection by pupils of the compulsory use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black Transvaal schools. However, most studies into the causes of these riots have concluded that the language issue was only a part of a wider background of frustrations. One important cause might have been perceptions that Bantu Education was an inferior system, which at a time of rising unemployment produced strong resentment. Also, the coming of 'independence' for the Transkei had brought a sudden realisation that citizens of the independent states would lose their South African citizenship rights and freedom of access to the job market in the Republic, even if they had never lived in a homeland (see Davenport, 1991:389-10).
- <sup>35</sup> Steve Biko was born in King Williamstown in 1946 and attended the Catholic Mission school at Marianhill, near Durban, and then studied medicine at Natal University before devoting himself fully to politics. Biko was a key figure in the emergence of Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa. This movement seems to have been inspired by Black Theology and Black Power from the United States, and from the writings of Frantz Fanon in Algeria. Biko wanted blacks to psychologically emancipate themselves from generations of conditioning as the underdog. This meant a rejection of tutelage from white liberals and their assumption that blacks wanted to become incorporated in a social system dominated by white cultural values. Black Consciousness may have had some limited correspondences with apartheid Government policy, in as far as multi-racialism with whites was expressly rejected. But there does appear to have been a genuine commitment to multi-racialism with other black groups, such as Coloureds and Indians (Stadler, 1987:172; Davenport 1991:388).
- <sup>36</sup> See discussion of Muldergate Information Scandal in an earlier footnote in this chapter.
- <sup>37</sup> The Rubicon speeches belong to a circus of international media events with which the National Party government became embroiled after its participation in the *Nightline* series mentioned above.
- <sup>38</sup> The term 'extermination' refers mainly to the intentional or unintentional destruction of the means of subsistence of indigenous people, and the failure to integrate them into any new form of economic organization. An example of 'extermination' might be seen in the slaughter of buffalo herds organised by the United States government with the intention of destroying the means of subsistence of indigenous Americans.
- <sup>39</sup> The *Freedom Charter* had been drafted at an ANC organised popular 'Congress of the People' held on 26 and 27 June 1955, at Kliptown, south of Johannesburg. This charter affirmed that South Africa belonged to all its inhabitants, black and white. It demanded a non-racial democratic system of government, and that the law should equally protect all people before the courts. The *Freedom*

*Charter* was unequivocally a non-racial document that sought equal work opportunities and the removal of restrictions on domestic family life. It did however also call for land redistribution and the nationalisation of banks, mines and heavy industry (Davenport, 1991:349-50; Polley, 1988; Ramgobin & Tomaselli, 1991).

<sup>40</sup> Dawie De Villiers in SABC-TV1 Newscast, 18 May 1991.

## Chapter 4

## CATEGORIES OF SOUTH AFRICAN RACIAL STEREOTYPING IN RELATION TO BROADCASTING DESIGN

Television was introduced in South Africa towards the end of the B.J. Vorster era, in 1976. However, the new television dispensation was based on the *Meyer Commission Report* of 1971.<sup>1</sup> The principles enshrined in this report had not progressed very far beyond the type thinking current in the 1960s.<sup>2</sup> With the introduction of TV2/3 in 1982, the reach of television was extended to cater specifically for blacks. What is of key importance here, is that in spite of the fact that the P.W. Botha administration was supposed to be 'reformist', these new stations were stringently ethnic-based. It was thus ensured that forms of racial stereotyping associated with previous stages of apartheid, would be perpetuated in advertising commercials intended primarily for urban blacks. The extension of SABC-TV had at last made effective ethnic television programming feasible. Even though the Bantustan policy had lost much of its credibility since the days of H.F. Verwoerd, Afrikaner bureaucrats were determined to make the most of an opportunity that potentially offered powerful cultural output in support of it. Not only was no provision made for broadcasting to blacks in English on TV2/3, but commercials aimed at urban blacks were restricted from using the English language or colloquialisms on these ethnic channels.

Part of the explanation for the persistence of older apartheid forms on SABC-TV2/3, may lie in the fact that these stations broadcasting regionally on the same channel, were trying to reconcile conflicting imperatives. TV2/3 programmes were designed to socialise permanently urbanised black middle classes into an industrial economy, as Tomaselli RE, *et al* (1989:155-6) have pointed out. But at the same time TV2/3 also followed a logical unfolding of the recommendations of the *Meyer Commission Report* (1971) into the introduction of television. There is an obvious contradiction between the reaffirmation of ethnicity and a developing urbanised petty-bourgeois culture. The Meyer Commission had delivered its report at an earlier and more conservative period. Although P.J. Meyer (who headed the commission) was able to survive the transition from Verwoerd to the Vorster bureaucracy, his mindset was that of an arch-conservative from an earlier era. The fact that Meyer was chairman of the Broederbond as well as of the SABC, speaks for itself, and indicates his conservative views and the power he must have wielded (see Wilkins and Strydom, 1978; Crankshaw, Williams and Hayman, 1983). According to the Report:

The Commission recommended that the television services should respect, preserve, strengthen and enrich the social structure of the country's various communities by reflecting and projecting the cultural assets of each community (Meyer, 1971:18).

This handy euphemism in the terminology of the report is supposed to conceal the true ideological need for a special channel for blacks. Not so much to urbanise them, but to keep their faces out of the white channel and also to ensure that ethnic differences would continue to be clearly inscribed between blacks.

One of the less openly voiced political reasons for over a decade and a half of reluctance to the introduction of television, may have been fear that it could potentially stir up restiveness amongst the 'non-white population'. By placing the inferiority of their conditions of existence in sharp contrast, unstructured televised images of South African life might presumably have made blacks more conscious of their inequality compared with whites. Hachten and Giffard (1984:206-8) refer to government misgivings about 'the potential psychological and political impact of television on urban blacks'. From the communications industry point of view, advertising agency<sup>3</sup> chairman, Bob Rightford, also confirms that a greater degree of dissatisfaction amongst black people had been forecast when television was first introduced, because of the exposure it would give to other people's lifestyles.<sup>4</sup>

But given that Afrikaner bureaucracy was not unknown to play the fiddle while Rome burnt, a less important misgiving may have featured more prominently in government thinking. It was feared that television would produce a cultural imbalance in favour of English-speaking South Africa at the expense of Afrikaans culture (Potter, 1975). It has been claimed (Hachten and Giffard 1984:207) that Afrikaners in the 1950s were already condemning the influences of Anglo-American mass culture, with arguments similar to those voiced in the 1980s by advocates of the New World Information Order. The fact that a major English language newspaper publishing group had over the years, been ardently lobbying for the introduction of television, was cause enough for suspicion and paranoia in Afrikaner Nationalist circles.<sup>5</sup> Obviously, therefore, the first most important thing for Afrikaner Nationalists was to ensure that a television service (if and when one was introduced) would be under the effective control of the government.

When television is introduced, it will not be placed in the hands of private companies, but will be controlled by the existing Broadcasting Corporation or by a similar special utility company.<sup>6</sup>

According to the prevailing fears of state officials, South African television would, initially at least, have relied heavily on television programs from English-speaking countries. However, in 1968, a readership survey compiled by Market Research Africa for the Newspaper Publishers Union, revealed that Afrikaans speakers constituted more than 30% of white readership of English language newspapers compared to only 6% in 1962 (Potter, 1975:86). Thus, if these research findings (emanating from a research organisation of English-speaking capital) are taken at face value<sup>7</sup>, it could be argued that the introduction of a bilingual television service offered the possibility of restoring a 'cultural balance' that was already swinging in favour of English-speaking media.

As pointed out above, from the Meyer Commission's recommendations, television in South Africa, was intended to have a counter-assimilative role (certainly as far as blacks were concerned). By 1979, the All Media Products Survey (AMPS) revealed that 850 000 blacks, roughly 8% of the total adult black population, already viewed 'white' TV each week, and that blacks owned about 50 000 sets, even though only 15%-20% of all urban blacks had electricity at that stage.<sup>8</sup> The introduction

of ethnic programming was a necessity if the underlying principles of the Meyer recommendations were to be observed. 'Black' ethnic TV had therefore been in the pipeline all along but could not be introduced at the same time as 'white' TV mainly due to economic and logistic reasons. Also, assuming that a separate service for blacks was really necessary, could something so highly coveted (as television was by that stage), have possibly been given to blacks in the old South Africa at the same time as whites? It is thus an irony, that due to the mainly logistical reasons preventing the introduction of TV2/3 at the same time as TV1, South Africa's pejorative racial stereotyping era in advertising commercials, with its eventual assimilative possibilities for the 'minorities' so portrayed, actually preceded the ethnic racial stereotyping era.

Ethnic stereotyping in television commercials came later, at a supposedly more reformist stage. Ethnic stereotyping, as it was practised in the 1980s, derived from whatever was left over from the earlier permanently exclusive strategy. It was based on the dubious premise that the ethnically stereotyped cultural groups were separate and different, but *not* unequal. From the point of view of a capitalist political economy that is able to ascribe to consumer or market democracy principles, ethnic stereotyping must in fact be seen as a potentially more regressive and repressive cultural form than pejorative racial stereotyping. In terms of social dynamics, pejorative racial stereotyping sets up relationships of inequality with the laudatory white bourgeois depictions. A strong case can be made that by allowing easy comparisons of lifestyles, the appearance of pejorative racial stereotyping in the mass media might make the aggrieved groups more aware of their inferiority and thus cause them to seek equality. Thus, in terms of any progressive transformation of the social formation towards an advanced industrial consumer or market democracy stage (where bourgeois culture tends to become universalised in its petty bourgeois forms), ethnic stereotyping is bound to be more regressive than is generally the case with pejorative racial stereotyping. To ensure the permanence of an exclusively white state, H.F. Verwoerd devised his Bantustan policy to counter what he saw as the predictable consequences of the longer term integrating logic of the consumer market: an alternative to affirmative action. Also underlying Verwoerd's reasoning, seems to have been the archaic belief that a colonist state can only be preserved through its exclusion of the colonised.<sup>9</sup> A good example of blacks being accommodated in a TV1 commercial (and thereby possibly fuelling a societal dynamic for affirmative action), can be found in the 1978 *Tongue Tip Test* commercial for *Rama* margarine.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, the early *Castle Lager* commercials (1978-82) were consistent to the principle of structured absences.<sup>11</sup>

When it was introduced, 'black' TV bore many Verwoerdian characteristics, despite the fact that ideological consensus within the ruling National Party is generally believed to have shifted closer to the views of English-speaking capital after the conservative right wing had been ousted (see Mann, 1986; O'Meara, 1982; Charney, 1983). In addition to the entrenchment of conservative forms within the structures and practices of the SABC, and in the practices of the marketing professions (Chapter 6), reasons for continuity derived also from the characteristic general uncertainty at the highest levels of the P.W. Botha administration about the future direction of reformist apartheid. The new Constitution of 1984, had been designed to adapt the political establishment so that Coloureds and Indians

could be given a stake in it. Yet no clear decision was made with regard to the position of blacks. This problem caused complex constitutional headaches vis-a-vis the position of urban blacks versus 'homeland blacks'<sup>12</sup> in relation to the central state structures. In the light of this uncertainty, older forms of apartheid could not always be addressed. Older apartheid elements, especially within the government's more direct ideological apparatuses, such as the SABC, were allowed to continue. It would appear that in the early 1980s, the Verwoerdian elements still enduring in broadcasting practices<sup>13</sup> were being felt less immediately on monopoly capitalist interests than such remaining elements at the level of the productive base or substructure, particularly labour legislation and urbanisation policy. This is nowhere more apparent than in the relatively uncontested introduction of a universally ethnic television service (TV2/3) to mainly urban blacks in January 1982, a period which must be considered to be the springtime of the P.W. Botha reform era.

### CATEGORIES OF SOUTH AFRICAN RACIAL STEREOTYPING

Having briefly outlined the character of institutionalised apartheid broadcasting practice, a closer examination needs to be made of each particular category of South African racial stereotyping in relation to the broadcasting of television commercials through the SABC. The transition of racial stereotyping in South Africa has basically been from ethnic to non-ethnic or westernised black middle class depiction. Pejorative black depictions are probably more of a reformist than an apartheid form, but as will be further outlined below, due to the peculiarities of the South African situation in the 1980s, and the fact that the ethnic stations TV2/3 only began broadcasting in 1982, these preceded ethnic and ethnic middle class depiction in television advertisements. Thus, to repeat the category framework outlined in Chapter 1, classification of racial stereotyping in SABC-TV advertising commercials, might be made according to the following scheme:<sup>14</sup>

- i) Pejorative depictions of blacks as in early TV1 commercials, similar to the first world conceptions of racial stereotyping. As will be explained below this form featured less prominently in South Africa.
- ii) Ethnic stereotypes on TV2/3, similar to the objectives of Radio Bantu (see Strydom, 1976).
- iii) Ethnic black middle class stereotypes on TV2/3. A transitory form consistent with the P.W. Botha government's conception of black middle classes as 'amongst the nations of South Africa' in order to facilitate plans of 'consociational democracy'<sup>15</sup> engineering.
- iv) Non-ethnic black middle class depictions on TV1 and TV4. Fundamentally the most important form, representing a 'New South Africa' ideology from the business sector that promoted a non-racial class-based society. This emerging new order was structurally underpinned due to the increased contribution of blacks in the economy, in terms of blue collar and white collar labour needs and as consumers.



Instances of overt pejorative racial stereotyping of blacks that did occur were mostly in earlier SABC-TV1 commercials. When commercials were first permitted on television in 1978, there were possibly still a fair number of whites in South Africa who had not yet quite recovered from a Verwoerdian-inspired illusion. This illusion would have caused them to believe that they lived in a white country and that blacks were 'temporary sojourners in the cities', perhaps something similar to the cheap unskilled labour imported by capitalists into Western Europe. For a while such preconceptions might have continued to cloud marketing practices. As Eric Mafuna, a black advertising executive lamented:

Its frustrating from a black marketing point of view. Marketers still talk about blacks as if they are a foreign amorphous mob. Political thinking permeates consumer concepts and as a result they're outdated ('Setting Trends', *Financial Mail* October 26, 1979:397, library edition).

As in the case of the advanced industrial consumer democracies (prior to the further intensification of affirmative action there, after the later 1980s), pejorative racial stereotyping in South African advertising, precluded people of colour from being imaged in meaningful, i.e. petty bourgeois roles. Blacks were depicted in relatively menial roles. Unlike in the advanced industrial democracies however, blacks were not a minority group in South Africa. Two classic examples of this form from the late 1970s and early 1980s, are the *Dixie Dishwashing Liquid* commercial and the *Rolux Magnum* commercial. In the *Dixie Dishwashing Liquid* commercial, 'Beauty', a black domestic servant, gesticulates 'Hau Madam!' when she is shown the efficacy of the said detergent. Beauty comes across as a down-to-earth and rather simple-minded black maid. The advertising idea actually plays upon the fact that the product has provided her white 'madam' with an opportunity to be patronising. The advertising idea in the *Rolux Magnum* lawnmower commercial, bears some similarity in format, though it works on more complex and offensive levels of satire. 'Dr Livingstone' is featured clearing a path through long elephant grass with the above-mentioned machine. He is followed by faithful black bearers who cheer him on by chanting the brand name: "*Rolux Magnum*". The stereotyping of blacks as 'garden boys' could easily be read as pejorative, but more exacerbating is the representation of the Dr Livingstone myth and the disturbingly arrogant colonial ramifications suggested. In this example of what in an earlier chapter has been referred to as 'ideological aberration', it is suggested that by purchasing this lawnmower, every average white petty bourgeois householder in his backyard can imaginatively live a descendant role of Dr Livingstone's African quest, while the average black descendant has amounted to no more than a garden boy. Both the *Dixie* and *Rolux* commercials feature the affectionate idiosyncrasies associated with black workers by many white South Africans during the 1970s and early 1980s (see also Van der Walt 1989:58). These commercials were broadcast on TV1, and were directed particularly at white consumers. These commercials might be taken to constitute classic examples of racial stereotyping, in the sense that the pejorativeness articulates itself in a naive reflection of the innocuous type of blacks that whites might have found inherently desirable, without giving the matter a second

thought. From the point of view of ethnographic reconstruction, representation in these commercials is perhaps not an unrealistic representation of how life at that time was being lived within the white petty bourgeois strata of the social formation<sup>16</sup>.

However, by the 1980s, pejorative racial stereotyping had been largely phased out in South African advertising. During this period, one was more likely to encounter racial stereotyping with overtly pejorative implications in the mass media of Western Europe or the United States, where it periodically resurfaced, albeit in sometimes very self-conscious tongue-in-cheek guises.<sup>17</sup> Initially, as political pressure began to ease during F.W. de Klerk's 'post-apartheid' era (1989-1994), some instances of pejorative racial stereotyping resurfaced in a few commercials. There were some indications of this in a commercial for *Mazda* broadcast on TV1 in 1991. This advert showed a young black man directing a red *Mazda* into a parking bay, while listening to music and raving about the car. This man was depicted as obviously 'into music' and 'beat' and 'very cool', but his street-wise persona did not redress the fact that he was also an unemployed riff-raff who earned his living by hustling rich motorists. Such parking touts did of course exist during this period. What is of relevance, is that both the creators and gatekeeping process through which this advertisement must have passed before publication, were not at that point in time restrained by any reservations about associating *Mazda* with such a depiction. The stereotyping of the black person in this *Mazda* commercial cuts a stark contrast with the laudatory depiction of 'George', as a very refined de-racinated middle class black person, in the 1990 *Castle Lager* beer commercial *Homecoming* (Chapter 7). Also, there was a commercial for *IGI Insurance* which depicted rural blacks in a negative light (see below).

Characterisations with more covert or subconsciously racist connotations continue to be used in advertisements in the advanced industrial democracies more regularly than overt pejorative racial stereotypes. This variation often uses animated characters seemingly oblivious of their racist connotations.<sup>18</sup> A good South African example of covert racist connotations was a TV commercial for *Caprison*, broadcast during the mid-1980s. This commercial featured hip young whites on a desert island, snatching a pirate treasure chest containing the product, orange-based cool-drink in sachets, while under attack from partially clad black savages. The advertising idea of this commercial drew upon resultant mythology from an earlier wave of imperialism. The novel *Robinson Crusoe* is a fine example of the literary genre generated in the First World to facilitate ideological interpellation of recruits for colonial adventure. One might surmise that the authors of the *Caprison* commercial were probably oblivious to its negative connotations, because they did not readily identify these with their South African context.

However, on the whole (save for odd exceptions and the few instances of covertly pejorative content), overtly pejorative racial stereotyping virtually disappeared from South African advertising during the 1980s.<sup>19</sup> Advertisers must have been well aware that mass media, being subject to international

scrutiny, would easily have constituted documentary evidence if not proof, of continuing apartheid during a sensitive era when South Africa was trying to convince the world that racial discrimination no longer existed or had virtually been abolished. The government had even gone so far as to advocate a policy of 'consensus journalism'.<sup>20</sup> Although my research has not specifically verified with the SABC if the policy of 'consensus journalism' applied to vetting of advertisements, acceptability of SABC-TV commercials was influenced by 'prevailing norms'<sup>21</sup>, and one can infer that anything overtly pejorative that might have offended blacks or caused a critical reaction from the mainstream liberal press would have been restricted.

There was however another dynamic, one which I contend was of more importance than the fluctuating weathervane of superstructural reformist discourse. By the late 1970s blacks already constituted over 40% of the overall consumer market. The close connection between advertising and the consumer market or productive base, is bound to distinguish its ideology (racial stereotyping) by making it more responsive to systemic fundamentals than is the case with other texts. Advertisers can be expected to have been quite careful not to alienate the goodwill of a growing body of black consumers, who at the same time were also growing more sensitive and critical, given the increased politicisation sweeping the country. As blacks constituted a substantial part of audiences for supposedly 'white' media<sup>22</sup> they would quickly have become aware of any negative black depictions.

Also, by the mid-1980s, it is doubtful if obviously pejorative stereotypes of blacks would have appealed to very many members of white television audiences. The dominant reformist ideological consensus amongst whites would by that stage, have made most feel rather uncomfortable with any obviously racist or negative black stereotypes (see also Tomaselli KG, 1997). The practical effects of the widening cracks in apartheid during the 1980s, had resulted in many whites beginning to be able to relate a little better to the black point of view, instead of being wholly closeted within their own consciousness. Advertising agencies are acutely aware of changing norms and 'latest fashions' in the currency of cultural forms. As reform progressed, by the late 1980s or early 1990s, 'integrated' or 'multiracial' or 'non-racial' advertisements were becoming more frequent, especially for those products that also called for this strategy from a sound marketing point of view. Such advertisements would have been placed in 'white', or what at the time were beginning to show signs of a possible reorientation into petty bourgeois non-racial or multiracial media, such as TV1 & TV4 (Chapter 6).

Thus, by the beginning of the 1990s, many of the remarkably transformed white middle classes would probably have been uncomfortable with some of the negative black stereotypes they had once felt at home with (Tomaselli KG, 1997). However, a decade or so previously, many of these same white middle classes would have felt rather threatened by some of the late 1980s or early 1990s 'non-racist' or affirmative action orientated advertisements. Such integrated advertisements (to be discussed below) can be considered to contain 'positive black racial stereotypes'. These periodic shifts from acute racist bigotry to absurdly anti-racist sensitivity, is as telling an example of the all-pervasive power

of ideology as one is likely to find anywhere. Such instances seem to offer some confirmation to Althusser's contention that 'man is an ideological animal by nature'. Some right-wing or ultra-conservative groups such as the *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging* AWB<sup>23</sup> (Leach, 1990:149-163) might still have sympathised with pejorative black depictions. This would nevertheless have been a failing on their part. Had the ultra right been capable of understanding Verwoerdian apartheid with the proper rigour of its master, they should in theory have been able to resist their brand of racism and insist upon the maintenance of the strict 'structured absence' of blacks. This approach would have been consistent with the eventual complete disappearance of native Africans, through a 'return' to 'their homelands'. But something indeed dysfunctional to monopoly capital in terms of labour requirements or the further formation of urban mass markets for consumer goods. Thus, ultimately beyond the parameters within which the policies of any Afrikaner government administration were likely to be able to operate, for any prolonged period of time.

In conclusion, pejorative racial stereotyping in the South African context, must in fact be seen as a reformist form, but also a politically very sensitive form. It was pointed out above that a strong case can be made for pejorative racial stereotyping working as a *precursor to affirmative action*. It has also been pointed out earlier that pejorative racial stereotyping is more likely to be subjected to *aberrant decoding* than depictions related to affirmative action (see Stam and Spence 1985:643-5). Verwoerd's Bantustan strategy was designed to circumvent the necessity of affirmative action in respect to blacks (the colonised), ever having to take place *within* a 'white' South Africa. Of course, pejorative racial stereotyping in South Africa or abroad, varies in mildness or intensity, and does not always simply consist of blacks (or other ethnic groups subjected to prejudice), being depicted in menial roles. It includes a variety of more grievously negative traits. A psychological research study in the United States (Secord as in Cauthen, et al, 1971:104), found that photographs of Negroes identified as Negro by whites were stereotyped as lazy, dishonest, stupid, and superstitious, more frequently than those photographs of Negroes not identified as Negro. For those photographs identified as Negro there was no decrease in stereotyping from the most negroid-looking to the most Caucasian-looking photographs. That is, once a photograph was identified as representing a Negro, the stereotype traits were elicited. On this basis it was concluded that once a person is identified as belonging to a minority group, s/he is automatically given the presumed characteristics of that group, i.e. stereotyped (see also Perkins, 1979:151). A favourite prejudice, has been the claim that blacks possess lower IQ's than whites; and that this is a genetic fact rather than environmentally determined. Strongly pejorative elements of a stereotype will usually circulate by word-of-mouth, or possibly in some of the less sophisticated print media. Stereotypes encompassing such negative traits are most unlikely to be reflected directly in so sensitive a medium as television or advertising in the first place. But such stereotypes may influence the thinking which underlies market research assumptions (see Tomaselli RE *et al*, 1989:98-99), upon which less offensive versions appearing in mainstream mass media, will finally be concocted.

## STRUCTURED ABSENCES

South African television during apartheid was to some extent a reflector of the collective white psyche, while at the same time exercising a powerful influence upon it. It was not always a mirror in the ordinary sense of television's ideological role in the advanced industrial states but one which specifically realised the necessity that content should be designed to support apartheid. The effects of structured absences in the mass media were crucially important to early apartheid because they suspended the portrayal of most levels of social interaction between blacks and whites. Tomaselli RE *et al* (1989:157), have eloquently described the principle of 'structured absences' in theoretical terms:

Equally important is what the text cannot say ... the structured absences that are necessary to the text's constitution. These 'internal shadows of exclusion', as Althusser calls them, identify the ideological tensions which occur at particular historical conjunctures.

If apartheid is operating properly one should find a media situation where white viewers or readers are presented with a pristine European world in which blacks simply do not exist, not even in subservient *baaskap* (paternalised) roles as in the *Dixie* or *Rolux Magnum* commercials discussed previously. When blacks have to be seen, audiences should at least somehow be made aware that these people have some relationship to the Bantustans or homelands. It seems that this situation reached its fruition in the earlier P.W. Botha era (1978-1989), because although 'reform' was taking place in the 'substructures', Verwoerdian apartheid was still being realised in the 'superstructures'. As has been pointed out by Harriet Gavshon (1980), the principle of 'structured absences' already held true for most feature films produced for blacks during the Vorster era (1966-1978). The principle of structured absences was subsequently absorbed into the institutional practices of SABC-TV for the production of programmes for TV2/3. This principle obviously also applied to advertising and other broadcast material directed at black audiences. In this case, the 'structured absence' of whites would have been essential if blacks were to remain spell-bound within an ethnic world during their television viewing experience. The intrusion of whites within such a text would have interrupted a psychological process which literary critics, after Coleridge, might refer to as 'the willing suspension of disbelief'.

As has been pointed out above, pejorative racial stereotyping is a more obvious form that can be readily recognised and identified. What was quite striking about South African advertising during the 1980s, was the relative absence of pejorative stereotypes. Thus, if racial stereotyping is understood strictly along the lines in which it is usually encountered in the advanced industrial democracies, *ethnic stereotyping* would probably have gone unnoticed. Indeed, some observers, depending on how they interpreted the term 'racial stereotyping', might have been led to believe that it hardly existed at all.

#### **ETHNIC STEREOTYPING**

The existence of separate media for blacks and for whites facilitated the development of the form of racial stereotyping intrinsic to apartheid: *ethnic stereotyping*. The illusion of separate black and

white worlds created by structured absences could to some degree be sustained through separate media for what had been designated the 'different population groups' in South Africa. As has been pointed out previously, in the case of television this principle could not be realised until 1982, after a separate channel was provided with special programmes for each of the designated different black races or ethnic groups in their own languages.

According to the Canadian communication theorist, Dallas W. Smythe (1980), the primary role of media in monopoly capitalist economies is the creation of stable audience blocks for sale to monopoly capitalist advertisers.<sup>24</sup> Consistent with the requirements of apartheid, the South African consumer market might be considered to have been largely conceived, developed and sold to advertisers upon racial and ethnic lines. The 'audience blocks' thus created, were on a racial or ethnic basis, and monopoly capitalist advertisers were given little option but to buy their broadcast media on a racial and ethnic basis. The views of Mike Wells, below would support a conclusion that media in South Africa played a major role in structuring the consumer market along apartheid lines:

Without making excuses for the advertising industry, I believe the phenomenon of the black market would quickly pass over were it not for South Africa's political policies. Advertisers are obliged to address themselves specifically to English, Afrikaans, Portuguese, Asian, coloured, Chinese, Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho, Tswana, Swazi and many other audiences. This is because the South African situation has not allowed these people to develop into a single homogenous market. Lifestyle economics, and even residential groupings, are artificial. Even communications media have become categorised with publications aimed at colour, rather than social or economic groups. (Mike Wells, MD of Bates Wells Rostron, *Financial Mail* 25 January 1980:282 lib. edit.)

Ethnic stereotyping revolves around communication on an ethnic basis. It is largely dependent upon vernacular language. Black broadcast media (radio) had been exclusively ethnic, utilising the vernaculars as language medium. But this began to change in the 1980s, after competition to the SABC from local privately owned radio stations utilising English, became possible.<sup>25</sup> The privately owned Radio 702, broadcasting in the Pretoria Witwatersrand Vaal triangle (PWV as it was then called), possibly with the objective of non-racial segmentation of its target audience, and Transkei-owned Capital Radio in Natal and the Eastern Cape, and more particularly Radio Metro, (the SABC's response to this competition)<sup>26</sup>, became quite popular amongst blacks. In 1985, Radio Bophuthatswana (Bop), the largest of the independents, was broadcasting in a mixture of English and the vernacular in the PWV area. Its audience was mainly urban, affluent, sophisticated blacks, and it was considered to be an important medium by advertisers aiming specifically at this market.<sup>27</sup> It is also debatable that TV4 might have been intended as a multiracial or 'general affairs' channel (Tomaselli KG & Tomaselli RE, 1988a). Many of the print media (magazines) owned by monopoly capital interests and intended for blacks, were being published with copies in the vernacular as well as in English.<sup>28</sup> One can nevertheless conclude, that the designated 'different ethnic groups' were being communicated to in their 'own' vernaculars, because ethnically-designated broadcast media were bound to be fairly influential in a context of low literacy levels, especially in rural parts of the country.

The black South African vernaculars derive from remnants of old tribal structures which have given rise to the various dialects from the principal Nguni and Sotho languages. Prior to European settlement (due to geographic isolation and the migratory nature of the indigenous communities), these linguistic differences or dialects had probably developed only tentatively. Modern development of separate languages may owe quite a lot to the role played by various missionary projects in different areas of the country. Their intervention, through the introduction of alphabetical form and the printed word, possibly gave their permanence to what in some cases, were tentative linguistic differences (see Alexander, 1989:12-27; Anderson, 1983:41-49). These 'languages' were later used by the government as a basis for Bantu Education<sup>29</sup> and the creation of separate nations or Bantustans. Upon these foundations rested the rationale that underpinned the maintenance of at least seven black languages, and the claim that the geographical entity of South Africa comprised several separate 'nations'.<sup>30</sup>

Both this approach and the arguments mounted for its justification, have been criticised as being part of a thinly veiled attempt to split up or maintain the black majority in smaller groups that could be manipulated along classic 'divide and rule' principles, thus perpetuating the exclusive political power and hegemony of the minority white ruling classes (Tomaselli RE *et al*, 1989:155; see also Teer-Tomaselli, 1997). On the other hand, defenders of the 'separate nationalities' approach, maintained that communication in vernacular languages, on an ethnic basis, was essential for 'culturally authentic' communication to take place:

... in order for television to communicate at a culturally authentic level, it must be congruent with the ethnic structure of South African society (Mersham, 1985).

But the most important rationale behind the concept of separate nationalities and concomitant ethnic emphasis in television dispensation, appears to have been the fact that it formed an integral part of the physical separation scenario of earlier interpretations of Bantustan policy. By the late 1980s, the unfolding of what had become conceptually a largely defunct Bantustan policy, had come to a standstill. At the beginning of the 1990s, when negotiations were pending for 're-incorporation' of the Bantustans, it was widely accepted that the policy had been based on political decisions in the interests of Afrikaner Nationalism.

The *lingua franca* of the urban blacks to whom TV2/3 transmissions were primarily beamed was English. The 'authentic' culture of the urban black proletariat was in actual fact South African black working class culture. Mersham (1985) suggested that broadcasting studies ignoring ethnicity in the South African context, might in some way have been equated with cultural imperialism. But his view is not really valid. Media critics on the Left as well as some advertising practitioners, were not suggesting that ethnicity should have been completely ignored. The point was, that it should never have been *strictly* enforced through the SABC's language ruling on TV2/3. The primary audiences of these channels were black urban dwellers, whose *lingua franca* according to market research findings, was English.

Contrary to claims that the ethnic approach to media was underpinned by cultural authenticity, evidence suggests that many native blacks in South Africa were more impelled to assimilate Western norms and culture

so as to compete as effectively as possible within the given means of production: a white-dominated industrial society. It was realised that English was a means to power, as it gave a broader access to information than the vernacular languages or Afrikaans. Without any actual political representation, blacks in South Africa were never consulted, even within the terms or limitations (Williams [196] 1980:187-188) of liberal Western democratic standards, about what sort of communication they might have preferred. From the Soweto riots of 1976, it became evident that Afrikaans was not very popular as a medium of instruction in schools.<sup>31</sup> It is interesting to note that after the Transkei gained its nominal independence in 1963, English was quickly re-instated as the principal medium of instruction in place of Xhosa (Marquard, 1969:205). One of the explanations often given by post-colonial African states for their having opted for one-party systems in preference to the Westminster model, is a common need to avoid tribal divisions exacerbated by colonialism.

Communications based upon fundamentally unsound stereotypical preconceptions of the target audience, can potentially be a regressive socialising force. An early TV2 commercial for Cadbury Chocolates (primarily targeted at children) which was broadcast in Xhosa to urban blacks on TV2, gives a some indication of this possibility. In this commercial, the English expression to 'pass with flying colours', takes on a new meaning when a school teacher rewards her star pupil with chocolates, saying: 'you came through the leaves'! (Leshoai 1982:12, as in Mersham, 1985). It appears that the conceptualisers of this commercial might have presumed that urban-based black children would respond to a metaphor that in all likelihood would make good sense to a person whose consciousness had been structured through experience of living in a jungle. An important instigating factor for the inspiration for this type of thinking on the part of the creators of this commercial would have been the SABC's language policy which called for 'culturally authentic' communication. English terms which have become universal to Western culture, such as 'potato chips' or 'toothpaste', were forbidden in TV2/3 commercials, despite the fact that blacks conventionally used these terms and there were no equivalent nouns in Zulu, Xhosa or Tswana for these products. Advertisers were forced to use the "African equivalent of Victorian English" by referring to "slices of potato fried in oil" or "the soap that cleans your teeth" (Sparks 1985:47, as in Mersham, 1985).

Particularly aberrant examples such as the one for Cadbury Chocolates, might be argued to be single commercials taken out of their campaign context, as well out of total advertising exposure context. But such extreme cases of ethnic representation, have nonetheless been known to enter the realm of popular consciousness. Their conceits become word-of-mouth and therefore tend to be remembered. So even if exceptional, such commercials may be assumed to have made some impact on the collective consciousness and therefore deserve to be included in the discussion. A more in-depth study of ethnic or ethnic middle class commercials will be given in the case study on Rama margarine, in Chapter 8. The instances of ethnic stereotyping in commercials on the Rama history reel were found to be not as extreme or offensive as the one cited above. In Chapter 8, comparisons between stereotypes of whites in TV1 commercials and stereotypes of blacks in equivalent TV2 or TV3, commercials are provided for the following commercials: *Just One Bite and You Know You're Right* (1979 - 1982); *Rugby/Soccer* (1986); *Slipping and Sliding* (1986); *Housewife Campaign I* (1987); and *Hurrah Ma - It's Rama* (1981). The methodology adopted



in the case studies and their appendices is intended to provide a counter-balance or corrective lens element, to single extreme examples described in this chapter. This approach may go some way towards providing the sense of an accurate picture of what in reality was an extremely complex media environment, to which audiences were subjected to during the period under study.

Until the introduction of ethnic television in 1982, Radio Bantu had been the principal mass communication medium for the promotion of separate development (Strydom, 1976). TV2/3 may not exactly have been 'Radio Bantu with pictures', as Percy Qoboza had once described it (Tomaselli RE *et al*, 1989: 154), but these stations did nevertheless continue the objectives of Radio Bantu in a way refined and adapted as required by the shifts which had occurred in the political economy, or rather, according to how these changes were being interpreted by the government and bureaucratic intelligentsia of the SABC. Reform at the superstructural or ideological level, had not always logically been in tune with developments at the economic base. As has been pointed out, when TV2 was introduced in January 1982, the ethnic/vernacular language requirement was strictly applied to *all* material broadcast on this station. This invariably required advertisers who wanted to use the new channel to acquiesce to the production of strictly ethnic advertisements. As the rigorous ethnic language stipulations increased costs, and did not not always represent the most efficient way of advertising some of products (Chapter 6), advertisers were not very enthusiastic at the time.

It must however be pointed out, that while by the mid-1980s black consumer power overtook that of whites in South Africa, the amount of advertising money actually spent in black-orientated media (mainly ethnic) was still relatively very small. While the contribution of advertising to GNP had grown very considerably since the introduction of television, in 1985 only fourteen per cent of measured advertising expenditure was aimed at non-whites specifically. This ratio had risen, but not in pace with the growth in black consumer spending which rapidly approached and then exceeded fifty per cent of total consumer spending. Growth in specifically black advertising expenditure was very slow as ten years before it had been ten per cent.<sup>32</sup> The contribution of apartheid advertising<sup>33</sup> to the overall ethnically stereotyped cultural output is important, but should be assessed with the above figures in mind. In case of advertising practice, the harm caused was possibly not so much through very high levels of successful ethnic interpellation as such, but through a diversion of effort from the task of developing non-racial communications based upon an idiom South Africans might have commonly identified with. An earlier application of non-racial communication would have quickened the pace of a form of cultural production more rational to the needs of an urbanised industrial community.

### ETHNIC BLACK MIDDLE CLASS STEREOTYPING

Whereas Radio Bantu was one of the key instruments in the implementation of Bantustan policy (Strydom, 1976; Switzer, 1979; 1985), TV2/3 was an instrument through which apartheid sought to wriggle out of the homelands straitjacket while at the same time retaining continuity. The rationale behind TV2/3 was one which accepted the unavoidable necessity of a permanently urbanised and relatively skilled black labour force as per Riekert and Wiehahn Commissions (see Hindson, 1987). The TV2/3 channels supposedly took upon themselves the task of inculcating middle class aspirations amongst a stratum of urban blacks whom it was vaguely envisaged might somehow be co-opted into an alliance with the state: a percolation of the ideology projected by the business sector and also confirmed by left-wing theoretical critiques of both apartheid and capitalism. The enthusiastic words of Nick Tredoux, managing director of an advertising agency noted for its earlier work upon the 'black market' via Radio Bantu, succinctly articulates liberal reform-minded Afrikaner views of the time:

I mean if black aspirations cannot be accommodated in a capitalist society - where are they going to go? They are going to go to a communist society - the choice is very simple. And television in my opinion is the key medium in bringing that message to blacks - showing what the capitalist society has to offer, and hopefully doing it in such a way that they can identify with the aspiration which is involved. So, in that sense, you know, it is more than just selling toothpaste and detergent (Tredoux in Frederikse, 1986:66).

The consequent third form of racial stereotyping in South Africa, is one that depicts blacks in progressively more middle class roles. However, as intimated by Nick Tredoux's words "and hopefully doing it in such a way that they can identify with the aspiration which is involved", the rites of passage from ethnic orientation to black middle class orientation were neither unproblematic for their subjects nor unequivocal for their subjectors. Apparatuses such as Radio Bantu and Bantu Education, set up for the realisation of the Bantustan project, had retarded black development by resurrecting and re-articulating traditional forms. Although major reforms were made to original apartheid strategy *vis-a-vis* labour and urbanisation, during the P.W. Botha era, entrenchment of social division based on ethnicity still remained strategically essential for the engineering of a 'consociational democracy', as an adaptation to the Verwoerdian version of Bantustan policy (see Lijphart, 1977). As Hindson (1987:85) points out, urban Africans should have exercised political rights only in the Bantustans in terms of the recommendations of the Riekert Commission of enquiry into urbanisation.

In theory, middle class stereotyping, which is meant to bring people together within a single social formation as a *class* in terms of the position they occupy in relation to the means of production, (rather than as groups on an ethnic basis), should be in fundamental contradiction to ethnic stereotyping. While ethnic stereotyping draws its inspiration from pre-industrial traditional forms, middle class stereotyping is a post-industrialisation cultural form drawing its inspiration from industrial society or modern Western culture from the advanced industrial democracies (Chapter2). Urbanisation and reform in the economic sphere (provided substantial economic growth does take place in the future), should make a Westernised petty bourgeois black media

depiction predominant. One can read this implication in the monopoly capitalist vision for South Africa until the 1980s (e.g. see O'Dowd, 1964). However, during the 1980s some forecasts or 'scenario planning' for South Africa foresaw what was being termed a 'Third World Destiny' (Green and Lascaris, 1988; Rudman, 1988). Though presented in a positive light at the time, these forecasts must be seen as inherently pessimistic.

During the 1980s, the government still tried to reconcile the contradictory implications of 'black middle classes' to earlier apartheid forms, by stating that such black middle classes should be "amongst the nations of South Africa". With reference to free enterprise, state president P.W. Botha had stated that it offered the potential:

... to create black middle classes amongst the nations of South Africa, and thereby lay the foundation for resisting communism (Quoted in Posel, 1987; Quoted in Mann, 1986).

Hence, even the urban black middle classes were being conceived as being "amongst the nations of South Africa". Urban black middle classes were nonetheless still supposed to be linked by an apartheid umbilical cord to the homelands or Bantustans. Save for the bureaucratic middle classes salaried by the homelands governments, and in turn subsidised by the central government, these Bantustans mostly lacked the economic infrastructure to produce black middle classes<sup>34</sup>. The means of production through which black native Africans could come to exist as a petty bourgeoisie, were situated in 'white' industrial South Africa, possibly bordering the homelands, but more likely within major cities.

Ethnic black middle classes of the 1980s can be seen as a transitory and contradictory form. They were a compromise symptomatic of the so called alliance, until the first half of the 1980s, between English-speaking and Afrikaans monopoly capital interests and the Nationalist Party governing bureaucracy under P.W. Botha (Mann, 1986). It is debatable to what extent government bureaucrats and Afrikaner business interests still actually held on to the belief of 'separate nations' by the 1980s. It is difficult to see how anyone could seriously have believed that even two or so decades of systematic ethnic programming and manipulation, could have laid sound enough foundations upon which to support 'ethnic' black middle classes, diverse black nationalities that could indefinitely maintain their distinct ethnic identities in the face of living and working in the melting-pot situation of an urbanised industrial society that integrated into a single economy. On the other hand, powerful English-dominated monopoly capital interests for much of the first half of the 1980s, still appeared somewhat disinterested about whether or not black middle classes should have been "amongst the nations of South Africa" (see Castle Lager case study in Chapter 7). At first advertisers generally showed some mild resistance to the vernacular language stipulation as it applied to TV2/3. The production of several commercials in the vernacular raised costs, while it had been established by market research that South Africa's highest concentration of urban blacks, (those living in Johannesburg's satellite city, Soweto), were more familiar with English than any of the other languages.<sup>35</sup> But given the oversubscription of TV1, advertisers soon acquiesced to supporting the

final electronic touches to apartheid by producing ethnic black commercials. Nevertheless, TV2/3 never became self-financing and continued to be cross-subsidised from income generated by TV1, and by TV4 which was introduced early 1987. The merging of TV2/3 with TV4 in 1991 marked a major departure from earlier strictures in official broadcasting policy as it represented a step towards forming a single national culture in South Africa.

The ethnic imperatives which continued to underpin SABC-TV broadcasting during the 1980s were likely to have inhibited and frustrated advertising in South Africa from performing, what according to much of the neo-Marxist criticism, is its monopoly capitalist 'function' of creating a consumer based mass culture (Sinclair 1987:24-25). 'Traditional' African society to which ethnicity refers is contradictory to the middle class consumption ethic because it reverts back to pre-industrial tribal modes. Given that theories about the ideological role of advertising in modern industrial societies are complex and inconclusive, one cannot have expected many Afrikaner politicians to have readily appreciated the possible ideological role of advertising in social reform in South Africa. In spite of the years of dire warnings about the evils of communism, it seems that Afrikaner government bureaucrats might have found capitalist ideas about the positive value of advertising a little foreign to their frame of reference. With a few exceptions, most of the generation of Afrikaners with strong agrarian links did not yet have their hearts fully within capitalism. Afrikaners had been drawn into capitalism by force of their defeat in the Anglo-Boer War (see Dunbar Moodie, 1975), and this experience to some extent continued to be reflected in the attitude of some National Party government bureaucrats, and certainly featured in a more focused form in the minds of right-wing Afrikaner politicians. In the post World War II period, after the government of South Africa slipped into the custody of the Afrikaners, Western governments and mediating local monopoly capitalist interests, for the most part had to grin and bear some of their idiosyncrasies.

#### **BLACK MIDDLE CLASS STEREOTYPING (NON-ETHNIC)**

The fourth form of racial stereotyping in South African mass media is one that depicts blacks in progressively more middle class roles *without* differentiating on an ethnic basis. This form is fully consistent with 'consumption as a means of hegemony' and has already been discussed at the end of Chapter 2. It has been pointed out previously that many impediments existed to the transition to this approach, economic, cultural, and political. But various instances of this approach were already occurring in advertisements after the mid-1980s. The example of the threshold breaking 'non-racial' Mobil commercial of 1985 (to be further discussed below) would not quite qualify for this category.<sup>36</sup> It was with the adoption of the principle of racial integration in beer advertising, that race and class barriers came to be simultaneously breached in advertising commercials. By bringing blacks into a white middle class world, by depicting them as refined and sophisticated and as significant shareholders in this world, beer commercials came closest to articulating a definitive non-racial 'South African' identity during the reform period (see Chapter 7). The articulation of such an identity essentially also needed a suitable product, a product where its consumption could

be repeatedly depicted in integrated situations, steeped within the trappings of white collar corporate culture or other aspects of middle class existence. Beer advertising on television made black middle class depiction something more than a tentative emergent form in South African advertising. Castle Lager has therefore been selected for the basis of a detailed examination of this form of black stereotyping in Chapter 7.

### **SABC GATEKEEPING IN AN ERA OF REFORM**

As has been pointed out above, SABC-TV was based upon a conservative mandate enshrined in the *Meyer Commission Report* (Meyer, 1971). Reform did not only come to the SABC due to changes in the political sphere but also through constant market-related friction being generated, through the pressure of structural reform processes upon advertising and other broadcasting work practices. However, the process of change was slow and frustrating for some advertisers. Residual apartheid thinking in its various guises was strong and intimidating. When change came at the SABC, it was often a carefully measured and calculated change:

We are not oversensitive on racial mixing or multiracial advertising, we accept any artists in any commercial provided their language usage is that of the particular station on which it is broadcast. And that the language usage is the acceptable norm for that particular language group.... You see we have the different stations which are identified as an English station, or an Afrikaans station, an Inguni station, or a Sothu station. So, I mean, there, obviously, the language must be of the particular station and the acceptable norm. But as for the visuals and for the artists there will be no problem at all. A little while ago we had a commercial (for Standard Bank) which used all black artists and they spoke in English (broadcast only on TV1 & TV4) and we had no negative comment at all (Interview with SABC General Manager, Advertising Management, Auckland Park, April 1987).

One can see from the above quote, that by 1987, SABC-TV regulations had been eased slightly, but the overall language stipulation still remained sacrosanct. Initially in 1976, when a centralised national broadcast television service was first introduced, producers had been told by the SABC that no blacks could appear in 'white' (TV1) programmes. This proved impossible in documentaries, so the SABC relented (see RE Tomaselli, *et al* 1989). The reformist initiatives pursued by the P.W. Botha government from 1979 onwards created a space for partial integration in both programmes and in advertising commercials. The first racial relaxation in advertising occurred when the SABC permitted blacks and whites to be intercut in separate sequences. Before the introduction of TV2/3 there were powerful structural reform pressures for blacks to be depicted within commercials on TV1, because they often formed the majority of the market for a particular product (see case study on Rama margarine history reel in Chapter 8). Later, it became more permissible for blacks and whites to appear in the same frame (see case study on the Castle Lager history reel in Chapter 7). In the first half of the 1980s most interracial mixing was seen in advertisements featuring children rather than adults. At that stage children were argued by SABC (and like-minded market research organisations), to be more tolerant of interracial images (see McLean, 1983).

Beer advertisements after the mid-1980s were a clear exception. Commercials for this product depicted male non-ethnic middle blacks together with white males (in bars, and other locations), interacting within the same camera frame. Interestingly, in the case of beer advertising ideology consistent with monopoly capitalist labour needs for skilled and managerial blacks, seems to have been able to flow through SABC transmitters more freely. By the mid-1980s, in the case of Castle Lager (see Chapter 7), this ideology also reflected English-speaking capital's political realignment and distancing from government policy. The language stipulation in respect of TV2/3 did continue to apply also to beer commercials. But for most of the reform period, beer commercials broadcast on TV1 and TV4 were consistently 'multiracial' (or perhaps one could say non-racial), in the sense that blacks and whites were depicted interacting together on a social level as equals (see Chapter 7). This certainly was not always the case with other products where black 'consumption' also exceeded white 'consumption'. It might be argued, of course, that the 'use' or 'consumption' occasion of other mass market products, may not as easily have facilitated the depiction of interracial mixing as the beer drinking occasion. For example, in the case of tea drinking, this beverage is mostly consumed in a home situation. Thus, one would not normally have expected to find much interracial mixing during tea drinking occasions in either white suburban homes or even in the upper crust of black township home life. Had there been a tea commercial depicting such interracial mixing in a home situation it might arguably have not been realistic in terms of the norm, but it would certainly have been taboo breaking. Undeniably, beer was the product category which was being the most taboo breaking in its advertising.

Although one can say that during the P.W. Botha era of reform there was progressive relaxation in regard to the television portrayal of black and white social interaction, an ultimately contradictory dynamic was also at work. Language is the key means of delineating different cultures and ethnicity. As has been pointed out previously, the project for the reaffirmation of ethnicity remained firmly part of the political agenda during P.W. Botha's administration. The SABC's stipulation for strict adherence to the ethnic language of each channel, therefore remained paramount. In a nutshell, the logic of the P.W. Botha reform period seems to have been that South Africa was no longer a racist country, but a 'constellation of states'. It was no different fraternising with blacks, Greeks, Germans or Portuguese as long as one clearly knew whether blacks were either Xhosas, Zulus, Sothos, Tswanas and so on. Up until the early 1990s, TV2 continued to broadcast to the Zulu, Xhosa, Swazi and Ndebele 'groups' (linguistically similar but separated for political reasons), while TV3 transmitted to the Tswana, North Sotho, South Sotho and Venda 'groups', (also linguistically very similar). Both channels had been introduced in 1982. By design, these stations only transmitted to areas (urban and rural), where the respective 'language groups' had sometimes been forcibly settled by the state (Tomaselli KG & Tomaselli RE, 1988a).

There had been much consternation within advertising circles when the implications of the SABC's language stipulation were first fully appreciated. This occurred in 1980, when an SABC directive officially informed advertising agencies that commercials for the future SABC-TV2 would have to be presented in two of five vernaculars: Zulu, Xhosa, northern Sotho, southern Sotho and Tswana.<sup>37</sup> Through a careful study of the implications of the *Meyer Commission Report* (1971), advertising

agencies might have realised sooner that this would have been the case. One might perhaps conclude that there had been insufficient earlier forward planning on the part of advertising agencies. The language stipulation thus came as a shock when its implications could no longer be ignored, but in any case little concerted will existed to contest it.

According to Tim Hamilton Russel, who was at the time chairman and managing director of the J Walter Thompson advertising agency, the cost of producing a TV commercial in either Afrikaans or English was at that stage roughly R30,000. Lip-synchronising for mandatory bilingual commercials, pushed up costs to an average R35,000. With the SABC's formidable list of requirements for producing commercials in the vernaculars, however, costs would have risen to an average of R55,000 (1980). The SABC even went as far as recommending that commercials should actually be recorded in each ethnic area or perhaps 'nation' using authentic ethnic voices. For absolute authenticity, Xhosa commercials had to be recorded in King William's Town by a Xhosa; Zulu commercials in Durban by a Zulu; Northern Sotho commercials in Pietersburg; southern Sotho commercials in Johannesburg; and Tswana in Pretoria. Ironically, (according to the pedantic SABC logic), a Zulu fluent in Xhosa was not supposed to record a Xhosa commercial as ethnicity had to be maintained at all costs. A second irony was that with SABC-TV2 (SABC-TV2/3 was initially referred to as SABC-TV2), aimed at urban blacks, an All Media Products Survey (AMPS) had revealed that in Soweto, 78,65% of blacks read and understood English. The ethnic languages trailed: 56% read and understood Zulu, 31% Xhosa; 24% northern Sotho, 44,1% southern Sotho, 35,6% Tswana; 6,7% Tsonga; and 5,6% Venda. Afrikaans rated 51,6%. Tim Hamilton Russel's conclusion was that English was clearly the lingua franca in Soweto. But even on the basis of such unassailable facts it was unlikely the SABC would at that stage have altered its dedication to vernacular commercials.<sup>38</sup> An account of the political reasons for strict enforcement of ethnic broadcasting to mainly urban blacks, has been given above. Also, there was considerable uncertainty amongst marketing professionals, possibly due to some extent to the influence of residual apartheid thinking in some marketing conceptions (see Chapter 6).

Pedantic SABC-TV insistence on the use of the stipulated ethnic languages, went a step further. As has already been pointed out previously, the ban also included words of English origin that have become an essential part of modern Western consumer culture in non-English speaking-countries throughout the world. Advertisements in black languages were not allowed to have any English words such as 'toothpaste' or 'chips' (Mersham, 1985:150-154). However, some English-based terms were later allowed.<sup>39</sup> The practical effect of this designed cultural diversity through pedantic insistence on language purity in broadcasting, was probably to restrict or disincline any natural tendencies towards the development of a distinctive South African creative advertising culture. It made advertising expressions very cumbersome and stifled the emergence or legitimation of a common idiom, which television might have used to facilitate, instead of frustrate.

During the 1980s, reports in the more oppositionally-inclined liberal press, had given the impression that the business sector and advertising agencies, either through economic considerations or liberal

convictions, wanted to convey advertising which was a lot more vigorously reformist than the SABC was at that stage prepared to allow (Ludman, 1985). For instance, it would have been extremely difficult, if not impossible, for advertisers to persuade the SABC to flight a commercial to white viewers on TV1 depicting blacks and whites dancing together in the same frame (ibid). But surprisingly, the 1985 Mobil petrol advertisement (mentioned earlier), flighted on both the 'black' and 'white' channels, had a white woman facing the camera centre frame dancing in a petrol station with black attendants flanking her on either side. An interview with the SABC's director of advertising management did not shed any light on to why the SABC had relented in this case, except that the station was "moving with the times" (Interview, April 1987).

Mobil, in common with other major oil monopolies, adhered to a corporate strategy based upon themes of social or environmental responsibility. In the United States, a well-known consumer campaign by Mobil based on the theme — 'We want you to live', used fearful images of motoring accidents to discourage careless driving. In South Africa, Mobil justified its continued presence in an apartheid economy by portraying itself as a promoter of black advancement and education. A print campaign around themes such as 'Black education needn't be a dead-end street — This Graffiti's meant for you, South Africa!' or 'The only thing Mobil would like to see wiped out is ignorance', were published in magazines.<sup>40</sup>

Advertising commercials to attract motorists to petrol stations often also have something larger in mind than ordinary product advertisements. These are also corporate advertisements. In the case of Mobil, their South African advertisements might have included corporate advertising motivations (for Mobil in South Africa, but also for a very select audience in the United States). In an analysis of the ideological implications of such advertising by foreign-based multinationals, underlying dynamics should be analysed within a larger context than the advertising of local monopoly capital. The activities of these transnational corporations might be considered to have been 'extra-hegemonic' of local processes of hegemony. While acting within the strictures of a fluctuating discourse regarding the manner in which the advanced industrial democracies related to South Africa during apartheid, communications of the foreign multinationals at times probably had a catalytic effect. For instance, in their campaigns for equal employment opportunities (see Schomer, 1983:145-156), foreign corporations, such as Polariod in the 1970s, broke new ground with the adoption of policies which South African corporations might not have initiated as soon, but were too embarrassed not to follow. Thus, in pursuance of their own larger capitalist interests, some of the more powerful multinationals such as Mobil, or relatively smaller corporations such as Polariod, may at times have made genuine contributions to breaching apartheid in South Africa. But typically (in spite of their anti-apartheid agitation), as profit-driven organisations foreign corporations in South Africa were in practice probably no less exploitative of cheap black labour than local corporations. Thus, it was not always easy to discern if disinvestment was only a sanction against apartheid or also flight at the face of the growing strength of South African trade unions, in the wake of the reform of apartheid.

With regard to the above-mentioned Mobil advertisement, the director of advertising management



at the SABC, could not rule out the possibility that some commercials broadcast through the SABC by international corporations, might have been politically motivated, in the sense of being calculated to make a favourable impression at shareholders' meetings in some foreign country. However, he typically maintained that the SABC would in any case have judged such commercials on their own merits, according to the prevailing South African norms, without taking any other consideration into account (Interview, April 1987).

In line with reform, TV2/3 tended to mainly broadcast programmes using 'black American' themes and singers (Erasmus, 1981). The fact that blacks and whites (adults) were still not normally supposed to dance together in the same frame in commercials on TV1, is a little more difficult to explain. But if one looked at the dominant mainstream media discourse from the Anglo-Saxon advanced industrial states, portrayal of intimacy between mixed couples clearly of European and African origin still continued to be largely taboo during the 1980's. When it *did* occur in films made for a mass market, it was exceptional (usually if the protagonist was a black man, the 'white' female might, for instance, have been of Chinese or Tibetan origin). Possibly, it would not have been unfair to have expected white South Africans, as fellow Africans, to have applied higher standards of non-racism in relation to native black Africans than one found in the dominant media discourse of the United States or Britain at the time. However during the 1980s reform period, it was unlikely that the SABC would have caused trouble for the government by infuriating either the nationalistically racist sensitivities of the Afrikaner right-wing, or the sensitivities of large numbers of English-speaking petty bourgeoisie who liked to take their cue from what some critics have described, as the international cultural hegemony of the United States (Mattelart, 1979).

Anti-apartheid critics were in no doubt that ethnic programming via TV2/3 had more to do with the government's political imperatives than with any of the arguments for its justification: that it was a strategy in pursuance of a divide-and-rule policy to magnify and mould cultural differences amongst South African blacks. The National Party's ethnic policy was seen to be subtly camouflaged to appear as something necessary for the 'protection' existing cultural, language, and historical diversities. Nevertheless, the situation is too complex to attribute the incidence and persistence of all unnecessary separate advertising to the SABC alone. Though the SABC as gatekeeper was in a strong position to discourage change, it was never alone in doing so. In view of the large sums spent on TV advertising, monopoly capitalist advertisers were always in a strong position to influence, if not dictate, their media requirements. But no consensus ever existed, as advertisers (corporations large and small), were generally too terrified and intimidated to offer any resistance to the SABC. Demand for commercial time on the white petty bourgeois TV1 channel always far exceeded the amount available. Through unfavourable interpretation of its various rules in respect of the allocation of advertising time, compliant advertisers could be favoured at the expense of any recalcitrant ones. After deregulation according to free market principles in 1987, the power of the SABC to intimidate advertisers was probably reduced.<sup>41</sup> But by and large, many advertisers were also quite willing to accept conditions offered by the SABC, because they did not fully disagree with the generally held ethnic conception of the marketing situation.

As will be pointed in Chapter 6, apartheid in advertising also originated from deeper, residual structural causes. These included entrenched views about the racial nature of the South African market, still shared by much the marketing profession. It has not always been easy for the researcher to discern what was purely apartheid and what was sound marketing practice in South Africa. According to Tim Bester, deputy chairman of the South African branch of McCann-Erikson, one of the largest global advertising agencies with head offices in the United States:

One has to recognise differences not because one is making a racial statement, but because the differences are relevant to the selling of the product (*The Star*, 18 February 1986, p13).

As a responsible advertising practitioner, Bester, might not have been faulted for taking such differences into regard at the time, if these were critical to the optimum realisation of a marketing strategy. However, post-apartheid advertisers also need to be duty-bound not to perpetuate those rigidities that unnecessarily underpinned and reinforced apartheid culture. In this light, it is interesting to note the same Tim Bester's marked change of tone in a interview two and a half years later<sup>12</sup>, where he argued with equal conviction for a position diametrically opposed to his earlier one:

Because racial 'differences' are our start point, through the population registration act, we then seek to justify differences between races. I question this logic and this process on moral, ethical and political grounds, not to mention its applicability to effective marketing (*Saturday Star*, October 22 1988, p11).

A yardstick for evaluating what was in fact apartheid in advertising could be: a) whether only one advertising campaign for that particular product, in one language, might possibly have communicated to the whole market; and b) whether the emergence of such a campaign was prevented by the SABC and/or prejudice or lack of initiative on the part of marketers. It seems that the SABC's policies would eventually be reviewed and modified if they came under consistent and sustained criticism. Relaxation of restrictions was gradual but given a context of much uncertainty amongst marketing and advertising institutions about what the norms should be, the SABC's claim that it was keeping up with changing norms was not entirely unfounded. On the whole, it cannot be denied that after the mid-1980s racially motivated restrictions on the content of SABC-TV commercials were considerably relaxed from when commercial television first started in January 1978. TV4, introduced in early 1987 (to compete with M-Net, a privately owned pay service using SABC transmitters) consistently screened multi-racial programmes (*Benson*, *The Cosby's*, *The Jefferson's* etc.), and may to some extent have also been intended to make up for the shortcoming of TV2/3 with regard to English speaking urban blacks (Tomaselli KG, 1986b).

The pace of change at the SABC was probably one which could have been influenced a lot more strongly by marketing and advertising institutions, had they felt more strongly about it earlier. The SABC, along with the Advertising Agencies Association, and Newspaper Publishers Union (NPU), were party to the advertising industry's self-regulatory body: the Advertising Standards Authority.

The fact that there continued to be some friction between advertisers and the SABC on apartheid-related issues, is further indication that at a higher state level (government/monopoly capital), advertising-related problems were never seriously considered. This dispels conspiratorial notions that product advertising might have been playing a role in 'total strategy'. Notwithstanding the earlier explanations for the entrenchment of ethnic imperatives in television broadcasting, one might suppose that given the fact that so many sacred cows of petty apartheid ('hurtful') had already been slaughtered, the abolition of some of the seemingly apartheid-related regulations of the SABC might have seemed a trivial sacrifice. The SABC had always maintained that its regulations had little to do with apartheid. As was pointed out previously, Mersham (1985) had argued in support of the SABC's ethnic programming policy by claiming that it was in line with the existing ethnic topography of South African society, and thus necessary for 'culturally authentic' communication to take place. Advertisers failed to produce equally cogent arguments to the contrary. The *Meyer Commission Report* (1971) never received any formidable contestation sponsored by the business sector.

By 1988, developments at the SABC were indeed beginning to follow a more democratic course, according to Owen Mundel:<sup>43</sup>

The recession was wonderful for the industry, the best thing that ever happened. First it got rid of all the rubbish. A lot of people and agencies disappeared almost overnight. Then it converted our television situation from a State-run TV with commercials to a commercial TV station. At some stage during the recession, a memo went around SABC-TV. It was unsigned and it merely said: 'make Profits'. I think it must have come from God. From then on, SABC-TV started behaving itself. It discovered demand driven rates and threw the service open to anything - 10 second spots, 20 second, 30 seconds, whatever. Creatively it was magnificent (Advertising Supplement, *Financial Mail*, 8 July 1988:29-30).

In cases where a product was bought by a broad cross-section of consumers, the SABC should ideally have maintained a laissez-faire policy. Advertisers should have been permitted to broadcast whatever commercials they wished, provided such commercials conformed to the advertising code of ethics to which the SABC also subscribed. Overall consumer reactions to their brands would soon have taught marketers the real parameters they had to observe. By virtue of 'market democracy' the supermarket cash register might have been the ballot box for their brands! However, where a product or service had a limited target market, this principle might not have applied, because a commercial could be offensive to large groups of people who would not be able to express their disapproval by withholding their patronage as buyers. Such was the case in 1991, with a commercial broadcast on TV1 to market the IGI Group's medical insurance scheme. This commercial was cruelly offensive in its portrayal of rural blacks, who did not constitute part of the target market for IGI's medical insurance services.<sup>44</sup>

By 1991, in the context of a government that had committed itself to negotiations with all parties for a new constitution, political pressures to democratise its operations could no longer be resisted by

the SABC. For the first time in its history, the SABC appointed an African, Madala Mphahlele, (ex-employee of the Lintas advertising agency), to a powerful executive post. Incredible as it may in retrospect seem, his task was to oversee the merging of TV2/3 and TV4 into one channel:

My job is going to be to design a channel that meets the imagination of all South Africans — whatever their race, colour, sex or class (*New Nation*, April 26 - May 2 1991:10).

The still cumbersomely integrated TV2/3/4 unit was destined to become Contemporary Community Values Television (CCV-TV), in 1992. These developments amounted to a dramatic reversal of earlier policy. The road before these seemingly very logical requirements could be met was a long and torturous one.

One must conclude, that the SABC's restrictions, although important should not be seen as entirely dominant. The perpetuation of apartheid through product advertising, and the various forms of racial stereotyping it supported, needs to be considered in terms of the entire marketing, advertising production, and broadcasting processes. It was never the SABC alone holding back innovative advertising strategies and new milestones in popular South African idiom. It should not be forgotten that there were also other media with which the South African consumer could be reached, newspapers, magazines and billboards. The press, especially, was substantially controlled by powerful private sector interests which at the time were ostensibly critical of the government's slow pace of reform. Powerful South African corporations could easily have paralysed the SABC's ethnic policy by temporarily diverting or even threatening to divert, some of their advertising to other media. However, the order of hegemony in South Africa has been such that governments have been free to perform within their given parameters as they see fit and, only very rarely has open confrontation with capital occurred.

<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to Television*, Government Printer, Pretoria, RP37/1971.

<sup>2</sup> See for example H.F. Verwoerd's views about the future of television in "Statement of Policy in the House of Assembly, March 9, 1960", (Pelzer, 1966:346-353).

<sup>3</sup> Ogilvy & Mather, Rightford, Searle, Tripp and Makin.

<sup>4</sup> *Financial Mail*, Advertising Supplement, August 21, 1987:29.

<sup>5</sup> H.F. Verwoerd's Statement of Policy in the House of Assembly, March 9, 1960 (Pelzer 1966:347-8).

<sup>6</sup> H.F. Verwoerd, Statement of Policy in the House of Assembly, March 9, 1960 (Pelzer 1966:354).

<sup>7</sup> The formulation of research designs and the interpretation of the findings of public opinion surveys is quite probably often related to ideological considerations. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that in addition to giving insight into planning, some surveys that are used to publicise indications of public opinion in percentage figures may be intended to precipitate the course of politics through the so-called 'band wagon effect'.

- <sup>8</sup> See 'Black Is Beautiful', *Financial Mail*, October 5, 1979:61.
- <sup>9</sup> Refer to Verwoerd discussing his reservations about Mr Macmillan's 'Winds of Change Speech', Statement of Policy Speech in the House of Assembly, March 9, 1960 (Pelzer 1996:360-9).
- <sup>10</sup> See *Tongue Tip Test* in Chapter 8 and Appendix 2B, especially Shot 28.
- <sup>11</sup> See early Castle Lager historical commercials in Chapter 7 and Appendix 1B.
- <sup>12</sup> The fact that a major population group such as the Zulus had not agreed to accept 'independence' for their homeland, KwaZulu, was a very serious spanner in the works, despite the supposed connivance at the time of Chief Buthelezi with the Afrikaner Nationalists (see Davenport, 1991:376-8).
- <sup>13</sup> Indeed further growth of the internal consumer market, now mostly dependent on blacks, was becoming increasingly important to the continued growth of capitalism. However it seems that during a hiatus, while capital was still in the process of fully coming to terms with this realisation, the Afrikaner government was free to implement its own earlier communications strategy in broadcasting policy.
- <sup>14</sup> Some critics (Tomaselli KG ed., 1989:100) have drawn attention to a somewhat ephemeral appearance of 'Black Consciousness' stereotypes in advertisements following the Soweto riots of 1976. For instance, 'Mainstay Cane Spirits' ran a campaign based on the theme 'Catch the Spirit of Freedom' which featured a black model. Also, in 1978 the J Walter Thompson (JWT) advertising agency ran a 'house ad' (advertisement with the express purpose of bringing in more business for the agency) with the rather provocative headline, "If you want to sell me anything white man you'd better know what you are talking about". This nicely designed print advertisement was illustrated with the photograph of a pouting young black executive dressed in pin stripe suit and reclining in an executive chair. The assertive negritude of the black model is underpinned by his well-groomed but brushed out Afro hair style, and the fact that he has been photographed to look the reader straight in the eyes with a penetrating expression. In trying to fathom the significance of this spate of advertisements based on black consciousness themes, the following factors might be taken into consideration. As a stereotyping form, the images depicted in such advertisements do not seem to have been sufficiently sustained to suggest that they were linked to any long term structural trend within the political economy. It seems more likely that the ideological implications of these advertisements were not particularly unique to apartheid politics of the time, nor should the moment of their manifestation suggest any 'conspiratorially motivated' ideological underpinning. The short-lived representation of the Black Consciousness movement in South African advertisements might be seen as a phenomenon consistent with the 'natural proclivity' of advertising to cannibalise, to reprocess for its resonance, and thus reify almost anything that bears novelty: topical events, revolutionary themes, or even criticism against itself. By 'natural proclivity' one means that in order to communicate with its target market (and harness them as consumers) advertising will try to anticipate and mimic their changing lifestyles, their habits, their heroes, the way they talk, think and feel. Similar examples have been evident in the appropriation of the themes and preoccupations of the feminist movement by advertising campaigns such as 'You've Come A Long Way Babe' for Virginia Slims cigarettes in the USA, or 'The Only Thing A Woman Should Burn Is Her Bra' for Ambre Solaire suntan oil in the UK. As was outlined in an earlier chapter, some variation exists in interpretations about how this rhetorical process might be specifically defined (Marcuse, 1964; Williams, 1973:3-16; Ewen, 1976; Williamson, 1978:177-8). In effect such advertisements perform a bridging process, reintegrating petty bourgeois discourse with the radicalism. In meeting their normal marketing purposes this ideological role of such advertisements is more likely contingent/hegemonic than conspiratorial.
- <sup>15</sup> A 'consociational democracy' would have amounted to a loose federation of separate states. See Lijphardt (1977) "Adaptation and Change in South Africa, Majority Rule Versus Democracy in Deeply Divided Societies". This influential paper advocating a 'consociational democracy' was delivered by visiting Dutch political scientist at the Congress of Political Science Association of South Africa, 29&30 September 1977, Rand Afrikaans University, Johannesburg.
- <sup>16</sup> These examples might thus be seen to confirm government misgivings about the potential negative psychological impact of television on blacks, referred to above (Hachten and Giffard, 1984:206-8; Bob Rightford as quoted in *Financial Mail*, Advertising Supplement, August 21, 1987:29).
- <sup>17</sup> A mid-1980s advertisement from Paris succeeded in being both intensely racist and sexist at the same time by featuring a nude black woman holding a bottle with champagne spouting over her shoulders and into a glass perched on her exaggerated buttocks (Kleinmann, 1986/7:21) See also, *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, Vol 14 No 1, Winter 1990, special issue devoted to minority images in advertising.
- <sup>18</sup> In a conference on 'Minority Images in Advertising, De Paul University, Chicago, April 1989, a controversial advertising campaign developed by Foote, Cone & Belding Communications served as a bench-march for discussions about this form. This campaign run in the United States from 1967 to 1970 and had featured *Frito Bandito*, a willy cartoon character who coaxed others into giving him their *Frito* corn chips in television and print advertisements. After complaints from the Mexican American Committee a sanitised version of this character was produced, but Mexican-American groups were still offended and pressured individual broadcasters and the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) for free time to respond. According to Don Mc Comb, (*Journal of Communication Inquiry*), Vol. 14 No 1, Winter 1970 p.3-4), this form of negative stereotypical depiction of

minorities continued to be a problem in the United States twenty years after the *Frit Lay* campaign.

- <sup>19</sup> Some further examples of overtly pejorative racial stereotyping may be found in Chapter 7 and Chapter 8, with empirical support in Volume II, Appendices 1B and 2B. The Castle Lager *Gold Prospectors* (1986) commercial shows pejoratively stereotyped blacks in Shots 4,5,6,7. The semiotics of these shots are only fully meaningful when considered in terms of the total cumulative communication of the Castle Lager campaign history: it appears possible this commercial might at that point in time have been interpellated within polemical anti-apartheid strategies of English-dominated capital. Though on the surface pejorative, in terms of the contextual history of the commercial these stereotypes are affirmative (Chapter 7). The Rama *Tongue Tip Test* (1978) commercial shows a pejoratively stereotyped black man in Shot 28. This earlier example appears to constitute more of a naive slip-up on the part of the producers of the commercial (Chapter 8), and is consistent with what was above termed classic racial stereotyping.
- <sup>20</sup> South African Cabinet Minister, Chris Heunis, had called for 'Consensus Journalism': "A media style that will emphasise common matters and consensus opportunities, rather than one which concentrates exclusively on problems causing conflict and leaves it there without pointing out the potential for consensus and co-operation". It was contested by critical media theorists that this form of journalism would facilitate the preservation of a *status quo*, as consistent with the interests of apartheid (Louw, 1985:60-63). With regard to the depiction of blacks in South African Cinema, there are earlier indications of such a discourse of 'Consensus Journalism' in an article published by Pieter Fourie, "Interkulturele probleme in beeldkommunikasie", *Communicare*, 1982:3(1),60-73.
- <sup>21</sup> Interview with SABC-TV General Manager, Advertising, 1987.
- <sup>22</sup> In the case of TV, 'channel switching' was believed to result in black viewers spending at least one-third of their time watching TV1 (see *Financial Mail*, 12 March 1982:1212, library edition).
- <sup>23</sup> Afrikaner Resistance Movement.
- <sup>24</sup> Some of Smythe's ideas have been criticised as reductionist (Golding and Murdock, 1979:209-10; Garnham, *Critical Sociology* Vol 7 No 1, undated). Nevertheless Smythe's position about the capacity of media to create what he calls 'stable audience blocks' does have some plausibility, maybe even more so in a South African context where the SABC operating as a state monopoly capitalist 'public service' increasingly dominated commercial media.
- <sup>25</sup> See 'Radio - facing competition', *Financial Mail*, Advertising and Media Survey, 3 April 1981:33-4.
- <sup>26</sup> According to Jan Schutte (at the time SABC General Manager, Advertising), the SABC had had earlier plans to develop local radio but these plans had to be put on a backburner due to a shortage of manpower after the introduction of television ('Local is Lekker', *Financial Mail*, Advertising Supplement, June 28 1985: 107-110).
- <sup>27</sup> See 'Local is Lekker\*', *Financial Mail*, Advertising Supplement, 28 June, 1985:107-110; 'Auckland Park calling ...' *Financial Mail*, Advertising Supplement, 22 August 1986:41. \**Lekker* means nice in Afrikaans.
- <sup>28</sup> See 'Into the Mag Mire', *Financial Mail*, Advertising Supplement, 28 June 1985:94-103; 'Periodicals pace well', *Financial Mail*, Advertising and Media Survey, 3 April 1981:26.
- <sup>29</sup> The Bantu Education Act which was passed in 1953 directly expressed the role which the Afrikaner Nationalist government had in mind for Africans in South Africa. They were to be given an education which fitted them for life in the reserves, on the farms, and in a predominantly migrant, unskilled labour force. They could not expect to enjoy an education which gave them equality with whites (Stadler, 1987:75;177-9).
- <sup>30</sup> Negotiations for a post-apartheid democratic dispensation have resulted in the requisite implementation of SABC-TV broadcasts in no less than eleven languages. This might be seen partly as result from the need for quick consensus in the negotiation processes. Though somewhat demanding upon post apartheid SABC-TV resources, the manner of implementation of the new language policy could not be compared with the rigidity that had previously existed.
- <sup>31</sup> It is believed that government insistence upon the use of Afrikaans sparked off these protests.
- <sup>32</sup> *Financial Mail*, Advertising Supplement, 28 June 1985:96.
- <sup>33</sup> Advertisements affected by the apartheid-related SABC-TV broadcasting dispensation of the time and/or apartheid influenced marketing conceptions.
- <sup>34</sup> A slight exception might be the case of Kwa Zulu during the late 1980s, where the Kwa Zulu Development Corporation was having some limited success in establishing a commercial and industrial infrastructure.
- <sup>35</sup> 'Cost of Babel', *Financial Mail*, 8 August 1980.
- <sup>36</sup> By featuring a racially integrated scene of a white woman petrol attendant dancing on the service station forecourt with male black petrol attendants, all wearing in similar uniforms (Ludman, 1985), the Mobil commercial was undoubtedly breaking racial barriers. This depiction showed a young white middle class woman sharing the working class job situation of these black petrol attendants. Petrol companies in South Africa have from time to time employed students in their public relations exercises, or

to conduct various product or service promotions to motorists, so the situation depicted was not entirely implausible or unrealistic. However, the black petrol attendants were still being depicted in their apartheid allotted places, serving up petrol, so in terms of a de-restriction of job limitations and class-mobility this Mobil commercial was not yet particularly progressive.

- <sup>37</sup> 'The Cost of Babel', *Financial Mail*, 8 August 1980:645.
- <sup>38</sup> 'The Cost Of Babel', *Financial Mail*, 8 August 1980:645, library edition).
- <sup>39</sup> 'Black Advertising - Can Anybody hear me', *Financial Mail* April 1983:573 library edition.
- <sup>40</sup> See *Critical Arts* Vols. 4 No 4/5 No 1 1988/89 p.21; *Frontline*, December 1989, Vol 9 No 4; Advertising Supplement, *Financial Mail*, 21 August 1987:54.
- <sup>41</sup> On the political level, the process of substantive changes at the SABC only gathered momentum after 1994. The form of 'deregulation' which is being referred to here was consistent with calls from the business sector during the 1980s for reduced government controls in the economy (Wassenaar, 1977). Prior to 1987, the SABC had only paid commission to accredited advertising agencies, but subsequently non-accredited agencies and even clients placing directly could get commission or rebate. Also, time slots would no longer be allocated at fixed rates but sold on a supply and demand basis (see 'Creative Media Buying', Advertising Supplement, *Financial Mail*, 21 August 1987:57-9; 'Change of Signal', *Financial Mail*, 27 February, 1987:95; 'Cost of Freedom', *Financial Mail*, 6 February 1987:83).
- <sup>42</sup> Disinvestment pressure on international adverting agency groups had intensified by 1987 (see 'Disinvestment Pressure', Advertising Supplement, *Financial Mail*, 21 August 1987:36).
- <sup>43</sup> Owen Mundel was one of the original founders of what became the 'Grey Group' of advertising agencies. He later left to start up his own advertising agency under the name of Mundels.
- <sup>44</sup> A young white woman motorist was depicted being seriously injured in an accident in some isolated African locale. She was rescued by rural black people and taken to a rural black hospital from where she was airlifted by helicopter to more sophisticated First World attention. The underlying concept of this advertisement is not in itself flawed. However, the manner of execution of the idea or direction of the commercial suffered from a rather stupid form of racist clumsiness or so called 'swart gevaar' prejudice. The drama of peril was further heightened (an aspect already sufficiently established with the depiction of the accident) by creating the suggestion that IGI were timeously delivering the patient from rural black medical staff whose level of competence was potentially dangerous. In my opinion a very dubious and unnecessary attempt was made to persuade the white upmarket target audience with the use of a particular (and at the time politically most unwelcome) brand of fear. A more effective execution could have been devised by depicting the caring nature of the rural black staff and at the same time emphasising that 'goodwill' for IGI medical insurance reached to even the most remote hospitals.

## POLITICAL DIMENSIONS OF REFORM AS AN INFLUENCE ON ADVERTISING

With the government's attempt to build an affluent, though voteless elite — however half-hearted and insincere it seems to those inside the 'black laager' — came the private sector's mad scramble to corner 'the black market'. The black market really opened up in 1982, when the SABC launched separate television channels for blacks in Nguni and Sotho languages to complement the Afrikaans and English language TV channel for whites and, since the new constitution, for Coloureds and Indians (Frederikse, 1986:62).

An important apartheid-related issue with regard to advertising in the P.W. Botha reform era revolved around an unsubstantiated contention by some left-wing intellectuals, as encapsulated by Frederikse (1986), that monopoly capital (both English and Afrikaner) and the government might in some way have been conspiring to use product advertising as one of the ingredients of so called 'Total Strategy'<sup>1</sup> (see Tomaselli and Louw, 1989). It seems to have been suspected by some media critics that advertising was somehow being used to help create a new 'black middle class' (see also Frederikse et al, 1989). Various theories about the ideological role of advertising in this regard have already been examined in Chapter 2. This thesis takes it for granted that advertising maintains a climate of consumption amongst its selected subjects. If (as has generally been the case) this ideological role of advertising is seen as a 'function' (Sinclair 1987:24-25), should one see it being a somewhat passive 'function' during the era of reform in the 1980s? Or did any intentions exist to include product advertising in a plan such as 'Total Strategy'? In other words, can one attribute conspiratorial leanings in the use of product advertising during any of the phases of reform? Frederikse (1986) does not explain the exact structural relationship between what she calls "the government's attempt to build an affluent, though voteless elite" and "the private sector's mad scramble to corner 'the black market'". However, by saying that the one came with the other, a suggestion is created that there might have been some degree of conspiracy to use advertising to facilitate this co-option process.

Some critics seem to have read 'co-option' as one of the elements of 'reform as a political discourse', and thus as part and parcel of what was considered to be an inadequate response by capital and the state in addressing the problem of equitable wealth redistribution. It was perceived that a small emerging black middle class could be co-opted as a buffer against the black working classes and growing numbers of unemployed (Frederikse, 1986). Also, it is possible that the psychological effects of some advertising during the 1980s, whether or not directly so intended, may have been promoting middle class values and aspirations amongst the urban working classes in competition with, or to counter the more radical or socialist-oriented cultural output of organisations such as the United Democratic Front and labour federations like the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Holt, 1988). However, as will be outlined below, even this assertion has somewhat problematic implications.



Consumer advertising may have been contributing to the raising of aspirations/expectations which could not be met, thus exacerbating rather than deflecting a conflict situation. If product advertising (advertising which sells branded consumer goods or services), is considered to be a 'superstructural' activity, it must be one whose relationship with the economic base is particularly direct (see Williams, [1960] 1980:34-35). For this reason, unless accompanied by an economic miracle (which seemed an increasingly unlikely prospect), attempts to use product advertising to create a 'black middle class' or class-mobile aspirations, would have amounted to little more than a sham which was bound to fail. The resulting consequences for the survival of capitalism in South Africa could have been dire (Holt, 1988). For what might be called 'a state of consumption hegemony' to operate successfully, there no doubt has to be a sound relationship between the degree of deception of advertising (if one should so call it) and what economic conditions can actually deliver. Without a significantly growing percentage of 'black township Joneses' driving new cars to work each year, how long could 'people next door' harbour aspirations for upward mobility? Already, by the mid-1980s, there were indications that the very limited social mobility which was taking place was regarded as counter-revolutionary by a fair number of black people. Interestingly, by the mid-1990's, after democratic elections and the instalment of a government of national unity, placards in a demonstration in Pietermaritzburg by members of less advantaged communities were calling 'for a chicken in every pot and a car in every driveway'.

But in actual fact, the growing interest of the private sector in the 'black market' had its roots in the 1970s, and thus considerably preceded the P.W. Botha government's co-option plans. These circumstances (which will be examined in the following chapter) suggest that the growing economic interest in blacks as *consumers* was the result of a type of structural change that was more of an organic order than conspiratorial. Indeed, when the new black TV channels were introduced in 1982, there was no 'mad scramble' to use commercial time on these strictly enforced ethnic channels. It has already been pointed out in Chapter 4 that there was some resistance because ethnic channels did not exactly meet advertisers specified needs. As will be discussed below, there are several reasons why any theory purporting that advertisements for consumer products could *intentionally* have been used to 'create' black middle classes in South Africa should be treated with scepticism. A study of the historical role of advertising in relation to twentieth century industrialisation and monopolisation (Pope, 1983), suggests that this sort of transformation occurs organically, and that other factors should also be present for it to occur. Sinclair (1987:31) points out that the alleged capacity of advertising to propel economic growth is questionable: firstly, on the empirical grounds that advertising has not achieved the alleged ability to manage demand; secondly, because in cases where growth has occurred it has not been a continuous outcome; and thirdly, that demand has ultimately been limited by the distribution of income across the class system. From these facts one might deduce that the mere psychic impact of consumer ideology, 'consumerisation of the psyche' as Ewen (1976) calls it, cannot alone guarantee that the material trappings of petty bourgeois culture will automatically follow on any large scale. Up to the end of the 20th century, from examples in numerous countries, what also seems to have been present has been an export driven economic dynamism based upon manufactured goods. From these past histories such economic dynamism usually comes with education levels and types of culture that complement and

propel labour and local consumption requirements. It might be postulated that because the world now finds itself in a post-Fordist mode of production, the 'information age', these above criteria might no longer apply. But such arguments are speculative and may well prove to be incorrect.

In support of her study of the role of advertising in relation to reform, Frederikse (1986) interviewed several South African advertising practitioners who confirmed the 'black embourgeoisement' scenario in no uncertain terms. The most interesting of these interviews is with Nick Tredoux, who had been an adept communicator via Radio Bantu to the in certain respects, artificially fragmented 'black market'. In this interview Tredoux not only gives a revealing glimpse of the possible utility of television advertising to the reform scenario, but also confirms almost every suspicion which was held by the Left about the role advertising is supposed play in relation to capitalism generally. Tredoux's statements to Frederikse (1986:66), "... showing what the capitalist society has to offer and hopefully doing it in such a way that they can identify with the aspiration which is involved", seem to have been interpellated within a discourse which at the time was trying to *sell* the concept advertising itself, to corporate capital as well as to the government.

When one considers Tredoux's statements one gets the impression that he might to some extent be 'showing off'. His statements seem to resonate with pre-constructed public and business perceptions about the arcane powers of the 'hidden persuaders'. He thus appears to be keen to create publicity for himself and his own advertising business. At the same time, his answers fit in just too neatly with what then used to be the Left's critique of advertising.

One must bear in mind precedents where advertising practitioners have used interviews with critics or academics as a means of self-promotion. For example, Vance Packard's interviews with Ernest Dichter in the 1950s can be pointed out as a most notable instance (Packard, 1957; Mayer, 1958; Dichter, 1960). It would not have been very difficult (and probably almost a second nature for local advertising practitioners to adapt time-worn debates about advertising to the context of the South African crisis. One should thus proceed with caution before interpreting statements from the advertising fraternity during this period as conclusive evidence of any officially planned approach to use advertising, and specifically product advertising, as part of reform strategy.

Also, critics of advertising often tend to overlook the fact that notwithstanding the possible overall social effects of 'advertising', the quest to actually achieve any specific human response with an advertisement, or advertising campaign, is in fact a rather exacting and optimistic endeavour that is fraught with difficulty. It is still sometimes believed by professional marketers that as much as "half of all advertising money is wasted" (Pope, 1983; Sinclair, 1985). In spite of advances in market research tracking techniques, many unquantifiable variables remain, which can influence the performance of a product in the marketplace. Thus, to some extent, the problem remains one of not knowing exactly which half of advertising money is wasted. Only in the case of 'direct response' advertising, where coupons on different versions of an advertisement can be keyed and the respondents physically counted (Caples, 1978),

can there be any reliable objective measure of the effectiveness of advertisements. An advertising campaign that is strategically flawed or inept in the execution of the individual component advertisements, might cause more harm than good to the branding of a product, service, or institution (O'Toole, 1981). Therefore, advertising practitioners miss no opportunity to reassure advertisers that advertising actually works<sup>2</sup>, and determinist criticism of advertising (e.g., Ewen, 1976) does help to make this task a little bit easier.

When trying to assess the possible ideological effects of 'advertising' it is important to bear in mind that this term includes various types of publicity and to distinguish between the different types of advertising. Classified advertising, which is placed by private persons in local newspapers, ranks relatively low on the scale of ideological content. Retail advertising for consumer goods by supermarket chains which usually focuses on *price*, has a lower ideological content than brand or product advertising. (However, with increasing emphasis by supermarket chains in the latter half of the 1980s on their *positioning* vis-a-vis a post-apartheid society, retail advertising during the reform era became considerably more ideological than is usually the case, see following chapter.) When critics discuss 'advertising' what they usually refer to is *brand* advertising for consumer goods. But this type of advertising is by no means easily amenable to carry the additional communication of separate ideological objectives. The most successful and effective advertisements are invariably those that have honed down the 'product benefit' to a single communication idea. Although the overall ideological output of consumer goods advertisements does consist of a general reinforcement of a 'bourgeois' consumer discourse, this usually occurs through the connotation of subsidiary meanings (Chapter 2). Consumer goods or product advertising particularly needs to be distinguished from corporate advertising, issue advertising, public service advertising, or political advertising. These forms of advertising do have more directly 'ideological' objectives as their primary purpose. The intention is to change or sell *ideas* rather than bring about the purchase manufactured goods or services (Garbett, 1981).

A few points need to be made here about *public service* advertising. Though usually also produced by advertising agencies, public service advertising consists of communications by central or local government agencies, or perhaps non-government organisations (NGOs). The aim of such advertisements is to inform the public about a broad variety of issues. In order to gain attention, public service advertising often uses techniques similar to those used for advertising branded goods or services of private sector companies. For instance, an advertisement intended to warn women about the dangers of German Measles to unborn children (to urge them to vaccinate themselves against the disease) might carry a headline saying: "Catch German Measles Before You Get Pregnant". The purposes of public service advertisements are in principle socially inclined, but this form of advertising should not be thought of as always being neutral or politically motivated ideology, as it can at times provide a powerful vehicle for state propaganda (see Myers, 1987).

With respect to both *political* advertising and *public service* advertising the government sector or in South Africa had not been spending very much money during the earlier apartheid eras, if one

takes into account the greater intensity of these forms of advertising in more advanced industrial democracies.. This did change to some extent during the P.W. Botha era. In some respects, the government political advertising campaigns preceding the 1983 referendum for the new Constitution<sup>3</sup>, the 1986 general elections, the “Together We’ll Build a Better Future” television and print campaigns, seem indicative of a desire on the part of the government to emulate the methods of advanced industrial democracies (perhaps desperately identifying with former friends by trying to communicate with the same ideological language, ‘advertising’?). Also, as it was pointed out in an earlier chapter, the P.W. Botha government in the 1980s seems to have been moving towards ideological means of maintaining social control, instead of the earlier dependence upon repressive apparatuses. But at the same time there also seems to have been some hesitancy and scepticism about the worth of advertising. Paul Vorster (1986:27- 42) points out:

After its innovative use of political advertising during the 1983 Referendum campaign, the National Party disappeared from the scene as far as employing advertising as a mode of political communication is concerned. This is disconcerting since the public is eagerly waiting for announcements regarding continued political reform.

Indeed, there did not at that stage seem to be any growing realisation or confidence by the government about the efficacy of advertising as a tool for social control. It was mostly South African offices of internationally affiliated advertising agencies that were advocating the use of advertising to a still sceptical government. Later, however, the Bureau for Information advertising campaign for the 1988 municipal elections, did have a precise strategy aimed at countering boycotts and legitimising racist political structures (see Tomaselli RE, 1989). This campaign has some interesting characteristics. At this particular ‘historical conjuncture’, separate advertisements for whites with ethnically stereotyped versions for blacks (with entailing ‘structured absences’), would have been both rejected by the main target audience as well as immediately pounced upon by critics of apartheid. The solution to this communication problem seems to have drawn its inspiration from Walt Disney cartoon characters. The Bureau for Information and their advertising agencies were thus able to transcend the problem of ‘structured absences’ that might have arisen from separate advertisements for different racial groups. As these elections traversed all ‘population groups’ and Houses of Parliament, the state extricated itself from racial imagery by showing squirrels<sup>4</sup> in a tree talking to each other about the desirability of elections and voting. This gave the utterly false impression of a *single* election in a unitary state in which everyone, regardless of race, would be able to participate. It hid the fact that each ‘population group’ was exhorted to vote for what were then known as ‘own’ (racially separated) institutions in racially demarcated ‘Group Areas’, each subordinate to the white ‘own affairs’ administration, but separately administered by ‘white’, ‘Coloured’, ‘Indian’ and ‘black’ administrations.

Animal imagery was also used to tackle the controversial issue of family planning in South Africa in a non-racial way. Family planning in South Africa was a controversial issue, because while the white population growth rate from the 1970s onwards was very slow or in decline, black population growth

was very rapid. Even a conservative black leader such as Chief Buthelezi had on occasions urged his followers to have as many children as possible, as an increased black population would be the ultimate weapon against whites. A commercial on TV1 (circa November, 1990), by what appeared to be a non-governmental organisation, (but possibly a front set up by the government with the intention appearing neutral), made a comparison between a depiction of the regal image of a lioness with her cubs and a depiction of a larger hyena family that appeared to be relatively derelict and scavenging. A male voice-over explained the material benefits of smaller families. Advertising approaches such as these were possibly intended to avoid some of the inherent forms of apartheid stereotyping in South African media depictions.<sup>5</sup>

As pointed out above, the increasing utilisation of direct political advertising by the government in the 1980s, followed on the heels of some heavy canvassing by advertising agencies. Many advertising practitioners welcomed the opportunity to play an active role in the state reform programme. Lucrative government contracts ('accounts') could do a lot to boost agency billings, as well as reassure the ego of what in some respects remains an insecure profession. One must remember that this was the same era when the Saatchi and Saatchi advertising agency in Britain had propelled itself to international acclaim by supposedly helping Margaret Thatcher defeat the Labour Party. Advertising practitioners around the world temporarily began to believe that they *could* indeed perform miracles. Goaded on by such overseas acclaim, the South African advertising industry kept up a steady pressure during the 1980s to persuade an initially unenthusiastic Afrikaner Nationalist government to advertise more. It is not impossible that the use of advertising to sell the New Constitution in 1983 might have been directly recommended to P.W. Botha by Mrs Thatcher herself. The advertising was placed by a South African affiliate of Saatchi & Saatchi. The clarity and directness of some of these particular advertisements has never been surpassed, and suggests they may have been the work of some of the same highly skilled individuals who had worked on Mrs Thatcher's 1979 general election campaign. But it should also be noted that the tracts of advice by South African advertising executives during this period, echo an earlier South African tradition, where 'organic intellectuals' of capital played a part in translating the interests of the class to which they attached themselves (Bozolli, 1981). In the 1980s such intellectuals seem to have been trying to re-articulate the changing needs of South African capitalism in the light of the approaching dawn of a new era. According to Darryl Phillips, executive chairman of what used to be a somewhat bombastic or boastful advertising agency<sup>6</sup> called the Grey Group of advertising agencies:

In essence, the government quite simply has to sell 'reform' as a commodity, a consumer product which will add something to the lives of its adherents much like any other product they purchase. When considered in this light, the problem of making change acceptable to the electorate is immediately cast in very simple dimensions. It becomes apparent that classical marketing and communication techniques have to be put to work. While the product being 'sold' is somewhat more esoteric and crucial than soap powder or fast foods, the techniques remain the same. As with any other product, the first aspect of marketing that the manufacturer has to consider is which of his products qualities are most likely to evoke consumer response. Looking at 'reform' as a product, I would postulate that it offers peace and prosperity (Phillips, 1985:77-79).

Here, Phillips is advocating the direct use of advertising to sell reform, and is also perhaps indirectly making (what in advertising jargon would be called) a 'pitch' for this 'account'. He was not alone. Rob Irving of J Walter Thompson, also published in the popular press on the subject. These articles are reductionist in the extreme, assuming that all that was needed was a legitimate product ('reform' as opposed to 'apartheid'), and a sales pitch to convince South Africans and foreigners alike that the new product could be 'sold'.

The controversial 'Together We'll Build A Brighter Future' (1986) campaign commissioned by the Bureau for Information, and which at the time cost an astronomical R8.7 million (\$4.5 million), possibly drew some inspiration from the thinking in articles written by Phillips and Irving. This campaign used about 50 black and white singers in a television studio to communicate the idea of peace, harmony and 'integration'. But 'Together ...' Probably would have never seen the light of day had it not been for the subsequently deepening political crisis in whose aftermath (consequent on the state's reassertion of hegemony through a return to more severe repression) an ameliorating gesture was needed.<sup>7</sup> As much as to impress people in black townships, this sudden political advertising extravaganza could well have also been obliquely aimed at providing the Reagan administration with something to reassure the US Congress with about the South African government's good intentions. The crucial South African sanctions bill was being debated in the US Congress at the time. In any event, 'Together...' failed miserably. In South Africa, the song encountered massive and sustained criticism from both the liberal English and government supporting Afrikaans Presses. This was exacerbated by subsequent bombings of the houses belonging to some of the black singers. Others dissociated themselves from the project, once they became aware of the extent of popular resentment over the music video's orientation with government strategy.

'Together ...' is characteristic of the inconsistency in the attempts by government departments to use 'public service' advertising during the reform era. The so-called Bureau of Information had not even budgeted television flying time, and was surprised when the SABC demanded payment for flying the song. Had it been seriously planned that 'Together ...' should play an important role in transforming South Africa into a democracy, a more consistent and sustained advertising approach would have been required. Also, prior co-operation between the government and private enterprise over many years would have needed to have been assured. The various examples of government sponsored-reform publicity fell very short of anything of this nature. Several campaigns would have been needed to run concurrently, addressing different areas of concern. The complex, but yet fairly coherent, communication strategy that is examined in the case study on television advertising for Castle Lager does perhaps indicate something in this direction. However, the development of a reformist message in the Castle Lager campaign took place *after* the schism between the P.W. Botha government and English-dominated capital, and the ideological content of this message seems to suggest that a relationship was developing between capital and the ANC.

A good example of the lack of any communication strategy during this period must be the problematic public image of the South African Police and Defence Forces. In spite of the difficult public relations problems faced, recruitment campaigns or campaigns to improve public image by the armed forces or police, were notably absent in the 1980s. Equally absent were the health services, the Department of Manpower, and many other government departments which should conceivably have been communicating to the public with the immediacy and impact which advertising is supposed to provide. For example, it is remarkable that in the United Kingdom, where there is no military conscription, advertising campaigns were successfully used during the 1970s and 1980s to form a common consensus that employers preferred prospective candidates with the experience of four years in the armed forces to those with degrees from universities.

There had been growing resistance amongst white youth in South Africa to the extended military service that was necessitated by the Namibian liberation struggle and by Cold War-related military entanglements in Angola and Mozambique. However, little attempt was made to counter pacifist resistance by 'selling' the armed forces with advertising. The weakness of one advertisement by the South African Defence Force which was published on a full page of a Durban daily newspaper in 1986, suggest that it might have been an 'in house' attempt by advertising amateurs within the armed forces. This advertisement was completely inconsistent with the standard of military advertising or war propaganda produced in the advanced industrial democracies. It strangely adopted a self-defeatist rather than persuasive approach by openly conceding all the negative implications of military service, without try to point to any benefits such experience might provide for individuals concerned. The advertisement merely urged upon youth to stand up and do their duty in spite of the unpleasantness of the task.

'Public service' advertising by the various government departments would certainly have created an impression of stability — that is, if the services or benefits were offered to all the public, not just whites and co-opted black, Indian and coloured allies in the Tricameral Parliament and the homelands. The first South African AIDS advertising campaign in 1988 is an example to the contrary, but this also followed on the heels of AIDS advertising in all the advanced industrial democracies, with which it could possibly have been displayed side by side in forums where post-modern trivia are displayed and discussed, implicitly communicating that South Africa, in spite of all the apartheid nonsense, was after all a civilised country. South Africa had for years been plagued by bilharzia, rabies, tuberculosis, kwashiakor and cholera, all affecting poor blacks who certainly would have benefited through information and education about these diseases, yet no systematic researched effort was ever made to use advertising to achieve this.

The development of the first South African AIDS campaign by the McCann-Erickson advertising agency typically followed a 'white market' and a 'black market' approach, thus necessitating two campaigns. It was felt that a 'hard-hitting' approach playing upon fear would be rejected by whites, as this had been the case in the advanced industrial democracies. For the black market, however,

it was presumed that the campaign could be 'harder-hitting'. Therefore, both TV and print commercials for blacks depicted death fairly directly: a sheeted figure on the screen; a coffin being lowered into a grave in the print advertisement:

The disease was explained, for the benefit of the less sophisticated and less educated in the target market, in simple terms. And the message was put in directly and easily understood terms, modified for the black population by including a reference to 'rituals that involve bleeding' (*Financial Mail*, Advertising Supplement, 8 July 1988:72.)

The print advert (which was mostly displayed as a poster in pharmacies) shows a coffin being lowered with white ropes into a hole in the ground, photographed dramatically from a high vantage point. This photograph is meticulously art-directed. The viewer's eye is drawn to a black priest dressed in a white cloak who is facing the coffin and looking up, as if to heaven. This priest forms the head of a circle of pall-bearers and mourners, all of whom are black. All are dressed in black, with two holding open black umbrellas. The racial stereotypes in this advertisement are mediated through signs of dress, hair styling, body language, and general demeanour that one would probably have associated with ethnic black middle classes. It would seem that McCann-Erickson did not at that stage believe that the selected target market of this advertisement would have expected an AIDS victim amongst their ranks to have any white mourners at his/her funeral. Rather than overtly reformist, this poster is ethnographically accurate in its content. However, the fact that government bureaucracy apparently considered it its responsibility to warn black people about AIDS, could be interpreted as reformist.

Save for these few exceptions, it would seem that no consensus existed for the consistent use of advertising to lubricate social engineering goals required by reform. The human resources, funding allocations, and accumulated propaganda expertise are not readily available in developing countries, where historical precedent and experience in this field usually is more limited than in the advanced industrial states. Available talents and skills tend to be drawn away and utilised in tasks that are considered more urgent than ideological production. Thus, given what seems to be equivocation in the use of more directly ideologically-motivated advertising as part of reform strategy, it seems quite unlikely that any conspiracy could have been hatched between capital and the state to use product advertising to achieve some such ancillary goal. While both capitalists and the government viewed the formation of a black middle class as very important (Saunders, 1986), the government and sectors of Afrikaner capital, suffered from a dilemma of wanting a black middle class and the preservation of ethnicity and spatial differentiation at the same time. As pointed out in Chapter 4, according to P.W. Botha, free enterprise was a way "to create black middle classes amongst the nations of South Africa, and thereby lay the foundation for resisting communism" (Quoted in Mann, 1986; Posel, 1987). English-speaking monopoly capital interests were more ambivalent about whether this black middle class should be "amongst the nations of South Africa" (a National Party euphemism for both the 'independent' and 'self-governing' Bantustans). But at the time there were limits to how strongly the private sector was prepared to rock the boat. While English-dominated



monopoly capital rejected apartheid, its success owed much to the apartheid relations of production (Legassick, 1974; Clarke, 1978). The case study on the television advertising commercial history reel for Castle Lager, in Chapter 7, will give clear evidence of the fact that from 1984 onwards beer advertisements were becoming particularly probing of the limitations of apartheid broadcasting and social restrictions. This development seems indicative of the growing schism between English-speaking capital and the Afrikaner Nationalist run government. Rather than being part of a 'total strategy' or 'conspiracy', the overall cultural identification of beer advertising from 1985 onwards, suggests an incipient realignment taking place towards the ideological position of the main currents of the ANC.

If anything, the 'ethnic imperatives' of the government were a serious inhibiting factor that was making it more difficult for advertising in South Africa to perform what according to neo-Marxists is its ideological function of creating a consumerist mass culture. But it is quite unlikely that such issues were ever considered, let alone resolved. The various highly publicised conferences which took place between the state under P.W. Botha and the private sector after 1979, would have been the ideal forum for such issues to be sorted out. But advertising practitioners themselves were not invited to these conferences until 1987.<sup>8</sup> In the 1987 conference the most urgent concern of the advertising industry had been to persuade or educate the government about the importance of advertising to the economic and social infrastructure, so that the General Sales Tax (GST) burden upon advertising could be eased. South Africa was apparently the only country in the capitalist world where all advertising was being taxed regardless of whether or not it formed part of production and distribution costs. The imposition of GST on advertising in 1984 was followed by its rapid rise from 6% to 12%. This took place during an acutely recessionary period, which all but lent a death blow to an advertising industry which in South Africa, operates on lower margins of profit than in some more advanced industrial states. This taxation resulted in the already narrow margin of advertising agency profits to be further reduced. Few clients were at the time prepared to increase their advertising budgets any further, having already done so several times to cover the effects of inflation on media costs. It is not an exaggeration to say that GST decimated the advertising industry, forcing weaker agencies out of business altogether and the retrenchment of advertising personnel throughout the industry.<sup>9</sup> According to Hennie Klerck, executive chairman of the Advertising Agencies Association, who attended the 1987 conference between the private sector and the state:

If we had started doing this [lobbying government] a few years earlier, we would not have had GST imposed on advertising. It is frightening that a lot of people in the government still believe advertising is a luxury that should be taxed out of the system. We have begun to make them appreciate that it is the flag bearer of free enterprise ('Fire Fighter', *Financial Mail Advertising Supplement*, 21 August 1987:8).

The fact that GST was imposed on advertising at all, and in such a heavy-handed manner, indicates a genuine lack of enthusiasm or appreciation in government circles about the passive ideological role consumer advertising might supposedly play in the advanced industrial states. It certainly does not indicate any awareness that product advertising could have contributed to reform strategy by indirectly helping to

foster black middle classes through an expansion of the 'consumer' spectrum. If it was believed that consumer advertising could have helped to co-opt blacks by inculcating them with middle class values, then advertising should surely have been exempted from GST so that it would be resorted to more extensively? The indiscriminate taxation of advertising is probably another example of lack of co-ordination during the P.W. Botha regime. Even though the possibilities for consumer product advertising to play a direct political role are in the short term most likely limited, all SABC broadcasting inhibitions to the achievement of non-ethnic black middle class stereotyping in advertisements, might have been removed. The failure to make even this rudimentary adjustment, could stem from the misunderstanding which existed between government and corporate capital about the *nature* of the black middle classes. Due to the anomalous relationship between government and capital, reform contained an inherent contradiction to the interests of Afrikaner hegemony. This resulted in a serious dislocation with institutions such as advertising (which from an extended Althusserian perspective, might be considered to be a key point in the 'Ideological State Apparatuses' of the normally functioning bourgeois state).

## CONCLUSION

It must be concluded that in spite of its consistent advocacy by the advertising industry, there was little that was 'total' (or wilfully co-ordinated with state interests) about the way this institution operated during much of the reform era. Criticism of South African consumer product advertising which suggests conspiratorial intentions is likely to be flawed. The claims that were being made at the time by advertising practitioners about the role public service or political advertising might be able to play in advancing the reform process should not confuse the issue. These claims proved to be over-optimistic. Because when one examines the public service advertising or the political advertising of this period, its ideological contribution turns out to be an equivocal one. It appears that when such advertising was resorted to by the government it was with reservations and uncertainty, and that many campaigns fell short of achieving any precise objectives.

In view of government indecision and ambivalent intentions during the period of reform with regard to forms of advertising that are intentionally ideological, caution should be exercised when the underlying basis of the ideological role of product advertising is examined. While product advertising undoubtedly plays a powerful role through the passive dissemination of petty bourgeois stereotypes, this order of this ideological process should be distinguished from that of political advertising, public service advertising, or even corporate advertising. Whether one is considering the facilitation of Bantustan policy during an era when ethnic stereotyping was dominant, or the latter 1980s government strategies for selective black co-option into the ruling classes, when stereotypes began to change towards non-ethnic middle class portrayals, the ideological processes of product advertising should always be assessed with caution and sensitivity. Crudely conspiratorial readings of the ideological role of product advertising in South Africa should be avoided.

- <sup>1</sup> See endnote No.12 in the **Introduction** to this theses for an explanation about 'Total Strategy'.
- <sup>2</sup> Or, as Raymond Williams would put it, "Advertising is then no longer merely a way of selling goods, it is a true part of the culture of a confused society". (see Williams, (1960)1980:190-191.
- <sup>3</sup> Davenport (1991:433) refers to government advertising prior to the 1983 referendum amongst whites for a New Constitution as: "an unprecedented propaganda onslaught on the electorate by the Government, through full-page advertisements in all of the country's national and local newspapers, and full use of SABC television". The result of this referendum was a two-thirds majority in favour of the New Constitution.
- <sup>4</sup> The 'squirrels' advertising strategy may have grown organically out of the vexed problems of communicating effectively, and in an uncontroversial way, to a diverse South African audience. A television commercial broadcast on SABC-TV for Trust Bank (circa, July 1990) also used squirrels, which probably goes to demonstrate the proven utility of this advertising concept. While continuing to concentrate on 'preferred sectors' of the market, this bank (which was owned by Afrikaner capital) was already at pains in the 1980s to point out that it would serve the needs of customers 'irrespective of colour and creed' ("Banking The Human Factor", *Financial Mail*, 4 May 1984:42). One might note that there seems to be a residue of editorial bias in this *Financial Mail* article, somewhat reminiscent of the 'Van der Merwe joke' genre. Rightly or wrongly, this article tends to stereotype Afrikaners as lower middle class, parochial country bumpkins, who might slowly be finding their feet in a traditionally English-speaking activity such as banking. (The 'Van Merwe Jokes' were popular South African word-of-mouth jokes of the 1970s and 1980s that played upon supposed Afrikaner idiosyncrasies.) The Van der Merwe jokes centred on a word-of-mouth comical character who depicted supposed Afrikaner idiosyncrasies.
- <sup>5</sup> However, it is doubtful if communication solutions that use animal imagery can exclusively or indefinitely be resorted to without losing their effectiveness. It is common knowledge within professional advertising circles, that advertisements have the tendency to become staid and boring when the same approach is used too often. Maximum effectiveness requires constant innovation, or 'repetition with variation' (Bogart, 1996:194-6).
- <sup>6</sup> See 'The Grey Group - Corporate Statement', Supplement to *Financial Mail*, May 27 1983.
- <sup>7</sup> This campaign was launched in the gloomy period of after the 1985 imposition of a State of Emergency which sanctioned draconian measures for the quelling of opposition to the government. But for a few short lapses, this State of Emergency continued to be renewed from 1985 until 1990.
- <sup>8</sup> See 'Fire Fighter', Advertising Supplement, *Financial Mail*, 21 August 1987:8
- <sup>9</sup> See: 'Survival of the fittest', Advertising Supplement, *Financial Mail*, June 28 1985: 11; 'Advertising anGST!', Advertising Supplement, *Financial Mail*, 22 August 1986:50.

## STRUCTURAL PROCESSES OF REFORM AS AN INFLUENCE ON ADVERTISING

Major capitalist groups, whether identified as 'Afrikaner', such as for instance Gencor, Sanlam, or English-dominated, such as Anglo American, or Barlows, owned most of the means of production and distribution in South Africa. Critics might sometimes have assumed that these groupings had direct control over the advertising of each of the individual companies in which their interests were vested. However, in the hustle and bustle of everyday marketing practice this matter is not quite so simple. Although stockholders, through their boards of directors, may be able to influence general company policy, such as the recruitment of employees, the selection and appointment of advertising agencies, and so on, their influence over branded product advertising cannot be a very direct one. The practical realities of the situation dictate that even within 'monopoly' capitalism, companies still have to respond to a competitive business environment. It is not unknown for individual companies belonging to the same group, to compete against each other. It is also not uncommon for different brands owned by the same company to be allowed to compete against each other. Thus, responses of companies (albeit sometimes limited to a few big corporations) to the situation on the ground (the marketing environment) are in practice usually more direct and overriding than responses to any indefinite or general imperatives of political ideology from above. Undeniably, during the 1980s there was an underlying adherence amongst much of the business sector to a reformist genre in their business communications and employment practices (see Freund, 1986). This changing climate in business culture was bound to be reflected in advertisements. But this aspect is nonetheless fundamentally a contextual factor to which the marketing departments of companies and their advertising agencies were responding.

Brand advertising for consumer products by its very nature, cannot be a specifically political instrument. In practice, marketing managers and brand managers work from predetermined budgets that have to cover the cost of various marketing activities as well as advertising. The advertising that is produced has to sell *products* as effectively as possible. The jobs of individual practitioners hang on their ability to fulfil this purpose successfully. 'Accounts' stay with advertising agencies as long as this purpose is being met. It is most unlikely that there could have ever been a marketing brief which said anything like 'create a black middle class', nor is it likely that there ever could have been any brief to contest SABC policies for any political end. The overriding factor has always been the economic imperative. Ethnic racial stereotypes were resorted to by advertisers because marketing parameters and the design of broadcast and other media were framed within ethnic categories. Stereotyping within these categories was therefore believed to communicate as effectively as possible to whomever marketers wanted to communicate to (consider the quotes from Mike Wells and Tim Bester, in Chapter 4).

Advertising practitioners did not generally contest ethnicity, simply because they were politically committed to the reform of apartheid. After having been forced to grudgingly accept exclusively

ethnic black television channels, marketers and advertising agencies in South Africa mostly contested SABC policies whenever these were clearly seen as a frustration to the most efficient method of carrying out their work, or if these policies stood in the way of getting as much sales mileage as possible from an advertising budget.<sup>1</sup> It has already been pointed out in previous chapters, that the process of producing ethnic commercials required dubbing into the various vernacular languages. The fulfilment of the language requirement was paramount, if commercials were to be broadcast for the full range of TV2/3 scheduling. Regardless of whether or not advertisers produced the full range of ethnic commercials to take up the cross-language scheduling, they were in effect helping to pay for it. But while the combined influences of structural reform and political imperatives of reform might have been encouraging marketers to move away from rigid ethnic categories, transition to non-ethnic stereotyping was also at the same time both structurally and politically impeded. From a purely marketing point of view (depending on the type of product in question) it would sometimes have been feasible to have just one non-racial commercial in English for everyone. In Chapter 8, the case study on Rama margarine shows that such an approach was being used by Unilever from as early as 1978, prior to the introduction of the TV2/3 ethnic channels in 1982. After the introduction of TV2/3 in 1982, it was many years later, in 1992, that Rama was able to return to this approach.

Enforced language segregation of television channels often increased costs and complicated the process of making commercials. The fact that in the latter part of the P.W. Botha era, the advertising industry was directly represented at the annual conferences taking place between the business sector and the government might have brought about a better understanding about the desirability of a non-racial communication policy in advertisements, but it didn't. The subject was no doubt quite complex and a need existed for the pros and cons of conflicting theories and approaches to be assessed and clarified. However, as was pointed out in the previous chapter, the advertising industry did not have the reform of ethnic broadcasting policy on its agenda at the 1987 conference.<sup>2</sup> Hennie Klerck's reference to advertising as "the flag bearer of free enterprise", seemed to be appealing to the basic 'communist onslaught' arguments of the 1970s and 1980s.<sup>3</sup> But it should not have been necessary to be defensive of the advertising industry at this basic level. In spite of the fact that South Africa was a predominantly monopoly capitalist controlled economy, Klerck did not readily seem to be able to lobby the interests of the advertising industry in terms of the important social and economic role usually attributed to it by liberal ideology.

Finally, it must not be overlooked that in some instances it is possible that separate advertising for different racial groups, and the separate media to make this possible, might have been financially rewarding for some advertising agencies. This factor might have encouraged some connivance in the support of residual apartheid structures. Separate media and separate advertising (and the ethnic racial forms of stereotyping which they underpinned) could cost the client more money, and was in some respects costly for the economy of the country. However, unlike GST, separate advertisements had to some extent become an expense that was well-established and accepted, and could sometimes mean more profit to some agencies (in production costs and media commissions).

## ADVERTISING PRODUCTION PRACTICE AND 'INTERPELLATION'

From the point of view of professional communicators stereotypes constitute a convenient 'shorthand' communication technique, and are therefore important components for the structuring of messages. During the thinking processes which occur in the course of advertisement conceptualisation, or 'creativity' as it is sometimes called, stereotypes can be particularly helpful in facilitating the realisation of research-derived target audiences, into actual persons. In the ordinary sense of the word, there is certainly no *conspiracy* involved. The following quote from a primer of copywriting methodology, refers particularly to the stereotyping of women in television commercials. This revealing glimpse into how the interpellatory role of stereotypes comes about in everyday advertising text production practices, is more generally applicable:

It is claimed we talk down to women and that the inanity of some of the promises we make insults their intelligence. It is true that many of the women in TV commercials are caricatures. But why? Because creative people use cliché characters as a kind of shorthand to indicate the category of person the product is for. Since you have only 30 seconds to make a sales point you can hardly build up an original many-faceted character in your ad (Crompton, 1979:103-105).

The interpellatory process is initiated through an urgent desire to address each individual member of a large audience. This leads to an intuitive resort to stereotypes by copywriters and art directors, who work together as a team to come up with a solution to the advertising problem on hand (a creative brief normally outlines the advertising problem, research findings, and a suggested strategy). The stereotypes are drawn from the personal frames of reference of the people responsible for conceptualising the advertisements. Through the selection of a salient, though always limited truth, an appeal is made to what is felt to be the generally prevailing preconceptions about their target audience. Through propagation via mass media, such 'caricatures'<sup>4</sup> or stereotypes are further generalised or reified, and made to seem the norm. The complex induction and training processes of these advertising personnel will have most likely ensured that their own frames of reference are couched within the dominant ideology, that these individuals themselves have been suitably interpellated.

With regard to the above quote from Crompton (1979), it is also worth noting that advertisers in the advanced industrial states have often assumed women to be the main decision-makers in the purchase of most consumer products. In David Ogilvy's (1986:96) words, "the consumer isn't a moron; she is your wife". This approach is consistent with dominant relations of production in advanced industrial society, which continue to relegate most women to supposedly unskilled and unpaid employment in domestic work, or, as in the case of blacks, to usually lower status and wages, if and when, they are drawn into the job market (Edwards, 1979:194-199).

At the level of advertisement conceptualisation, the same principle and motivation applies in the stereotyping or cliché characterisation of both sexes, as well as to various groups or classes. Stereotypes will usually be positive, because they are intended to represent what one might call an 'ideal type' of the target

audience, at which an advertised product is primarily aimed. Such stereotypes will conform to prevailing petty bourgeois norms of what is considered laudatory. It is however also well-appreciated within sophisticated communication practice that no such thing as an 'average' or 'statistical' person exists in reality (Crompton, 1979). Thus, advertisement conceptualisers go a step further by replacing in their minds this stereotype construct of the 'average person' (representative of their target audience), with some living person that they actually know. So in formulating their message, they are able to mentally relate to a real person who they believe fits their stereotypical bill, in essence a 'living stereotype' (see Arlen, 1981)<sup>5</sup>. It is quite unlikely for stereotypes to be overtly pejorative if they are intended to represent the target audience for the sale of a product. Stereotypes which are less positive, or even pejorative, may sometimes also be used. This occurs in the characterisation of subsidiary roles, of people portrayed who do not feature in the target market, but help bring across some point about the product or facilitate its dramatisation.

In this respect, the *Dixie Dishwashing Liquid* commercial discussed in Chapter 4, was primarily targeted at petty bourgeois whites. It may well have been taken into account that, through audience overlap (see below), this commercial would also reach black consumers. At that stage, black consumers might not have been presumed to exact any negotiated meaning or aberrant decoding from their depiction as docile domestic servants. The creators of the *Dixie* commercial (and possibly also some black viewers), were probably oblivious of any pejorative aspects attached to this depiction.

#### ADVERTISING COMMUNICATION PROBLEMS IN SOUTH AFRICA

As was argued in the previous chapter, some people in the advertising industry might have had jumped on the band wagon, deluding themselves and others about seductive advertising methods that could be utilised to play a role in reform strategy. Given that ideas about how to communicate to blacks were generally uncertain, any scenario that envisaged the applied use product advertising to effect some additional and specific ideological orientation of blacks, was bound to have rested on some degree of self-delusion. Perhaps Nick Tredoux alludes to this uncertainty (see fuller quote in Chapter 4):

... showing what capitalism has to offer, and hopefully doing it in such a way that they can identify with the aspiration which is involved (Frederikse, 1986:66).

It does not appear that Tredoux was simply presuming that the consumption ethic did not appeal to blacks, but rather that the rhetoric of the white South African advertising industry might in many cases have been alien to the cultural motivations of blacks, that many images or situations appealing to whites were potentially off-putting to blacks. This problem most to some extent be blamed on apartheid which has held back of the emergence of a commonly shared culture as a basis for supporting a non-racial South African identity. When commercial TV was introduced in 1978, advertising agencies were well aware that many communications difficulties would need to be addressed

when the time came to produce commercials for 'less educated' black audiences. Peter Hume (1977; 1979) at the time a director of research and planning for the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency, had pointed out:

At the moment there's a gross underinvestment in the black market which not only has the greatest growth potential but probably has the greatest educational needs in many products ('Black is Beautiful', *Financial Mail*, 5 October 1979:61).

However, those marketers who a decade later continued to see educational needs or ethnic diversity of urban blacks as *insurmountable* were possibly making a mistake. For example, Hugh Lendrum, executive director of the South African Society of Marketers, could not have been entirely justified when he re-stated a well-worn excuse with regard to the problems of achieving advertising excellence in South Africa:

SA can't be judged on the same basis as New York or London. We have such an ethnic diversity in this country that any product designed to appeal to all segments must be advertised blandly (Advertising Supplement, *Financial Mail*, 28 June 1985:60).

Even in a generally less sophisticated scenario than that of the dominant Western culture, there always remains much scope for *creativity* to be applied to the task of developing innovative and stimulating communications. Mass communications are common denominator communications, and in terms of the stage of South Africa's industrial and economic base at the time, advertisers might have been well-advised to concentrate on developing mass marketing approaches, as had been the case in the 1950s in the advanced industrial states. The later marketing concepts from the advanced industrial states, based on market segmentation and lifestyle approaches, might be seen as being possibly anachronistic to the requirements of setting up a suitable dialectic between product development and consumer expectations. (The inception of such a dialectic could possibly also have been conducive to South Africa also becoming an exporting nation of manufactured goods, through the raising of standards.)

Also, it was a mistake to believe that advertising should *not* be simple, or that simplicity is necessarily blandness. For all its questionable purposes, the Bureau for Information's 'Squirrels' campaign<sup>6</sup> (discussed in the previous chapter) nevertheless represented a modest creative breakthrough. Without being 'bland' or pathetically unsophisticated, 'Squirrels' managed to communicate with images which, though neutral, were culturally common to all South Africans. Simplicity is a prerequisite for advertising in the advanced industrial economies as well, though for different reasons. Highly contested marketing situations result in intensive media environments, with advertisements competing with each other for the attention of audiences who quite often find them very irritating. Audiences tend to mentally switch off or ignore the messages. Advertisements therefore have to be 'very simple' in order to communicate in a subliminal or almost irresistible manner, with an immediacy requiring little cognitive effort on the part of audiences. Thus,



advertisements in the advanced industrial democracies are mostly constructed with careful precision so as to primarily denote the selected main benefit of the product in very succinct, telegraphic and unambiguous terms<sup>7</sup>. Though very simple, this type of advertising nonetheless has good impact by ensuring that individual advertisements are always, what in advertising practice terms is called 'relevant and unexpected'.

Advertising agencies in the major centres have worked hard to cultivate their audiences' interest in their advertising through such long-running campaigns, consisting of many separate advertisements structured around the same basic theme, 'repetition with variation' (Bogart, 1986:207-231). Advertisements have actually educated audiences to understand a formalist visual language (Lois, 1979). Such campaigns construct their own systems of logic to which target audiences (which in due course might sometimes become an entire nation) are gradually introduced by successive advertisements. A good example of this type of simplicity is to be found in the concept of a long running British campaign for Heineken beer, (see also discussion of Heineken campaign in Chapter 2), based on the unlikely proposition that 'Heineken Refreshes The Parts That Other Beers Cannot Reach' (see Mayle, 1983). One of the numerous outstanding examples from this campaign, was a billboard featuring J.R. Ewing 'before' and 'after' he had downed a mug of Heineken. In the 'before' image one senses devilry in J.R.'s expression, in the 'after' image there is a halo above his head! This advertisement works entirely through visual communication. The key to the mechanism of a campaign which allows for the production of messages that communicate in such lucid terms, will not be found in any 'sophisticated British humour', but in an ingenious simplicity with which the original strategic recommendation comes to be realised in the underlying concept. In principle, this type of communication could certainly work extremely well for all audiences in South Africa.

In the past, some of those advertisements aimed at sophisticated whites and believed to have been of a very high creative standard, may have suffered from some serious shortcomings.<sup>8</sup> Though on rare occasions it is strategically justified to design and place advertisements for a very small target market, even one person, it is quite unfounded to regard advertisements consisting of 'smart wit' or 'insider jokes' aimed exclusively at elite white audiences (sometimes unconsciously the advertising fraternity itself) to be of a very high standard. Such advertisements, (although by the 1980s more rare in South Africa), amounted to occasional narcissistic and insipid advertising that was not pinned to any sound long-term strategic base for their product brands. Through a confusion with techniques usually employed for positioning luxury goods, inexperience might sometimes have led to an oversight of genuine discipline in such advertising.<sup>9</sup>

In spite of the fact that many local advertising agencies and their clients placed much importance upon affiliation to multinational advertising agency networks<sup>10</sup>, it seems that they may sometimes have not been readily able to interpret the decontextualised advertising methodology from abroad. In the past, circa 1970s or early 1980s, some South African art directors would simply lift advertising concepts from New York award books and then artificially graft them on to half-baked local

marketing strategies. As these concepts had not developed out of an organic need to solve any South African marketing problem, they were unlikely to produce very effective advertising, and they would certainly not produce any great advertising by any country's standards. The reason for this shortcoming is that unless such advertising concepts are experienced *practically*, i.e. within the contexts where they have originated, very detailed marketing information about their original intended purposes and meaning is needed. The 'stunning' overseas advertisements which were sometimes superficially imitated, represented solutions to communication problems isolated from marketing strategies indigenous to their particular contexts. Good advertising from whatever source, can indeed provide fruitful inspiration if its dynamics can be analysed at a deeper level, from where they might well be helpful in showing the way to an original solution to a local marketing problem.

One of the reasons for the conceptual weakness of South African advertising during the 1970s was perhaps the dominant role of art directors as conceptualisers at some of the less established agencies. The proper procedure, is for copywriters and art directors to be paired to work together permanently as teams. This procedure was established by the late Bill Bernbach, in New York at the end of the 1950s, and revolutionised the advertising industry world-wide, leading to a dramatic improvement in standards (Mayer, 1958). Currently, this procedure is invariably followed by all major advertising agencies throughout the world. By the end of the 1970s, this was also becoming the norm at the larger South African agencies. Generally, a writer and art director work together from a carefully researched brief that has already focussed market research findings into a strategy. They execute this strategy by coming up with an 'advertising concept' (Crompton, 1979).

### **POSITIVE EFFECTS OF STRUCTURAL REFORM PROCESSES**

Contrary to a belief held by many advertising practitioners, that creativity was going to suffer because of the recession (mid-1985ff) and imposition of government sales tax on advertising<sup>11</sup>, the years 1987ff in fact saw advertising creativity placed on a more disciplined and demographically sensitive footing. A perusal through the last decade or so of the issues of any popular magazine, will reveal that the standard of advertising in South Africa was steadily improving. This improvement was not impeded by the recession during the 1980s, or by the drain of local and overseas 'experts' who were formerly attracted to work in South Africa.<sup>12</sup>

One of the reasons for improvement might have been that South African advertising agencies, through affiliation to international agency networks, were gradually gaining a more thorough understanding of advertising methodology and techniques. But there are also some indications that the improving standards might have resulted from the beneficial effects of 'reform' in terms of long term underlying structural economic processes, coupled with a recession. Recession helped focus the minds of advertisers. For example, after 1980, the OK Bazaars department store chain changed its positioning, and recognised black consumers as the main de facto market of its stores in the central business districts: "Shop where South Africa shops", with advertisements depicting both

black and white consumers in the streets. Its subsequent slogan, "OK is Everything, Everything is OK", seems to have encompassed a fear of alienating white consumers, and an attempt to draw them back from other stores like John Orrs and Stuttafords that had belatedly decentralised to suburban regional shopping centres to retain white patronage. John Orrs city outlets catered for affluent whites and tended to alienate blacks who, by the late 1970s, constituted the bulk of central city shoppers. OK's 1987/88 campaign, "Where you get cheap prices, not cheap talk", seems to have been underpinned by two dynamics: first is a response to supermarket competitors whose managing directors were addressing the camera claiming 'cheaper prices'; and second, to reassure black consumers that they would not be treated rudely (as they had been at some upmarket stores).

During the 1980s, several advertising agencies in South Africa showed new potential. Two agencies in particular seemed to have been leading the way with more systematic and disciplined creative approaches. Ogilvy & Mather/Rightford Searle Tripp, under the helm of Bob Rightford continually maintained a high level of creativity in their campaigns. Also, the work of D'Arcy MacManus & Benton Bowels, under the direction of Willie Sonnenberg, at times was giving the impression that the development of a distinctive local creative advertising culture might be not be too far beyond grasp. There was also some good work by other South African agencies, though sometimes less sustained. Reg Lascaris's 'TBWA' affiliated agency, was trying to develop and apply locally a distinctive creative style originally initiated by John Hegarty at the London offices of 'TBWA' during the 1970s, and they have continued to be reasonably successful in this respect. An agency by the name of 'Kuper Hands', had also sometimes succeeded in producing excellent campaigns consisting of two or three advertisements, but these seldom had the energy to be produced in longer running campaign series.

Another advertising agency called 'Partnership', produced some excellent 'one off' print advertisements up until the mid-1980s. What must have been one of the most outstandingly imaginative advertisements of the decade was a double page magazine spread featuring a realistically illustrated bohemian-looking mouse couple on the night of their honeymoon. Mrs Mouse was sitting on her suitcase looking a little disenchanted, while Mr Mouse was having little success in using a power drill to cut a hole through a skirting board painted with a major brand of paint, the headline said: "Takes life's little knocks beautifully". Even without one fully understanding the meaning of this headline, the advertisement visually communicated the durability of the paint with a humour and grace that is not likely to have been lost on many urban dwellers. 'Partnership' do not seem to have realised the promise of their youth by producing more print advertisements of this high standard. However, 'Partnership' were also responsible for the production of many of the TV commercials for Castle Lager (on which the case study in following chapter is based). A very fine example of the Castle Lager commercials produced by 'Partnership' is *Homecoming* (1990), a consumer product advertisement which at the same time contains a powerful ideological message of post-apartheid reconciliation.

In its heyday the work of ‘Grey, Phillips, Mundel and Blake’ (The Grey Group), had from time to time showed glimmerings of the advent of what perhaps might have been indigenous South African advertising rhetoric. During the 1970s and early 1980s this agency virtually dominated the South African advertising scene.<sup>13</sup> At that stage ‘Grey’ mainly drew their inspiration from New York advertising (rather than from London which became more dominant in world advertising during the 1980s). Under the leadership of its co-founder, Darryl Phillips (who was quoted in the previous chapter, advocating the use of advertising to sell ‘reform’), ‘Grey’ were a very confident advertising agency that produced many memorable advertisements. These advertisements are particularly characterised by their hard-hitting quality.

However, ‘Grey’ too failed to quite master the discipline of energetic advertising campaigns that are able to position products on long-term strategic bases with successive advertisements. For instance, the campaign for Nedbank: ‘When You’re Serious About Money’, was based on this very simple and hard-hitting statement. Judging from the many years the campaign ran, this statement was obviously not considered to be ‘too bland’ by ‘sophisticated’ whites. ‘When You’re Serious about money’ is also a statement that could undeniably have been uttered by virtually every black South African. However, the person uttering this statement (that the campaign had established in the public mind), was a white middle aged male appealing to other white middle aged males, and no effective attempt was made to broaden this appeal out of a potentially stale chauvinism. There was a distinct lack of panache and variation in the successive executions of ‘When You’re Serious About Money’.<sup>14</sup> ‘Grey’ thus failed to do justice to a very solid concept, so its true potential was never fully realised. It seems that the haemorrhaging suffered by ‘Grey’ as a result of Darryl Phillips’ departure from South Africa, led to the loss of Nedbank as well as several other important clients.<sup>15</sup> After some apparent indecision and uncertainty, the new agency that acquired the Nedbank account seems to have had the good sense to retain the basic concept, ‘When You’re Serious About Money’, in some form or other. However, by the mid 1990s it seemed that this advertising concept was being abandoned altogether, probably to the detriment of the strong image Nedbank had previously occupied in white public awareness.

Before the 1990s, no fully-fledged advertising agencies in South Africa were black-owned or directed. The first such agency called ‘HerdBuoys’ came into being in the usual advertising industry way, as a result of a breakaway by a group of young executives from another agency (‘Ogilvy & Mather/Rightford Searle Tripp). What was unusual was that these young executives happened to be black, hopefully an indication that a black South African advertising world might be coming of age. According to MD, Peter Vundla:

‘HerdBuoys’ is founded on the premise that blacks are the dominant consumers in SA, as well as its major political players whose impact on this part of the continent is yet to be fully understood by marketers (Advertising Supplement, *Financial Mail*, 7 June 1991: 68).

With its first major account, National Sorghum Breweries, ‘HerdBuoys’ was destined to have great expectations resting upon its shoulders. (See later in this chapter, ‘Training Blacks in Advertising’.)

In concluding *The Trouble With Advertising* (1981:214-5), John O'Toole, executive chairman of the American advertising agency 'Foote, Cone and Belding', assessed the South African advertising scene in relation to other centres where his multinational company has offices. He made the following interesting comments:

South African advertising has not yet reached the state of the art — if you'll forgive the phrase — achieved in other English-speaking countries, but it's moving fast. And then, South Africa is not, strictly speaking, an English-speaking country. There is another official language, Afrikaans. In addition, there are seven Bantu dialects, each incomprehensible to those who speak another. The language problems make those faced in Canada seem simple. In print advertising, they necessitate several versions of an ad, depending on whether the publication is printed in English, Afrikaans or Bantu. This is costly but achievable... Television came to South Africa early in 1976. At present English and Afrikaans programming appear on alternate nights. I think it is important that the Bantu dialects somehow be accommodated, that the enormous black populations be brought into the consumer market, thereby creating the kind of mass production of quality goods at low prices that has raised the standard of living in every other country where it's been realised. When that happens, South Africa could be one of the world great advertising centres. More important, some of its serious problems might be on the way to solution.

Here, one can still hear an echo of O'Dowd (1964), the suggestion that South Africa's political problems could and would largely be solved through a naturally occurring economic growth. Also, O'Toole perhaps seems a little affirmative of apartheid, probably unwittingly, as a result of not being fully informed about the situation: this is especially apparent in his somewhat vague conception of what he calls 'Bantu dialects' (different dialects stemming from the main Nguni and Sotho languages have many similarities), and by what seems might be his lack of awareness about the extensive understanding of the English language by urban blacks at the time.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, by indicating that the means to solving South Africa's problems lie primarily with an *internally* driven economic growth, 'mass production of quality goods at low prices', O'Toole's (1981) prescription might perhaps provide a pragmatic or inspiring element lacking in O'Dowd.

In the 1990s, it seems that the total output of good advertising in South Africa is still not sustained or consistent enough to trigger off a 'creative revolution' in the local advertising industry. On the one hand, the reasons for this weakness are to be found in the complex communication problems faced by advertisers, which could not be properly addressed while apartheid reigned. These communications problems tended to exhaust rather than concentrate the limited talent available.<sup>17</sup> But ultimately, the most important structural factor limiting the refinement of advertising communications in South Africa is the relatively low intensity of economic activity and limited competition between different products and services. Vibrant industrial production and economic activity is the motor of advertising refinement. Refinement in advertising methods is closely linked to the existence of an industrial base that produces an abundance of similar goods. Through the use of 'comparative advertising' (which compares the features of products to those of competitors) advertising agencies can play a very important role in educating consumers to be more discerning, and thus

to foster the development of better products. But this was never likely to be achieved in an atmosphere plagued with thoughts of “Bantu dialects” and “separate nations”.

Comparative advertising is fundamentally a ‘reason why’ approach because it derives from the specifications of the product rather than lifestyles and consequently also consumer stereotypes (see Leiss, Kline & Jhally 1986:210). Thus, in ideological terms, comparative advertising is not fundamentally so much affirmative of petty bourgeois social existence, as of the capacity of the monopoly capitalist mode of industrial production for continued technological refinement and progress. Comparative advertising puts pressure on manufacturers to constantly innovate their products, as well as to honour whatever advantages they claim for their products (see Reeves, 1961).<sup>18</sup> The competitive nature of comparative advertising is intrinsic to the development of an appropriate ‘cultural climate’, a local market context that fosters product development of a calibre that leads to export quality goods. In some instances this process can be further enhanced if locally manufactured goods have to compete in their own markets with similar imported goods that are also being advertised comparatively.

In view of the logical advantages of an educated consumer culture, it is strange that comparative advertisements, mentioning names of competitors, are still not permissible in South Africa. Even advertisements implicitly comparative are not fully accepted. Efforts to change this state of affairs invariably run into opposition from entrenched interests claiming to work in the best interest of the public.

The fact that for decades marketers and their advertising agencies had difficulty in conceptualising the South African market led to a delayed emergence, of a consumer culture appropriate to the strategic needs of South African economic development. Over the years, this marketing dichotomy entrenched the problems of communicating an advertising message to a cross-section of the population. Along with the requirements of apartheid ideology, some marketers had maintained that no such thing as a South African market existed, but that instead many separate markets existed within a single geographical entity. However, in fact, despite a prolonged period of ‘separate development’, the South African market seems to have basically consisted of a rural sector and an urban sector. The urban sector was made up of whites, coloureds, Indians and urban blacks all living by more or less Western standards. The rural sector is comprised almost exclusively of blacks living by continental African standards (Sinclair, 1985:56-68). But apartheid ideology seems to have clouded marketing conceptions. Consequently, there was a persistence in the interpretation of the marketing situation in terms of primarily a ‘white market’ dominating total consumer spending. The existence of a so-called ‘black market’ was only formally recognised in the 1960s. While the ‘Coloured’ and ‘Indian’ markets, after being ignored for many years, were being considered important marketing elements by the 1980s, and usually grouped together with the white market as a single unit. However, the ‘black market’ had grown very rapidly and clearly outstripped white consumption in many product categories, but responses to it continued to be equivocal. This

equivocation was certainly apartheid influenced. Through the 1970s and the 1980s the tendency amongst marketers often continued to be one of predicting sales to the white market first, and then seeing what incremental exploitation of the 'black market' would bring (Sinclair, 1985:60).

It has already been suggested that reform as a structural process, through changes brought to bear upon the composition of the South African consumer market, has influenced advertising in a more organic and far reaching manner than reform as a political discourse. By the 1980s, in the case of the marketing situation of 'fast moving' consumer goods, there seems to have been some degree of unanimity amongst marketers about the noticeable impact of some of the structurally related reforms that had occurred. My understanding of reform as a structural process, is that it consists of the effects of some economic growth, though more limited than what might have been envisaged by O'Dowd (1964). One of the distinctive features of this growth seems to have been the transformation of existing industries through their inexorable absorption by monopoly capitalism. Verwoerdian apartheid, (i.e. total residential and social separation of 'the races'), was subjected to the integrative demands of this economic development, which could not be resisted or reversed (see Lipton, 1986). It was this underlying structural reform process which led to the Riekert & Wiehahn Commissions of Inquiry, which are of quite considerable relevance to this study and were discussed in an earlier chapter. Concomitant changes in labour relations and urbanisation policy, as well as concessions in the wake of the Soweto riots of 1976 (to facilitate restructuring and placate world opinion), were working their way through the social formation. The more far reaching concessions, such as in the areas of urbanisation, job reservation and labour reforms, seem to have come about more out of unavoidable necessity than for the purposes of co-optation. The distinctive feature of genuine structural reform, is that rather than being a co-optive process, it has tended to lag behind in the addressing of structural problems. But even this slow attrition did nevertheless translate itself into a rising standard of living of mainly urban blacks, and gradually increased their importance as consumers. The following reform milestones can be singled out as having made particular contributions to the overall changing structure of the consumer market in the 1980s:

- 1) Recognition of permanent residence for all urban blacks. Apartheid had previously denied permanent residence in 'white' South Africa to blacks who did not hold Section 10 rights (see Hindson, 1987).
- 2) 99 year leasehold property rights for blacks in 'white' South Africa.
- 3) Elimination of racial job reservation in most employment categories (1979ff).
- 4) Increased wages for blacks (1975ff)
- 5) Electrification of black urban townships (1982ff).
- 6) Open (to all races) trading rights in city centres (denied 'non-whites prior to 1984).
- 7) Declaration of a limited number of 'grey (residential) areas' (open to all races) in places previously reserved for whites only (October 1988ff).

As a result of these reforms, a large core group of urban blacks had established themselves, in the sense that they felt residentially more secure, and had more disposable income to spend on consumer goods and more expensive durables such as furniture, and electrical appliances. By the mid-1980s, this development had set in motion a growing incongruence between reality and the way the dominant white marketing profession continued to view the marketing situation.

Marketers openly conceded that their marketing language for describing target groups and many of the marketing tools in use, probably including the South African Advertising Research Foundation system (SAARF), and its highly influential 'All Media Products Survey' reports (AMPS), were:

... rooted in the historical structure that encouraged separate marketing views to be taken of the four race groups ... that entrenched the gaps that restricted the educational and job advancement potential of the non-white group to the extent that they had distinctly different purchasing habits, patterns and product aspirations (Sinclair, 1985:64).

It would seem that expression of events engendered by reform as a structural process upon the economic 'base', were to some extent being resisted by residual or reactionary elements in the 'superstructures'. The practice of conceiving the urbanised population in terms of a 'white market' and a 'black market', dovetailed with the SABC's policy of ethnic reinforcement. According to Mtutuzeli Matshoba, black author and advertising employee: "I do experience guilt about reinforcing the system, by being involved in planning advertisements aimed solely at the black market" (*The Star*, 18 February, 1986:13).

A 'separate media' mentality perpetuated 'separate advertising' for the same products, even in cases where middle class black consumers shared fairly similar orientations towards these products as whites did. On this basis, ethnic racial stereotypes could be sustained. But it should not be automatically assumed that separate marketing strategies were always purely an apartheid phenomenon. During the 1970s and 1980s, more finite 'market segmentation' than merely on a class basis became an increasingly popular practice amongst marketers internationally. In line with the maturing of the economies of the advanced industrial states into their post-industrial stages, there has been a general movement away from the integrative mass marketing approaches of the 1950s and 1960s. However, the marketing situation in South Africa was a different one from the USA or Europe, where industrial bases and markets were at far more mature stages of development. Techniques such as 'psychographics' or 'lifestyle' marketing enable superannuated products, (which have exhausted their possibilities for further regular technical refinements), to continue to be competitive. In advanced industrial countries, the problem tends to be one of insufficient consumption in relation to the abundance of similar consumer goods in each product category. In South Africa, the problem has been, and continues to be, one of too many potential consumers but insufficiency in goods, services, and employment. On the surface, apartheid appears to have resulted in the hoarding of wealth by whites and the 'new' Coloured and Indian middle classes, and thus impeding or reversing the flow of wealth to the black working classes. But in reality, what remained of the country's wealth was locked in the coffers of powerful corporate groups, as is the case in all other capitalist countries. In South Africa, any discourse of capital or state stimulated growth of middle class occupations, (geared to the purpose of obscuring class struggle), lagged well behind what had been achieved in the advanced industrial states. This disadvantage is considerably determined by the fact of the colonial origins of the South African state, and subservience of the South African economy to the more advanced industrial states.



A good example of a “reason why” mass marketing approach concept that achieved remarkable results in the ‘ethnically and culturally diverse’ South African market, is the one for the coffee creamer, ‘Cremora’: “It’s not inside, it’s on top” (of the fridge). This commercial focussed on the fact that ‘Cremora’ is a powdered coffee creamer that does not require refrigeration. ‘Cremora’ was therefore positioned against fresh milk. In fact, this concept was originated in the United States, but had never been used there by the manufactures of ‘Cremora’ (Borden), because it was considered to be unsound to position a coffee creamer against milk in the context of a score of other coffee creamers sharing exactly this *generic* benefit.<sup>19</sup> However, in the South African market, where coffee creamers were at that stage not very well known, this dramatisation of Cremora’s unique selling proposition (USP) in relation to milk, apparently helped shift the product from zero to 56% of the white consumers. But in the dominant black market, where the slogan was not used, because it was thought the humour would not translate well, ‘Cremora’ achieved an amazing 80% market share. The slogan was not used in the Afrikaans market either. According to stereotypical preconceptions, Afrikaans advertisements were designed around the homely farm value approach of the Jan Spies ‘coffee expert’ commercials. But research showed that 78% of Afrikaners and 56% of Blacks knew the “it’s not inside, it’s on top” slogan.<sup>20</sup>

During the 1980s, reform as a gradual structural process made it increasingly possible in many product categories, to create only one advertising campaign that could serve for both blacks and whites. If such advertisements required actors or actresses, probably non-ethnic petty bourgeois blacks, possibly together with whites, would be used. This was becoming the norm in beer and soft-drink commercials, but the media situation was still far from ideal, as the SABC only began de-restricting channels at the end of the 1980s (see Chapter 4). Black and white consumers used the same products and could be reached by commonly used media, and it had been shown by market researchers that upwardly mobile consumers in South Africa held fairly similar aspirations regardless of race (Corder, 1986:14-17). However, throughout the 1980s developments in the area of non-racial advertising were still in their infancy, and struggling to get off the ground.

The South African advertising industry was not only exclusively white-owned but also considerably foreign-owned by corporations of the advanced industrial states (Sinclair, 1985:30). Until a certain stage, circa latter 1980s, this situation in some respects might have given rise to delegated or diminished responsibility. Thus practitioners employed locally, seem to have sometimes still been feeling their way on how to come to terms with an effective non-racial marketing approach in South Africa (e.g., Tim Bester, quoted in Chapter 4). There were still problems of uncertainty, hesitancy, sometimes lack of insight or unwillingness to take risks. During this period, there was an increasing tendency for advertising agencies and client marketing departments to recruit more blacks to fill executive positions. As might be expected, this tendency seems to have been more pronounced amongst the advertising agencies and client marketing departments handling fast moving consumer goods for which black consumption had overtaken that of whites: margarine, soft drinks, beer, soap, washing powder, etc.

Separate advertising, especially when it was directed at urban blacks, had sometimes caused problems for products. If different advertising strategies were being used for the same products, 'audience overlap' between black and white media, exposed different target audiences to conflicting claims or positioning, with regard to the same products (McLean, 1983; Sinclair, 1985). Perceptions of 'coherent brand images' for such products could thus become impaired. So in addition to any desire for desegregation (political discourse of reform), there were also some good reasons in terms of sound marketing practice for having a single strategy for all consumers of a brand whenever this was possible (structural processes of reform). A further marketing-derived imperative for the client company was the fact that one advertisement for all sections of the target market could save a lot of money in production and media costs.

But it must be emphasised that there was a lack of any coherent conception on how to respond to these relatively more gradual effects that reform as a structural process was having on the South African consumer market. The following statement indicates that the marketing and advertising professions were experiencing some sort of inertia:

That the community is complex, culturally and socially divided cannot be questioned, but that marketing potential and media consumption spans these differences and is largely monadic is a concept, believed in by many, but too infrequently practised (Sinclair, 1985:60).

The 1980s still seem to have been a watershed period in terms of the effects of structural processes of reform. Due the political uncertainty of the period, theoretical realisation of any proper relationship between these processes and the political and ideological objectives of reform, tended to be indecisive or illusive. Thus, the various inherent contradictions which existed between reform as a longer term structural process, and the manner in which reform was being applied as strategy or political discourse in the P.W. Botha era, could not be addressed. Such theorisation seems to have been generally lacking on the part of the business sector and advertising industry in South Africa, as was demonstrated by the relatively timid acceptance of the introduction of a universally ethnic TV2/3 in 1982. What was needed at that time was a united front to oppose the continued practice of media restrictions on multi-racial or non-racial advertising by the government, the SABC, and other media owners.

Some marketers continued to maintain a contrasting view that saw any movement towards integrated, non-ethnic marketing approaches, as flawed. Johan Huyser, managing director of 'The Agency' continued to argue:

We differ completely from the popular view that a consumer is a consumer irrespective of race, colour and background ... This is nonsense. The black market is separate. Even the Afrikaans and English markets are separate ... If you don't talk to the black man in his own idiom you won't reach him (Advertising Supplement, *Financial Mail*, August 21, 1987:26).

The variety of ethnically orientated private sector publications which sprang up side by side with TV2/3 to cater for different black audiences<sup>21</sup>, somewhat mirrored the growth of lifestyle positioned magazines in the advanced industrial states during the 1980s. This phenomenon might not necessarily have been fully justified in terms of the development of the South African consumer market at that stage. The 'Young & Rubicam' advertising agency, which had been conducting a considerable amount of research on black consumers, even questioned the necessity of having two black television channels (*The Star*, 27 June 1987). But during the apartheid eras, South Africa was a country where hegemony was mostly forged in a crucible where the business sector concentrated on the task of making quick profits rather than confronting government with plans about long-term social solutions. Besides, such plans might have required putting a lot more of their money on the line. Had economic sanctions and the loss of support in the West not resulted in the alienation of local monopoly capital from P.W. Botha and his policies, the crises of the 1980s might have been followed by another essentially conservative Afrikaner Nationalist dominated renewal. Thus, in spite of the fact that it was widely criticised at the time by media activists, the inherent promise of propaganda such as 'Together We'll Build A Better Future' (previous chapter) had to be lived up to in the course of events which followed. This perhaps goes to show that one should after all not underestimate the power of advertising.

From a materialist perspective it appears that the marketing practice of conceiving the Westernised urban sector of the overall market in terms of a 'sophisticated' white market and an ethnically diverse black market, automatically entrenched the ethnic varieties of racial stereotyping, instead of allowing free movement to non-racial black middle class stereotypes. The structural processes at work were towards greater market uniformity, that is, non-racial advertising depicting blacks, (or blacks together with whites), in non-ethnic middle class stereotypes. There was a growing awareness and response to this reality. Yet at the same time, residual racial discriminatory practices from earlier eras, were institutionalised within marketing, advertising, and broadcasting practices. This is what underpinned the various forms of racial stereotyping in South Africa during the 1980s.

Though cultural and ethnic differences in South Africa cannot be denied, the cancer of apartheid entrenched these within institutions. In the case of advertising, this initially required the creation of separate campaigns to different racial groups for the same products. Such campaigns usually differed in marketing strategy and the development of advertising concepts and their execution. 'Exposure' had to be 'isolated' by the careful use of separate media that were not intended to overlap, but which in practice often did. Later, as the structure of the market began to change, apartheid continued to perpetuate separate communications and inhibited experimentation in non-racial approaches when these might have been possible. It would be short-sighted to limit my examination of racial stereotyping solely to the portrayal of models and their roles in advertisements. Racial stereotyping in South Africa must be considered more broadly, as the manner of communication to separate groups. At first, the effect of this procedure was to sharpen up, to develop, and to reinforce racial or ethnic differences. But later, especially in the area of fast moving consumer goods, different marketing strategies for blacks and whites were often no longer justifiable in terms of sound marketing practice. Once segmentation could be effected non-racially, along class lines, so-called 'consumerisation' of the black psyche through 'aspirational' advertising became more possible. By the

1990s, the resultant stereotypes tended to be predominantly non-racial black middle class stereotyping, or the occasional non-ethnic 'proud to be black' genre. It thus became feasible in many product categories to create only one advertising campaign for blacks and whites, as a 'commonality' of product and media usage existed (soft drinks, beer, margarine, chocolate bars, petrol etc.). It has already been pointed out above, that some market researchers believed that upwardly mobile people in South Africa had many similar aspirations regardless of race (Corder, 1986)<sup>22</sup>.

At first, even such advertising campaigns, based on an 'integrated' non-racial strategy, were still considered to require some slight modifications to cater for the 'nuances' of black consumers (McLean, 1983). This further seems to suggest that rather than being part of any short-term conspiratorially motivated or co-optive reformist discourse (Frederikse, 1986), so called 'capitalist consumerisation of the psyche' (which in South Africa principally entails transition to non-racial black middle class stereotypes) had been occurring organically all along. Even with 'nuances', these advertisements retained a single strategy and executed with the same advertising concepts for a whole market, and thus lending to a 'coherent brand image'. In cases where slight modifications were still being made for black audiences, given the sensitivity of the South African situation, it might have been argued that such differences had pejorative implications in terms of stereotyping. But any pejorativeness was of a far milder form, and evidence suggests blacks did not take very great exception (McLean, 1983). Blacks are said to have been sensitive if different marketing strategies were aimed at them, in particular it was believed that a product designed for blacks rather than whites was inferior, and therefore regarded with suspicion and resentment. Also, it might sometimes have been suspected that premium production was first sold to whites, while any surplus, deteriorating residue or inferior stock, was sold to blacks through retail outlets in the townships.<sup>23</sup>

### TRAINING BLACKS IN ADVERTISING

During the 1980s, there was an increasing tendency for advertising agencies to recruit more blacks to fill executive positions, an indication that some form of transition was indeed taking place. Problems of uncertainty, hesitancy, sometimes lack of insight or unwillingness to take risks, remained however. Most of the black recruits were at that stage intended to help whites create advertisements specifically directed at the black market. Len van Zyl, managing director of 'Linsay Smithers/FCB', had pointed out:

The biggest challenge of South African advertising is to develop black creative talent. Already the consumer market is significantly blacker than it was a few years ago. But we are still using blacks to adapt creative approaches instead of originating them. Too often we still take our lead from overseas (*Financial Mail*, Advertising Supplement, 28 June 1985:96).

The following remarks from senior black advertising executives perhaps further illustrates the situation. Peter Vundla (at the time still at 'VZ, Ogilvy and Mather') had pointed out:

The agencies often don't involve their black staff at the beginning. They present them with a completed package and ask, 'do you think this will go down well with blacks?' ('Black Advertising - Can anybody hear me?', *Financial Mail*, 29 April 1983:573).

To this Horace Mpanza of 'Lintas', pointedly added:

Very few ad agencies have made the effort to train blacks. What they must do is give them a solid grounding in advertising first, and then let them concentrate on black advertising (ibid).

What South African capitalists probably urgently needed, (but perhaps failed to fully appreciate during the P.W. Botha era), was for blacks who were already appropriately interpellated in terms of consumer ethic, to be recruited to work in advertising agencies so that their form of socialisation could be transmitted more broadly to 'the black market'. Even with the limited numbers of blacks recruited by agencies, there were still problems of finding 'the right communication buttons to push'. Research showed that while younger blacks reacted negatively to pejoratively stereotyped roles such as labourers, they did not respond very favourably to patently unrealistic or inappropriate black middle class situations, such as water-skiing or hang-gliding, to which some black advertising practitioners were aspiring. Eric Mafuna, sociologist and former 'J. Walter Thompson' research director, who had set himself up as a black marketing guru, believed that a major problem with some sophisticated blacks in advertising was that they had lost touch with the mainstream of black consumers:

They think that it has to be white to work. They feel that it has to be big to be good and forget that it is the little insights which lead to the big idea (ibid).

As has been pointed out in Chapter 5 (in respect of Nick Tredoux), when assessing such statements one must always be conscious of underlying rhetorical intentions sometimes designed to canvass clients to the claimed qualities of some particular brand expertise being touted. The selling point or competitive factor that might have persuaded prospective marketing clients to hire Mafuna, rather than services offered by other 'experts'. seems to have been its apparent sensitivity for sociological factors:

Our make-up is different because of sociological factors. We relate to different environments and our motivations are different. ... A black man is driven by a far greater need for status because this society deprives him of it - communicators have to be aware of this and other factors which make the black man a unique consumer (*Financial Mail*, 28 October 1979:397).

In fact, the problem of fine-tuning advertisements appropriately to the motivations of their target audiences, applies all over the world, including London and New York. Though university graduates are usually recruited as researchers or account executives, for writers and art-directors advertising agencies at the centres of advanced capitalism tend to prefer to draw on people from the 'working classes', who are presumed to be better able to communicate back to their own kind (re-

interpellate). Jerry Della Femina, one of America's most famous copywriters and a central figure in the advertising creative revolution in the 1960s and 1970s, points this matter out in the following words:

It doesn't hurt to be born Italian or Jewish in the streets of the city of New York ... You can't buy experience. The copywriter is in disgrace today if he was born in a suburb of Boston, of a fairly well-to-do family (Della Femina. 1970; Fox, 1984).

Before they become 'ad men' many of the best writers and art directors were either delivering milk or something similar. Della Femina, whose family were traditionally longshoremen, came into contact with advertising agencies during a period when his father was working as a printer for a New York newspaper. Another contemporary American advertising great, George Lois, is the son of a florist (Lois, 1979).

The process of inducting blacks into advertising has apparently been hampered in South Africa, by a shortage of young blacks who have studied art. While a school matric with art as a subject is required for entrance into technikon art courses, few black schools teach the subject. This has restricted an advertising career mainly to blacks who have attended private schools. Advertising agencies in the 1980s were trying to redress these problems. By 1987, the 'Ogilvy & Mather/Rightford Searle Tripp' advertising agency had committed itself to training eight blacks a year. According to Bob Rightford:

There is no shortage of raw material. It is just a matter of training them. If we don't, the decline in standards will quickly become much more evident (Advertising Supplement, *Financial Mail*, 21 August 1987:14).

On the other hand, Louis Wilsenach believed:

We can't force blacks into advertising. Thirty years ago there were no Afrikaners in advertising because it was an unknown career to them — the same with blacks today. We don't need to make special efforts to attract them. It will happen naturally (ibid).

Before advertising agencies in South Africa could begin producing non-racial advertisements that communicated effectively with their average consumers, trained blacks in sufficient numbers were needed inside advertising agencies so that a cultural-class interaction could in the first place begin right there, within the advertising production processes. Non-racial advertising can obviously be a force for bringing cultures closer together wherever they are still distantly apart. In a South African context, given the material and psychic deprivations of apartheid, this potential of advertising to facilitate a form of cultural production that is non-overtly apartheid based, needs careful critical appraisal. It has been variously noted in this thesis that such cultural production does on the surface appear to have some favourable implications. But it must also be recognised, that ideological aspects of product advertising, (even if developing contingently to capitalism), cannot be accepted unchallenged from a cultural studies theoretical perspective. Anything that amounts to fostering the development a consumer- orientated society, cannot be assessed without regard to the negative implications indicated by critical theories about the relationship between advertising and capitalism (as outlined in Chapter 2). However, at the same time, it should also be taken into account that South African conditions differs from those of the Western democracies (from where many of the theories

upon which the cultural studies critique of advertising are derived). As pointed out in Chapter 2, Williams ([1960] 1980), did not entirely dismiss the fact that consumption within limits is a satisfactory activity. If the alternative to consumption in South Africa is bare subsistence, surely different criteria need to be applied? Though non-racial black middle class stereotyping undoubtedly forms part of a capitalist discourse in the long term, in the short term, it does permit immediate psychological relief to media audiences who are black.

In conclusion, advertising by monopoly capitalist corporations will certainly never make Mercedes Benz motor cars affordable to all workers, so far it has not even been able to make ordinary consumer goods more plentiful or more affordable. But one should not dismiss the role of this extending middle class ideology in eroding apartheid. Structural processes of reform, dependent on economic transition and growth, have provided the underlying basis for 'consumerisation of the psyche' of blacks, through product advertising. These processes preceded political imperatives for black middle class co-option during the 1980s. In the normal course of events, the ideological role of consumer product advertising most probably develops contingently to the monopoly phase in capitalist economic development. During the P.W. Botha era, the government's political imperatives were actually contradictory to the effects of structural reform processes upon advertising. On the part of the business sector as a whole, its political imperatives with regard to advertising seem to have been less than certain. It is quite difficult to make any accurate generalised statements on the basis of the empirical research sample which has been within the financial and practical capabilities of this project to process. But as will be seen in Chapter 7, Castle Lager advertising after 1984 adopted a communication strategy that was clearly reformist, and to an extent that became almost antagonistic with government policy. Chapter 8 will show that another product, Rama Margarine, adopted what seems to have been a more pragmatic approach, probing apartheid restriction whenever it was possible to get more exposure for advertising Rands.

In the de Klerk era, (1989-1994), political imperatives of reform on the part of both the private sector and the government became potentially more streamlined with underlying structural processes. But due to a legacy of economic sanctions, international economic downturns, and at the time, still conflicting interests in the transition to democracy, during the first half of the 1990 underlying structural processes were at a relative hiatus. After the 1994 democratic elections the new government launched a 'Reconstruction and Development Program' (RDP), but in addition to this source of stimulation, it seems that internal economic growth or structural processes of reform still needed considerably more assistance through the creation of more local and international investment capital projects.

<sup>1</sup> See "Cost of Babel", *Financial Mail*, 8 August, 1980:645.

<sup>2</sup> *Financial Mail Advertising Supplement*, 21 August 1987:8

<sup>3</sup> *ibid*

<sup>4</sup> A caricature being a more extreme version of a stereotype (Perkins, 1979)

<sup>5</sup> In his book, 'Thirty Seconds', Michael Arlen (1981) provides an outstanding ethnography of the making of a television commercial for AT&T.

- <sup>6</sup> The 'Squirrels' campaign still only consisted of essentially only one advertisement. Properly speaking, an advertising campaign when it is presented to the client, should already consist of not less than three print advertisements or several print or billboard advertisements, and a television commercial. Each rendition, a different version of the same basic message. Subsequently, a campaign can be continued with the publication at regular intervals of further single advertisements (be these TV commercials, radio commercials, press advertisements, magazine advertisements, or billboards), based on the same campaign theme or concept. If an advertising concept does not lend to its own reproduction in terms of several advertisements, then it is most likely that this concept is somehow a flawed articulation of what in advertising practice is called the 'strategy' (O'Toole, 1981; Cromton, 1979).
- <sup>7</sup> Some advertisements are structured round a system of closure which requires audience participation. But such advertisements most likely belong to long-running campaign series which have 'educated' or established their own rules within audience awareness (see Mayle, 1983). In this respect Judith Williamson's examination of *absence* in certain types of advertisement is very perceptive, but due to the problematic manner of assembling her research sample she does not pay much attention to the very important fact that some of these advertisements (such as Benson & Hedges) are part of such long-running campaigns (See Williamson, 1978:77-79).
- <sup>8</sup> See Advertising Supplement, *Financial Mail*, 28 June 1985:55&60.
- <sup>9</sup> Although the tendency to confuse these methods apparently also exists in the advanced industrial centres (Leiss, Kline & Jhally, 1986), whenever product advertising becomes too divorced from its mainsprings ("reason why") it tends to lose the confidence of the consumer (see Wight, 1972).
- <sup>10</sup> See 'Going Global', Advertising Supplement, *Financial Mail*, 28 June 1985:48-52.
- <sup>11</sup> See Advertising Supplement, *Financial Mail*, 28 June 1985:9.
- <sup>12</sup> See Advertising Supplement, *Financial Mail*, 21 August 1987:12-13.
- <sup>13</sup> See 'Behind the Grey Group', Supplement to *Financial Mail*, 19 February 1982; 'The Grey Group - Corporate Statement', Supplement to *Financial Mail*, 27 May 1983.
- <sup>14</sup> In fact the way the concept was mostly applied by Grey was, 'It makes you think, doesn't it. When you're serious about money'. It would appear that both Grey and Nedbank believed the success of the advertising lay primarily in the 'It makes you think doesn't it' part of the slogan (*Financial Mail*, Advertising Supplement, 14 July 1989:60). It is my opinion that success of the advertising actually derived from the resonance in public awareness of 'if you're serious about money', and here, in this simple statement, lay the real potential for construction a long running campaign.
- <sup>15</sup> The Nedbank move seems to have been triggered by a clash of interests caused by Grey Phillips' acquisition of the Allied account. It had been expected that Nedbank would move to Ogilvy & Mather. In actual fact Nedbank stayed within the Grey group, by going to Grey Perspectives, on condition that Grey was dropped from the name and the new agency became Stamm Miller & Associates (*Financial Mail*, Advertising Supplement, 14 July 1989:60).
- <sup>16</sup> In 1981 (when O'Toole first published his book) South Africa still enjoyed a fair degree of acceptance within international economic and strategic relations. As Foote, Cone and Belding continued to operate in South Africa through the sanctions period, it is not too surprising that a disinvestment era edition of *The Trouble With Advertising* (1985) omits all mention of South Africa.
- <sup>17</sup> See 'Taking the Plunge', Advertising Supplement, *Financial Mail*, 28 June 1985:60-1.
- <sup>18</sup> This is certainly not to suggest that South African goods would be able to gain an edge in all product categories through this method, but it might be quite possible for a significant range of local products to become internationally viable.
- <sup>19</sup> There are instances in the annals of advertising history where a generic product benefit, never before claimed by competitors, produced outstanding results (Hopkins, 1927). However, by the 1970s or 1980s, in a sophisticated advertising milieu such as the United States, a generic product benefit could no longer be regarded as a viable option, even if creatively coupled in execution with an appropriate popular personality (O'Toole, 1981).
- <sup>20</sup> Advertising Supplement, *Financial Mail*, 21 August 1987:44.
- <sup>21</sup> Advertising & Media Supplement, *Financial Mail*, 3 April 1981:26.
- <sup>22</sup> See also 'Digging up the facts' *Financial Mail*, Advertising Supplement, 28 June 1985:36-37; 'Checkerboard marketing', *Financial Mail*, Advertising Supplement, 22 August 1986:39.
- <sup>23</sup> See Sinclair, 1985:62; also, Advertising Supplement, *Financial Mail*, 22 August 1986:39-40.



## **HOW THE 'OTHER' WAS INVITED TO STAY: CASTLE LAGER AND THE CHARLES GLASS SOCIETY, 1978-92.**

Marx has referred to religion as 'the opium for the masses'. According to Leiss, Kline & Jhally (1986:3), in the twentieth century a discourse 'through and about objects' has overtaken many aspects of socialisation previously performed by institutions such as religion or the family.<sup>1</sup> Mass media, in conjunction with the institution of advertising, play a primary role in the dissemination of this powerful new influence. If this be the case, commonalities in the manner a particular consumer product, beer, is advertised throughout the world give some indication about where its ideological significance might reside. Advertising images of the consumption of beer seem to create a common sense perception that beer is a beneficial and nourishing male-orientated drink. The drinking of beer is represented and perceived as being consistent with productivity, a legitimate or socially acceptable leisure-time or after-work recreational release.<sup>2</sup> Though by no means as potent as an 'opium for the masses', the psychological role of the advertising and consumption of beer might be regarded to be one of an important palliative, amongst others, which have kept and continue to keep, the working class or petite bourgeoisie male work forces reasonably contented.

The decision to anchor this research on a study of the history reel of a beer advertising campaign is thus not an arbitrary one.<sup>3</sup> There are also several reasons why the choice of the advertising for the Castle Lager brand seems a particularly good one. It is an indigenous beer that has for many years been perceived as a dominant South African brand, almost as much as 'Guinness' connotes Ireland. The owners of the Castle Lager brand name, South African Breweries (SAB), maintained a virtual monopoly in the manufacture and marketing of beer in South Africa. SAB did not originally contest 'apartheid advertising'<sup>4</sup>, but after about the mid-1980s, they began to play a key role in what became policy on the part of most of the large South African business corporations to naturalise the depiction of social interaction between blacks and whites in their advertising campaigns. The manner in which the Castle Lager advertising campaign unfolds is complex, but also very interesting. As will be outlined below, there are several types of English language Castle Lager commercials. Prior to the inclusion of blacks, many of these commercials had already sought to engage the undercurrents of an incipient South African mythology, particularly the commercials which re-enact supposed events in the development of the beer during the turn of the century. However, as reform gathers pace around the mid-1980s one sees these commercials reconsidering or re-interpreting earlier representation of the past that had omitted any social interaction between blacks and whites, or even the presence of blacks.

One of the most important aspects of television advertising in relation to the 1980s reform period, began at the historical moment when blacks were publicly welcomed into South Africa's

predominantly English-speaking bourgeois or petite bourgeois world. It is contended that beer advertising (i.e. across all brands) assumed a significant political role by taking the lead in articulating new stereotypes which projected or nurtured an ideal type of integrated new middle class (and working class). The ethnic or tentative 'ethnic middle class' varieties of media racial stereotyping, which in retrospect seem slow-changing or relatively static, were overtaken by more dynamic integrationist non-ethnic black middle class stereotypes<sup>5</sup>. From 1987 onwards, such integrationist non-ethnic black middle class stereotypes had become very visible in commercials.

The English language Castle Lager history reel used for this study consists of a total of 39 commercials for the period 1978 to 1991. The absence of ethnic language beer commercials in the research sample should not be perceived as a flaw. The *League Soccer* commercials (1988/1990) and *Soccer Match of the Day* (1992), which are part of the history reel, provide some documentation of how black people of more ethnic or working class typology were represented. Though admittedly a commercial such as *League Soccer* (1988/90), by having more ethnographic content than is normally the case (uncontrived crowd scenes in a soccer stadium), lacks some of the qualities of black stereotypes wholly created by capital's media articulators during the period of apartheid and its reform. Commercials shot in studios, or which feature only actors or models selected from casting or modelling agencies, are obviously more evident of the *wilful* stereotyping practices prevalent at the time within relations of media production. On the other hand, commercials utilising shots that include action contextualised in largely uncontrived crowd scenes in a soccer stadium, might be considered to possess some degree of ethnographic content (see Heider, 1976; Banks, 1992).

The primary focus of the present research is changing forms of *racial* stereotyping. It must however be recognised that the tendency to position beer as an exclusively male product, (and the consequent under-representation of women in beer advertisements), also needs to be investigated further. In spite of the fact that capitalist economies are supposed to have moved into post-Fordist stages, it seems that cultural production relating to the consumption of beer is still mostly linked to the previously attributed relationship between men and the means of production (be these located in industry or the service sector). In instances where women are occasionally depicted in Castle Lager commercials, their stereotyping is briefly noted in the research.

#### **DIFFERENT TYPES OF CASTLE LAGER COMMERCIALS**

At this point it might be useful to note that the commercials on the English version of the Castle Lager history reel can be placed into at least *three* groups. One might even say that there have actually been up to *five* different English language Castle Lager advertising campaigns, some running concurrently. But it should also be noted that there are various overlapping or unifying themes which make the Castle Lager sub-campaigns mutually reinforcing.

First, what might be considered to have been the main Castle Lager campaign started in 1978, and is based on a series of 'historical' commercials. It will be discussed below that with the *Joggers* commercial in 1987, this main campaign series branches off into a lackadaisical or slapstick series of commercials. This conceptual transition uses the 'Charles Glass Society' idea as connecting link with the earlier 'historical' commercials.<sup>6</sup> The six 1989 'Changing the Label' commercials, although ostensibly a special occasion or new product development announcement campaign series, in terms of execution, style, and form, link strongly into the main post-1987 lackadaisical or slapstick concepts which emphasise camaraderie between blacks and whites, so they are listed together for this study. I prefer to see the slapstick or lackadaisical series as a branching off from the 'historical' campaign, as a second phase of the main campaign rather than a second type of campaign.

Second, are the occasional 'sports sponsorship commercials' interspersed during the period under study, beginning with *SAB Currie Cup* (1981). (Most of the post-1987 sports commercials also refer the 'Charles Glass Society'.) Initially, English language Castle Lager commercials featured Currie Cup Cricket. However, after the introduction of TV4 in 1987 there seems to have been a 'bottoming out' to include soccer sponsorship, starting with *League Soccer* (1988). In terms of capitalist accommodation<sup>7</sup>, with the reform of apartheid the media representation of black soccer in the late 1980s seems to have surfaced to occupy a working class position, possibly bearing some parallels to the social location of white soccer in the 1960s and 1970s. The *Cricketing Greats* (1984/5) commercial, see below, might be seen to straddle both the historical and sports sponsorship groups.

Third, are the 'special occasion' or 'topical' commercials which seem to echo concurrent political events in the march to democracy in South Africa. It is not easy to say if these commercials were reifying or 'taming the struggle', in the sense that they might have been appropriating it to a dominant political discourse of the state (Marcuse, 1964; Williams, 1973:3-16). The forms of representation in these commercials were appropriating unfolding political events according to predominant capital's tentative projection of what a proper social order for the country might be. Although the depicted social order was a somewhat idealised one in terms of what at that stage was still a recent past, in terms of the actuality of the time it perhaps also constituted a degree of reform that was somewhat revolutionary. Thus, arguably, these commercials in fact contributed to 'the struggle', or towards an illusive ideal, (which at that stage was believed to be beyond the capabilities of an Afrikaner bureaucracy), where the struggle of forces in opposition to apartheid and reform emanating from the state could possibly merge. *Winston Ngozi* (1985), *Reunion* (1989) and *Homecoming* (1990), which have strong political undertones, seem to represent this what one may call 'idealistic strain'. I certainly do not believe it would be a sound assessment to associate these Castle Lager commercials, or those of the lighthearted- lackadaisical genre, with government-inspired 'Total Strategy'.<sup>8</sup> Rather than tacitly 'conspiratorial' with government strategy, the content of these commercials, (see their analysis below), indicates that they were symptomatic of the

growing schism between English-dominated capital and the Afrikaner Nationalist Party dominated administration of the state.

There is one commercial on the history reel which is a bit of an 'odd man out' to the themes discussed above, *Dumpy* (1979). This is a new product announcement commercial which does not belong to any of the Castle Lager campaign genres or displays any interlinking themes. But it is perhaps interesting from a gender studies perspective. *Dumpy* features what appears to be a tired husband settling down on a comfortable armchair in front of a TV set to drink some beer, possibly after a 'productive' day at work, as he still seems to be dressed in working clothes (Shot 1). There is a sadistic wife stereotype, whose tone of voice is heard, but who never fully appears in any of the frames, save for her hand that places a full oversized 500 ml. dumpy bottle of beer next to an empty 340 ml. dumpy on a coffee table, near to her husband (Shot 1). We are aware from her voice that she is carefully watching him while he absent-mindedly overfills his glass (from the new and larger dumpy bottle he has not been warned about) and pours beer over his chest and trousers. This manner of dramatisation is a good example of what advertisers regard as a 'lateral' or 'creative' approach to communicating the benefits of a product which in themselves are not particularly exciting. *Dumpy* is also interesting from the point of view of realist cinema (Bazin, 1987), as it is constructed from essentially one shot. The distinguishing feature in the construction of most advertising commercials is that they are edited in terms of a rapid montage of successive cuts or dissolves of many very short duration shots. A second shot cut at the end of *Dumpy* is a pack shot showing the 340 ml. and new 500 ml. bottles shot against a backlit white translucent perspex infinity curve.

### FIRST PHASE: THE HISTORICAL SERIES

One of the primary objectives of the advertisers of Castle Lager in the first phase of their campaign, seems to have been to position the beer as one of early origins and unique South African pedigree. The advertising concept of these commercials mostly draws on the nostalgia aspects of late 19th and early 20th century Transvaal. These commercials proceed to tell the Castle Lager/Charles Glass story by instalments: i.e. various tales about the early origins of the beer are related by successive commercials. It is important to note the fact that until 1984, 'the past' portrayed by the English language Castle Lager 'historical' commercials, showed a predominantly Eurocentric and Anglo-Saxon South Africa.

Initially, in 1978, the commercials referred to 'the creative brewer' who first came up with the special recipe for Castle Lager. The first commercial on the history reel, *Time Tested*, (1978), makes no mention of either Charles Glass (the supposed inventor of Castle Lager), or the purported 1895 date of the first successful brewing of Castle Lager. The following three commercials *Brewmaster 1895* (1978), *Apprentice* (1978) and *Beerwagon* (1979), all mention the date when Castle Lager was launched. This slight uncertainty at the beginning of the campaign, arouses a degree of skepticism as to the full authenticity of the Charles Glass story. Also, the actor who plays the part of 'Charles

Glass', is featured in two 1978 commercials (*Brewmaster 1895* and *Apprentice*), but the purported historical character who goes by the name, Charles Glass, is only introduced the following year in *Beerwagon* (1979). Charles Glass subsequently becomes a key figure in the purported history of Castle Lager. He is portrayed as the person supposed to have originally come up with the recipe for Castle Lager: 'a somewhat bitter, somewhat dry, but never sweet' taste. The term 'somewhat bitter, somewhat dry, but never sweet', (which *First Rand Show* (1983) tells us belongs to "a beer most suited to South African tastes"), possibly also suggests the continual angst experienced at various levels of society in the processes of formation of the state, or what one might call 'the South African condition'. Thus, in a connotative sense, '... never sweet', might also signify a reification of struggle, in terms of a myth that a greater sum total than the parts, such as perhaps, the Great Trek, the Xhosa and the Zulu Wars, the Anglo Boers Wars, thousands of dead miners, apartheid, Sharpsville, etc., does exist somewhere.

Something that has not been directly alluded to in any of the advertising for Castle Lager, is the significant timing of the purported birth of Castle Lager, 1895. It was at about this time (1895-6), that mine owners realised that a very serious contradiction had found its way into the capitalist development of the Transvaal (Van Onselen 1982:63). Any further expansion in the large and very profitable liquor industry would have been at the expense of the very motor of capitalism, the mining industry. Van Onselen (1982:63-96) suggests that mining Randlords had initially supported the distilling and marketing of poor quality spirits as a means of furthering the exploitation of African (mostly Mozambican) mine workers. However, with the advent of more sophisticated (deep level) mining methods, alcoholism was believed to be having a detrimental effect on productivity. It appears that government structures only responded with prohibitionist legislation after the powerful mining lobby sided with those who had been advocating it. However, prohibition was only effectively enforced with the imposition of martial law at the end of the war with Great Britain.<sup>9</sup> The scenes featured in a commercial which will be discussed below, *Gold Prospectors* (1986), are cast in the very arena of this issue. However, any allusions to prohibition have to be read in the MVO's words: "... a beer to satisfy a goldminer's thirst".

The idea of personifying the brewer as Charles Glass adds depth and interest to the Castle Lager advertising campaign. Through the intertwining of the product with some of the social history of early South Africa, various 'myths' are created about Castle Lager. This 'historical' approach, with its appeal to nostalgia, is no doubt suggested by the underlying concept encapsulated in the slogan 'the taste that's stood the test of time'. And, of course, there may well be some truth in the fact that the brand name Castle Lager has been around a long time. An important principle of advertising procedure (as well as other forms of rhetoric or propaganda) is, 'to always tell the *truth*, but by using the half of the truth that facilitates your selling strategy' (Trott, 1979).

Another distinguishing feature of Castle Lager commercials are coherent story lines which endow the quality of mini dramas with denouement. Even where an interruption in unity of time or place occurs in the sequence, the action always transcends to the new characters or context. This is

especially true of the historical commercials where a transition takes place from the 'past' into contemporary pub scenes. The action prevails to the new contexts and new characters, because the commercials are articulating the 'test of time' concept. Also, the storylines or narrative of most of the Castle Lager historical commercials are structured around a common theme. These commercials begin with shots of purported aspects of early manufacturing processes or marketing strategies of the beer, followed by shots of historical and/or contemporary scenes of its consumption. The following commercials conform to this pattern: *Time Tested* (1978); *Brewmaster 1895* (1978); *Apprentice* (1978); *Beerwagon* (1979); *Boxing* (1981); *First Rand Show* (1983); *Cricketing Greats* (1984); *Train* (1984); *Gentlemen of the Press* (1985), to a lesser extent as the display of consumption is not a public one; *Gold Prospectors* (1986); and *Charles Glass* (1991).

### STRUCTURED ABSENCES

It has already been pointed out above that the historical reconstructions in the earlier Castle Lager commercials did not feature any blacks. There is a virtual non-inclusion of blacks until 1984. Save for a very short duration shot of a black person in the 60 second version of *First Rand Show*, (1983), blacks were completely absent until *Train* (1984). While the absence of black patrons in shots which depicted contemporary pub scenes for the late 1970s or early 1980s is correct in terms of ethnographic reconstruction of the apartheid era, the complete absence of blacks in the depiction of street scenes representing the turn of the century, is particularly difficult to sustain.

It would not be an unfair observation that most of the early English language Castle Lager commercials (1978-1984), including those of the historical *Charles Glass* series, followed the principle of 'structured absences' (as defined in Tomaselli RE *et al*, 1989:157). In virtually all of these commercials, no blacks were featured, not even as onlookers. By being devoid of any stereotyping of blacks, these early commercials are what one might call 'ethnically pure', in terms of apartheid ideology. But the relative or complete absence of social interaction between whites and blacks makes ethnographic reconstruction of the 'past' supposedly portrayed, inaccurate. This is particularly evident in *Time Tested* (1978); *Brewmaster 1895* (1978); *Apprentice* (1978); *Beerwagon* (1979); *Boxing* (1981), 60 second & 30 second versions; definitely in *First Rand Show*, 30 second version, (1983); and both the 60 and 30 second versions of *Gentlemen of the Press* (1985). (The 60 second version of *First Rand Show* (1983) does have a very short duration shot with a black person in it.) Some of the earliest of these commercials were probably conceived or produced during the late B.J. Vorster era, prior to any overt or public manifestation of the underlying measures that were being taken to reform social apartheid<sup>10</sup>. At this stage conservative forces were still politically strong. Reform actively got under way during the course of the administration of P.W. Botha, who had taken over in 1978. However, indications of an *emergent* new form of social representation only become evident in Castle Lager commercials from 1983 or 1984 onwards.

It seems that the *Train* commercial of 1984 may signal an important turning point. This contention is reinforced by the fact that the two earlier commercials on the history reel blacks barely feature at

all. This absence is in spite of the fact that the historically reconstructed situations in which the action takes place strongly call for some presence of blacks.

### ***BOXING (1981)***

The 1981 *Boxing* commercial features a boxing match at the turn of the century between Australian Willy Docherty, and American King McCoy. It is a good example of a commercial which in terms of accurate historical reconstruction of the period, might have been expected to show some blacks, but it failed to do so. There are two similar versions of *Boxing*: a 60 second version and a 30 second version edited mostly from the same shots as the 60 second version, but with fewer shots. Shots 1-20 of *Boxing* (60 second version) feature the boxing bout being staged outdoors, shots 21-25, feature after-the-boxing-match festivities hosted by Charles Glass in a pub, while from shots 25-28, there is a transition to a modern day contemporary pub scene.

The boxing bout takes place in a ring set outdoors in an open space, near what appears to be a warehouse (Shot 7&13). It is these scenes in particular which might have been expected to show some black faces in the background, especially Shots 1-2, Shot 5, Shot 10, Shot 17. The MVO says: "There was great excitement in old Johannesburg when Australian Willy Docherty climbed into the ring with world champion King McCoy of the USA...". But this 'great excitement' is limited to whites only. No blacks are shown anywhere amongst the onlookers, or in the background of an event quite likely to have attracted their interest or curiosity.

The after-match pub shots also do not show any blacks, (as pub employees or as patrons), but in this case this absence probably is not necessarily inconsistent with work and social relations for the period depicted. Also, no blacks are shown in the third and last part of the commercial, (Shots 25-28), which features a transition in time to a contemporary pub scene, but here quite certainly the absence is not inconsistent with an actual pub situation under the state of apartheid circa 1981.<sup>11</sup>

### ***FIRST RAND SHOW (1983)***

No new commercials were produced for Castle Lager in 1982, but the two 1983 commercials, (60 second and 30 second versions), where Charles Glass is supposed to have entered his first beer competition at the 1907 Rand Show, might surely have been expected to include some blacks. When the 60 second version of this commercial is viewed in slow motion, one does in fact see a shot of a young black man tending a donkey (Shot 9). The production of a commercial such as this one clearly involves a carefully planned and, judging by the large number of extras, a lavishly expensive reconstruction of a 'past' Castle Lager event. However short duration Shot 9 might be, (1.28 seconds), the presence of this black person would most likely have been included at storyboard stage and its impact carefully considered when the concept was being presented to the client (before the commercial was shot). But it should also be noted that no blacks are visible in any of the crowd shots showing people in the Rand Show grounds (e.g. Shots 5, 7, 10, 15, 17, 19, 21, 22).

The manner in which this young black man in Shot 9 comes across, does not necessarily dilute the essentially Eurocentric and Anglo-Saxon nature of the reconstruction of the 1907 Rand Show context. He is dolled up in a fancy suit, with a frilly white shirt. This black lad seems to be as much an exhibit as the little donkey he is with. On the one hand, his presence in one of the Rand Show tents bears some resemblance to 19th century London freak shows, where strange human beings from far corners of the Empire, would be displayed. Yet on the other hand, this suggestion is dispelled by the strong aspects of affirmative paternalism in the image of the young black man in the presence of a master who has taken the trouble to dress him in smart gentlemanly attire. The immediate context suggests that the black lad presumably would have been a farmhand in real life. Dressed up in the gentlemanly uniform of the coloniser, his image bears some relationship to the object of Roland Barthes' (1973:126-8) criticism of the image of a young black man on the cover of a Paris Match magazine. There is also some resemblance in composition between this shot (Shot 9), and Shot 34 near the end of *Train* (1984), which will be discussed later on. Within the world encompassed by the camera frame, the young black man is positioned to the extreme right, with his body remaining partly outside the right frame border throughout the duration of the shot. In the 30 second version of *First Rand Show*, these few frames of this almost subliminal duration shot are completely excised.

The tentativeness of the introduction of a black person, with this very short duration shot (Shot 9) in *First Rand Show*, becomes strongly confirmed in a commercial of the following year, *Train* (1984), which features a black person in a significant role. However, the year after that, *Gentleman of the Press* (1985), reverted back to structured absences. For purposes of this case study, *Gentlemen of the Press* (1985) will be discussed before *Train* (1984), so that the section that deals specifically with commercials where **structured absences** have persisted can be concluded. *Train*, (1984), which was broadcast the previous year, makes a powerful reformist statement and seems to be the signal of an official change of policy on the part of SAB. Therefore, for the purposes of this case study, *Train* will be discussed below under **New Policy**

### *GENTLEMEN OF THE PRESS* (1985)

It is perhaps surprising that this first commercial broadcast in 1985, reverts back to the earlier pattern of excluding blacks. It is based on a supposed event when Charles Glass invited the *Gentlemen of the Press* to sample and criticise his beer. In the outdoor shots, where the journalists are shown arriving at Charles Glass's brewery offices (Shots 1 & 2), and where the coachman waits outside (Shots 16, 22), no blacks are apparent. Through the duration of Shot 1, an establishing shot of the brewery offices, (with the coach carrying the journalists arriving from right of frame), two men walk from right to left near the verandah of the brewery offices building carrying barrels on their shoulders. The heads of these men are obscured by the barrels so they cannot be positively identified, but in terms of the mise-en-scene of the commercial, they come across as white manual labourers. No blacks are depicted in pejorative roles such as servants, cleaners or tea boys at the brewery offices. Charles Glass's underlings are a white assistant (Shot 3, 5, 21), and 'Wilkins', a white



bookkeeper (Shots 4, 18, 20, 21). It would have been quite logical for Charles Glass's black colleague from the *Train* commercial of 1984, (to be discussed below under **New Policy**), to make his appearance again at the brewery offices, thus confirming that he was indeed involved in the brewing business at a management level. Also, had the theme of turn of the century black middle class participation been continued, one might even have expected to see a black journalist in *Gentlemen of the Press*. But it is only much later, in 1991, in a clearly revisionist historical commercial, that a black colleague, (possibly the black gentleman from the 1984 *Train* commercial), again makes his appearance (Shot 3), to help Charles Glass stable his horse as he arrives at the brewery (see below).

There could be many explanations for the apparent regression back to structured absences in *Gentlemen of the Press*, after an unambiguously reformist statement in the earlier *Train* (1984). Possibly, it could be indicative of a backlash by some Nationalist government officials upon the SABC. This might have been triggered off by a sense of unease from conservative viewers, resulting in complaints and criticism upon the SABC's Acceptance Board for 'reforming too fast' But this is only a speculative explanation, and many other reasons may exist. Whatever the reasons, it is theoretically consistent that, if *Train* is seen as an emergent form (see below), there should be a certain degree of tentativeness until this form becomes established or dominant. By the time of *Joggers* (1987) the inclusion of blacks does become dominant.

The 1984 *Train* commercial had in any case made quite a powerful reformist statement. Also, the 1984 *Cricketing Greats* commercial which is based on black and white stills and includes a photograph of West Indian Sylvester Clark, (see below), was broadcast again in 1985.<sup>12</sup> This commercial suggests apartheid-free sport. Though not particularly challenging in the manner in which the suggestion comes, (the shot of a close up still portrait of Sylvester Clark is not contextualised by any other shots of him in action playing with the South Africans), by signifying non-racial sport, the appearance of this black cricketer does help to keep the reformist-apartheid lamp burning (see below).

### **MARKETING CONSIDERATIONS?**

In addition to politically motivated procedures and broadcasting structures of the SABC during the reformist apartheid era, which continued to vigorously corral marketing strategy into separate approaches for different language groups (see Chapter 4), it is quite probable that the marketers of Castle Lager might have rationalised their initial approach in terms of their conception of generic product characteristics affecting the marketing situation of beer. Thus, what theoretically-informed critics read as 'structured absences', to many advertising practitioners, in terms of interpellation within their professional frame of reference, would have fallen within the domain of common sense. The pre-1984 Castle Lager marketing procedure seems to resemble that of products such as OMO washing powder (a Unilever product) which until the mid-1990s continued with the use of

different media and the production of separate advertisements for different racial groups. The marketers of OMO believed this approach to be essential to the nature of their product and its marketing situation.<sup>13</sup>

Before the introduction of TV2/3, apartheid-related broadcasting restrictions made it quite difficult to advertise to blacks through the medium of television. There are no signs in Castle Lager commercials prior to the introduction of TV2/3, to indicate that any marketing dynamic to target black beer drinkers in the TV1 commercials was being frustrated. In this respect, the early Castle Lager commercials differ from some of the early TV1 Rama margarine commercials. The manner of construction of the early TV1 English language Rama commercials, (prior to the introduction of TV2/3), suggests large numbers of urban black users of Rama were intentionally taken into consideration<sup>14</sup>. Rama commercials of this period were based on jingles; a creative framework which facilitated the linking together of a small number of shots featuring blacks, with a greater number of shots featuring whites. As will be argued in the following chapter, this sort of expediency suggests that prior to the introduction of TV2/3, it was possible for large clients such as Unilever, (marketers of Rama), to negotiate some limited degree of accommodation within SABC apartheid broadcasting restrictions in order to reach their black urban consumers with TV1. In spite of this limited room for manoeuvre, the Castle Lager history reel indicates that SAB, one of the biggest advertisers in South Africa, did not at that stage use its leverage to follow such a route. Any evaluation of this observation should however be tempered with the fact that, (unlike most of the Rama commercials), Castle Lager commercials have never been based on jingles but are characterised by their strong story lines and plot structures. Creatively it would have been very difficult, if not impossible, for the advertisers of Castle Lager to address blacks in a TV1 commercial, (within whatever negotiable limits were available in the practical application of SABC apartheid broadcasting policy during the earlier part of the 1980s) and at the same time maintain the coherent storyline and plot structure quality of the individual Castle Lager commercials.

After the introduction of TV2 in 1982, (subsequently extended to TV2/3 in the same year)<sup>15</sup>, a comprehensive array of ethnic commercials were produced and broadcast for Castle Lager: Zulu, Xhosa, Tswana, South Sotho, Ndebele, North Sotho, and these continued in full swing until 1986. The first sign to suggest that dedication to this policy was beginning to waver is the brief depiction of a black person in the *First Rand Show* (1983), which was discussed above. The *Train* commercial of the following year, confirmed that an important change in policy had indeed taken place. In 1986 one sees a drastic reduction in the diversity of ethnic language commercials broadcast for Castle Lager. Whereas until 1986, the languages used were Zulu, Xhosa, Tswana, South Sotho, Ndebele and North Sotho, by 1987, (after the introduction of TV4 in 1984), only Zulu and South Sotho continued to be used in the ethnic commercials.<sup>16</sup>

## NEW POLICY

The featuring of blacks in English language Castle Lager commercials from 1984 onwards, was probably more than merely marketing expedience. Though such accommodation may have been in keeping with changing marketing conceptions in South Africa, (Sinclair, 1985:56-68), the timing and certain aspects of the content of these commercials, suggest a more far-reaching policy change on the part of the marketers of Castle Lager. From a review of the Castle Lager history reel, it appears that from 1984 onwards the commercials no longer reflected an apartheid society, nor did they try to merely accommodate urban middle class blacks in the key branding of the product. The new Castle Lager advertisements went out of their way to portray an integrated society that was well ahead of its time.

It is possible to discern two opposed strains of ideology underlying the initial Castle Lager commercials, and those of the post-1984 period. However, the transition from one ideological position to the other, is not an abrupt one. The first intimation of change appeared in the 60 second version of the *First Rand Show* commercial of 1983, and this first sign was strongly confirmed in the *Train* commercial of 1984. The two *Gentlemen of the Press* (1985) commercials which followed, regressed back into earlier forms. But then the new tendency became firmly established by 1986/7, after the broadcast of *Gold Prospectors* and *Joggers*. Raymond Williams's concept (1977:121-7) of dominant, residual, and emergent forms, suggests this manner of cultural transformation is not unparalleled in the social history of other countries. The commercials which maintained structured absences were *dominant/residual*, and consistent with the continuing ideological requirements of 'separate development'. Castle Lager commercials made from 1984 onwards, which depicted social interaction between whites and blacks at management level or general interracial camaraderie in the workplace or during leisure time activities, were *emergent*: ahead of their time, and consistent with the ideological requirements for achieving an integrated society. This new development was not only evident in the Castle Lager commercials, but encompassed most SAB brands such as Lion Lager, Carling Black Label, Hansa, and Amstel.

### *TRAIN* (1984)

The *Train* commercial of 1984 belongs to the historical Charles Glass/nostalgia series. This commercial features the purported first railing of a consignment of Castle Lager to the coast. By showing a black man actively involved in this enterprise, this commercial gives some powerful intimations about the future plans of South African capital in regard to the re-direction of social change. During this period, action and images in this, (and other commercials especially from the leading companies of English-dominated capital), seemed to be opening up the road to a more integrated society. There appears to have been a growing commitment to prise apart what might be called the bricked up walls of apartheid consciousness.

Quite possibly, *Train* (1984) is no more ethnographically accurate in its representation (of work and social relations in late 19th century Witwatersrand), than earlier Castle commercials which omitted blacks altogether. At the end of the 19th Century, the small numbers of black petty-bourgeoisie in the Transvaal were not forging partnerships with white people, there is little evidence that such social relations actually existed (see Bundy, 1979:240-216). While a class of black 'gentlemen' may have existed, it is unlikely that they had the same social status as the white upper classes. Nevertheless, the mere fact that this commercial shows a black person doing work together with whites, places the social context a little more realistically in South Africa than was the case with the previous Castle Lager commercials.

The racial stereotyping of the black man in *Train*, (1984), is quite peculiar. He is dressed no differently from his white counterparts: fine black suit, waist coat and bowler hat. In the process of loading the beer onto a train, this black man is shown carrying a small barrel of *Castle* on his shoulders (Shot 8). When the frames of this shot are examined in slow motion, one clearly sees the barrel being passed onto the shoulders of the black man by a similarly dressed white man, Charles Glass himself. An important part of the overall meaning signified by the commercial, (and particularly in this shot), is that at the turn of the century, no apartheid or job reservation existed (in the Transvaal). Later on in this commercial, the well-attired black man momentarily makes his appearance in the right hand of the frame, when the beer has just arrived at its destination and is being tasted for approval by Charles Glass (Shot 34). In this shot the black gentleman is shown to be drinking and toasting together with the other Castle Lager pioneers. It should be noted that in the composition of the frames of this shot, (Shot 34), the black gentleman is still at the outer edges of the frame-depicted world: he is looking in from right frame border. Yet when compounded with the visual narrative of the earlier shots, through his dress, actions, and demeanour, he is clearly established as being part of the management or gentlemanly class. He is socially an equal with the whites around him, and a fellow participant and contributor in the endeavour just completed.

This commercial creates an interesting time warp. As pointed out above, it is debatable how historically accurate the representation of this man as a black member of the gentlemanly/management class is.<sup>17</sup> What is essentially proposed, is that the type of non-racist equality that beer advertising came to promote during the later 1980s and early 1990s, had already been in existence at the turn of the century. A myth is thus created or reinforced to the effect that the proposed capitalist democracy, (in the way of which apartheid was supposed to be standing), had in fact existed in the distant past. The 1984 *Train* commercial, is a post 'New Constitution', P.W. Botha era commercial. Coloureds and Indians had been accommodated in the Tricameral Parliament, but blacks were still excluded from meaningful political participation. The appearance of a well-to-do black man in this reconstruction of the past might therefore be taken as a clear signal 'of things to come' for blacks.<sup>18</sup>

Nevertheless, while in this 1984 commercial the stereotyping of the black gentleman appears to be perfectly middle class, in mise-en-scene terms, his positioning within the frame does not yet acquire the level of dominance allotted to blacks in some later Castle Lager commercials, to be discussed below. When one examines the Castle Lager history reel, it is possible to discern some degree of chronologically ascending order in the frame dominance allotted to blacks. This ascendancy can be observed through commercials such as *Joggers* (1987), *Musicians* (1987), *Soccer* (1987), the *Label Change* series of commercials (1989), *Canoe Race* (1989), *Reunion* (1989), *Homecoming* (1990) or *Soccer Match of the Day* (1992). In some shots of these latter commercials, blacks become relatively more dominant within the frame than whites.

### **CRICKETING GREATS (1984)**

The second commercial produced in 1984, *Cricketing Greats*, also challenges apartheid but not as overtly as *Train*. *Cricketing Greats* is constructed around a montage of shots of old monochrome still photographs of great cricketers from past to the contemporary period.<sup>19</sup> Amongst these 'greats', the photograph of West Indian cricketer, Sylvester Clark (Shot 31), is shown towards the end of the commercial. The policy of excluding black sportsmen and multiracial teams from visiting South Africa had been strictly applied during the Verwoerd era, and was continued through the Vorster era. By 1984, the reformist P.W. Botha administration was keen to reverse this policy, something easier said than done. Some people in South Africa still needed to be released from the confusing hold of earlier layers of ideology, and images such as that of Sylvester Clark (a member of a rebel cricket tour)<sup>20</sup> in *Cricketing Greats*, might have had a reassuring effect on most middle class white South African TV viewers. However, world events had moved well beyond previous eras when some white South African governments were able to staunchly reject multiracial international sports teams as provocative. Conversely, by the 1980s, South Africa was banned from participating in many international sporting events and the P.W. Botha government and its Department of Foreign Affairs were finding it extremely difficult to persuade foreign governments to allow their sportsmen or sportswomen, of whatever racial background, to play sport in South Africa.

Except for the 1985 *Gentlemen of the Press* commercial which does not show any blacks, all commercials subsequent to *Train*, (1984), show an increasing frequency of blacks interacting with whites. In retrospect, it is possible that this appearance of a black participant in *Train* (1984), (and other advertising commercials produced by South African corporate capital at the time), signalled a sea-change in state policy. The much vaunted English-speaking/Afrikaner capital alliance was being put to the test. Civil society at its white middle class levels was increasingly coming under the ideological influences of the South African left, world opinion, and the ANC. On the other hand, the Afrikaner dominated white Nationalist government and ancillary bureaucratic structures were reluctant to come to terms with some of the inevitable black empowerment implications of reform (see Friedman, 1987).

**GOLD PROSPECTORS (1986)**

This commercial seems to possess a terrible honesty and self-recriminatory quality which its producers were unlikely to have been unaware of. With the possible exception of Shot 9 in *First Rand Show* (1983), *Gold Prospectors* is the only English language Castle Lager commercial which shows pejoratively stereotyped blacks. This commercial redresses the structured absences in many of the previous historical Castle Lager commercials in a manner which does not seem to be inconsistent with the actual relations of production in the mining industry at the turn of the century (Van Onselen, 1982:33).

In the first part of this commercial, (Shots 1-8), Charles Glass is depicted going about the mining digs to do research amongst white miners to establish their desired taste in a beer. (Possibly, in terms of *elipsis*, this plot structure might also allude to prohibition of harder spirits during this period in the history of the Transvaal.) The black mine workers who are featured in Shots 4,5,6,7, are depicted in pejorative roles, and their drinking requirements are shown to be completely overlooked in this quest to formulate the 'taste to quench a miner's thirst', (as quite likely might have been if the depicted event had actually taken place during that period.).

*Gold Prospectors* is thus probably more accurate than *Train* in respect of ethnographic reconstruction of black/white labour relations at the turn of the century. The black workers are shown as 'faceless' people (Shots 5 & 7). The camera never once settles long enough on a black face to make any facial characteristics visible. The black mine workers come across as empty human shells deprived of personalities. They move about dispirited in the background, pushing trolleys or carrying pickaxes. When a black miner *does* walk towards camera, he is looking down and his face is underexposed (Shot 6). His demeanour suggests the sullen, docile and subdued mood of a slave.

**EMERGENT FORM BECOMES ESTABLISHED: THE LIGHT HEARTED SERIES**

Inhibitions to socially integrated imagery in Castle Lager commercials seem to have completely fallen away from 1987 onwards. But language restrictions for the different SABC-TV channels still remained in place to ensure that separately and ethnically designated black audiences (Mersham, 1985) were prevented from being exposed to non-ethnic English language commercials, at least while they were watching TV2/3.<sup>21</sup>

It is probable that the underlying light-hearted, lackadaisical, theme which characterises many of the Castle Lager commercials of this period was trying to address a yearning for escapism. This interpretation would seem particularly appropriate for *Joggers* (1987), *Musicians* (1987), and (table) *Soccer* (1987). All three of these commercials were broadcast during a period that had seen a widening of the fractures in South African society. The mid-1980s township revolt led to the collapse of the system of Black Local Authorities, clearly spelling out a rejection by the black majority of the reformist initiatives of the P.W. Botha regime (Nusas, 1985:32). Also, 1986 had seen

a shift in the balance of power within the state in favour of a militarist tendency (Swilling, 1987:19). The reformist faction had until then been in ascendance. The subsequent ascendancy of the militarist camp ushered in a period of severe political repression under the 1986 National State of Emergency and successive states of emergency in 1987, 1988 and 1989.

### CASTLE LAGER SONG: ALTERNATIVE NATIONAL ANTHEM?

It was in 1987 that a Castle Lager song was first introduced, with the *Joggers* commercial: “*When we drink Castle, we fill with admiration; for Charles’s brewing class which won fame **across the nation**. When we drink Castle, we draw our inspiration, from Charles’s brew and how it grew a mile high reputation*”. It will be noticed that the first part of the song uses the words ‘*across the nation*’. These words had strong political implications at the time. White and black Castle Lager drinking comrades were shown singing together and then cheering large icon-like portraits of Charles Glass with their raised beer glasses. At that stage, the National Party government and Afrikaner-dominated capital still envisaged ‘a constellation of states’ consisting of separate nations. The song is used in the following commercials: *Joggers* (1987), *Musicians* (1987), (table) *Soccer* (1987), *League Soccer* (1988), *Reunion* (1989), the slightly altered version of *Reunion* (1990), the slightly altered version of *Joggers* (1990), and the slightly altered version of *League Soccer* (1990).

### **JOGGERS (1987)**

The 1987 *Joggers* commercial features a healthy mixture of black and white runners (Shots 3, 4, 5). There is little hint of race or ethnicity in the stereotyping of blacks in this commercial. This is a class-based commercial and the participants are clearly all middle class. The fact that they are running together in an upmarket suburb suggests that the participants might be living an early manifestation of what in the late 1980s came to be called ‘grey areas’. Possibly in order to rebut any objections from the SABC’s Acceptance Board in terms of the Group Areas Act, a black runner is shown exiting from a small white motor car to join the group as they are about to reach the pub (Shot 4). But this conclusion remains ambiguous, as the black runner is also ‘cheating’ by joining the other runners after they have almost reached their destination. This act is thus consistent with the lighthearted camaraderie intrinsically part of the campaign concept holding together this sub-genre: “It isn’t winning or losing that is important to members of the Charles Glass Society, but how much time is allowed for drinking Castle Lager”. Thus, as the MVO says, “those who have got the exercise down to a fine art, seldom have to run further than around the corner!” Clearly, the producers were able to successfully negotiate the broadcast of this commercial, in spite of the fact that the social discourse it suggested was in contradiction with ‘official’ state policy at the time: the Group Areas Act was still on the statute book, and was still being enforced by the National Party government administration under P.W. Botha.

## CHARLES GLASS SOCIETY: NATURALISING THE PRESENCE OF THE 'OTHER'

*Joggers* and the series of commercials to be discussed below constitute a conceptual branching off from the original historically-based campaign which had introduced Charles Glass. Continuity with the original branding is maintained through the hyper-conceit of the invention of the Charles Glass Society. The key unifying theme of the branching-off campaign is that the primary activities portrayed, whether jogging, canoeing, baseball, etc., are actually secondary to consuming Castle Lager. In the commercials which follow, the Charles Glass Society becomes a vehicle for naturalising the presence of the 'other' (blacks) within English-speaking white middle class society. The Charles Glass Society becomes an integrated society. Whether black or white, members all have something very important in common: they drink Castle Lager. The Charles Glass Society is thus also a metaphor (or euphemism?) for the market (or *potential* market) of Castle Lager beer drinkers.

### SUBTLE VARIATIONS IN STEREOTYPING

The stereotyping of blacks in commercials falling into the three basic campaign characteristics identified earlier in this chapter does have some subtle variations. In some commercials, such as *Joggers* (1987 & 1990), *Musicians* (1987), (table) *Soccer* (1987), *Canoe Race* (1989), *Baseball* (1990) and *Homecoming* (1990), (to be discussed below), there are no longer any visible class or cultural differences. Thus darker skin tones sometimes tend to go almost unnoticed, (or rather received in a different manner), as the connotations have become quite different. What seems to come across is that regardless of skin colour, people of the same **class** find it is easier to relate to each other than people of the same skin colour but of different class.

It has been noted earlier in this chapter that *Homecoming* (1990) which will be discussed below is a topical, 'serious occasion' commercial with strong political undertones, thus differing conceptually from the slapstick quality of the campaign theme of *Joggers* (1987 & 1990), *Musicians* (1987), (table) *Soccer* (1987), *Canoe Race* (1989), etc. The stereotyping of 'George' in *Homecoming* is also completely class-related and non-ethnic. On the other hand, in the sport sponsorship commercials *League Soccer* (1988) and the similar league *Soccer* (1990), cultural differences and ethnicity are still quite visible. In *Soccer - Match of the Day* (1992) ethnicity seems to be falling by the wayside, while class mannerisms (working class), are very strongly visible (see below).

### **MUSICIANS (1987)**

A further good example of the light-hearted slapstick genre of Castle commercials, is *Musicians* (1987). This commercial shows blacks and whites meeting together for a jam session (Shot 1). Both black and white musicians are fairly sophisticated in this commercial (Shots 6, 12, 14). The male



voice over tells us that: “When fellows of the Charles Glass Society get together for a (pause) session, it is vitally important that they are heard to make all the right noises ...”. The participants are all in a rather slapstick/lackadaisical mood (Shots 1,5,6,8). This ‘mood’ (first suggested in ‘Joggers’), becomes a type of sub-style which recurs again in later commercials. When a case for a double base (that one ‘musician’ had arrived with) turns out to contain cans of Castle Lager (Shot 24), it becomes apparent that these guys are more interested in drinking Castle Lager than making serious music. Perhaps also signifying that to its devotees, Castle Lager is synonymous with music.

Another interesting feature about *Musicians*, given the situation in apartheid context at that particular time, is that we are able to infer from Shot 1, (in which we see one of the black musicians alighting from a taxi), and from Shot 5, (which establishes one of the white musicians as host), that the black musicians are guests in a white group area. As in the case of the black runners in *Joggers* (1987), the black musicians, at the time this commercial was broadcast, would not have been allowed to live in the area in which they are depicted. However, at no stage in the commercial do they look awkward or uncomfortable. On the contrary, they appear carefree and uninhibited, as much at home in the environment in which they are depicted, as their white friends. Both in this commercial, as well as in *Joggers* (1987), the marketers of Castle Lager appear to have been preparing for a future reality that big corporations such as SAB possibly already foresaw as inevitable: the collapse of apartheid and its pillars, among them, the Group Areas Act.

It should also be noted that two young white women are featured in this commercial. They appear to be either girlfriends or wives who are standing outside the house, supposedly watering the garden, as the musicians are arriving. In like slapstick manner, the women pretend to be appalled by the irregular behaviour of the musicians (Shot 19). Up to this point, women had been largely absent from Castle Lager commercials, even more so than blacks, who clearly began to feature in the English language version from 1984 onwards. It thus appears that in the supposedly male-dominated world of beer drinking, sexist apartheid has been even more stringent than racist apartheid.

### ***SOCCER (1987)***

The *Soccer* commercial of 1987, actually features a game of *table soccer* being played in a pub. This commercial should not be confused with the two more serious League Soccer commercials, *League Soccer* (1988) and its similar but shorter version *Soccer* (1990), or with *Soccer Match of the Day* (1992). The 1987 *Soccer* commercial is based on the slapstick/ lackadaisical campaign theme (discussed above): participants are always engaged in an apparent main activity which in fact is subsidiary, (or an excuse for), beer drinking. The male voice over spells this out: “To fellows of the Charles Glass society, it is not important whether you win or lose at soccer or even how you play the game -- it is how much time you allow for a certain somewhat dry, somewhat bitter, never sweet refreshment”. It has been pointed out above, that the theme of these commercials was probably

trying to address an underlying yearning for escapism in a deeply divided social context. In *Soccer* (1987), black and white males in more or less equal numbers are visible in the pub (Shots 1, 3, 5, 13, 15, 20, 22, 25). There is also a pool game in progress (Shots 1, 7, 22, 25). All are middle class and a very jovial and happy atmosphere prevails, which is characteristic of the slapstick sub-genre to which this commercial belongs. A plaster is applied to the forehead of a white 'soccer' player by one of his black counterparts to cover a mock injury (Shot 23). This act emphasises camaraderie and a level of social interaction devoid of racism. The stereotyping is similar in this commercial to the stereotyping in *Joggers* (1987 & 1990), and *Musicians* (1987). Shot 23 probably has deeper connotations. It is the white table soccer contestant pointing to the right hand side of his temple, who calls for the black contestant to apply the plaster. In the political context of the time, the significance of this act lies in the fact that the white contestant requests the plaster, or healing medium, from the black contestant.

### **CANOE RACE (1989)**

The 1989 *Canoe Race* commercial, shows a non-racial class-based discourse similar to that which was portrayed in the 1987 *Joggers*, *Musicians* and (table) *Soccer* commercials. The lackadaisical tomfoolery does not become apparent until near the end of this commercial (Shot 23), however. The black canoeists are not too distinguishable from their white counterparts. All are of the same age group, the black guys share virtually the same manners and apparent zest for outdoor sport as the whites (see especially Shots 6, 13, 14, 18). What the viewer is made more aware of than skin colour, is class: all are powerfully stereotyped as young, upwardly mobile males. There is nothing in any way pejorative about the mannerisms of the black canoeists. Also, if the shots are averaged out, in mise-en-scene terms these yuppie blacks are given a fair share of frame dominance (see Shots 13, 14, 18). That cautious entry into the frame noted above in respect of some group shots, for example Shot 34 in *Train* (1984), and also in the composition of Shot 9 in *First Rand Show* (1983), is no longer in evidence. The black participants seem imbued with a certain confidence, optimism, and 'clean-cut' quality one associates with training and employment at white collar level by well-established business corporations. But there is a twist in the tale. What actually happens in this commercial, after much prior preparation, and a voice-over (white male South African English-speaking accent) which sets the scene with anxiety provoking comments about 'the mighty waters of the Makabusa', it turns out that the canoeists paddle to a quiet spot to drink Castle Lager (Shot 23). This commercial is thus part of the slapstick genre. As in *Baseball* (1990), the underlying idea closely resembles one which was being used for the advertising of 'Bacardi Rum' in the UK at the end of the 1970s by the 'Kirkwood Company' advertising agency. In the UK magazines had featured a double page spread colour advertisement depicting paused soccer match on a sunset tropical beach with a bar set in a little bamboo hut, the headline read: "When Arnie Brings out the Bacardi, half time lasts the rest of the afternoon".

## CHANGING THE LABEL

1989 marked the broadcast of no less than six English language commercials to announce some minor changes in the Castle Lager label. The first five of these commercials feature various groups that are supposed to have entered a competition to design a new Castle Lager label, while the sixth commercial features the opening of an exhibition of all the competing entries. There were only two 'Changing the Label' commercials, *Divers* and *Garage*, which did not feature whites and blacks interacting together at a social level. (*Diving Club* featured only whites, while *Garage* featured only blacks.) In the remaining commercials, *Art Class*, *Sculpture*, *Creatives*, whites and blacks are shown participating together in group efforts at designing submissions to the label change competition, while *Art Gallery* brings all the participants of the previous commercials together at the opening of the exhibition. Wherever there is interaction between blacks and whites, all are depicted as if they are equals living in a democratic and non-racial society. These commercials show rather sophisticated black and white middle class entrants to the competition.

In terms of South African advertising, it is rather extraordinary that an advertiser should go to such lengths to announce a change in label design, especially when the new label seems to be more of a routine updating than any major change. Rama margarine and OMO washing powder both modernised their labels during the decade under review, but this event passed by more quietly. The 'Changing the Label' campaign is interesting from an advertising point of view, for its opportunistic exploitation of the label change occasion to breathe further life into the mainstream Castle Lager campaign, which at that stage had evolved to the Charles Glass Society, featuring contemporary rather than historical themes. All 'Changing the Label' commercials link with the Charles Glass Society theme. Also, the campaign is closely related to the slapstick or lackadaisical theme, with most of the aspirant label designers more interested in drinking beer than designing a new label. In a reform context, one might possibly also read a symbolic meaning in the 'Changing the Label' ritual: perhaps the key branding of the beer was shedding its old skin so that its new non-racial target market conception could be better realised (unblemished by the past).

Circumstances have not permitted for the cataloguing of more than two 'Changing the Label' commercials, *Garage* and *Art Gallery*. As *Art Gallery* incorporates elements from the preceding five 'Changing the Label' commercials, the two commercials which have been logged will for present purposes, suffice.

### **GARAGE (1989)**

This commercial depicts a group of black males relaxing at a braai (barbecue) party which seems to be taking place in a fairly up-market black township setting. Shot 1 shows the guests arriving for what turns out to be a barbecue or braai party (Shots 2,3,5,8). It initially seems to be early morning (Shot 1,2,3,4), and there is dense haze, (possibly from pollution from house fires), which makes the

background indistinct (Shot 1). The MVO tells us: “These fellows of the Charles Glass Society haven’t bothered to enter Castle Lager’s ‘We’re Changing the Label not the Beer’ competition ... or have they?”.

The party is taking place in front of the drive-in garage of the house. The host seems to become momentarily weary, possibly from the morning glare, as he covers his eyes with a copy of the *Sowetan* newspaper which he is reading (Shot 4). The paper slowly slides down from his eyes, and by Shot 7, (after a few sips of beer in Shot 6), he seems wide awake, with a mischievous glint in his eye. The host is a middle-aged slightly corpulent man, who is casually dressed in white shorts and short-sleeved shirt. His stereotyping seems to be that of a street-wise successful businessman, during his hours of leisure and relaxation. The camera cuts to Shot 8, where he has jumped up from his apparent lethargy and is flipping down a swing-over garage door (Shots 8-9). Upon the garage door is painted this township group’s most original contribution to the Castle Lager new label design competition (Shot 10).

The stereotyping of these guys is relatively middle class, and shows no signs of pejorativeness. Most of the guys depicted show little trace of ethnicity. However, their manner of depiction is intended not to make them look quite as sophisticated as in the case of blacks depicted in some of the other Castle Lager commercials of this period, e.g. *Canoe Race* (1989), *Homecoming* (1990). But it must be borne in mind that the action is taking place in a relatively informal setting, so dress codes might be expected to be quite relaxed. *Garage*, it seems, is intended to take the spotlight (so to speak) of the Castle Lager campaign into life at another level of the social formation. As part of the ‘Changing the Label’ series, the all black *Garage* counterbalances the all white *Diving Club*, which depicts what appears to be a crazy bunch of varsity students who plan to enter the competition with an aqualung bottle with a *Castle* Label stuck on it.

### **ART GALLERY (1989)**

This finale commercial is one which shows the opening of a museum or art gallery exhibition where all the designs featured in the preceding ‘Changing the Label’ commercials are displayed. Some of the characters from the five earlier commercials are guests. The entry from a black township which incorporated a Ndebele wall mural pattern painted on a flip-over garage door because of its size and unusual pattern, is quite prominent on the art gallery wall (Shots 1,2,3). Possibly, the signification here might be that capitalist democracy potentially affords equality and accommodation to those who are enterprising enough to compete.

### **SPORTS SPONSORSHIP COMMERCIALS**

The lighthearted or lackadaisical commercials, such as *Joggers* (1987), *Musicians* (1987), the ‘Changing the Label’ series (1989), *Canoe Race* (1989) or *Baseball* (1990), all depicting middle

class blacks in interaction with whites in contemporary scenes. There was, however, no attempt to depict middle class blacks in a Currie Cup Cricket commercial.<sup>22</sup> From a marketing point of view it might be arguable that this 'absence' was justifiable on the grounds that cricket had a relatively limited black following. But notwithstanding this possible explanation, the absence middle class blacks in, *Currie Cup Cricket* (1989), one of the later commercials, presents some incongruity because by the time of *Joggers* (1987) blacks were being depicted in virtually all of the other commercials on the English language Castle Lager history reel.

Instead, League Soccer, as a sport with a predominant black following (and also some limited white participation), came to be used for what appears to be a broadening of the appeal of the key branding elements of Castle Lager to the 'less sophisticated ends of the market'. League Soccer was already being featured in the TV2/3 ethnic language Castle Lager commercials. In 1988, *League Soccer*, an English language League Soccer depicting mostly blacks, but also a few whites, was broadcast. This commercial was followed in 1990 by a re-edited shorter version, called *Soccer*. Then in 1992 followed *Soccer Match of the Day*, a narrative driven English language soccer commercial which again featured mostly blacks. In addition to meeting marketing objectives, it is arguable that the ideological role of these English language Soccer commercials was to draw the black working classes and the lower end of white middle classes closer.

### ***SAB CURRIE CUP (1981)***

This is the first sport sponsorship commercial on the English language Castle Lager history reel. It features bowler Vincent van der Byl in action in what appears to be a practice session. In this commercial a few frames of a telephoto panning shot (where the camera lens is focussed on the cricket action), vaguely reveals what appear to be two or three black field workers seated upon a stand in the background (Shot 2). In this shot the camera pans past the stands, while following the action on the field without ever stopping. The few spectators on the stands are always outside of the depth of focus of the camera lens. It is only when Shot 2 is analysed in slow motion that one can identify the presence of two or three out of focus black field workers sitting on one of the stands. It appears that this piece of genuine ethnographic content may have entered at the time of filming without the intention (or full awareness), of the person directing the camera. The figures in the background of these frames are too out of focus to be identified at normal speed, and it is debatable whether these frames could possibly have had any subliminal ideological effect on the TV1 audiences. In terms of its relevance to the assessment of reformist ideology from the business sector this commercial does not contradict the observation that prior to 1983-4 there was no depiction of blacks in the English language Castle Lager commercials. Whereas the brief appearance of the young black man in Shot 9 of the *First Rand Show* (1984) commercial must be seen as an intended, and a politically relevant emergent form, these out of focus figures in the background of Shot 2 in *SAB Currie Cup* (1981) were unlikely to have had any intended meaning.

### *CURRIE CUP CRICKET (1989)*

The 1989 *Currie Cup Cricket* commercial also does not include any social interaction between middle class blacks and whites, or even the depiction of any blacks. However this commercial again features women, as was the case with *Musicians* (1987). The camera cuts from the main action to show women spectators clad in shorts or adjusting their bikini tops, holding them in the frame for several voyeuristic seconds. In the first such sequence, the ball has been hit for six and falls into the lap of two vivacious young women spectators (Shots 14, 15, 17). The second time round the camera cuts from the cricket action (Shot 18), to an elderly male voyeur stereotype with binoculars (Shot 19), and then to his object of interest -- one of the two woman spectators who caught the ball in Shot 15, and who now is adjusting her bikini top (Shot 20). There is also some interaction taking place between the two women and a male spectator of about their own age group, at left of frame (Shots 17 & 20).

Women spectators obviously are not inconsistent with cricket matches, but their particular emphasis in this beer commercial seems to indicate changing social mores. The 1981 *SAB Currie Cup* commercial had not depicted any women spectators. (In that commercial, there seem to be very few spectators on the stands, suggesting that it was filmed during a practice session.)

### **SOCCER: REDEFINING THE KEY BRANDING FOR A BROADER MARKET**

From 1987 onwards, English language Castle Lager commercials were increasingly conceived around events which could facilitate the portrayal of social interaction between middle class blacks and whites: jogging, canoe races, reunions, baseball and musical events. But there also appeared to be a shift in the English language commercials designed to accommodate the conception of a broader market. These changes seem to have been consistent with earlier changes in the structure of SABC-TV broadcasting with the introduction of TV4 in 1984<sup>23</sup>.

Soccer was already being featured in the ethnic commercials for Castle Lager. According to the Ornico List<sup>24</sup>, a commercial named *League Soccer* was broadcast in February 1985 to Zulu, Xhosa, Tswana, South Sotho, Ndebele and North Sotho audiences. This commercial was probably an ethnic language precursor of the English language *League Soccer* (1988), and the very similar *Soccer* (1990), commercials.

With *League Soccer* (1988) the 'Charles Glass Society' undergoes a more dramatic broadening as the English language Castle Lager commercials move 'downmarket'. In this commercial, the MVO says in a refined, but African accentuated English tone: "To fellows of the Charles Glass Society only one thing rivals the thrills and skills of the Castle League. And that's that ice cold Castle Lager waiting to meet you at the end of the game". As this commercial features predominantly working class or ethnic black stereotypes, this statement quite clearly indicates that they too are included as members of the 'Charles Glass Society'.

Although Castle Lager was still involved with white soccer sponsorship in the 1970s (white soccer had a fair amount of white following in the 1950s and 1960s), this earlier involvement was never featured in the early English language Castle Lager TV commercials. The positioning of soccer as a 'downmarket' or 'black market' sport is dramatically illustrated in the case study on the history reel for Rama margarine. In 1986, a Rama commercial featuring a white family watching a rugby match was broadcast on TV1 and a very similar ethnic commercial was broadcast on TV2/3 featuring a black family watching a game of soccer (see Chapter 8). It appears that the English language Castle Lager commercials directed at the 'white market', initially concentrated exclusively on Currie Cup Cricket, while soccer was only being featured in the ethnic (vernacular language) Castle Lager commercials directed at blacks. Thus, in the second half of the 1980s, an intentional and accelerated merging seems to be taking place between two ends of the class structure in Castle Lager's cultural production.

### **LEAGUE SOCCER (1988)**

The 1988 *League Soccer* commercial, differs from sport-orientated commercials which were light-hearted, such as *Canoe Race* (1989) or *Baseball* (1990). *League Soccer* (1988) does not belong to the same campaign theme and therefore does not exhibit any elements of the slapstick or lackadaisical sub-genre identified previously. This is serious soccer. *League Soccer* (1988) is nevertheless linked to the main campaign through references to the 'Charles Glass Society', and through the singing of a soccer variation of the Castle Lager song '... across the Nation'. The commercial is structured out of cuts of shots of high points in the game, spectators on the stands, and shots of people all over the country who are either watching the game on TV or listening to radio commentary. Some of these shots seem to have an ethnographic quality. To some extent this commercial seems to be constructed out of documentary footage taken at soccer matches.

Mostly black players and spectators are shown, but white soccer players (especially goalkeepers), can also be made out in the shots showing the players in the two teams on the field (Shots 9, 11, 15, 16, 29, 34, 35). Also, in the home (or perhaps club) scene, one white man can barely be made out among a mostly black TV soccer audience (Shots 14 & 17). The black spectators in the stands are mostly working class. The class/ethnicity ratio of the stereotypes does sometimes appear to vary slightly from setting to setting (even to some extent between the different groups of spectators on the various stands). For instance, the spectators on the stands in Shot 5, seem rougher and their selection of clothes lacks any of the traces of designer styling which seem to be making their appearance in Shot 30. This would suggest that Shot 30 might have been filmed at a more expensive or exclusive stand, where the spectators were wealthier and more middle class than those in Shot 5.

The home or club-house featured in Shots 14, 17 and 18, is clearly luxurious, and the people around the table are refined, though not of the sophisticated upper black middle classes such as some of the characters featured in other Castle Lager commercials, such as *Musicians* (1987), *Canoe Race*

(1989), or *Homecoming* (1990). On the whole, most of the people featured in *League Soccer* (1988), seem to have been documented realistically. The crowd shots of people in the different stands in the soccer stadium have an ethnographic quality which makes the images relatively neutral, in the sense that the commercial is not peopled with stereotypes screaming reformist ideology. These images do not seem to have been intended to be either affirmative or pejorative. Compared to 'George' in *Homecoming*, the guys in *Canoe Race*, or *Musicians*, most of the people in *League Soccer* come across more as impoverished. But as they are in a soccer stadium with other blacks, the situation does not impose any pejorative racial connotations, as might have been the case with regard to the black miners in the 1986 *Gold Prospectors* historical commercial.

A further league *League Soccer* commercial was broadcast, *Soccer* (1990). Though of shorter duration, this 1990 commercial is visually very similar to the *League Soccer* broadcast in 1988. Both commercials use versions of the song with the words, '*...across the nation*'.

### ***SOCCER MATCH OF THE DAY (1992)***

The 1992 *Soccer - Match of the Day* commercial, is interesting from the point of view that it features interaction and rapport between whites and blacks at a more working class level. These are all soccer people but the white guy is possibly a little more refined than the blacks, though he is trying hard to imitate and to be like his fellow 'working class' black soccer team mates (Shots 1,16,33). They all sit together at a table drinking Castle Lager, discussing 'the match of the day' -- they are shown to be rather rough mannered and aggressive. When he isn't trying to be like them, their white counterpart seems respectful, attentive and relatively subdued (Shot 1 & 33).

The commercial features what must be a soccer club, setting where an after match post-mortem is taking place. There is some degree of hostility and defensiveness from the main black character, 'Victor', as his team has (again) lost the game (Shot 13). He is taunted by one of his black friends sitting at the table, who says to him: "Victor you look like the loser".

The technique used is one which intersperses the narrative plot structure (which comes across in the discussion between sips of Castle Lager) with cuts of the key moments in the game (flashbacks). The idiosyncrasies of the black soccer team members or club members differ from the labourer stereotype. They are tough guys. What comes across clearly, is that it is not colour but *class* that counts. These black soccer players or club members could just as easily be 'heavies' from Liverpool, Glasgow or maybe Turin. It is their soccer culture which comes across most strongly.

### **TOPICAL COMMERCIAL WITH MORE DIRECT POLITICAL UNDERTONES**

The third type of Castle Lager commercial in terms of the classification adopted for this case study, are the 'special occasion' or 'topical' commercials. At the time when these commercials were



originally broadcast, they seemed to be echoing current political events in the march to democracy in South Africa.

### **WINSTON NGOZI (1985)**

The final 1985 commercial was one featuring jazz, artist Winston Ngozi.<sup>25</sup> This commercial is in English and features only blacks. It claims to recall a 1968 event when Winston Ngozi and his fellow musicians are supposed to have been voted 'Castle Jazz Musicians of the Year'. The technique used is to open on an old newspaper cutting of a report of the event, with a photograph of Ngozi and his fellow musicians (Shot 1). This shot is followed by a complex dissolve to Winston Ngozi and his band, playing a jazz sequence at what seems to be some backstreet venue (Shot 2). The remainder of the shots (3 - 13) are skilfully edited in tempo with the jazz being played. A male voice-over speaking in African-accentuated English says the following words: "today it is good to know that things of quality can survive, like the music of Winston Ngozi and the taste for Castle Lager...". The suggestion or myth is that Winston Ngozi and his music *survived* the tougher days of apartheid, and that even in those hard times (see Ballantine, 1989: 40-41), Castle was there to nurture these oppressed musicians. The product attributes of Castle Lager are thus linked with the larger struggle against apartheid.

### **REUNION (1989)**

The denouement of the 1989 *Reunion* commercial comes together in the singing of the Castle Lager song or anthem by black and white guests at a 'reunion'. This song's politically-weighted words '*...across the Nation*', echo the English-speaking corporate sector's conception of a unitary state, which seems to have been quite close to the ANC's position on this matter.. It was at odds with earlier apartheid-driven ideology, still prevalent during the P.W. Botha era, which envisaged a consociational democracy and 'constellation of states' consisting of 'many nations'.

As the musical instruments which feature in the commercial (double base Shot 13, piano Shot 21) begin to play in accompaniment, the singing starts and all present begin to rise from their seats. Towards the end of the commercial, as the song reaches a crescendo, the camera moves slowly from the back of the hall to the front, above the heads of the singers (Shot 24). This is an objective shot which at the same time is highly emotive. The camera, which is probably transported along an overhead cable, gives a bird's eye view which at the time microscopically analyses the intense expressions on the faces below. To add further emphasis to the intended connotations, Shot 24 is immediately followed by a cut to a more visceral shot, where the camera tracks through the hall at head and shoulders level to the anthem singers (Shot 25).

On a first level of meaning, the proceedings depicted in this commercial might amount to an ordinary reunion of former employees of a company. But at a deeper level, the reunion between black and

white South African nations, consequent to negotiations with the ANC, is also being echoed. There is no consciousness of race in the hall. Black guests may in actual fact be slightly in the majority and also generally more dominant (Shot 2). A large instrument case for the double bass, which was last seen in *Musicians* (1987), again features in this commercial. To the visible disappointment of the black singer and master of ceremonies, when the double bass case is opened on this occasion it does in actual fact contain a string instrument rather than Castle Lager (Shot 5). Shot 5 thus refers to Shot 33 of the earlier commercial, *Musicians* (1987), and to the sub-genre where the primary event was actually secondary. This 'twist' bestows an element of conviviality by relating to the earlier lighter-hearted commercial, as if to say: "yes, this is a serious occasion, but we have known and will know, of lighter-hearted days". The musicians in *Reunion* (1989) actually play fine music in accompaniment to the singing of 'Across the Nation...' by all the participants at this reunion. Everyone cheers "Charles!" in unison (Shot 26 & 27). In terms of the gradual and cumulative erudition of the Castle Lager commercials, Charles Glass may here be meant to signify the friendly ally Capital who helped bring down apartheid.

A similar commercial, also going by the name of *Reunion*, was broadcast in 1990. The song in this version of the commercial is shorter and the shots are fewer. Most of the key shots have however been retained.

### ***HOME COMING (1990)***

When a commercial such as the 1990 *Homecoming* (2 versions, 60 seconds & 45 seconds) is analysed in the post-democratic elections era, it is difficult in retrospect to fully re-assess its earlier ideological meaning. *Homecoming* was very appropriately conceived and named. This was the first Castle Lager commercial made to be broadcast to a predominantly white upmarket audience, where a black person is the protagonist and star. It continued to be broadcast during the period 1991-1992, when many black exiles were coming home under the terms laid out in the unfolding negotiations between the Afrikaner Nationalist government and the ANC. The commercial opens with a pub scene. The protagonist, 'George', a black man in his late twenties, is having a few last drinks with his friends (Shot 1), who then see him off on a train (Shots 3-10). George has two white friends and two black friends. The interaction amongst the group is completely relaxed and devoid of racial divisions. George's closest friend is a white guy of about the same age, 'Mike'. George is seen off at the train station on what is supposed to be a five year sojourn.

In terms of the editing of the commercial, we never in fact see George getting off the train at his original destination. At the end of Shot 10, Shot 11, a close up portrait of George's pensive face, fades in over the leaving train and friends running after it. As Shot 11 replaces Shot 10, the subtitle 'Five years later', becomes superimposed at the bottom of the frame. We now realise that George is travelling in the opposite direction to Shot 10.

There is some degree of ambiguity as to whether or not the initial shots of *Homecoming* are meant to represent a vision from George's memory, or even a dream induced by the longing for a type of warmth and friendship he had never actually experienced in South African society under apartheid. This possibility is suggested by the fact that he is never shown getting off at his original destination. Also, even before the group have quite left the pub (Shot 1-2), a background song starts up with the words: "It's been five years since I hit the road".

When George does get off this train he walks through the same station from where he had left. There now is a feeling of isolation, loneliness, and trepidation (Shots 12-15). It is a dark night and it is chilly (we can infer this from his overcoat). While there apparently was a group of friends to see George off, there is no-one to meet him when he arrives, hence the feeling of isolation. Shots 12-15 could also be taken to connote the effects of apartheid upon the subjectivity of the oppressed. But when George enters the old pub again, he spots Mike and the rest of his friends who are still there waiting for him (Shots 15-26).

The mournful expression on Mike's face during Shots 6 and 8 of the departure scene, signifies a bond between George and Mike that is far more profound than any we have hitherto encountered in Castle Lager commercials where blacks and whites are seen socialising together. In Shot 18 of the homecoming scene in the pub, Mike is the first person to notice George's arrival. His face lights up with joy and in the corresponding shot, George seems reassured that he has returned not to the strange dark world that we saw in Shots 12 to 15, but to a world of warmth and friendship. In the same way that George is reassured, the viewing audience is also reassured that after decades of apartheid, blacks and whites can do more than simply tolerate each other, they can also build meaningful relationships with each other.

Also, it is particularly interesting to note the personality of 'George'. While this is not an outdoor sport commercial, such as *Joggers* and *Canoe Race*, the perhaps more artistically-inclined George (he carries a guitar case), also lacks any hint of parochialism (e.g. Shots 5, 18, 21, 24). George is every bit as suave and sophisticated and in many respects similar, to his white friend 'Mike' (Shot 5 & 6). He is just as much second or third generation middle class as his white friend; that anonymous black gentleman, who in the 1984 'Train' commercial helped Charles Glass load the first barrel of Castle to be railed to the coast, might have been George's grandfather! There is no hint of boorishness in George's manners or speech. He is simply flawless.

The circumstances portrayed in this commercial are idyllic to say the least. The commercial depicts a level of social interaction between black and white one would only dream of in a prosperous post-apartheid South Africa. In fact, even if the social context being portrayed was taking place in one of the more wealthy democracies such as the United States, it would amount more to an ideological statement than a reflection of reality (see Jhally & Lewis, 1992). Nevertheless, this commercial can possibly be seen to build on the spirit of the time. The period between 1990, (when the ANC was

unbanned), and early 1992, was as a time of hope and optimism for both the National Party government and the broad-based liberal left-wing opposition. Repressive laws such as the Group Areas Act and the 1912 Land Act had been lifted, and there had also been several rounds of successful talks between the government and the ANC.

### *CHARLES GLASS (1991)*

Although *Charles Glass* (1991) is also part of the historical series of commercials it is discussed with the commercials with strong political undertones, as it is clearly intended as a post-apartheid (post *Homecoming*) commercial. The context and timing of this commercial suggest that a revision and updating of the original account about the invention of Castle Lager was now needed.

This remake of the story about how Charles Glass came to create Castle lager, is similar to the first such commercials of the late 1970s. However, ethnographic veracity is a little stronger in this later version of Castle Lager's early history. The structured absences have now been rectified. As Charles Glass arrives at the brewery in his carriage, he is met by his black colleague or assistant who attends to the horse (Shot 3). The manufacturing process, of perfecting the Castle Lager taste, is shown again (Shots 6,7,8,9,10,11). But the concept and verbal copy spoken by the MVO has now become more refined and concise since the late 1970s. What differs most, is the consumption moment which comes after the display of the manufacturing process: in the transition to what is meant to be a 1991 contemporary pub scene, (Shots 13,15,16,17), blacks and whites (all middle class), are shown drinking together. In the previous historical commercials, blacks had never been featured in any of the transitions to contemporary pub scenes. Blacks and whites now toast together to a very large full colour poster of a portrait of the mythical hero of South African beer drinkers, Charles Glass (Shot 20). It seems that this commercial was needed in order to 'rewrite' the previous versions of the birth of Castle Lager for a post-apartheid era. One can note that this rewriting is done in subtle, plausible, and understated manner: the black assistant is shown helping Charles Glass with his horse. It would have been a mistake for the makers of this commercial to show a black person leaning over a vat of beer with Charles Glass, because their revisionist intentions would have been too obvious.

### CONCLUSION

Television advertising for Castle Lager during the period of reform encompasses a complex communication strategy. This examination of the Castle Lager English language history reel revealed that several types commercials were being used. Castle Lager advertising has always been directed particularly at men and continues to largely ignore women. For research purposes, the different types of commercials which seem to belong to specific sub campaigns, were identified and grouped together. Except for *Dumpy* (1979), all Castle Lager commercials have some interrelating or overlapping themes.

The main campaign originally centred on the historical series of commercials which outlined the early origins and South African pedigree of the beer. It was shown how this campaign shifted from its initial Eurocentricity, to a dramatic acknowledgement of black South Africans in *Train* (1984). *Gold Prospectors* (1986) further set the record straight regarding the contribution of black labour in relation to the economic development of early of South Africa.

The 'Charles Glass Society' idea derives quite naturally from the historical series and was used to facilitate the transformation of the main campaign into a second phase. The commercials of the second phase are set in the contemporary period and depict social interaction between whites and blacks at a middle class level. These commercials are characterised by their light-hearted lackadaisical quality.

The English language Castle Lager television advertising also encompassed sports sponsorship commercials. These commercials initially focussed on *Currie Cup Cricket*, which has a broadly white following in South Africa. No attempt was made to make a reformist *Currie Cup Cricket* commercial featuring social interaction between black and whites. Instead, in keeping with imperatives of reformist marketing principles (Sinclair, 1985:60), *League Soccer* in 1988 began a re-adjustment of the key branding to also encompass a sport which has a broadly black working class following in South Africa. The soccer commercials do depict images of social interaction between blacks and whites, but whites are very much in the minority in such scenes.

Also, some commercials were identified as 'special occasion' commercials which seemed to echo or implicitly identify with contemporary political events in the painful march to democracy. Both the 'special occasion' and the lighthearted genre of commercials depict affirmative black stereotypes where, joggers, musicians, table soccer players, canoeists and baseball players, black and white associates at a reunion, or black and white friends at a homecoming -- all members of the 'Charles Glass Society' -- are happily and harmoniously interacting with each other as social equals. These highly idealised and romanticised images were possibly intended to reassure white viewers that a post-apartheid future was not something they had to fear. While, on the one hand, the commercials may be criticised for being exceedingly unrealistic, on the other hand, their overtly optimistic content balances and/or counters the deeply pessimistic myth of the *swart gevaar*, (the fear among conservative whites of being outnumbered or 'swamped' by the black majority). In choosing to depict a post-apartheid scenario in terms that were positive, the marketers of Castle Lager were possibly helping to win white support for democratic social change. At the same, time these commercials were probably also gradually achieving a more favourable impression of the underlying capitalist structure amongst politicised blacks.

- 1 Leiss, Kline & Jhally (1986:3) further point out that among industrial societies, only in the United States does a significant part of the population retain a passion for religious rhetoric.
- 2 According to Althusser (1971:126) Marx had also noted that English workers need beer while French proletarians need wine.
- 3 Though probably unnecessary, a distinction needs to be made here for readers who might not be fully familiar with the term 'history reel'. The fact that many of the commercials on the Castle Lager history reel are based on a 'historical' theme does not bear any relationship to the term 'history reel'. The term 'history reel' refers exclusively to advertising production history.
- 4 Advertisements affected by the apartheid-related SABC-TV broadcasting dispensation of the time and/or apartheid influenced marketing conceptions.
- 5 During the 1980s the government was still trying to reconcile the contradictory implications of 'black middle classes' and earlier apartheid forms based on ethnicity by stating that such black middle classes should be amongst the nations of South Africa. According to P.W. Botha, free enterprise was away "to create black middle classes amongst the nations of South Africa, and thereby lay the foundation for resisting communism (see Chapter 4).
- 6 There was a further historical Charles Glass commercial in 1991 after a lapse of about five years.
- 7 By *capitalist accommodation* I refer to the integration of working classes and proletariat within hegemony, through the extension of consumption. Judith Williamson (1978:13), with reference to post World War II Britain says: "But in our society, while the real distinctions between people are created by their role in the process of production, as workers, it is the products of their own work that are used in the false categories invoked by advertising, that obscure the real structure of society by replacing class with distinctions made by the consumption of particular goods."
- 8 *Total Strategy* was discussed in the introduction to this thesis.
- 9 Under Milner's administration the passing into law of Ordinance 32 of 1902 prevented the distillation of any spirits for commercial gain in the Transvaal. When bars reopened in January 1902 they had to operate within restricted hours and provide a meal for any alcohol served. Liquor licences came under the control of the Imperial Liquor Commissioner (Van Onselen, 1982:92).
- 10 Television was only introduced in South Africa in 1976, with the first advertising commercials being broadcast in 1978 (See Tomaselli RE *et al*, 1989). The decision to introduce television during the Vorster era, along with other important moves towards addressing structural requirements in the economy might be seen as the beginnings of political reform (see Chapter 3).
- 11 Segregated restaurants and pubs (whose origins can be traced to the Separate Amenities Act of 1953) were still known to exist in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and often continued to be the norm even after the mid-1980s.
- 12 The 1985 version of *Cricketing Greats* has a very slight variation in the list of names of great South African cricketers which are cited during the banjo accompanied song.
- 13 Interview with OMO Brand Manager, Lever Brothers, Durban, 1995.
- 14 By 1979 the All Media Products Survey (AMPS) had revealed that 850 000 blacks, roughly 8% of the total adult black population already viewed 'white' TV each week and that blacks owned about 50,000 TV sets, even though only 15%-20% of all urban blacks had electricity at that stage (*Financial Mail*, October 5, 1979:61).
- 15 Up until the early 1990s TV2 continued to broadcast in Zulu, Xhosa, Swazi and Ndebele, while TV3 broadcast in Tswana, North Sotho and South Sotho. Some of these languages are linguistically quite similar. In 1992 TV2/3 was integrated with TV4 to become (contemporary community values) CCV-TV.
- 16 List of commercials broadcast for alcoholic beverages (all languages) on SABC-TV, for the period 1985-1990. See Ornico List in Volume II, Appendix 1C.
- 17 While a small black professional middle class (whose interests the South African National Native Congress, formed in 1912, represented in its early years) did exist in South Africa at the turn of the century, the members of this class did not enjoy the same status as ordinary white citizens, let alone middle class whites. Blacks in the Cape Colony did have the vote, but this privilege was limited to the Cape Colony and to a small group of blacks who were able to meet the necessary property and educational qualifications (Lodge, 1987:1-3).
- 18 . In the early 1980's, during the period leading up to and after the elections for the Tricameral Parliament, it had been contemplated in the English-speaking press, that blacks might in due course be accommodated within a fourth chamber of parliament. In 1984 the government stated that the question of African 'participation' would be next on the agenda and mooted a National Statutory Council for Africans (Saunders et al 1992: 468).
- 19 The old photographs seem to be quite authentic, thus this commercial is essentially rendered in black and white. 'Cricketing Greats' (1984/5) is the only commercial on the Castle Lager history reel for the period under study that is not rendered in full colour. Only the final shot (37), a pack shot, transforms itself from black and white into colour, as the MVO is saying: "I wouldn't

miss it, would you?". The use of black and white or sepia, simply as a device to represent scenes from the past, is not resorted to in the Castle Lager historical commercials.

- <sup>20</sup> In other societies where black people have been subjected to discrimination, it is in the field of sport and culture that they have managed to make substantial inroads. However, in South Africa, the government and sports administrators, who controlled all official sport, had applied a policy of excluding the non-white population from participating in representative sport. Until the 1960s, few non-white sports persons had reached international class in the white overseas countries, and these countries understood that visiting teams to South Africa should be all-white. But a real problem arose with the "D'Oliveira affair" in 1968, when the English cricketing authorities found it impossible to exclude a South African-born Coloured cricketer from the M.C.C. team to tour South Africa. The response of the South African government was to ban the whole team. This incident alerted the sporting public in Britain and other parts of the world to the full implications of continuing to exchange visits with apartheid sporting bodies. It thus became possible for anti-apartheid groups to co-ordinate the imposition of a successful sports boycott of South Africa. By the 1970s and 1980s, South African sport had become starved of competition at the level of international standard. The rebel tours were an attempt to break out of this isolation and possibly bring about a lifting of the sports boycott. Large sums of money were put up to lure foreign sportsmen to compete in South Africa. Most who succumbed to this enticement were usually at the end of their careers, except for certain West Indians who subsequently suffered considerable career damage. (See "International Boycott of Apartheid Sport", Paper prepared for the United Nations Unit on Apartheid, <http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/aam/abdul-2.html>).
- <sup>21</sup> Channel switching is believed to have resulted in black viewers spending at least one-third of their time watching TV1 (*Financial Mail*, 12 March 1982: 1212)
- <sup>22</sup> *Cricketing Greats* (1984), which falls both in the historical and sports series, has already been discussed under **New Policy**.
- <sup>23</sup> TV4 which had been introduced early in 1987 to compete with MNET, a privately-owned pay service using SABC transmitters, consistently screened multiracial programmes (Benson, *The Cosby's*, *The Jefferson's* etc.), and may to some extent also have been intended to make up for the shortcoming of TV2/3 in respect of English-speaking urban blacks (Tomaselli, KG 1986b). Also, the SABC may have been responding to pressures from marketers who were demanding a less restrictive approach in programming for urban.
- <sup>24</sup> 'Ornico' is one of several organisations which track television commercials across all brands according to product category.
- <sup>25</sup> No commercial by the name 'Winston Ngozi', as it is named on the Castle Lager history reel, is listed on the 'Ornico' list for 1985, but a Castle Lager commercial named "Jazz" is listed as having been broadcast to Zulu, Xhosa, Tswana, South Sotho and Ndebele audiences in 1986.

## TRYING TO HIT THEM WHERE THEY LIVE: RAMA, 1978-94

Television is a very effective medium for advertising what are referred to as 'fast moving' or low-interest, inexpensive goods that do not require any major purchasing decision (Crompton, 1979:93-4). It is also the only medium that allows for the actual *demonstration* of the various applications of a product to large audiences (Crompton, 1979:97). However, some of the major product categories that are successfully advertised on television (margarines and soap powders inclusive) have a poor reputation in terms of their viability for 'creative' advertising. Companies manufacturing this type of product are usually sophisticated marketing-driven organisations with firmly established research-based procedures, and with records of past successful results. Advertising agencies are well aware that a genre of predominantly research-based or 'safe' advertisements is well-entrenched in these categories, and that the scope for their input is often limited to the 'execution' of advertising strategies already decided upon by the client company. The end result usually falls within the tried and tested formats of testimonial advertising or jingles.

A 'jingle' is a form of advertising which consists of the product message being sung in relation to music. Sometimes the tunes of popular hit songs might be appropriated for this purpose. Though there are exceptions, commercials based on jingles do not usually augur well for creative or innovative advertising. The more creative advertising agencies tend to view straight jingles derisively: "if you have nothing to say, then you better sing it". Most of the commercials on the Rama history reel rely on jingles. The *Rugby* and *Soccer* commercials of 1986 are an exception, while the *Housewife I & II* (1987-89) interview series might be seen as a variation of the testimonial advertising format.

The development of the Rama campaign history differs in several respects from that of Castle Lager discussed in the previous chapter. Although a brand leader in the margarine field, Rama is no doubt a smaller product in terms of its sales and its advertising budget than is Castle Lager. The number of English language Castle Lager commercials produced for the period 1978-1991 were more than double the combined output of Rama commercials in English, Afrikaans and ethnic black languages inclusive. While the marketers of Castle Lager seem to have been lavish in their advertising expenditure, the marketers of Rama seem to have been more budget conscious. It was pointed out in the previous chapter, that the many of Castle Lager commercials are self-contained mini-dramas with denouement. It was also argued that the Castle Lager drinking song was certainly no straight forward jingle, but that it verged on being an alternative national anthem. Unlike Castle Lager, production values were not initially so consistently high in some of the early Rama commercials; but from 1991 onwards Rama commercials show a consistent improvement in standards. These facts suggest that the Rama campaign history might be a good example of budget-driven marketing



pragmatism during an era when apartheid broadcasting severely added to the complications of reaching a difficult target market effectively. Also, the case study on the Rama TV advertising history complements the previous case study on the English language Castle Lager TV advertising history in two important respects. Firstly, unlike Castle Lager which is targeted at men, Rama advertising is focussed principally on women. Secondly, the Rama history reel includes ethnic language commercials for TV2/3. The ethnic Rama commercials are similar to, or adaptations, of TV1 Rama commercials. The Rama case study thus affords the opportunity for comparison between the TV1 and TV2/3 versions of a commercial.

According to the Rama brand manager, the marketers of Rama had retained separate brand offices for the two differently packaged forms of Rama until about 1986.<sup>1</sup> One brand office was responsible for the foil wrapped 'brick' version made primarily for black consumers, the other brand office for the more expensive plastic 'tub' version made primarily for white consumers. However, with the exception of *Better Taste Rama* (1984), the commercials that were produced show a consistency between their communications to the so called 'black markets' and 'white markets'. The campaign history does seem to show some lack of consistency due to its overall inability to place Rama on a long term strategic footing, through being able to articulate the product benefit in a single unique selling proposition (Reeves, 1961).<sup>2</sup>

Only two African languages were used for ethnic Rama commercials, Zulu and South Sotho. Most of the ethnic commercials were in Zulu. Only one Afrikaans version of a Rama commercial was ever made: *Hurrah Ma, It's Rama* (1991). In fact, in the various stages of the history reel where separate advertisements have been produced, most of the ethnic language Rama commercials share the same concepts as the parallel 'white' audience versions. Excepting for the use of black actors, these commercials are all quite similar in structure and content. It will be seen below that this rule holds true for *Just one bite and you know its right* (1979-82), *Slipping and sliding* (1986), *Rugby/Soccer* (1986), partly for the *Housewife I* and *Housewife II* series (1987-89), and for *Hurrah Ma, it's Rama* (1991). Where there are close-up shots consisting of appetite appeal or various product applications (which do not feature any people), the TV1 and TV2/3 versions tend to share the exact same such shots. Remarkably, in *Just one bite and You Know its Right* (1979-80 & 1981-1982) and *Slipping and Sliding* (1986), where these TV1 versions seems to have been targeted at both whites and blacks, a considerable number of the exact same people shots, featuring the same white or black models or actors, are shared in both the TV1 and TV2/3 versions.

It should be noted that the 'Rama Campaign History and Development' outline (given to the researcher by the brand manager of Rama), lists the first Rama television commercial as the 1977-1983 *Tongue Tip Test*, (see Vol. II, Appendix 2A). It is possible that this periodising of Rama commercials might also include the stages of conception, planning, production and broadcast. This may account for the 1977-1983 listing of the first commercial on the history reel (*Tongue Tip Test*), whereas TV advertising only started in 1978.

## BRIEF OVERVIEW OF FOUR PHASES OF RAMA TV ADVERTISING

An examination of the Rama advertising commercial history reel shows that it is possible to distinguish four phases of development in the format of Rama television commercials. There can be little doubt that the first three phases (1978-1992) show signs of a dialectic between various aspects of reformist discourse and underlying developments in SABC-TV broadcasting policy (Chapter 4). The fourth phase (1994-) seems to have been in line with other major corporate sector responses *vis-a-vis* post-apartheid democratisation in their marketing strategies.

The first phase of Rama commercials, especially prior to the introduction of the ethnic channels, TV2/3, seem to be good examples of commercials trying to breach apartheid rigour in the course of achieving marketing objectives (rather than for the sake of adopting a political stance). On the other hand the marketing approach followed by Castle Lager, during same early period of television advertising, seems to have resulted in the production of commercials that were not inconsistent with apartheid media relations (see Chapter 7). However, Rama continued until 1992 in what seems to have been a functional or pragmatic approach, while from 1984 onwards Castle Lager began to dramatically realign their marketing stance in a direction that contested apartheid. Prior to the introduction of TV2/3 in 1982 it appears that Rama were able to negotiate some limited leeway through SABC-TV apartheid restrictions by designing their commercials according to a particular format. In certain respects some of the resulting commercials have suffered a degree of incoherence, but despite their flaws were probably functional to the communication objectives on hand.

The second and longest phase, 1982-91, comes after TV2/3 were introduced. During this period the marketers of Rama adapted to an approach based on separate commercials for different groups. Besides being pragmatic, the fact that some of the early ethnic Rama commercials are perfunctory copies of their TV1 versions, may be an indication of lack of enthusiasm for the apartheid broadcasting dispensation. From 1982 until 1991, the Rama case study provides some opportunities for direct comparison between stereotypes of whites in the TV1 version of a commercial and the equivalent black stereotypes in TV2/3 version/s. In the case of Rama, after the principle of separate commercials became established, the underlying concept and structure in each of the separate commercials for different groups usually remained the same, (regardless of the fact that the different commercials usually promoted the brick version for blacks and the tub version for whites). The languages used for the ethnic stations were of course different from those used in the TV1 commercials. Until 1986 there was some overlapping of actors or actresses in some commercials. The same black actors or actresses were always used for a Zulu and South Sotho version (e.g. *Hurrah Ma, it's Rama*, 1991); in fact these were the exact same commercials with different voice overs and different sub-titling in the closing shot.

A third and very brief phase comes in 1992, when Rama marketing policy returned to the use of a single English language commercial targeted at whites as well as blacks. This commercial

*Everybody is loving it* bears some slight structural resemblance to the initial (pre-TV2/3) Rama commercial, *Tongue Tip Test* (1978). *Everybody is loving it* is also structured with separate sequences, some of which feature whites, and some of which feature blacks. In the 1992 single English language commercial approach, blacks are featured more prominently than in the original single commercial approach broadcast on TV1 in 1978. Whites are nevertheless still considerably more prominent in terms of the number of shots allotted to them (see Appendix 2B, Volume II).

The fourth phase (1994-) comes with the remake of *Just one bite, and you know you're right*. This new commercial is the highest budget and most sophisticated Rama commercial on the history reel. It is a further development of the *Just one bite, and you know you're right* concept of 1979-82 and goes a step further by trying to demonstrate the actual benefits of the claimed nourishing aspects of Rama: people are shown to become energised and invigorated after eating the product. Initially, this commercial had been intended for use only on CCV-TV, as the marketers of Rama had by 1994 stopped using TV1.<sup>3</sup> In this 'new South Africa' commercial, an approach is used which predominantly features middle class blacks to reach the whole TV market. This commercial is a good example of corporate sector responses to post-apartheid democratisation, characterised by greater emphasis on Africanisation in their media images.

### **First Phase: Negotiating An Integrated Target Market During Apartheid**

Prior to the introduction of TV2/3 the marketers of products such as Rama margarine, dependent on sales to urban blacks, were sometimes motivated to design the structure their TV1 commercials to appeal also to blacks. Analysis of some of the early commercials on the Rama history reel clearly shows this to be the case. As was pointed out in a previous chapter, the 'All Media Products Survey' (AMPS) had revealed that by 1979, 850,000 blacks, roughly 8% of the total population, already watched 'white' TV each week. The idea underlying the construction of the first Rama commercial, *Tongue Tip Test*, seems to be responsive to such research findings.

#### ***Tongue Tip Test* (1977-1983)**

*Tongue Tip Test* features a 'Rama Soft Man' who is dressed in blue jeans and a yellow anorak top with the 'Rama Soft' logo imprinted on it. The Rama Soft Man seeks out people in the street, offers them a 'tongue tip test' from a tub of Rama, and awaits their responses. This scenario seems to have facilitated an approach where blacks and whites could to some extent (even in terms of apartheid broadcasting restrictions) be legitimately featured together, sometimes even in the same frame of a TV1 commercial. The commercial is structured in what resembles an approach consistent with a *cinéma vérité* style of documentary film making. The action takes place in an outdoor context, where blacks and whites were legally permitted to use the same city streets and pavements during apartheid. Thus, in the case of *Tongue Tip Test*, some of the pitfalls encountered in two later Rama commercials, *Just one bite and you know its right* (1979-80) and *Slipping and Sliding* (1986), have been avoided. These two latter commercials (which will be discussed in more detail below) used

TV1 to appeal also to blacks, but unlike *Tongue Tip Test* the action is not so appropriately contextualised to make the cutting to different shots (i.e. the featuring blacks and whites in separate vignettes) logically consistent. All these commercials use a jingles to help link and relate together the different shots, which might otherwise tend towards incongruent 'jumpcuts'. The resonance which is achieved between the words and music of the jingle and the cutting of the different visual images, is directly dependent upon the artistry and craft which have gone into its writing and execution.

The people depicted in *Tongue Tip Test* form a sort of 'marketing bird's eye view' of a demographic cross-section of South African society in the late 1970s. The universe depicted is a vision of consumer society. Rural blacks who might at that stage have fallen outside the scope of the Rama target market for television are not taken into account. The people depicted are both young and old, white and black. Whites are favoured numerically: out of a total of 30 shots blacks are featured taking the 'tongue tip test' in only 6 shots (Shots 5,7,15,17,23,28), while whites are featured taking the test in 13 shots (Shots 8,9,10,11,12,16,18, 19,20,22,25,26,30). (At that stage, still in the early period of the introduction of television, the much higher proportion of whites might arguably have been in recognition of the fact that a larger proportion of television set owners/TV1 viewers were whites. But a more likely explanation might be found in the apartheid strictures prevalent in the SABC-TV broadcasting dispensation of the time; black urban consumers formed a substantial part of the market for this product.) The remaining 11 shots are either of the Rama Man spinning round in the street with the Rama tub in hand, or various types of pack shots that were interspersed through this commercial.

No elderly black people or coloureds feature in this commercial. But the featuring of an Indian man who appears to be a flower seller (Shots 5 & 17), is unusual. Although South Africans of Indian ancestry form a distinct minority group (see Tomaselli RE, 1983), in respect of their actual economic significance, and demography, they tend to be grossly under-represented in television commercials. This Indian flower seller is actually the first person approached for the 'tongue tip test'. His depiction is not inconsistent with what one might call an Indian male working class or incipient petty bourgeois stereotype. He is wearing a long-sleeved tartan shirt and has longish hair with broad side burns and a mustache (Shots 5 & 17). His casting carries an air of authenticity which suggests that a real flower seller might have been documented in this commercial.

As was pointed out above, the outdoor approach used in *Tongue Tip Test* suggests that the shots which follow might be *cinéma vérité*. But this is unlikely. Although some shots have an air of authenticity others seem to be staged. The *mise-en-scène* of the situations depicted in Shots 10, 12, 15, 16, 28 is somewhat exaggerated: these are not likely encounters in a day in the life of a 'Rama Soft Man' spontaneously seeking out respondents through city streets. Also, it would require difficult persuasion and legal formalities to use so many people 'off the street' in a television commercial. It is possible that some shots could be actuality or *cinéma vérité* (e.g. Shots 5, 17, 7, 8,9,11). The spontaneity of some of the respondents gives this impression, but it is not impossible for this

aspect to have been carefully staged and directed. If some of the shots are genuinely *cinéma vérité*, publication release negotiations with the persons featured should have taken place *after* the shots were filmed not before.

In addition to Shots 5&17 of the Indian man, Shots 7, 15 and 28 are of particular interest from a racial stereotyping point of view. Shot 7 features a very well-dressed black woman in her mid or late thirties. This woman is well-groomed and very chic, there is no sign of pejorativeness in her stereotyping. Though her short un-straightened hair and dress might be slightly out of style for the 1990s, she would quite probably still pass favourably as member of the black upper middle classes in a TV commercial.

Shot 15 features the Rama man running after a black cyclist. This cyclist is not a 'delivery boy'. He is riding a racing bike and is very athletic and dressed in cycle racing attire. The use of this black athlete stereotype (a member of the proletariat who has somehow been able to break out of the humdrum of immediate needs, and engage in recreational activity) was probably supposed to hook the aspirations of blacks in the 1970s, while also suggesting supposed health attributes of a vitamin-enriched product, such as Rama. The bicycle is a cultural implement which has played an important transitional role in the lives of urban communities in developing countries. In its relative symbolic meaning, the racing bike might possibly be interpreted as a rather refined version of the ordinary bicycle used for essential transport. The signification of the racing bike works quite differently from a crude delivery bicycle. A delivery bicycle would have strong connotations that the black cyclist is bound to the service of a white master, a situation more commonly associated with black males riding bicycles during this period. Humble as it may seem, the racing bike signifies independence or *arrival* at a more spiritual level of existence, beyond basic needs. This stereotype of an athletically-inclined black cyclist is nevertheless not improbable. During the 1960s and 1970s black males riding racing bikes for sport could occasionally be seen on urban South African streets.

The final stereotypical depiction which is of interest appears in Shot 28, in the concluding section of the commercial which is based on a repetition of emphatic moments of earlier shots. **But** this principle is not firmly adhered to, as there are also **some** people in this section who were not **featured** before, such as in the case of Shot 28. This shot features a black 'playboy'. This man is wearing a light coloured suit, a straw basher with red band, and carrying a large transistor radio over his shoulder. Reminiscent of a Sophiatown genre, Sunday well-dressed Johannesburg black, this stereotype can be considered to be incipiently pejorative. This depiction seems to be underpinned by urban black subculture which was current from the 1950s to 1970s in what was formerly known as the PWV area (Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vaal triangle). Possibly, black working class projections of this identity had spontaneously originated out of frustrated middle class aspirations. The 1980s saw this stereotype recede or be redefined and transformed, possibly due to the rejection of its pathos by black radicalism, or possibly through a psychological re-alignment afforded by the 'new black middle class' ideology from the media communications of the business sector.

One can conclude that 'Tongue Tip Test' clearly differs from the commercials which were broadcast for Castle Lager for this period. Black 'consumers' are targeted in the marketing strategy for the early TV1 Rama commercials, therefore black actors/models representing the various idiosyncrasies of the urban social formation are featured from the very beginning of TV1 advertising for Rama. There are, therefore, no blatantly obvious 'structured absences' in the visual narrative, although the overall narrative is reflective of apartheid social relations. In terms of the structure of the narrative of *Tongue Tip Test* (which is relatively fragmented in form), the blacks depicted certainly do not have the momentous significance of the solitary black gentleman who made his entry in the Castle Lager *Train* commercial of 1984. The early Castle Lager commercials, the historical campaign in particular, were not only very coherent individually but also strongly cumulative as a total communication. On the other hand, although the *Rama Campaign History and Development* outline (see Appendix 2A, Vol. II) talks of 'campaign' and 'USP', the advertisers of Rama do not seem to have been able to articulate any overriding single USP for this product. Thus, the term USP as it is used in Appendix 2a (see Vol II) is erroneous (Reeves, 1961). This shortcoming contributes to a lack of campaign continuity over the period 1978-1994. The communications about Rama are thus relatively disparate and lacking mutual reinforcement. Although this problem might not be particularly of interest to this study, as a marketing problem *per se*, it does bear significance to the overall social and ideological impact of Rama advertising. The ancillary cultural content of an advertising campaign that places the product on a long term strategic footing is bound to be more memorable, and therefore more impactful and influential.

*Tongue Tip Test* was a 'one off' commercial in the sense that there were no variations or successive commercials based on the same idea. (Probably the same product claims were at the time being supported on radio, magazines or billboards.) There is a limited similarity underlying the strategy of a campaign produced about four years later, the 1987/1989 *Housewives I & II*, in as far as these commercials were also based upon a Rama taste test, the latter conducted on supposedly previously uncanvassed members of the public in a supermarket (to be discussed below).

With the exception of the 1984 *Better Taste Rama* commercial, the commercials which followed after the 1977-1983 *Tongue Tip Test* were not 'lone' commercials but formed part of series of two or more. These were either further commercials based on the same concept (as in the case of *Housewife I & II*), or ethnic versions of the same commercial. The two last commercials on the history reel, *Everybody is loving it* (1992), and *Just one bite and you know you're right* (1994), are again 'lone' commercials, as there are no longer any ethnic language variations.

#### ***JUST ONE BITE AND YOU KNOW YOU'RE RIGHT (1979-80)***

The TV1 version of *Just One Bite ...* was apparently current during the period 1978-80, before the 1982 introduction of the ethnic channels, TV2/3. It was designed to promote the brick version of Rama which is cheaper and more popular amongst black consumers than the tub version. If the structure and content of this commercial is taken into account together with these circumstances, one can surmise that it was conceptualised to also cater for urban black TV1 viewers, as was the case with

*Tongue Tip Test* (1977-83). *Just one bite ...* is composed of a series of separate vignettes. Most of the vignettes feature whites (Shots 1,2,5,17,18,19,20,21,22), but blacks are not completely overlooked (Shots 4,16). The ratio of shots depicting blacks is obviously inconsistent with the ratio of black consumers of the product, and probably also with the ratio of black TV viewers. Were it not for the prevailing difficult strictures imposed by SABC broadcasting policy, the proportion of shots featuring blacks would most likely have been more evenly balanced. Yet even this limited inclusion of blacks, probably a concession negotiated with the SABC acceptance board, deals a severe blow to the closer illusion of an all white society (which might have been achieved by their 'structured absence').

In *Tongue Tip Test* (1978), the action took place outdoors with the cuts to separate shots of different people being linked together by the presence of the 'Rama Soft Man', as well as aesthetically by the jingle. On the other hand, *Just one bite ...* (1979-80) shows the product being used in what must be a series of home situations. Many of the 'people shots' are close ups with little contextual information being depicted. The logical consistency of the separate vignettes of blacks and whites is somewhat unsatisfactory, because the order of the shots nevertheless establishes unresolved relationships of time and place, a problem which we will again encounter in *Slipping and Sliding* (1986), see below.

## SECOND PHASE: ADAPTING TO THE TV2/3 SCENARIO

After the introduction of TV2/3 'ethnic' Rama commercials similar to the TV1 versions were made and broadcast. These ethnic commercials vary in quality. Before more detailed discussion, a brief description of each commercial of this second phase given in the paragraph below.

*Just one bite and you know you're right* (1981-82) and the ethnic version of *Slipping and Sliding* (1986), both of which are composed of separate vignettes, seem to be rather perfunctory versions of their white TV1 counterparts. In the case of *Rugby/Soccer* (1986) it appears some attention has been given to the construction of what was conceived to have been the social realism of the time. (These commercials, which are not based on the jingle format, have a narrative structure which adheres to a unity of time and place.) However, in *Soccer* (1986), the depiction of the black nuclear family and their home situation is open to the criticism that was an exception to the norm of the time (see Bertelsen, 1985). The *Better Taste Rama* commercial of 1984 targets the Rama tub exclusively at the white market, and there is no TV2/3 counterpart of this commercial. *Better Taste Rama* is also the most complete example of 'structured absence' on the Rama history reel. Although separate brand offices apparently existed for the marketing Rama until 1986, 'Better Taste Rama' is, as far as can be made out, the only commercial on the history reel where the positioning of the product has actually gone in a completely different direction. The commercials of the *Housewife I & II* (1987-89) campaigns follow a straight forward supermarket interview format. Although this approach is possibly patronising and irritating to television viewers, the filmic representation of a product sampling

situation affords consistency of time and place, thus limiting the inconsistencies which arose in some earlier Rama commercials which followed the jingle format.. As several *Housewife* commercials were made, including TV2/3 versions, they are a good source for examples of both gender and racial depictions in the latter part of the 1980s. *Hurrah Ma, It's Rama* (1991) is a further example of a TV1 commercial with ethnic TV2/3 counterparts. Although structured absences are in principle consistent with *Hurrah Ma, It's Rama* (1991), the manner of representation and stereotyping of the black family in the TV2/3 version is implicitly already indicative of the coming of democracy and black liberation (see below).

***JUST ONE BITE AND YOU KNOW YOU'RE RIGHT (1981-1982), ZULU***

This is the first ethnic Rama commercial. It provides an opportunity for comparison between two early examples of SABC-TV advertising to differently designated audiences. *Just one bite ...* promotes Rama packaged in brick form, as is the case with the TV1 version. This commercial is listed on the 'Rama: Campaign History and Development' outline as having been current for the period 1981-82, which roughly coincides with the introduction of TV2.

Save for some slight adaptations, this TV2, Zulu version, of the commercial is very similar to the TV1 commercial. It is basically the same commercial. Once again, the commercial features both blacks and whites. Some shots of the TV1 commercial which featured whites have been retained and are used in the same sequential order in both versions (Shots 2,5,17). The shots from the TV1 commercial which featured blacks have also been retained (Shots 4 & 16), and are also used in the same sequential order as in the TV1 version. Black models have replaced key opening and closing shots (Shots 1,18,19,20,21,22). The basic difference from the TV1 version is that the jingle and the announcer's voice-over are rendered in Zulu, and that the woman in the opening and closing shot has been replaced with a black model.

This similarity in structure, content, and sequence of the shots, possibly suggests that the producers might have believed that many black viewers of this commercial would have already seen the TV1 version. It is not unlikely that the intention was to extend and reinforce black impressions about Rama, while not giving rise to any conflicting ideas or any suggestion of prejudice. It has been noted that blacks were believed to be apprehensive when products were advertised to them in a strikingly different manner, sometimes believing that the same product might be of inferior quality when sold at black outlets (Sinclair, 1985:62). But one also gets an impression of tight budgeting, and possibly some degree of inexperience on the part of the producers. While it must be conceded that the minimal rearrangement of the TV1 version of the commercial into a Zulu TV2 version is not entirely impractical, this procedure also gives the impression of the ethnic version being no more than adequate. It was also stated earlier that this somewhat perfunctory approach to the production of early ethnic commercials might be indicative of a lack of enthusiasm for the new TV2/3 broadcasting dispensation.

Again, as in the TV1 version, a rather self-conscious style of lighting of the people shots is used in the TV2 version of *Just one bite ...* . (This is of course inevitable because most of the shots in the



TV2 version are the exact same shots from the TV1 version.) This style lighting seems unrealistic and more akin to fashion photography than to margarine advertising. Possibly, it may be attributable to the fact that these are early examples of South African television advertising. Some of the early directors of television commercials came from then ranks of successful advertising still photographers, and therefore tended to light their indoor shots in a manner resembling the styles of studio strobe lighting of the period. The dark shadows areas lacking in detail suggest a fashion photography or possibly a *cinema noire* genre; which most likely is not particularly conducive to the selling of margarine. Also, the people featured come across as photographic models rather than actors. The people shots are of short duration and too fragmented for any characterisation or dramatic development to take place. These shots seem to be filmed against a white infinity curve as a background, while more natural lighting and styling was in fact called for. Margarine in South Africa had generally been positioned as a healthy alternative to butter, which calls for a styling of the shots to connote that the product is wholesome and natural (in addition to taste attributes, etc.). This wholesome quality does come across better in most of the other Rama commercials.

In both versions of *Just one bite ...*, the following shots are of particular interest in terms of stereotyping: Shot 1 and Shot 2 are in the first instance relevant from a gender point of view. In both commercials, the women who are eating a roll in Shot 1 have been photographed in an obviously sexist manner (see Key: 1972;1976), and have been directed to appear less self-aware or in control of their gastronomic rapture than the man eating a roll in Shot 2. In the TV2 version the level of the sexist stereotyping in Shot 1 is aggravated, possibly through racial prejudice: the sexist depiction of the black woman is more blatant, suggesting that a prevailing irresponsibility at the execution stage might have been less inhibited.<sup>4</sup> Interestingly the same white man is used in Shot 2 in both versions of the commercial. In the ethnic version the editing of the white man (Shot 2), about to bite a roll, immediately in succession to the black woman (Shot 1) inescapably relates these two people, thus implicitly undermining apartheid.

Both versions of the commercial follow the same sequence with Shot 4 showing a bespectacled black school girl eating a slice of bread, followed by a bespectacled white boy eating a slice of bread in Shot 5. The logic underlying this editing (of shots of both the white boy and of the black girl eating slices of plain white bread) seems to be intended to code a structure of meaning which will be decoded on two levels. It dispels any suggestion (in the context of the opening shots of rolls with sumptuous toppings) that the young black girl might be impoverished. Also, it tends to democratise consumption as both these children are similarly stereotyped as young and smart. The spectacles denote poor eyesight, but can also connote habitual reading habits and learning.

In both versions of the commercial, Shot 16 shows the same chubby, down-to-earth, friendly-looking, working class black woman. She is about to put into her mouth a boiled carrot at the end of a fork. With respect to the criticism mentioned above, this example is very much an advertising photographer's shot rather than that of a cinematographer. It is a very posed shot, which has been literally etched with light, and the *mise-en-scène* is completely artificial and unnatural to an actual

eating situation. Also, this seems an example of advertising media production taking a real person and converting her into a crude stereotype. On the surface, the stereotype seems slightly ethnic, but neither overtly pejorative nor affirmative. Her stereotyping seems affirmative in the sense that her expression displays her simplicity and innate goodness. From a certain point of view (Williamson, 1978), this stereotype might be read as incipiently pejorative, in the sense that we know the innocent persona of this black woman has been taken away from her and itself turned into a commodity. She is economically powerless to question her subjection thus, or the (mis)appropriation of her image as bait to ensnare more of her class into a spiral of middle class materialism.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand it might be argued that this woman would have been quite proud of her appearance in a TV commercial, and that the experience would have been quite flattering to her when she was recognised and commented upon by her friends.

It is quite interesting to compare the stereotyping of the fair-haired middle aged white man who is braaiing (barbecuing) in Shot 21 of the TV1 version, with the equivalent black stereotype in Shot 21 of the ethnic version. The white man in the TV1 version fits into a working class 'English-speaking Afrikaner' stereotype. With his right hand he is holding a roasted potato on the tip of a braai fork. With his left hand he makes a hand gesture by bringing the tips of his thumb and forefinger together in a circle, which he holds in front of his face. Presumably, the intention of this gesture is to imply that Rama is 'just perfect'. The equivalent black male model in the ethnic version is also middle aged, but he seems a little more elaborately dressed-up for the occasion. He is wearing a blue and white striped apron. He smiles with delight while juggling a roast potato on his right. He gives a thumbs up sign with his left hand (for Rama presumably). He has a beard, and seems to fall into what was earlier defined in this thesis as the ethnic middle class stereotyping category.

#### **UPMARKET TARGETING OF RAMA SOFT: *BETTER TASTE RAMA* (1984)**

This was a 'one off' commercial in English for TV1, and it seems that it was intention to promote the 'easy to spread' tub version of Rama exclusively to whites. It thus differs from the previous Rama commercials due to the fact that it features only whites, without a single black person being depicted. *Better Taste Rama* (1984) bears some similarity to the early Castle Lager commercials which gave a Eurocentric representation of early twentieth century Johannesburg. But instead, *Better Taste Rama* depicts a contemporary scene peopled by a strange breed of upper middle class white Americano-South Africans. The *mise-en-scène* consists of contexts, styling, forms of dress, and stereotyping of some the whites portrayed, which suggests aspects an American soap opera, such as Dallas. Also, the jingle which holds together the montage of images is sung in English with an American-influenced accent.

The background marketing history of Rama possibly throws some light into the underlying strategy of this commercial, which has resulted in such a pronounced example of the principle of 'structured absence'. This commercial, *Better Taste Rama*, is listed as a re-launch for Rama Soft (see Appendix 2A, Vol.II). The initial launch of Rama Soft seems to have been in the pre-television advertising era, during 1975-1976. According to information given in the 'Rama Campaign History and

Development' outline (Appendix 2a, Vol.II), the original campaign had: "incorporated into the 'Rama for natural fresh taste' claim, with emphasis on the perceived USP of easy spreading by use of bread/spread situation". The 1977-1983 *Tongue Tip Test* commercial apparently emphasised Rama as the best tasting/finest quality tub margarine and, as was shown above, had specifically took blacks into account as part of its target market (i.e. in the TV1 commercial). However, it is quite probable that it had been realised that the more expensive tub version was not selling particularly well to blacks, who continued to regard the cheaper brick version as better value for money. A decision might have been made on the part of the marketers of Rama to concentrate their resources into the making of an all white re-launch commercial for the soft, easy to spread tub version of the product<sup>6</sup>. If analysed critically the resulting commercial, though pleasant enough to watch, seems somewhat idealised and unrealistic. The fact that the guests at the portrayed outdoor banquet are all whites might not at first glance appear to be inconsistent with social relations during the apartheid era. However, this view is not necessarily ethnographically accurate. The whites depicted seem to be upper middle class English-speaking whites. In reality, this group tended to invite a few special black friends to their parties. Also, aspects of the episode depicted do not reflect the generally accepted structure or division of labour of South African society, as all catering staff are whites (Shots 6,10,12, 17,18,19). Some of the waiters have Latino or Spanish appearance, dark straight hair, which is consistent with the American soap opera styling. Even the swing in Shots 4 and 8 (which depict a blond-haired young woman in a white dress) has its chains painted white. These white swing chains on either side of the young woman were probably intended by the stylist suggest purity. An idealised conception of what life might have been like in South Africa, if it could have been lived in terms of an American soap opera is thus portrayed. The commercial is perfectly serious with no traces of any satire or humourous self-introspection, the incorporations of such elements into the text might have raised it to a higher plane of meaning, making the advertising idiom more socially relevant.

The commercial opens with a shot of Rama packs (tubs) on a table amidst items of conspicuous consumption, such as olives and crayfish (Shots 1-3), which suggest American affluence (or the dream or illusion of it). The tub lids are supposed to fly open by themselves, but viewed in slow motion can be seen to be supported by a piece of wire or spring at the back of each lid. The initial people shots are fragmentary, in the sense that people depicted are not shown again, and also no significant social interaction takes place (Shots 4, 5, 8, 9). However, later shots comprise of several cute little cameos, which try to show the consumption of Rama in the course of 'slice of life' situations criss-crossing through the latter part of the commercial. The action or melodrama depicted in the earlier of these shots continues to develop in later shots (Shots 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30).

Although blacks are absent from this TV1 commercial and no equivalent versions were made for TV2/3, it is still possible to make some comment with regard to racial stereotyping. The guests at this banquet are predominantly fair-skinned, fair-haired Aryans (e.g. Shots 4, 5, 8, 10, 25, 28). On the other hand, though

obviously also Europeans, dark-haired people are more easily to be found amongst the catering staff (e.g. Shots 10, 12, 19, 24, 27). This is not to say that the catering staff all have dark complexions, as a rather attractive fair-skinned young lady, who appears to be a waitress, features quite prominently in the editing structure of this commercial (Shots 7, 21, 29).

### **RUGBY/SOCCER (1986)**

This is a pair of commercials made in English and in Zulu. The concept is the same for both versions -- a middle class home with the male members of a nuclear family watching sport on television. In the TV1 version the sport is rugby (Shot 1), while in the TV2 version it is soccer (Shot 1). In both versions, the characters involved are seated in almost exactly the same manner in front of a television set. The same idea: the woman walking past with a tray and interrupting their vision, has been used in the same place in both commercials. Unlike most of the other commercials on the history reel, where the audio part consists of a jingle, in *Rugby* and in *Soccer* the audio consists of the respective match commentaries and the voices of the respective male voice overs (MVO).

There are some styling differences apparent between the two homes. In *Rugby*, the white woman of the house is carrying a **silver** tray with bread rolls and a tub of Rama (Shot 3). In *Soccer* the black woman of the house is carrying a **plastic** tray and bread rolls with a brick of Rama (Shot 3). Although the structural layout of the two homes is quite similar, the black home (Shots 3, 15) is visibly less modern than the white home (also Shot 3, 15). The lighting of the black home in 'Soccer' is darker, suggesting that the black family cannot afford to spend as much on electricity, and therefore have fewer lights. Also, the pictures on the walls of the black home are smaller, and the furniture seems more old-fashioned (Shot 3). The overall impression is of a poorer home.

In other respects, the TV2 commercial is very similar to the white TV1 version. It is also based on a nuclear middle class family. But in the Zulu version, (Shot 1), there are four sons, instead of the three in the TV1 version, (Shot 1). This difference is, again, probably consistent with market research data showing black families to be generally larger than white families. However, despite some relaxation of Group Areas restrictions during the P.W. Botha reformist era, for many blacks living in urban areas in 1986 the contented black middle class nuclear family unit depicted in the *Soccer* commercial would have still been exceptional (see also Bertelsen, 1985).<sup>7</sup>

In this instance, the fact that the TV1 *Rugby* version features only whites and the TV2 *Soccer* version features only blacks cannot be said to constitute a 'structured absence'. In terms of the state of apartheid zoning still prevalent in 1986, the intimate home situations around which the commercials were structured did not necessarily call for any racially integrated presence. In this respect, the depictions are ethnographically consistent. If, the representation of people in the context where the product is being consumed (used) is consistent in terms ethnography, the fact that blacks and whites might not appear together in a commercial need not necessarily amount to a 'structured absence'. ('Structured absences' nevertheless pertained at the underlying level of broadcasting dispensation, see Chapter 4.)

In itself, the fact that soccer has been selected in place of rugby as the sport for the black family to be watching is not easy to criticise as an instance of pejorative racial stereotyping. It was a commonly known fact in South Africa at the time that blacks mostly followed soccer, and market research data showing soccer to be more popular amongst blacks would have supported this decision. It is nevertheless very predictable and 'safe' to show blacks interested in soccer and whites interested in rugby. A more imaginative or creative approach might have been to introduce an element of humour by challenging common sense perceptions and reverse the stereotypes.

### *SLIPPING AND SLIDING (1986)*

There was a second set of commercials for Rama in 1986, one version in English for TV1 and a quite similar one in Zulu for TV2. These commercials are constructed around a rhyming jingle which uses the idea of *Slipping and Sliding*. *Slipping and Sliding* possibly refers to the movement of small melting chunks margarine on hot food (as some of the visuals suggest,) or to the 'spreadability' of Rama.

It may be noted that in *Rugby/Soccer* (1986), *Hurrah Ma, it's Rama*, (1991), and especially in the *Housewife I & II* series (1987-89), there is clear unity of time and place. Each of these commercials thus amount to a fully self-contained mini-story, as was the case with Castle Lager commercials. On the other hand *Just One Bite* (1979-92) and *Slipping and Sliding* (1986) are based on a compound of separate vignettes, which can be confusing in instances when the editing neither clearly relates or separates sequential shots in terms of the action taking place. It will be seen below that by the time of *Everybody Is Loving It* (1992), and *Just one bite and you know you're right* (1994), this problem was overcome. By that stage the separate scenes or vignettes consist of more than one shot and are therefore self-contained. The refinement of the later commercials probably came through greater expertise, but also the application of a more relaxed broadcasting policy by the SABC might also have played an important part.

Both versions of *Slipping and Sliding* (1986) are constructed out of a series of shots which constitute Rama 'consumption moments'. The ethnic TV2 version is very similar to the TV1 version. Surprisingly, the initial opening sequence of the TV1 version, which features whites, is retained in the TV2 version. Content differs where shots of 'equivalent' blacks are used in the place of some shots which feature whites in the TV1 commercial. Shot 16 (in both versions) is particularly interesting in this respect. In the TV1 version this shot shows a little girl in a yellow dress standing on her toes in order to reach for a jar of biscuits. It is a very homely scene and this little girl has a labrador retriever by her side. The TV2 version uses the same brightly-lit kitchen as the TV1 version. A little black girl is shown in the place of the little white girl. Instead of a yellow dress she is wearing yellow dungarees. Instead of sandals she is wearing blue canvass takkies. In this version we never quite see what the little black girl is reaching up for -- the jar of biscuits from the TV1 version is still on the shelf, but to the left of her (by the upper left frame corner). There is no labrador retriever by the little black girl's side.

The variations in the clothing of the two little girls, and the other aspects of the *mise-en-scène* noted above, indicates that the makers of these commercials have made some attempt at constructing difference between the two cultures. The order of this 'difference' is probably couched somewhere between actual ethnographic veracity, the framework of the production team's interpellation within their institutional practices, and the terms of *their* conception of the 'other's' culture.

Most of the 'appetite appeal' or 'various product uses' shots are shared in common between the two version of *Slipping and Sliding* (as are some shots of the people featured). It was, of course, never intended that the same people should see both versions together in quick succession, and thus be able to remember and analyse aspects in common. (Though both versions are listed as 1986 commercials, which means that they might possibly have been broadcast on the different channels on the same day.) When the two versions are viewed together there is a problem of disbelief, which is exacerbated by the fact that the same kitchen has repeatedly been used in the filming of both versions, (compare especially: TV1 version Shots 16, 18, 19 with TV2 version Shots 16, 18, 19). In both versions of the commercial, Shot 18, which features an elderly black woman is obviously edited from the same footage. The resulting narrative is confusing if one views the two commercials in succession. In the TV1 version, the preceding narrative from Shot 16, and what follows from Shot 19 onwards, suggests that the elderly lady is a domestic servant. In the TV2 version, the narrative suggests that she is a grandmother. Shot 19 in the ethnic version of the commercial, shows a young black woman who appears to be the lady of the house. She is in the same kitchen which was being used by a white woman in Shot 19 of the TV1 commercial. In this version, the table surface in the frame foreground is covered by a red and white table cloth. In the TV1 version, it was a white table cloth. The exact same Defy stove can be made out in the background of this shot in both versions. The fact that there are shots which show blacks in the TV1 version, and shots which show whites in the TV2 version, suggests that these commercials undermine apartheid, albeit perhaps in the course of trying to establish credibility for the product amongst blacks.

### ***HOUSEWIFE I (1987)***

The next series of commercials are structured around interviews of housewives in a supermarket. The superimposed copy at the bottom of the frame of Shot 1 in each of these commercials reads 'Ormonde Shopping Centre', suggesting documentary authenticity.<sup>8</sup> The concept is based on a comparative test between 'old' Rama and 'new' Rama. There are several versions of the concept, including ethnic ones for TV2/3. The four commercials of the 1987 campaign will be referred to below as *Housewife Ia, Ib, Ic and Id*.

The *Housewife* series are the only Rama commercials on the history reel where any of the people represented actually talk to the camera. Also, the *Housewife* series (and *Rugby/Soccer*) are the only commercials on the history not subject to the tyranny of the jingle format.

According to the brand manager of Rama, the *Housewife I* campaign of 1987 (and *Housewife II* of 1989) were based on a concept which had been used by Vandenberg's in Europe. The campaign is viewed with some suspicion within the marketing department of Vandenberg's in Durban, as brand share seems to have suffered during the period while it was current.<sup>9</sup> However, too many other variables are involved which can affect the sales of a product, so it is not possible to establish definitively that the adversity suffered by Rama at the market place was due specifically to the *Housewife I & II* commercials.

In the opening shots of the first TV1 commercial of this series (*Housewife Ia*, 1987) no blacks are featured amongst the people surrounding the housewife being interviewed. If the frames are examined in slow motion, black shoppers can, however, be made out in the crowd in the more distant and out-of-focus background (Shot 2).

The young white woman in *Housewife Ia* is quite pretty with dark brown hair to just above her shoulders. She is wearing a white frock and has lots of rings on the fingers of her right hand. She has a rather gullible expression on her face as she answers the interviewer's questions about her margarine preferences. The stereotyping of this woman (Shots 2,4,8,10, & 14) perhaps is an example of the tendency Ogilvy (1986) tells advertisers to avoid when he warns that 'the consumer is not a moron, she is your wife'. This pejorative stereotyping also applies to some of the onlooking housewives (Shot 5). The producers of this commercial were probably not fully aware that their direction might have been offensive to some members of their target audience.

It may be noted that in the *Housewife Ia* commercial, the onlookers surrounding the protagonist housewife and interviewer were all white women. The *Housewife Ib* commercial is a further TV1 version of the same idea: a comparison test between 'new' Rama and old Rama. The interviewer is the same man (as in *Housewife Ia*) who speaks a somewhat commercialised<sup>10</sup> Afrikaans-tinged English. The second housewife is also white. She has light brown hair, whereas the housewife in the first commercial had black hair. She is not stereotyped quite as dumb, nor does she pretend to be as moronic, as the housewife (or woman) in the previous commercial. One suspects that the second version has possibly been directed so that it will be more persuasive to women, than interesting to men. Also, there is quite an attractive shot of two small children in *Housewife Ib* (Shots 2 & 6), which tends to give the commercial more family orientated 'feel' than the previous one. The interview/test has been honed down and made shorter and more succinct. Also, the 'look' of the commercial is immediately noticeable as different, as a warm tone filter has been placed over the camera lens, or adjustments have been made at the processing or printing stages.

The most important difference in *Housewife Ib* is that a close-up featuring an elderly white woman together with a young black woman onlooker has been included (Shot 4). Also, in Shots 3 & 7 there is a middle aged black woman in the extreme right of the frame, close behind the white housewife's head.<sup>11</sup> From comparing the two commercials the indications are that these inclusions have been a carefully planned and calculated act, and that *Housewife Ib* may to some extent be a revision of *Housewife Ia*. The framing of

Shot 4 is carefully composed with the elderly white woman placed on the left, but looking to the right with her face almost in profile. Her lighter coloured face thus leads the eye to the black woman's darker face, which is looking in (from slightly behind) in the right half of the frame (Shot 4). The black woman's face balances or grounds the composition so that neither face is unequivocally dominant. It is inferred from the editing that they are both looking very intensely towards the protagonist housewife (last shown in Shot 3, but not included in Shot 4). They are either waiting to see, or to hear the protagonist housewife's response to 'New Rama'. The elderly white woman's face is overdressed with powder and heavily applied lipstick and mascara to her eyebrows and eyelashes (Shot 4) -- what we see here is an example of an extreme stereotype, a caricature, possibly the local casting agency's conception a 'supermarket junkie'. The young black woman onlooker is not sophisticated, but rather ethnic-looking. Her hair is bushed but not straightened and she is wearing purple lipstick (Shot 4).

The third commercial, *Housewife Ic*, seems to be the ethnic equivalent of *Housewife Ia*, and was made in Zulu. The young black woman in this commercial comes across as charmingly innocent and naive (Shots 2,5,7,9). In many ways, she is similar to the young white woman interviewed in *Housewife Ia*, though, in this instance, the gullibility aspect doesn't seem to be emphasised quite as much in the black version. It is interesting to note that the young black woman is closely flanked by several white women in this commercial (Shots 5,6,7,9), who empathise with her. They come across almost as comrades in the travails of housewives, which Rama supposedly is likely to ameliorate. The fourth commercial, *Housewife Id*, is also in Zulu, but it involves a black housewife and what appears to be the rest her family. This rendition of the 'Housewife' concept was only made in Zulu, there was no TV1 equivalent. In this commercial two black children are included. They spartanly dressed, in as far as their clothes are clean and neat, not expensive looking, nor particularly new, or stylish (Shots 1,2,5,7). The man has an amicable face (Shots 4 & 9) and is considerably bald. He is adorned to look above the ordinary working class, but not too middle class. He seems like someone who has *made it* to management level through years of honest sweat and patient angst (Shot 1). His wife is simple looking, honest and humble, but very much a lady (Shots 1 & 8). One interesting, and perhaps redeeming factor which distinguishes this commercial from other Rama commercials, is that in depicting a black nuclear family with only two children, slavish adherence to market research data, (and to white preconceptions), about blacks desiring larger families has somehow been avoided.

### ***HOUSEWIFE II (1989)***

The 1989 *Housewife II* campaign consists of four commercials designed around a similar supermarket interview scenario as *Housewife I* campaign. These further interviews are based on the world shattering proposition: 'Even people who usually disagree, do agree that Rama is South Africa's favourite taste'. The first such commercial, *Housewife IIa*, is a TV1 version which features a white mother with a vivacious young daughter in her early teens. There is no black ethnic equivalent version of this commercial. The second commercial in the sub series, *Housewife IIb*, features a newly married white couple. While the third commercial, *Housewife IIc* is the TV2/3 version of the second one, and features a young black married



couple going through the same taste test sequence. The fourth commercial, *Housewife IId*, is also directed at blacks and features two young black women, who appear to be twins. Logged transcripts of these four commercials of the *Housewife II* campaign are **not included** in Appendix 2b, Volume II, because most of the important stereotyping issues deriving from this format of advertising commercial have already been covered in the discussion of the *Housewife I* series. Also, the time lapse of two years, from 1987 to 1989, does not, in this instance, reflect any important development in the forms of representation.

### *HURRAH MA, IT'S RAMA (1991)*

The *Hurrah Ma, It's Rama* series consists of four commercials: an English version and an Afrikaans version for TV1; and a Zulu version for TV2 and a South Sotho version for TV3. The exact same commercial with the same actors is used for both the English and Afrikaans versions, and the same commercial with the same actors is used for both the Zulu and South Sotho versions. These commercials show the product in a 'slice of life' situation. With the help of Rama, a mother fulfils her role in relation to her children and her husband, and thus receives their approbation. The interaction which takes place between the family members in the English/Afrikaans version, and the South Sotho/Zulu versions, is very similar. (This is the only Afrikaans Rama commercial ever made; save for the dubbing of the jingle in Afrikaans, and the superimposed Afrikaans copy line on the last shot, it is in every other respect identical to the English language version.)

The black and the white people do almost the same things in the different equivalent versions of the commercial. There is also a remarkable similarity in body language and gestures between the white and the black versions. For example, in both the white and the black version Shot 1 opens with very similar poignant moments between a mother and her young daughter. In Shot 9 of the white version, the little boy kisses his mother as a form of thanking her, and in Shot 8 of the black version the little boy also kisses his mother thanks. In Shot 12, in both versions, mother and father have their heads close together. In Shot 22 of the white version, dad gives mom a little red flower. While in Shot 19, in the black version, dad gives mom a little red flower.

The main cultural difference between the two commercials is revealed when one compares Shot 19 in the white version, with its equivalent, Shot 21, in the black version. The white family portrayed consists of mother, father, son and *one* young daughter, while the black family consists of mother, father, son and *three* young daughters. The black man portrayed in the ethnic commercial comes across as very refined black middle class, though he appears somehow as slightly conservative-ethnic, with the suggestion of an almost Latin-European quality. He is suavely dressed, in an open necked pink shirt, and has a well-groomed mustache and a slight beard (Shot 10). The black mother is also immaculately dressed with a yellow top and gold necklace (Shot 8).

The lighting in the *Hurrah Ma, It's Rama* commercials is far cry from the lighting in *Just one bite and you know you're right* (1979-82) and *Slipping and Sliding* (1986), discussed earlier. The lighting is now far more natural and less self-conscious on the part of the cinematographer.<sup>12</sup> The

frames are brighter, (but with soft lighting), and there is always fill-in lighting, which gives full detail in shadow areas. These commercials are also characterised by very precise and tightly framed shots. The camera follows the movements of the actors with exceptional fluidity at such close quarters, especially in the case of the TV1 version. The camera work in the TV2/3 version comes close to imitating the precision of the TV1 version, but doesn't quite reach the same level of mastery.

One final and quite important observation is that unlike some of the earlier Rama commercials discussed above, no attempt has been made to style any inferiority in the structure of the *mise-en-scène* or in the stereotyping of the characters in the black version of *Hurrah Ma, It's Rama*. This has not been the case with the other Rama commercials discussed so far. But on the contrary, every attempt has been made in *Hurrah Ma, It's Rama* to portray the black family as free, as happy and as fulfilled, and as much in control of their lives as the whites. In this respect, the connotations seem indicative of the coming of democracy and black liberation. The reason for such a conclusion here, is that the producers of this commercials were by 1991 quite likely to be responding to what they perceived to be the anticipation of imminent political changes by their target market. On the other hand, margarine commercials such as for *Sunshine D*<sup>13</sup> (Bertelsen, 1985) or the 1986 *Soccer* commercial for Rama, clearly belong to a different era. Although what Bertelsen (1985) has referred to as "the myth of the black nuclear family" might have been perpetuated by the earlier commercials, cultural/standard of living differences believed to have been appropriate or consistent, were nevertheless structured into the text. As Bertelsen (1985:8) had put it at the time: "But where is the white man? He is everywhere, but unseen. His approving, normative gaze must be understood. For he is, in all this, the constitutive principle, the creator".

### THIRD PHASE: STILL SEPARATE BUT CLOSER

The third phase consists of only one commercial in English. It represents a return to the single commercial approach. This commercial embraces the earlier technique of featuring blacks and whites in separate shots. But the technique has been refined, so that the separate shots constitute self-contained scenes which successfully relate blacks or whites to the product.

#### *EVERYBODY IS LOVING IT (1992)*

This commercial shows a growing mastery over the jingle-based form by the producers of Rama commercials. *Hurrah Ma, It's Rama* was based on a jingle but each version focused on a single family, and there was unity of time and place, so problems of incoherence were unlikely. *Everybody is loving it* consists of 6 short scenes, but coherence is retained as each scene ranges from 2 to 4 shots. Each scene consists of a self-contained mini commercial, which together go to make up the larger commercial. The fragmentation suffered, particularly in *Just one bite and you know you're right* (1979-82) and *Slipping and Sliding* (1986), has thus been overcome. A less restrictive policy on the part of the SABC after 1988, might have also been conducive to the evolution and refinement of this format (Chapter 4).

*Everybody is loving it* is constructed out of a total of 21 shots. Whites feature in 13 of these shots (4 scenes), while blacks feature in 5 shots (2 scenes). There are 3 packshots, including a packshot ending, which conventionally applies to the structure of virtually all commercials on the Rama history reel. The order of sequence of the shots is as follows. Shots 1-3 feature a young white couple in their bedroom with their baby. Shot 4 is a pack shot. Shots 5-7 feature a white or racially integrated nuclear family, (the man seems to have a rather dark complexion), having breakfast in their kitchen. Shots 8-10 feature a black child with her mother: from morning breakfast till she is dropped off at school. Shot 11 is a pack shot. Shots 12-14 features a young white couple from when they are sitting together picnicking by a wooded lake, to when they are departing and walking out together through the leaves. Shots 15-18 feature a white father and son fishing together. Shots 19-20 feature a young black man who has just graduated and is met by his glamorous girlfriend as he floats down the steps of the academy. Shot 21 is a final Rama packshot/still life composition with bread rolls, fruit, etc.

Both blacks and whites featured in this commercial seem to be comfortably middle class. However, it is significant that the whites portrayed are engaged in activities which seem to have less sense of direction: they are changing nappies (Shots 1-3), or relaxing at the breakfast table (Shots 5-7), or a white couple picnicking by a lake (Shots 12-14), or a father and son engaged in a leisurely pursuit such as fishing (Shots 15-18). On the other hand, it may be noted that both scenes which feature blacks (Shots 8-10 and Shots 19-21) are concerned with education.

The young black girl in Shot 8 seems quite intelligent -- she is wearing thin gold-rimmed glasses. Her light brown skin has a warm healthy complexion indicating a healthy diet and general good health. Shot 8 shows that this young girl is being prepared for her day at school by a caring mother. It is easier to make out specific details in Shot 8, because this shot is not quite as soft-focus as those intimate indoor shots which had featured whites in this commercial (Shots 1,2,3,5,6,7). A possible reading of this might be that Shot 8 is telling the target audience that black children are now entitled to a stable and secure home environment, while the softer focus rendition of scenes featuring young white family life suggest that this is an already established fact which no longer needs to be emphasised. The connotation of these aspects of art direction and photography might be that whites were by 1992 fading out of the picture, so to speak, while blacks were coming more into focus economically and politically. If so, it is not here contended that such nuances were actually planned or part of the brief. Rather, in terms of the broader ideological interpellation of the practitioners themselves at the time, such nuances are likely to have entered the text intuitively at later stages in the execution.<sup>14</sup> It is possible to make out that the black mother is wearing an expensive dress, gold earrings, gold wristwatch, and a pearl necklace. In Shot 10, when the little girl is left at the school by her mother, we see that it is an integrated school. Her mother cares about her and gives pocket money for the day.

From the expression upon his face the young black man who has just graduated (Shots 19-20), seems to be a very focussed and determined young man. The glamorous young black woman who meets him (Shot 20) is very fashionably and appropriately dressed for someone bright and exciting in her age group.

#### **FOURTH PHASE: POST APARTHEID RAMA**

The final commercial on the history reel is also a single commercial in English that is intended for both black and white audiences. It is indicative of a fourth phase because it represents a dramatic reversal in who is conceived as the target audience. A new world is depicted where middle class blacks predominate and whites are a somewhat subservient minority.

#### ***JUST ONE BITE AND YOU KNOW YOU'RE RIGHT (1994)***

The overall signification of this commercial is one of a state of greater Africanisation than has been depicted in any other commercial on the Rama history-reel (or on the Castle Lager history-reel which was examined in the previous chapter). Indeed, in *Soccer Match of the day* (1992) Castle Lager had featured a lone white soccer player surrounded by black soccer players in an after the match club scene. But the soccer world was a special context where blacks were generally known and acknowledged to be dominant. *Just one bite and you know you're right* (1994) suggests that the world view portrayed is not a special case, but the new reality in South Africa. Admittedly, as the Rama commercial was completed in 1994, it is not entirely unproblematic to make a comparison with the 1992 Castle Lager commercial here. **Nevertheless**, in the context of what appears to have been a cautious and pragmatic campaign history for Rama, the approach of *Just one bite and you know you're right* (1994) represents a bold step for the marketers of Rama. This commercial unequivocally reads that the target market that matters for Rama in 1994 is no longer conceived as white middle class, but middle class blacks with perhaps a white or two thrown in.

This is the most expensively made commercial on the Rama history reel. It is expensive due to slick production values in terms of camera work, styling and editing. Production costs were apparently also high because the content was rigorously researched at various stages of production.<sup>15</sup> And yet, in spite of the claimed strong market research basis, one still gets the feeling that this commercial represents a radical departure from previous policy. There seems to be a grey area as to whether or not this new South Africa commercial is adopting a political stance ahead of immediate marketing requirements on the ground. One could possibly argue that the earlier commercials were unable to come fully to terms with marketing requirements (see Chapter 6). On the other hand, one might also possibly argue that *Just one bite and you know you're right* (1994) also indicates a change in the Vandenberg/Unilever policy in line with contextual democratic developments on the political front.

The representation of whites in this commercial can with certainty be said to be numerically less dominant than in earlier Rama commercials. The commercial is comprised of 35 shots, with a white man

being featured in only 2 shots. This commercial seems to entail a reversal of the 'token black' syndrome which was an issue in the media of the USA in the 1960s and 1970s: the white man in *Just one bite and you know you're right* (1994) appears to be a 'token white'. In both of the shots in which the white man features, he is shown together with his fellow black office workers in a city street during lunch time (Shots 5 & 9). Blacks feature in all 24 people shots, the rest of the shots are product applications close-ups, pack shots, or, a 'graphic communication' dissolve sequence in the case of the transforming sunflower. There are some white children in the background in the playground scene (Shot 11), but they are clearly not intended as a subject of interest, as they are quite out-of-focus.

It might be noted that all the men lying on their backs forming a circle as part of the transforming sunflower-to-packshot graphic (Shots 18-21) seem to be white men. In the era leading to democratic elections and subsequently there was a tendency, more pronounced in some commercials, less so in others, to depict whites in pejoratively or roles of self-flagellation.<sup>16</sup>

The action in *Just one bite and you know you're right* (1994) takes place through five clearly defined scenes:

First scene shows two black youngsters doing a rap/gumboot dance in a street with a colourful street painting on a background wall (Shots 1-4). These black kids are well-nourished and dressed in the latest gear. They seem self-confident, free of constraints from need or oppression. But the connotations from their clothes suggest that they are locked into a future predetermined by ethics of consumption.

The second scene (Shots 5-9) appears to feature a group of three office workers in a Johannesburg street during their lunch break. The white office worker tends to come across a little less self-confident than his fellow black office workers (Shots 5 & 9). He seems to be the outsider who wants to be within the action. All three are grinning, but the white man is grinning harder. Also the white man lifts his knees higher than the rest in the gumboot dance. And yet, it is also possible to read an emergent non-racialism in this depiction: in his response to the transforming gumboot rhythm, the white man seems to be beginning to lose his self-consciousness of being white.

It is also interesting to note certain styling aspects of the stall selling boiled mealies (Shot 9), and the self-employed black woman who appears to be very self-contented with her lot. She leans out of the stall (left of the frame) and waves to the men dancing. This aspect of the *mise-en-scène* denotes the informal business sector. The stall has a curved yellow corrugated plastic roof, consisting of vacuum moulded mealie shapes, and this same merchandising material is also attached to the sides of the stall. If analysed in terms of myth, the application of this sophisticated packaging design concept, (to what ethnographic veracity would have required to be a rudimentary rough-and-ready stall), is meant to fuse or short-circuit the actual divide between informal trading and big time business glamour. A rather optimistic purchase of the Third World Destiny scenario that was discussed in Chapter 3.

The third scene features several black mothers in a playground with their children. (The black children are visible with the backs of their heads to camera, in the lower part of the frame, in Shot 11.) These women are obviously very well-dressed and well-groomed. Free from the need to work, (presumably by virtue of the economic power democratic developments have bestowed upon their husbands, as suggested in the previous scene), they can devote time to bringing up their children. The fact that no 'token white mother' has been supplied in this shot can be read in several ways. Possibly, the absent 'the token white' mother has had to leave her children in a creche and go off to work to supplement the reduced wages of her 'token white' husband. However, the perfunctory presence of a white mother, following the white office worker in the previous scene, might have gone towards reducing this commercial to a more pedestrian standards of execution. Such weaknesses undermined the earlier *Just one bite, and you know you're right* (1981-83) and *Slipping and Sliding* (1986).

The fourth scene features a workman atop a huge 'actuality' or 3 D billboard, which is designed in the form of a gigantic slice of bread with a bite missing at the top right hand corner (Shots 23 & 24). The slogan, *Just one bite and you know you're right*, is written in black script across the giant slice. This man is meant to represent the black working class. But somehow this is a more contented and happy working class than one generally found to be the case in South Africa in 1994. This scene is reminiscent of a certain photograph by Marc Riboud of a happy-go-lucky French workman atop the Eiffel Tower (Riboud, 1991:62), the black also worker shares a Charlie Chaplin like quality.

The fifth scene depicts a very upmarket and trendy/hip left-wing black family in their stylish home. The stereotyping of the man of the house seems to be post-apartheid black middle class. He is very relaxed, and possibly has a cosmopolitan air about him, as his posture and stances seem to suggest that the he has travelled or lived abroad (Shots 25, 27, 28). The lady of the house is a beautiful young black woman with plated hair. From what can be seen of her, in a head and shoulders framing (Shot 29), she seems quite elegantly dressed. The layout of the kitchen, furniture, utensils, and so on, is trendy and upmarket. A relaxed attitude about wealth is connoted (Shot 28), these are not newly-rich black middle classes. **Again, the nuclear** family depicted is quite a large one -- there seem to be three children, a young son, a young daughter, and a baby.

It was pointed out above with regard to *Soccer* (1986), that the depiction of such black nuclear families in advertisements has been criticised as constituting a myth (Bertelsen, 1985). During the mid-1990s post-apartheid era such a black nuclear family situation would still probably only be applicable to a relatively small percentage of the black population. However, the persistent depiction of such nuclear families in Rama commercials, *Soccer* (1986), *Housewife Id* (1987), *Hurrah Ma, It's Rama* (1991), and *Just one bite, and you know you're right* (1994), suggests these to be the norm. Eve Bertelsen's 1985 critique, which was rendered during the apartheid era, aimed at demonstrating how commercials such as that for *Sunshine D* margarine were creating a myth that concealed the harsh reality under which black family life was actually being lived. In a post-apartheid era, legislation contributing to the fragmentation of black family life has been repealed, but this problem (if such it is) is not likely to be remedied in the short term. The

Rama commercials listed above might indeed be contributing 'to the myth of the black nuclear family'. However, the previous certainty of the critical position, (which identified the interlocking of this myth with 1980s apartheid ideology), no longer exists. Deconstructing ideology in a post-apartheid era in South Africa, (or in a post-Marxist era in the First World communication studies), is no longer quite as popular or as simple an enterprise as it once used to be. Arguably, commercials which depict black nuclear families might be consistent with future government family planning strategies and projects aimed at re-directing ingrained cultural norms which had developed or become distorted in response to an apartheid context.

With regard to family depiction in Rama commercials, one further point might be mentioned. Having circumvented many aspects of pejorative racial stereotyping, the marketers of Rama might perhaps be faulted for their persistence, (with the exception of *Housewife Id*), in depicting blacks as having much larger families than whites. Possibly, this shortcoming is due to a perception that such depiction will be read as a sign of virility by their black target audiences, a connotation that will subconsciously be affixed to vitamin-enriched Rama. However, perhaps the black predilection to large families might itself be a stereotypical conception, a white preconception (supported by crude analysis of market research data). Perhaps an instance of 'common sense ... continually transforming itself with scientific ideas' (Gramsci, 1971:326).

## CONCLUSION

It has already been pointed out that Castle Lager commercials were not only coherent and self-contained as individual pieces of communication, but through integration and repetition of many common themes, were also strongly cumulative as a total communication. On the other hand, this case study on the Rama history-reel shows conclusively that successive phases of Rama television advertising failed to carry over common themes, and were thus relatively disparate and lacking in mutual reinforcement.

It is also apparent from this case study, that the course taken in the development of advertising commercials for Rama in relation to reform differs from that taken by Castle Lager. As suggested at the beginning of this chapter, the approach of the marketers of Rama mostly seems to have been more pragmatically based than overtly contestational of apartheid social relations. Bearing in mind that it has only been possible to examine the English language Castle Lager commercials, while the smaller Rama history-reel has been inclusive of ethnic commercials, it is still possible to confidently state the following essential differences in approach.

The Rama commercials prior to the introduction of TV2/3 also targeted blacks. Though disproportionately few, the black people depicted in these commercials can be seen as an example of 'pragmatic contestation' of apartheid: marketing objectives were responding to an underlying structural process. On the other hand, the early Castle Lager commercials (up until 1983) were not yet contesting apartheid: neither in response to organic structural processes affecting the marketing situation, nor through more politically-inclined motivations. The early Castle Lager commercials 'structured the absence' of blacks and evidently were quite Eurocentric.

It was outlined how the format of Rama commercials underwent four distinct phases of development. The first three phases seem to have been negotiating organic structural responses to reform, in relation to underlying developments in the SABC-TV broadcasting dispensation. The fourth phase (1994) adopts a more pro-active ideological stance, which seems to update the positioning of the product Rama, as well as the corporate image of its manufacturers, vis-a-vis post-apartheid democratisation. It might be recalled that this latter discourse, consisting of what might be called 'more pro-active ideological elements', had already made its appearance at a much earlier stage (1984) in the Castle Lager commercials. As early as 1983, an incipient change was coming about in the Castle Lager commercials. The manner in which blacks were introduced into English language Castle Lager commercials, and aspects of their subsequent depiction seems to be ideologically challenging and goading the prevailing government reform conceptions of the times.

In the few cases where English language Rama commercials feature blacks after the introduction to TV2/3, these black people continue to be very few and they are depicted in separate shots (*Slipping and Sliding*, 1986). In shots where blacks and whites do come together in the same frame in a TV1 commercial (*Housewife 1B*, 1987), the socialising is quite perfunctory to a supermarket situation. One might try to argue that the product situation of a margarine differs from that of a beer, and therefore did not warrant (or offer opportunities for) the depiction of greater social interaction between blacks and whites. But this argument is clearly contested by the fact in the 1994 post-apartheid scenario, the advertisers of Rama margarine had no difficulty in conceiving a situation which depicted a white office worker doing a gumboot rap dance with blacks (Shots 5-9, *Just one bite and you know you're right*, 1994-), a scenario which would not have been ethnographically any more implausible had it been depicted earlier, say, about the second half of the 1980s. This last commercial on the Rama history-reel (1994-) might be seen to take us beyond 'reform' and the intended 1978-1992 time span of this thesis. However, this coming-of-democracy commercial is quite valuable to the research. In relation to the preceding commercials, it represents a dramatic re-alignment in the communications of a major international corporation.

<sup>1</sup> Interview with brand manager of Rama at Unifoods, Durban, 2 June 1995.

<sup>2</sup> While the term USP appears on the Rama Campaign History and Development outline sheet (Appendix 2a-1), there seems to be some misunderstanding because the characteristics listed under this heading do not all amount to Unique Selling Propositions (see Reeves, 1961).

<sup>3</sup> Interview with Rama brand manager, Unifoods, Durban, 2 June 1995).

<sup>4</sup> Greater intemperance in the representation of the black woman might have been due to a presumptions that black audiences were less likely to be able to articulate complaints. Also, the greater degree of sexist exploitation implicit in the manner in which the black model or actress has been directed, suggests an imbalance in white/black power relations of the period.



- <sup>5</sup> In terms of the South African context, see Chapter 2, some circumspection is needed with regard to this First World critical position.
- <sup>6</sup> It is also possible that some of the technological developments incorporated into the manufacture of the 'easy to spread' Rama came from the United States arm of Vandenbergs. This might partly explain the American nuance in the creative conceptualisation.
- <sup>7</sup> By the end of the 1970s the policy of preventing workers bringing their families to town was reversed. Also, Africans living in towns were given greater security of tenure of their homes. This began in 1976 when provisions were made to allow urbanised Africans to obtain leases of up to thirty years on their homes in African townships within white South Africa. This was subsequently extended to ninety nine years and then in 1983 a massive scheme was launched to encourage and help Africans to buy their homes outright. In response to the report of the Riekerts Committee in 1980, the rights of urban Africans were significantly increased by allowing them to transfer their Section 10 rights from one town to another (see Omer-Cooper, 1987:228).
- <sup>8</sup> This shopping centre is in Johannesburg.
- <sup>9</sup> Interview with Rama brand manager, Unifoods, Durban, 2 June 1995).
- <sup>10</sup> The accent of the interviewer suggests itself to have been forged in the course of employment in the service sector, and is itself indicative of upward class mobility and processes of deracination amongst Afrikaners.
- <sup>11</sup> Unfortunately this middle-aged black woman is not quite visible in the stills in Appendix 2B due to the high contrast of the reproduction process.
- <sup>12</sup> That is, rather than reflecting the technique and style of any film maker, the lighting is more consistent with the requirements for a margarine advertisement.
- <sup>13</sup> See also discussion of Bertelsen's (1985) critique of the *Sunshine D* commercial in the **Introduction** to the thesis.
- <sup>14</sup> See Introduction of thesis, under sub-heading 'Advertising in the Context of Reform', where the process through which ideology may have informed advertising production practices are considered.
- <sup>15</sup> Interview with Rama Brand Manager, Durban, 2 June 1995.
- <sup>16</sup> For instance two uninspiring commercials for the Vodacom cellular phone service circa 1996-7, which depicted whites in a silly and degrading manner, have been described in the following rather positive terms: "Perhaps a good indicator of this (of the advertising industry 'waking up' and changing for the better) is the emergence of a specifically new South Africa humour in adverts such as Lindsay Smithers' highly successful 'Yebo gogo' Vodacom advert which makes laughing stock of an arrogant and ignorant white bagel" (*Mail & Guardian*, February 7 to 13 1977).

## CONCLUSION

Chapter 1 clarified the definition of the concept of stereotype, the relationship of stereotypes to ideology, and the nature of racial stereotyping. A study on stereotypes by Perkins (1979) was applied to investigate the possible role certain forms of stereotyping may play in the process Althusser (1971) refers to as 'interpellation'. The nature of 'racial' stereotyping was also examined. It was observed that in First World contexts racial stereotyping is normally presumed to be pejorative, while in a South African apartheid context, the term has also referred to forms of representation derived from ethnicity. Several categories of South African racial stereotyping were proposed in order to explicate the complexity of this situation during the period of Reform. It was argued that the definitive movement or change in racial stereotyping across these categories was from residual influences based in earlier formative ethnic eras, to a logical, but variously impeded, bourgeois unfoldment. This impediment was not only political but also closely tied to economic growth.

Chapter 2 was based on a review of critical approaches to the study of advertising, particularly those which are theoretically-informed. Post-World War II social critiques from First World advanced industrial states suggest that some tripartite relationship exists between power, democracy and consumption. It was thus proposed that consumption might be conceived as *a means of hegemony*, and that apropos to this conception the relationship between stereotyping and consumer advertising in a consumer democracy situation might be found in the role that advertising plays as a facilitator of consumption. It was argued that the aggregate or archetypical human stereotype communicated by advertising in an advanced industrial democracy situation is a positive, laudatory, petty bourgeois stereotype -- intended so that audiences can readily identify with its forms, it is not readily noticeable as a stereotype.

Theoretically-informed critiques also claim that through the processes of facilitating the marketing and distribution of manufactured goods, consumer advertising plays an additional role of underpinning the capitalist system, in both material and ideological terms. An important characteristic of the different critical approaches derived from Marx are their implications about the nature of the ideological role of modern advertising. Some critiques tend to fall back into the cliché of 'capitalism as a ruling class conspiracy', while other critiques have tended to reify the system, suggesting that it has a logic of its own, independent from collective actions of human agents. Most promising for the analysis of advertising in society are middle ground approaches, such as that deriving from the culturalist approach of Williams ([1960] 1980).

It was observed that in South Africa during the post-World War II period (unlike in the case of Europe) consumer advertising was not contributing to the advancement of a consumer democracy in any broadly-based sense of the term. Thus, the final part of Chapter 2, tried to fathom how an essentially First World critique applies to a situation such as South Africa during the 1980s, where the majority of the population had only limited access to consumer goods and services, and where

whatever 'pacification' such goods and services might have bestowed was bound to have been limited. It was suggested that if a pacification aspect of hegemony is the normal ideological role of consumer advertising in First World contexts, the forms of racial stereotyping, and their order of transition during the 1980s period of reform, might be seen to have been mediating a *restricted aspect of consumption as a means of hegemony*.

Chapter 3 assessed the forms of racial stereotyping in South Africa within broader terms of the political economy of apartheid during the Cold War. Particular attention was given to the relationship between reform processes in South Africa and larger contextual dynamics of this country's location within the Western sphere of influence during a period of potential armed conflict between Nato and the Warsaw Pact. It was pointed out that the South African state variously adjusted to change in the key factors affecting it during the post-World War II period. If viewed over a period of time, some aspects of black/white relations and attenuating cultural forms that were once taken for granted became increasingly less tenable. The underpinnings of the forms of South African racial stereotyping were thus to some extent identified with different Afrikaner Nationalist Party administrations of the government, from H.F. Verwoerd (1958-66), B.J. Vorster (1966-1978), P.W. Botha (1978-1987), through to F.W. de Klerk (1987-1994). The persistence of earlier forms of racial stereotyping during the P.W. Botha reformist period was explained in terms of the history of apartheid and the struggle for continued white settler hegemony, particularly Afrikaner, in the face of structural economic processes leading towards a state more democratically-inclusive of the black labour force and black consumer market. It was suggested that what might be termed a 'national dichotomy' existed between a settler state and a tentative state of the indigenous inhabitants. The ambiguous nature of the South African state depended upon Western strategic interests for its continued validation. The nature of the reform of apartheid in South Africa during the 1980s was examined. It was pointed out that reform contained an inherent contradiction for the government which was supposed to be applying it: the dis-empowerment of Afrikanerdom and the empowerment of blacks. By 1984, this matter inevitably led to a rupture in the public rapprochement which had come about between English-dominated and Afrikaner capital during the earlier part of the 1980s.

The unfolding of SABC-TV broadcasting design and regulations had a direct and powerful influence on the forms of South African racial stereotyping in television advertisements, and for this reason the categories of South African racial stereotyping were not fully explained until Chapter 4. This chapter examined the categories of South African racial stereotyping in relation to a broadcasting system that had been designed to further communications in support of apartheid. Some instances of pejorative racial stereotyping, similar to its First World forms, were found to have existed in earlier commercials broadcast on TV1. However, there was a broad awareness in communications practices in the 1980s that relations between whites and blacks in South Africa should be represented in a positive light (see Louw, 1985), and therefore overtly negative forms of black depiction (that might have been interpreted as indicative of conflict, from either within South Africa or abroad) were mostly avoided. It was also suggested that pejorative racial stereotyping is fundamentally

inconsistent with the conception apartheid as 'separate development', which had been posited by H.F. Verwoerd as an alternative to any 'affirmative action', or the incorporation of the indigenous black population ever having to take place within the settler state. It had instead been intended that the indigenous population should achieve self-realisation within their own 'homelands' or Bantustans.

However, the unfolding of apartheid television broadcasting design was only fully realised during the P.W. Botha reformist era, with the introduction of the TV2 and TV3 channels in 1982. These channels were primarily supposed to mediate urban life to the black labour force living in black townships surrounding the major urban centres, and to make this population available to advertisers as a consumer market (Tomaselli RE *et al*, 1989). However, this objective needed to be reconciled with the fundamentally contradictory objective of Afrikaner Nationalist government policy that the urban black population should continue to be socialised in terms of different ethnic groups, and that these groups should identify with the different black homelands. The racial stereotyping category of 'ethnic black middle classes' arises out of this dichotomous need for a further development of the indigenous population as consumers, while at the same time adhering to different black ethnic national identities. The stringent application of the vernacular requirement in all programming on the TV2/3 channels, including advertising commercials, was intended to help realise this goal. However, the SABC maintained that its television broadcasting dispensation was consistent with the cultural topography of South Africa, and therefore necessary in order to protect cultural diversity (Mersham, 1985). This argument was not entirely unfounded. However, urbanisation and integration in a Western style economy the indigenous population groups, as work force and as consumers, were at the same time locked into processes whereby their ethnic identities or differences were being diminished.

By the 1980s black consumption exceeded white consumption in many product categories, and in some instances SABC-TV broadcasting restrictions were proving to be an obstacle to marketers who wanted to reach their whole market with a single commercial. The introduction of the TV4 channel in 1984 possibly indicates that such 'organic' marketing needs were to some extent being accommodated by the SABC, although the language requirements for TV2 and TV3 continued to be stringently enforced. It is important to note the fact that underlying organic tendencies existed during the 1980s for the production of racially integrated television commercials, inclusive of blacks depicted in progressively more middle class roles. The issue of black middle class accommodation in television commercials becomes somewhat confused, because, besides the fact of an underlying organic tendency towards the depiction of blacks in progressively more middle class terms, the government and military during the 1980s were applying a concept of 'Total Strategy' which called for selective black middle class co-option. In the events that followed during the 1980s, the co-optive black local government infrastructures which had been introduced were attacked by black opponents to the government and mostly rejected by the black population. However, the issue was further complicated in the earlier part of the 1980s by calls from some leading figures in the South

African advertising industry for the use of advertising to further the Reform process. These calls were consistent with a renewed confidence in the advertising industry internationally, and an increasing emphasis in further business expansion in the areas of political and public service advertising.

The question of a possible co-optive use of advertising in terms of reform strategy bears much relevance to the debates about the nature of the ideological role of consumer product advertising in the West (Sinclair, 1987), which, as pointed out above, is a distinctive feature of theoretically-informed advertising criticism. This issue has therefore needed careful attention. Chapter 5 specifically examined the calls for political and public services advertising and some of the advertising campaigns that followed. The conclusion was that the P.W. Botha government did at times use political advertising quite effectively, especially in the campaign to persuade conservative whites to accept a tricameral parliamentary dispensation in 1983, but this advent was mostly consistent with international growth in political advertising during this period. On the whole, the government did not seem to be over-enthusiastic about the use of advertising. In fact, the advertising industry in South Africa suffered a severe blow when consumer advertising became subject to government taxation in 1984. Also, there is no evidence to suggest connivance between the government and the business sector for the formulation of any overall reformist communication strategy, that might have affected the forms of black depiction and stereotyping in product advertising.

With a view to further explicating the nature of the ideological processes in consumer advertising in South Africa during the period of reform, Chapter 6 paid particular attention to production practices and to the state of the advertising industry at the time. It was pointed out that the primary obligation for producers of advertisements is that such advertisements should 'sell' the intended products or services as effectively as possible. The ideological dimension of consumer advertising usually comes about contingently, as practical difficulties exist for the intentional structuring of political ideological content into such messages. An examination was made from secondary sources, and from the researcher's own personal experiences, about how particular 'stereotypes' come to be utilised during the procedure of creating advertisements.

It was also found that differing opinions existed within the industry about the possibility of advertising goods to a single integrated market in South Africa. Some practitioners seem to have believed that marketing potential and media consumption was largely monadic and could span cultural differences and social divisions (Sinclair, 1985). Others differed with what was becoming a popular view that 'a consumer was a consumer' irrespective of race, and continued to claim that the black market was separate and that even the Afrikaans and English markets were separate. While consumer advertising was probably the communication a medium most likely to have facilitated the emergence of a common South African idiom, it seems that residual apartheid influences (not only within SABC-TV regulations, but also entrenched within the marketing profession) were holding

this back. In this respect, it was noted that advertising agencies had experienced problems in communicating effectively to the black consumer, and that this difficulty was likely to be solved with the training of more blacks as copywriters and art directors. The conclusions of Chapter 6 were that structural processes dependent on economic growth were providing an underlying basis for a transition from an ethnic to a more middle class depiction in advertising. The government's political imperatives were in some respect clearly contradictory to such underlying structural reform processes. On the part of the business sector as a whole, its political imperatives also seemed at times to have been somewhat ambivalent.

It was pointed out in the introduction to this thesis that the empirical sample surveyed, though in some respects quite substantial, amounts to a relatively minimal research sample for the purpose of making of generally applicable statements. I nevertheless remain convinced that is essential to use of history reels of television commercials as research material, notwithstanding the effort which is required in their systematic cataloguing in terms of 'shots'. This method might be further refined, in terms of content analysis, and through the use of a larger research sample, that investigates a broader range of product categories. Although it is quite difficult to make accurate generalised statements on the basis of the present research sample, some degree of clarification has been achieved in two areas. Firstly, there is confirmation that the order racial stereotyping of the indigenous population was progressively more middle class, and that by the 1990s a form of commercials was emerging that tended to represent a single integrated middle class. Secondly, with regard to the order of black depiction in television commercials as ideology, contrary to what might have been suggested by some critiques during the 1980s (Frederikse, 1986), there is little or no evidence in the research sample to suggest that the forms of black depiction were congruent with, or in any way can be identified with 'Total Strategy'. This seems to confirm conclusions, drawn from contextual and institutional analysis in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, that a serious lack of consensus existed between the government and English-dominated capital and the advertising industry. The case study based on the history reel of the English language commercials for Castle Lager in Chapter 7, clearly shows that after 1984 a communication strategy was adopted that was antagonistic to official government policy. South African beer advertising in the second half of the 1980s, especially that of Castle Lager, is probably unique in terms of the advertising history of any substantially industrialised country in West.

Thus, the caveat that the ideological dimension of consumer advertising mostly occurs incidentally, needs some circumspection in respect of Castle Lager advertising after 1984. With regard to what was termed as a state of 'national dichotomy' in Chapter 3, the Castle Lager advertising campaigns after 1984, whether or not informed by an ephemeral liberal idealism of a passing era, probably came closest to articulating a new, all-inclusive, South African national identity. On the other hand, the case study for Rama margarine showed what might be described as a 'pragmatic' approach that is more consistent with views that the ideological implications of consumer advertising occur contingently. In the case of Rama, apartheid related broadcasting constraints seem to have

sometimes been probed in the course of attaining a maximum return from a commercial. The changing forms of Rama commercials seem to be closely related to broadcasting developments within SABC-TV, while the final commercial (1994) is clearly responsive to the new political realignments that were taking place in South Africa.

## SOURCES

- Adams, B. (1985). *An Examination of Stereotypical Role Portrayals of Women on SABC-TV, and their Effect on Black Female Consumers*, Dept. of Psychology, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
- Adorno, T. & Horkheimer, M. (1944). "The Culture Industry: Enlightenment As Mass Deception", in *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, republished by Verso, 1979, London.
- Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso, London.
- Anderson, P. (1976). *Considerations on Western Marxism*, NLB, London.
- Anderson, P. (1983). *In The Tracks of Historical Materialism*, Verso, London.
- Albig, W. (1956). *Modern Public Opinion*, McGraw-Hill, New York.
- Alexander, N. (1989). *Language Policy and National Unity In South Africa/Azania*, Buchu Books, Cape Town.
- Alison-Broomhead, M., Chetty A., Prinsloo, J., & Daran, D., (1986, July). "The Visual role of the 'Rubicons' as Part of the Reform Strategy", paper presented at the Association for Sociology in Southern Africa Conference, University of Natal, Durban. This research can be accessed on the Centre for Cultural and Media Studies web page, [www.und.ac.za/und/ccms](http://www.und.ac.za/und/ccms)
- Althusser, L. (1971). *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, New Left Review Books, London.
- Althusser, L. (1977). *For Marx*, New Left Review Books, London.
- Althusser, L. and Balibar, E. (1979). *Reading Capital*, New Left Review Books, London.
- Arlen, M. (1981). *Thirty Seconds*, Farrar Strauss and Giroux, New York.
- Arriaga, P. (1984). "On advertising. A Marxist critique", *Media, Culture and Society*, 1984, 6, 53-64.
- Ballantine, C. (1989). "The Jazzmen", *Leadership South Africa*, Vol 8, No 6, Leadership Publications (Pty) Ltd, Cape Town.
- Banks, M. (1992). "Which Films are the Ethnographic Films?", in *Film As Ethnography*, edited by Crawford and Turton, Manchester University Press, Manchester, UK.
- Baran, P., & Sweezy, P. (1966). *Monopoly Capital*, Penguin, London.
- Barber, J., et al (1982). *The West and South Africa*, Chatham House Papers 14, The Royal Institute of International Affairs/Routledge Kegan Paul, London.



- Barker, M. (1989) *Comics: Ideology, Power and the Critics*, Manchester University Press.
- Barthes, R. (1973). *Mythologies*, Paladin Books, London.
- Barthes, R. (1977). *Image Music Text*, Fontana/Collins, Glasgow.
- Barthes, R. (1981). *Camera Lucida: reflections on photography*, Hill and Wang, New York.
- Barrat, D., (1986). *Media Sociology*, Tavistock, London.
- Baudrillard, J. (1968). *Le Système des objets*, Gallimard, Paris.
- Baudrillard, J. (1981). *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign*, Telos Press, St Louis.
- Bazin, A. (1967). *What is Cinema?* Vol. 1, University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Bell, D. (1962). *The End of Ideology*, Free Press, New York.
- Benjamin, W. (1979). "The Work of Art in an Era of Mechanical Reproduction", in *Illuminations*, Fontana, Glasgow.
- Berger, J. (1972). *Ways of Seeing*, Penguin, Harmondsworth.
- Bernbach, W. (1965). Interview republished in *The Art of Writing Advertising*, NTC Business Books, Chicago, 1987.
- Bernstein, D. (1974). *Creative Advertising*, Creative Business, London.
- Bertelsen, E. (1985). "Black Advertising as Myth: The Case of TV2", Paper presented at the Association for Sociology in Southern Africa Conference, Cape Town, 1985.
- Blonsky, M. (1985). *On Signs*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford.
- Bogart, L. (1996). *Strategy in Advertising: Matching Media and Messages to Markets and Motivations*, Third Edition, NTC Business Books, Chicago, USA.
- Bonginkosi, N. (1986). "Managers And The New Middle Class", *Transformation I*, Dept. of Economic History, University of Natal, Durban.
- Borden, N. (1947). *The Economic Effects of Advertising*, Richard Irwin, Chicago.
- Bozolli, B. (1981). *The Political Nature of a Ruling Class*, Routledge, London.
- Broadbent, S. (1979). *Spending Advertising Money*, The Anchor Press Ltd, UK.
- Bundy, C. (1979). *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry*, Heinemann, London.
- Caples, J. (1978). *Tested Advertising Methods*, Prentice-Hall, New Jersey.

- Carey, J.W. (1985). "Overcoming Resistance to Cultural Studies", *Mass Communications Review Yearbook*, Vol 5, Sage Publications, Beverly Hills.
- Cassim, S., & Monteiro, M. (1998). "Black Role Portrayals in South African Television Advertising", working paper, cassim@sheps2.und.ac.za.
- Cauthen, N.R., et al (1971). "Stereotypes: a review of the literature 1926-1968", *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 1971, 84.
- Charney, C. (1983). "Restructuring White Politics: The Transformation of the National Party", *South African Review One*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg.
- Clarke, S. (1978). "Capital, 'Fractions' of Capital and the State: 'Neo-Marxist' Analyses of the South African State", *Capital and Class*, 5, p.32-77.
- Coetzee, J.M. (1980). "Triangular Structures of Desire in Advertising" *Critical Arts*, Vol 1 No 2, June 1980.
- Collins, R., & Murroni C. (1996) *New Media Policies*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Corder, C.K. (1986). "South Africa: A Different sort of Marketing Mix, *Communicare*, vol 5, no. 2, pp. 14-17.
- Courtney, A.E., & Whipple T.W. (1983). *Sex Stereotyping in Advertising*, Lexington Books, Massachusetts.
- Coward, R., & Ellis, J. (1977). *Language and Materialism*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- Crankshaw, P., Williams, A., & Hayman, G. (1983). "To Educate, Entertain and Inform. The Meyer Commission into TV", *The SAFTTA Journal*, Vol 3 (1&2), 20-27.
- Crankshaw, O. (1986). "Theories of Class and the African 'Middle Class' in South Africa", 1969-1983, *Africa Perspective* Vol 1 No 1&2, 1986.
- Crompton, A. (1979). *The Craft of Copywriting*, Business Books, London.
- Curti, M. (1967). "The Changing Concept of Human Nature in the Literature of American Advertising", *Business History Review*, 41.
- Davenport, T.R.H. (1991). *South Africa: A Modern History*, Fourth edition, University of Toronto Press, Toronto.
- De Groot, G. (1980). *The Persuaders Exposed*, Associated Business Press, London.
- Della Femina, J. (1970). *From Those Wonderful Folks Who Gave You Pearl Harbour*, Simon & Shuster, New York.
- Dichter, E. (1960). *The Strategy of Desire*, Doubleday, New York.
- Dichter, E. (1964). *Handbook of Consumer Motivations*, McGraw-Hill, New York.

- Dimmick, T. (1974). "The Gatekeeper: An Uncertainty Theory", in *Journalism Monograph*, No 37.
- Doherty, C. (1981). "The Wits-Koornhof debate: Is there really a difference between the English and Afrikaans presses?" *Critical Arts*, p40, 1981, vol.2 no.2
- Douglas, M., & Isherwood, B. (1978). *The World of Goods*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, Middlesex.
- Dunbar Moodie, T. (1975). *The Rise of Afrikanerdom*, University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Dyer, G. (1982). *Advertising as Communication*, Methuen, London.
- Eagleton, T. (1989) *Raymond Williams: Critical Perspectives*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Edwards, R. (1979). *Contested Terrain*, Basic Books Inc., New York.
- Ellis, J. (1980). "Ideology and Subjectivity", in *Culture, Media, Language*, edited by Stuart Hall et al, Hutchinson, London.
- Engels, F. (1962). *Anti-Duehring*, Lawrence and Wishart, London.
- Erasmus, P.F. (1981). "The Second television Channel: The Challenge", *Communicare*, Vol 2, no. 2, pp. 60-65.
- Ewen, S. (1976). *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture*, McGraw-Hill, New York.
- Fanon, F. (1968). *The Wretched of the Earth*, Grove Press, New York.
- Fanon, F. (1973). *Black Skin, White Masks*, Paladin, St. Albans.
- Ferrara, F. (1989). "Raymond Williams and the Italian Left", in Terry Eagleton (ed.) *Raymond Williams: Critical Perspectives*, Polity Press, London.
- Fiske, J. (1982). *Introduction to Communication Studies*, Methuen, London.
- Fiske, J. (1989). *Reading the Popular*, Unwin Hyman, London.
- Fourie, P. (1982). "Interkulturele probleme in beeldkommunikasie", p60-73, *Communicare*, 1982, Vol.3 No.1
- Fox, S. (1984). *The Mirror Makers*, William Morrow and Company, Inc. New York.
- Frederikse, J. (1986). *South Africa: a Different Kind of War*, Ravan, Johannesburg.
- Frederikse, J., et al (1989). "Culture and the Media: How We Are Made To See", in *Rethinking Culture*, edit. KG Tomaselli, Athropos, Bellville.

- Frenkel, C., Orkin, M., & Wolf, T. (1980). " 'Sensual...But not too far from Innocence': A critical Theory of Sexism in Advertising", *Critical Arts*, 1980, Vol. 1 No. 1.
- Freund, W.M. (1986). *South African Business Ideology. The Crisis and The Problem of Redistribution*, University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg.
- Friedman, M. (1986). "The Social Construction of Gender: Historically Changing Meanings of (white) Femininity and Masculinity", Paper presented at the Association for Sociology in Southern Africa Conference, Durban, 1986. (Also published in *Critical Arts* Vol 5 No 2 1990.)
- Friedman, S. (1987). "Reform: Greek Gift Or Trojan Horse?", *Transformation* 5, Economic History, Department, University of Natal, Durban.
- Galbraith, J.K. (1958). *The Affluent Society*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston.
- Galbraith, J.K. (1967). *The New Industrial State*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston.
- Garbett, T. (1981). *Corporate Advertising*, McGraw-Hill, New York.
- Garnham, N. (undated). "Cultural Marxism: Media Culture and Society", Vol. 7 No. 1 *Critical Sociology*.
- Gavshon, H. (1980). *Ideology and Film: An examination of Films made for Black Audiences in South Africa*. Final Year Dissertation, School of Dramatic Art, University of the Witwatersrand.
- Gills, B.K. (1993). *Low intensity democracy: political power in the New World Order*, Pluto Press, London.
- Gilroy, P. (1987). *There ain't no Black in the Union Jack*, Hutchinson, London.
- Goffman, E. (1979). *Gender Advertisements*, Macmillan, London.
- Golding, P., & Murdock, G. (1979). "Ideology and the Mass Media: the question of Determination, in *Ideology and Cultural Production*, edit. Michelle Barret *et al*, Croom Helm, London.
- Graaf, M. (Ed.). (1987). *Hawks and Doves: Pro and Anti-Conscription Campaign in South Africa*, Centre for Cultural and Media Studies, University of Natal, Durban.
- Gramsci, A. (1971). *Prison Notebooks*, Lawrence and Wishart, London.
- Green, N., & Lascaris, R. (1988). *Third World Destiny*, Human & Rousseau Tafelberg, Cape Town.
- Greenberg, S. (1987). "Failing Capitalism, Review essay of Merle Lipton's Capitalism and Apartheid", *Social Dynamics*, Vol.13, No.2, pp78-82.
- Gromyko, A. (1989). *Memories*, (trans. Harold Shuckman), Hutchinson, London.

- Grosskopf, E.M. (1981). Report of the Committee on Legislation Concerning Black Community Development, Government Printer, Pretoria.
- Gunther, J. (1960). *Taken at the Flood: The Story of Albert D. Lasker*, Harper, New York.
- Hachten, W.A., & Giffard, C.A. (1984). *Total Onslaught*, Macmillan, Johannesburg.
- Hall, S. (1977). "Culture, The Media and the 'Ideological Effect'", in Curren *et al* (Eds.), *Mass Communications and Society*, Edward Arnold, London.
- Hall, S. (1980). "Encoding and Decoding", in Hall *et al* (Eds.), *Culture Media Language*, Hutchinson, London.
- Hall, S. (1981). "Cultural studies: two paradigms", in *Culture, Ideology and Social Process*, Batsford/The Open University, London.
- Hancock, W.K. (1968). *Smuts - The Fields of Force*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1968.
- Hancock, W.K., & Van der Poel, J. (1966-1973). *Selection from the Smuts Papers*, Vols V, VI, VII, Cambridge University Press, London.
- Harrison, D. (1981). *The White Tribe of Africa*, BBC, London.
- Hartmann, P., & Husband, C. (1973). "The mass media and racial conflict", in *The Manufacture of News, Social Problems, Deviance and the Mass Media*, (revised edition), Cohen, S., & Young, J.(Eds.), Constable, London.
- Hartmann, P., & Husband, C. (1974). *Racism and the Mass Media*, Davis Poynter, London.
- Hayter, T. (1971). *Aid as Imperialism*, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth.
- Heider, K.G. (1976). *Ethnographic Film*, University of Texas Press, USA.
- Held, D. (1980). *Introduction to Critical Theory*, Hutchinson, London.
- Hindson, D. (1987). *Pass Laws and the Urban Proletariat*, Ravan, Johannesburg.
- Holt, A.R. (1988, July). "Advertising and Reform: Some Questions", paper presented at the Association for Sociology in Southern Africa Conference, University of Durban-Westville, Durban.
- Hopkins, C. (1927). *Scientific Advertising*, republished by Crown Publishers Inc., 1966, New York.
- Hudson, P. &, Sarakinsky, M. (1986). "Class Interest and Politics: The Case of the Urban African Bourgeoisie", *South African Review* 4, Ravan, Johannesburg.

- Hume, P. (1977). *The Changing Response of Black and White Consumers to Advertising*, paper presented at Witwatersrand School Symposium — “Media and Change”, J. Walter Thompson Company, Johannesburg.
- Inglis, F. (1972). *The Imagery of Power*, Heinemann, London.
- Innes, D. (1983). “Monopoly Capitalism” in South Africa’, in *South African Review 1*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg.
- Innes, D. (1987). “Privatisation: The Solution?” in *South African Review 4*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg.
- Jay, M. (1973). *The Dialectical Imagination: a History of the Frankfurt School and Institute of Social Research, 1923-1950*, Boston.
- Jhally, S. (1987). *The Codes of Advertising*, Frances Pinter, London.
- Jhally, S., & Lewis, J. (1992). *Enlightened Racism: The Cosby Show, Audiences, and the Myth of the American Dream*, Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado.
- Johnson, R.W. (1977). *How Long Will South Africa Survive*, Macmillan, Johannesburg.
- Johnson, R., (Ed.). (1983). *The Empire Strikes Back: Racism In Britain*, Hutchinson, London.
- Johnstone, F.A. (1970). “Class Conflict and Colour Bars in the South African Goldmining Industry, 1910-1926”, unpublished seminar paper, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, London.
- Johnstone, F.A. (1976). *Class, Race and Gold*, Routledge, London.
- Kaplan, D. (1983). “The Internationalisation of South African Capital: South African Direct Foreign Investment in the Contemporary Period”, *African Affairs*, LXXXII (1983).
- Key, W.B. (1972). *Subliminal Seduction*, Signet, New York.
- Key, W.B. (1976). *Media Sexploitation*, Signet, New York.
- Klare, M. (1979). “Arms for Apartheid: New Evidence of Illegal US Arms Sales to South Africa”, in Ray et al (Eds.) *Dirty Work 2*, Lyle Stuart Inc., New Jersey.
- Kleinmann, P. (1986). *World Advertising Review*, 1986/7, p21 - Cafe de Paris Sparkling Wine Ad/Young and Rubicam, Paris - CASSELS LTD, 1986, UK
- Kleinmann, P. (1977). *Advertising Inside Out*, W.H. Allen, London.
- Kleinmann, P. (1987). *The Saatchi & Saatchi Story*, George Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London.
- Lacan, J. (1968). *The Language of the self*, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore
- Lacan, J. (1968). “The Mirror Phase”, *New Left Review*, No. 51.

- Larrain, J. (1983). *Marxism and Ideology*, Macmillan, London.
- Lasker, A. (1987). *The Lasker Story, As he told it*, NTC Business Books, Chicago.
- Leach, G. (1990). *The Afrikaners: Their Last Great Trek*, Mandarin Paperbacks, London.
- Leavis, F.R. (1948). "Mass Civilisation and Minority Culture", in his *Education and the University*, Chatto and Windus, London.
- Leavitt, T. (1986) *The Marketing Imagination*, Free Press, New York.
- Legassick, M. (1974). "South African Capital Accumulation and Violence", *Economy and Society*, Vol 3 No 3.
- Legassick, M. (1978). "Anglo-American strategy in Southern Africa and its background", in *Work in Progress* 6, November 1978.
- Leiman, M.M. (1993). *The Political Economy of Racism: A History*, Pluto Press, London.
- Leiss, W. (1976). *The Limits to Satisfaction*, Marion Boyars, London.
- Leiss, W., Kline, S., & Jhally, S. (1986). *Social Communication in Advertising*, Methuen, Toronto, Canada.
- Leshoi, T. (1982). "Black TV Language", in *Black TV monitor*, 1,9, p.12, 1982.
- Levi-Strauss, C. (1966). *The Savage Mind*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London.
- Levi-Strauss, C. (1970). *The Raw and the Cooked*, Jonathan Cape, London.
- Leymore, V.L. (1975). *Hidden Myth: Structure and Symbolism in Advertising*, Heinemann, London.
- Leymore, V.L. (1982, August). "Structure And Persuasion: The Case of Advertising", *Sociology*, Vol.16, No.3, pp377-389, lib. edit.
- Leymore, V.L. (1987). "The Structure is the Message - the Case of Advertising", in *Marketing and Semiotics*, pgs. 319-331, Jean Umiker-Sebok (Ed.), Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.
- Lippmann, W. (1922). *Public Opinion*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York.
- Lipton, M. (1986). *Capitalism and Apartheid*, Wildwood House, London.
- Lijphart, A. (1977, September 29&30). "Adaptation and Change in South Africa, Majority Rule Versus Democracy in Deeply Divided Societies", paper delivered at Congress of Political Science Association of South Africa, Rand Afrikaans University, Johannesburg.
- Lodge, T. (1987). *Black Politics in South Africa since 1945*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg.
- Lois, G. (1979). *The Art of Advertising*, Abrams, 1979, New York.

- Louw, L., & Kendall, F. (1986). *South Africa; The Solution*, Amagi Publications.
- Louw, P.E. (1985). "Consensus journalism", *Communicatio*, pp60-3, Vol 11 no 1, 1985.
- Louw, P.E. (1991). *Communication and Counter Hegemony in Contemporary South Africa: Considerations on a Leftist Media Theory and Practice*. Ph.D. Thesis in the Centre for Cultural and Media Studies, University of Natal, Durban.
- Ludman, B. (1985, September 13). "Hotstepping Between TV Taboos", *Weekly Mail*.
- Magubane, B. (1979). *The Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa*, Monthly Review Press, New York.
- Mandel, E. (1978). *Late Capitalism*, Verso, London.
- Mandela, N. (1965). *No Easy Walk to Freedom*, Heinemann Educational Books, London.
- Mann, M. (1986) "Capital-State Relations in South Africa in the Era of Reform", Paper presented at the Association for Sociology in Southern Africa Conference, Durban, 1986.
- Marchand, R. (1985). *Advertising The American Dream: Making Way for Modernity*, University of California.
- Marcuse, H. (1964). *One Dimensional Man*, **Beacon Press**, Boston.
- Marquard, L. (1969). *South Africa: Its People and Policies*, Oxford.
- Marx, K. (1967). *Capital*, Vol. 1, International Publishers, New York.
- Marx, K. (1974). *The German Ideology*, Lawrence Wishart, London.
- Mattelart, A. (1979). *Multinational Corporations and the Control of Culture: The Ideological Apparatuses of Imperialism*, Harvester Press, Sussex.
- Mayer, M. (1958). *Madison Avenue*, USA, Harper, New York.
- Mayle, P. (1983). *Thirsty Work*, Macmillan, London.
- McLean, A. (1983). "The Application of Multi-Ethnic Advertising in South African Marketing", MBA Thesis, Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg.
- McGinnis, J. (1969). *The Selling of the President*, Trident Press, New York.
- Menzies, R. (1969). *Afternoon Light*, Harmondsworth Penguin.
- Mersham, G. (1985). "The Ethnic Orientation of SABC-TV Broadcasting Policy", Masters Thesis, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- Meth, C. (1983). "Class Formation, Skills Shortages and Black Advancement" in *Indicator SA - Industrial Monitor*, Vol. 1, No. 3.



- Meyer, P.J. (1971). *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to Television*, RP37/1971, Government Printer, Pretoria.
- Myers, K. (1987). *Understains*, Comedia, London.
- Millum, T. (1975). *Images of Women: Advertising in Women's Magazines*, Chatto & Windus, London.
- Morley, D. (1980). "Texts, Readers, Subjects" in Hall, S. et al. *Culture, Media, Language*, Hutchinson, London.
- Muller, J., & Tomaselli, K. (1990). "Becoming appropriately modern: Towards a genealogy of cultural studies in South Africa", in Mouton J & Joubert D (Eds.), *Knowledge and Method in the Human Sciences*, Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria.
- Murdock, G. (1978). "Blindspots about Western Marxism: a Reply to Dallas Smythe", *Canadian Journal of Political Theory*, 2,2.
- Natrass, J. (1981). *The South African Economy: Its growth and change*, Oxford University Press, Cape Town.
- NUSAS, (1985). *Ruling the Townships*, (Booklet).
- Ogilvy, D. (1986). *Confessions of an Advertising Man*, Atheneum, New York.
- Olin-Wright, E. (1976). "Class Boundaries in Advanced Capitalist Societies", *New Left Review*, No. 98.
- O'Meara, D. (1982). "'Muldergate' and the Politics of Afrikaner Nationalism", in *Work in Progress*, No 22 (Supplement), 1982.
- O'Meara, D. (1983). *Volkscapitalism*, Ravan, Johannesburg.
- Omer-Cooper, J.D. (1987) *History of Southern Africa*, James Currie, London/ Heinemann, Portsmouth.
- O'Dowd, M. (1964). "South Africa in the Light of the Stages of Economic Growth". (Originally a mimeo, 1964), later published in Leftwich, *South Africa: Economic Growth and Political Change*, Allison Busby, London, 1974.
- O'Toole, J. (1981). *The Trouble with Advertising*, Chelsea House, New York.
- O'Toole, J. (1985). *The Trouble with Advertising*, revised edition, Times/Random Books, New York.
- Packard, V. (1957). *The Hidden Persuaders*, Penguin, Harmondsworth Green, UK.
- Packard, V. (1959). *The Status Seekers*, Penguin, Harmondsworth Green, UK.

- Packard, V. (1960). *The Wastemakers*, Longmans (1961), UK
- Packard, V. (1962). *The Pyramid Climbers*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.
- Pelzer, A.N. (Ed.) (1966). *Verwoerd Speaks*, APB Publishers, Johannesburg.
- Perkins, T.E. (1979). "Rethinking Stereotypes", in *Ideology and Cultural Production*, (Ed.) Michelle Barret *et al*, Croom Helm, London.
- Philips, D. (1985, October 19). "The Last Word", *Communicare* Vol.4 No.2.
- Pinnock, D. (1991). "Popularise, Organise, Educate and Mobilise: Culture and Communication in the 1980s", in Tomaselli K & Louw PE (Eds.), *The Alternative Press in South Africa*, Anthropos, Bellville, South Africa.
- Pollay, R.W. (1978, October). "Wanted: A History of Advertising" in *Journal of Advertising Research*, Vol 18 No 5.
- Pollay, R.W. (1985, Summer). "The Subsiding Sizzle: A Descriptive History of Print Advertising", 1900-1980, *Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 49, pp 24-27.
- Polley, J.A. (1988). *The Freedom Charter and the Future*, IDASA, Cape Town.
- Pope, D. (1983). *The Making of Modern Advertising*, Basic Books, New York.
- Posel, D. (1987). "The Language of Domination, 1978-1983", in *The Politics of Race, Class & Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa*, edit. Shula Marks & Stanley Trapido, Longmans, London.
- Poulantzas, N. (1973). *Political Power and Social Classes*, New Left Books, London.
- Poulantzas, N. (1978). *State, Power, Socialism*, New Left Books, London.
- Potter, E. (1975). *The Press as Opposition: The Political Role of South African Newspapers*, Chatto & Windus, London.
- Ramgobin, M., & Tomaselli, K. (1991). "South Africa And The Freedom Charter: Culture and Violence", *Enclitic*, Vol. 11, No. 1, Issue 21.
- Rees, M., & Day, C. (1980). *Muldergate*, Macmillan, Johannesburg.
- Rees, N. (1982). *Slogans*, George Allen & Unwin, London.
- Reeves, R. (1961). *Reality in Advertising*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York.
- Relly, G. (1985). "Interview: Gavin Relly. The chairman of the Anglo-American Corporation talks to Hugh Murray", in *Leadership* Vol.4, No.3, pp11-20.

- Riboud, M. (1991). *Photofile*, Thames and Hudson Ltd., London.
- Riekert, P.J. (1979). Report of the Commission of Inquiry on Legislation Affecting the Utilisation of Manpower, (RP32 of 1979), Government Printer, Pretoria.
- Rodney, W. (1972). *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Zimbabwe Publishing House, Harare.
- Rogers, B. (1979). "South Africa Gets Nuclear Weapons - Thanks to the West" in Ray et al (eds) *Dirty Work 2*, Lyle Stuart Inc. New Jersey.
- Rostow, W.W. (1960). *The Stages of Economic Growth*, Cambridge University Press, London.
- Rostow, W.W. (1971). *Politics and the Stages of Growth*, Cambridge University Press, London.
- Rudman, T. (1988). *The Third World South Africa's Hidden Wealth*, Business Dynamics CC, Cape Town.
- Rutherford, A., (Ed.). (1988). *Aboriginal Culture Today*, Dangaroo Press, Sydney.
- Sahlins, M. (1972). *Stone Age Economics*, Aldine Press, Chicago.
- Sahlins, M. (1976). *Culture and Practical Reason*, University of Chicago Press.
- Said, E.W. (1985). *Orientalism*, Peregrine Books, London.
- Saul, J. (1986 November/December). "South Africa: The Question of Strategy", *New Left Review*, No 160, pp3-22.
- Saunders, C.J. (1986). "The Big Business of Reform: Bringing it all Closer to Home", *Indicator SA Economic Monitor*, Vol. 4, no. 4, pp. 11-13.
- Saunders, C., et al (1992). *Illustrated History of South Africa: The Real Story*, Readers Digest.
- Schomer, H. (1983). "South Africa: beyond fair employment", *Harvard Business Review*, May-June 1983, pp 145-156.
- Scitovsky, T. (1976). *The Joyless Economy*, Oxford University Press, New York.
- Scott Dill, W. (1921). *The Psychology of Advertising*, Dodd, Mead & Company, New York.
- Scudson, M. (1984). *Advertising The Uneasy Persuasion*, Basic Books, New York.
- Sinclair, J. (1987). *Images Incorporated*, Croom Helm, London.
- Sinclair, R. (1985). *To Make The Other Half Work Too*, MacMillan, Johannesburg.
- Sless, D. (1986). *In Search of Semiotics*, Croom Helm, London.
- Smythe, D.W. (1980). *Dependency Road: Capitalism, Communication and Canada*, Ablex, New Jersey.

- Smuts, J.C. (1918). *The League of Nations: a practical suggestion*, Hodder and Stoughton, London.
- Sparks, A. (1985). "Forbidden Television", in *Channels of Communications*, 5,1:46-47.
- Stadler, A., (1987). *The political economy of modern South Africa*, David Philip, Cape Town.
- Stam, R., & Spence, L. (1985). "Colonialism, Racism, and Representation: An Introduction", in Bill Nicholls (Ed.), *Movies and Methods Vol II*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.
- Stratton, J., & Ang, I. (1994). "Multicultural Imagined Communities: Cultural Difference and National Identity in Australia and the USA", in *Media Information Australia*, pp 124-158, Vol. 8 No. 2.
- Strydom, G.S. (1976). "The Establishment and Expansion of The School Radio Service of Radio Bantu", *HSRC Report No. 0-53*, Human Sciences Research Council, 1976, Pretoria.
- Sunter, C. (1987). *The World and South Africa in the 1990s*, Human & Rousseau Tafelberg, Cape Town.
- Swilling, M. (1987). "*The United Democratic Front and Township Revolt*", Work in Progress 49.
- Switzer, L. (1979). "Politics and Communication in the Ciskei, Institute of Social and Economic Research", *Occasional Paper No.23*, Rhodes University.
- Switzer, L. (1985). "Media and Dependency In South Africa", *Monographs in International Studies*, Africa Series, No.47, Ohio University.
- Switzer, L. (1987). "Media Studies and the Critique of Development", *Seminar Papers in Contemporary Cultural Studies*, University of Natal, Durban.
- Tedlow, R.S. (1976). "Review of Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture", *Business History Review*, Vol. 50 No.3.
- Teer-Tomaselli, R.E. (1997 July 3-6). "Language, Identity and Nationalism: An Historical Overview of the SABC'S Language Policy", paper presented at the International Association for Media and Communication Research Conference, Oaxaca, Mexico.
- Thompson, D. (1963). *Discrimination and Popular Culture*, Penguin, Harmondsworth.
- Theunissen, M. (Ed.) (1996) *The Voice - The Vision: The Sixty Year History of the SABC*, Advent Graphics, Johannesburg.
- Tomaselli, K.G. (1983). *Ideology and Cultural Production in South African Cinema*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of the Witwatersrand.

- Tomaselli, K.G. (1986). *Struggle Through Culture: A Contested Terrain*, University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg.
- Tomaselli, K.G. (1986b). "Terugblik na die toekoms", *Die Suid-Afrikaan*, pp 48-50, Somer (Summer)1986.
- Tomaselli, K.G. (1988). *Cinema of Apartheid: Race and Class in South African Film*, Smyrna/Lake View Press, Chicago.
- Tomaselli, K.G. (Ed.). (1989). *Rethinking Culture*, Anthropos, Bellville.
- Tomaselli, K.G. (1992). "The role of the media in promoting intercultural communication in South Africa, *Communicatio*, 18 (1) 1992
- Tomaselli, K.G. (1996). *Appropriating Images*, Intervention Press, Denmark.
- Tomaselli, K.G. (1997). "Intercultural Relations and the Greying of Westville", Mimeo.
- Tomaselli, K.G., *et al* (1983, November) *Retrospective - Critical Arts Monograph*.
- Tomaselli, K.G. (1986). *Myth Race and Power*, Anthropos, Belville.
- Tomaselli, K.G. (1987). *Narrating the Crisis: Hegemony and the South African Press*, Lyon, Johannesburg.
- Tomaselli, K.G., & Louw P.E. (1989). "Militarisation, Hegemony and the South African Media, 1976-1986" in *CON-TEXT*, 2, University of Durban Westville.
- Tomaselli, K.G., Louw, P.E., & Tomaselli R.E. (1990). "Communication, Language, and the Crisis of Hegemony in South Africa", in Vol. 4, *Communication and Culture*, (eds) Sari Thomas and William A. Evans, ABLEX, New Jersey.
- Tomaselli, K.G., & Shepperson, A. (1991). "Popularising Semiotics", *Communication Research Trends*, Vol. 11 No. 2, London.
- Tomaselli, K.G., & Tomaselli R.E. (1988a). "Change and Continuity at the SABC", *Indicator SA* (Political Monitor), Vol. 3, No. 3, pp. 18-21.
- Tomaselli, K.G., & Tomaselli R.E. (1988b)., in collaboration with Louw P.E., & Chetty, A., "Community and Class Struggle: Problems in Methodology", *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, Vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 11-25.
- Tomaselli, R.E., & Tomaselli K.G. (1990). *Mediating Mandela, Modifying Apartheid* Depts. of Journalism, Communication Arts and African Studies, University of Wisconsin, Madison.
- Tomaselli, R.E. (1983). *The Indian Flower Sellers of Johannesburg*, Masters Thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
- Tomaselli, R.E. (1988). "Afrique du Sud", in *Les Televisions du Monde*, pp. 368-9, CinemAction/Telerama, Paris.

- Tomaselli, R.E. (1989). "A pressing emergency: The commercial media under the Bureau", *Indicator South Africa*, Vol4/No3, PM:19.
- Tomaselli, R.E. *et al* (1989). *Currents of Power: State Broadcasting in South Africa*, Anthropos, Belville, Cape.
- Tomlinson, F.R. (1955). Report of the Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas, (UG 61 of 1955), Government Printer, Pretoria.
- Trott, D. (1979). "How to get your first job in advertising", British Design and Art Direction Association, 'Advertising Concepts' Workshops (mimeo), London
- Turner, E.S. (1952). *The Shocking History of Advertising*, Michael Joseph, London.
- Van der Merwe, S. (1979). "A New Horizontal Approach to Marketing in the Eighties", *The New Consumer* December 1979, p13-18;
- Van Onselen, C. (1982) *New Babylon: Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand 1886-1914*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg.
- Van der Reis, A.P. (1967). "Pictorial Perception in the Bantu: the implications of Recent Psychological Research for Advertisers", Bureau of Market Research, University of South Africa, *Bulletin* No. 25, 1967.
- Van der Walt, D. (1989). "Specific inferior and superior role portrayals in multi-racial television advertisements", *Communicare* 8(1) 53-60.
- Verwoerd, H.F. (1960). "Statement of Policy in House of Assembly, March 9, 1960", in Pelzer, A.N. (Ed.) *Verwoerd Speaks*, APB Publishers, Johannesburg, 1966.
- Vorster, P. (1986). "Political Advertising by Big Business after Rubicon", *Communicare*, vol. 5 no. 2, pp. 27-42.
- Walsh, M.J. (1985). *A History of Philosophy*, Geoffrey Chapman, London.
- Wassenaar, A. (1977). *Assault on Private Enterprise: The Freeway to Communism*, Tafelberg, Cape Town.
- Watkins, J.L. (1949). *The 100 Greatest Advertisements*, Dover Publications Inc. New York.
- Wiehahn, N.E. (1979). Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Labour Legislation, (RP 47 of 1979), Government Printer, Pretoria.
- Wilkins, I., & Strydom, H. (1978). *The Super-Afrikaners: Inside the Broederbond*, Jonathan Ball Publishers, Johannesburg.
- Wilkinson, P., & Webster, D. (1985). "Living in the Interstices of Capitalism: Towards a Reformulation of the 'Informal Sector' Concept", in Haines, R & Buijs G (eds.), *The Struggle or Social and Economic Space: Urbanisation in Twentieth Century South Africa*, The Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of Durban- Westville, Durban, 1985.

- Williams, R. (1958). *Culture and Society*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.
- Williams, R. (1960 July/August). "Advertising: Magic System", *New Left Review*, 4.
- Williams, R. (1961). *The Long Revolution*, Columbia University Press, New York.
- Williams, R. (1966). *Communications*, Chatto and Windus, London.
- Williams, R. (1973). "Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory", *New Left Review*, 1973, 82: 3-16
- Williams, R. (1990). *Television Technology and Cultural Form*, (updated edition), Routledge, London.
- Williams, R. (1976). *Keywords*, Fontana, Glasgow.
- Williams, R. (1977). *Marxism and Literature*, Oxford University Press.
- Williams, R. (1979). *Politics and Letters: interviews with New Left Review*, Verso, London.
- Williams, R. (1980). *Problems in Materialism and Culture*, Verso, London.
- Williamson, J. (1978). *Decoding Advertisements*, Marion Boyars, London.
- Willoughby, G. (1991). "Trailing Clouds of Glory: The Kiddie in Local Advertising", in *Media Matters in South Africa*, (Eds.) Prinsloo, J., & Criticos, C., Media Resource Centre, University of Natal.
- Wilson, C. (1954). *The History of Unilever: A Study in Economic Growth and Social Change*, Cassel, London.
- Wilson, C. (1968). *Unilever 1945-1965: Challenge and Response in the Post-War Industrial Revolution*, Cassel, London.
- Wight, R. (1972). *The Day the Pigs Refused to be Driven to Market* Hart-Davis, MacGibbon, London.
- Wolpe, H (1972). "Capitalism and Cheap Labour Power in South Africa: From Segregation to Apartheid", *Economy and Society*, vol. 1, no. 4.

**VOLUME II**



## CONTENTS

## VOLUME II

Notes on appendices.....	243
Appendix 1A: Chronological list of commercials on the Castle Lager history reel.....	246
Appendix 1A-1: Extract from ‘Ornico List of Commercials For All Alcoholic Beverages’: Castle Lager commercials (all languages) broadcast on SABC-TV, 1985-1990.....	250
Appendix 1B: Shot by shot catalogue and stills of commercials on the Castle Lager history reel:	
<i>Time Tested</i> (1978).....	253
<i>Brewmaster 1895</i> (1978).....	258
<i>Apprentice</i> (1978).....	262
<i>Beerwagon</i> (1979).....	268
<i>Dumpy</i> (1979).....	275
<i>SAB Currie Cup</i> (1981).....	278
<i>Boxing</i> (1981).....	282
<i>First Rand Show</i> (1983).....	296
<i>Cricketing Greats</i> (1984/5).....	304
<i>Train</i> (1984).....	315
<i>Gentlemen of the Press</i> (1985).....	323
<i>Winston Ngozi</i> (1985).....	329
<i>Gold Prospectors</i> (1986).....	333
<i>Joggers</i> (1987).....	339
<i>Musicians</i> (1987).....	344
<i>Table Soccer</i> (1987).....	335
<i>League Soccer</i> (1988).....	362
<i>Garage</i> (1989).....	372
<i>Art Gallery</i> (1989).....	378
<i>Currie Cup Cricket</i> (1989).....	392
<i>Canoe Race</i> (1989).....	402
<i>Reunion</i> (1989).....	409
<i>Homecoming</i> (1990).....	418
<i>Charles Glass</i> (1991).....	424
<i>Soccer Match of the Day</i> (1992).....	429
Appendix 2A: Chronological account briefly listing Rama commercials, their campaign history and marketing development.....	438

Appendix 2A-1: Rama Marketing Information Table.....	440
Appendix 2B: Shot by shot catalogue and stills of commercials on the Rama history reel:	
<i>Tongue Tip Test</i> (1977-3).....	442
<i>Just One Bite and You Know You're Right</i> (1979-80) English Version.....	448
<i>Just One Bite and You Know You're Right</i> (1981-82) Zulu Version.....	452
<i>Better Taste Rama</i> (1984).....	455
<i>Rugby</i> (1986).....	462
<i>Soccer</i> (1986).....	465
<i>Slipping and Sliding</i> (1986) English Version.....	468
<i>Slipping and Sliding</i> ..(TV2 Zulu Version).....	473
<i>Housewife Campaign 1a</i> (1987) First English Version.....	478
<i>Housewife Campaign 1b</i> (1987) Second English Version.....	481
<i>Housewife Campaign 1c</i> (1987) First Zulu Version.....	484
<i>Housewife Campaign 1d</i> (1987) .....	495
<i>Hurrah Ma - It's Rama</i> (1991) TV1 English/Afrikaans .....	491
<i>Hurrah Ma - It's Rama</i> (1991) TV2/3 Zulu/S.Sotho .....	496
<i>Everybody's Loving It</i> (1992).....	500
<i>Just One Bite and You Know You're Right</i> (1994) .....	507

## Notes on Appendices

The two main appendices, designated below as 1B and 2B, each consist of a shot by shot catalogue for the commercials on the Castle Lager and Rama history reels respectively. These catalogues take apart the televised images of a commercial and reconstruct it in a written form which gives detailed description and sequential numbering of its 'shots' or building blocks. After the shots of a commercial have been numbered in this manner it is possible for a case study to refer to specific shots, a necessary step for rendering the televised image into viable research material.

In some instances, a record has also been made of the time duration of each shot, as this may give some indication of the intensity of audience exposure to a particular shot. 'Stills' have been made of the key frames from all the important shots, and are included in the appendices. In some instances stills of shots that do not seem to contain important information are included for purposes of continuity. In cases where an important shot encompasses considerable changes in frame content, or encompasses action which is difficult to describe with words, several stills might be included per such shot. In the layout of each catalogue, the stills are always placed on the left hand side of the page so that they precede the verbal description of the shot. The English language versions of the words of the narrator or 'voice over' of a commercial have also been transcribed at the beginning of each catalogue. In cases where there is a long version and a short version of the same commercial only the long version has been catalogued.

The type of information provided in these catalogues is mainly about the people appearing in the frames of each shot: whether they are whites or blacks, their manner of dress, their body language, their class, etc. Description of the action has been made in terms of location of people or of objects in relation to frame borders, and in terms of the order of transition that occurs through the duration of a shot. Camera movements, approximate focal lengths of lenses, type of lighting and its approximate direction, dominant colours, and other mise-en-scène details are also sometimes included in the description. The intention has been to produce an account that is descriptive but neutral, with actual critical comment and broader contextualisation to remain concentrated in the case studies in Chapter 7 and Chapter 8 of Volume I. However, there are instances where some critical analysis has entered into the description of the shots.

Due to time constraints, some commercials on the Castle Lager history reel could not be comprehensively catalogued (*Brewmaster 1895*, 1978; *Gentlemen of the Press*, 1985; *Table Soccer*, 1987; *Currie Cup Cricket*, 1989; *Canoe Race*, 1989). Here, a method based upon numbered stills of key frames of each shot of a commercial has been used. This method still retains the complete sequential order of a commercial. Thus, these commercials have been rendered into a viable research source. Sequential numbering of shots allows for accurate referencing in the case studies, but this latter method is not quite as accurate or as satisfactory as a combination of stills and verbal description.

The stills in the appendices were photographed and printed by the researcher. The equipment and materials used for this purpose was a 35 mm single lens reflex camera with 400 ISO black and white film, a tripod, a TV monitor, and an editing video cassette recorder with the capability of providing a steady still picture. In actual fact, virtually all commercials on both history reels are in full colour, only one commercial is partly monochrome (Castle Lager, *Cricketing Greats*, 1984/5). While reducing costs, stills reproduced in black and white provide sufficient information.

## Note on Appendix 1A

Appendix 1A is a chronological list of English language Castle Lager commercials from 1978 to 1994. This list accompanied the VHS tape of the Castle Lager English Language history reel made available to the researcher by the marketing department of 'South African Breweries'. It should be noted that this VHS tape covers the period 1978-1992, and is fully consistent with the Appendix 1B list for this period. The terms "logged complete", "stills only", "shortened repeat", "repeat similar to...", have been added to the list by the researcher. "Logged complete" means that cataloguing on Appendix 1B is fully detailed, with both written description and stills. "Stills only" indicates that while the commercial has been broken down into its individual shots and assessed in the research, the numbering of shots has been rendered only in terms of a selected frame or frames to represent each shot (i.e. selected frames have been reproduced for each shot, but without any written description). "Shortened repeat" or "repeat similar to...", refer to the fact that there is a similar earlier version of the commercial on the list.

### Note on Appendix 1A-1

The Castle Lager commercials listed on this appendix were extracted by the researcher from a list of what is supposed to be *all* of the alcoholic beverage commercials broadcast for the given period (1985-90). The list of 'all alcoholic beverages commercials broadcast' was faxed to the researcher by 'Ornico' after a telephonic inquiry. 'Ornico' is a company that tracks commercials by product category and sells copies for research purposes to advertising agencies other marketing organisations. It is possible that this list is somewhat tentative, with some commercials having been missed, or named differently than what has been indicated on Appendix 1A. For example, *River Challenge* is indicated on the 'Ornico List' as having been broadcast five times in Afrikaans on the 13th of November 1989. This commercial is quite probably *Canoe Race*, for which there is an English language version on the history reel, indicated on Appendix 1A as having been broadcast during 1989. Further on, Appendix 1C gives record of a commercial named as *Boat Race*, which is shown as having been broadcast on the 1st of August 1990, in Zulu and South Sotho. *Boat Race* is quite probably the same commercials as *River Challenge* or *Canoe Race*. However, notwithstanding these inaccuracies Appendix 1C does provide some degree of confirmation of the authenticity of the Castle Lager history reel as in listed Appendix 1B.

### Indication of Languages of 'Ornico List' (EAXZTSS)

The languages in which a commercial was broadcast are indicated on the 'Ornico List of of Commercials for Alcoholic Beverages' by their first letter, thus, for example, EAX means a commercial was broadcast in English, Afrikaans and Xhosa:

- E for English
- A for Afrikaans
- Z for Zulu
- X for Xhosa
- T for Tswana.
- SS for South Sotho

**Note on Appendix 2A, 2A-1:**

Appendix 2A is a chronological list of all the commercials recorded on the Rama advertising history reel that was made available to the researcher. An indication has been made (as “logged complete”) of the commercials which have been catalogued on Appendix 2B.

Appendix 2A-1 is a marketing strategy information table compiled by the Unifoods marketing department for Rama.

## APPENDIX 1A

## CASTLE LAGER HISTORY REEL (ENGLISH LANGUAGE)

**1978**

- |                    |                   |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Time Tested     | (logged complete) |
| 2. Brewmaster 1895 |                   |
| 3. Apprentice      | (logged complete) |

**1979**

- |              |                   |
|--------------|-------------------|
| 4. Beerwagon | (logged complete) |
| 5. Dumpy     | (logged complete) |

**1980**

No New Campaign

**1981**

- |                   |                    |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| 6. SAB Currie Cup | (logged complete)  |
| 7. Boxing 60"     | (logged complete)  |
| 8. Boxing 30"     | (shortened repeat) |

**1982**

No New Campaign

**1983**

- |                                         |                    |
|-----------------------------------------|--------------------|
| 9. First Rand Show - Charles Glass 60"  | (logged complete)  |
| 10. First Rand Show - Charles Glass 30" | (shortened repeat) |

**1984**

- |                           |                   |
|---------------------------|-------------------|
| 11. Cricketing Greats     | (logged complete) |
| 12. Train - Charles Glass | (logged complete) |

**1985**

- |                                |                   |
|--------------------------------|-------------------|
| 13. Gentlemen of the Press 60" | (stills only)     |
| 14. Gentlemen of the Press 30" |                   |
| 15. Cricketing Greats          | (repeat of 1984)  |
| 16. Winston Ngozi              | (logged complete) |

**1986**

- |                      |                   |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| 17. Gold Prospectors | (logged complete) |
|----------------------|-------------------|

**1987**

18. Joggers (logged complete)  
 19. Musicians (logged complete)  
 20. Soccer (table soccer) (stills only)

**1988**

21. League Soccer (logged complete)

**1989**

22. Label Change x 5

- i) Art Class (not logged)  
 ii) Sculpture (not logged)  
 iii) Garage (logged complete)  
 v) Diving Club (not logged)  
 iv) Creatives (not logged)

23. Label Change x 1:

- vi) Art Gallery (logged complete)

24. Currie Cup Cricket (stills only)  
 25. Canoe Race (stills only)  
 26. Reunion (logged complete)

**1990**

27. Baseball (not logged)  
 28. World Cup (not relevant — Graphics:type, devise & VO)  
 29. World Cup Competition (not relevant — Graphics:type, device & VO)  
 30. Reunion (shortened repeat of 1989 version - so not logged)  
 31. Joggers (repeat similar to 1987 version - so not logged)  
 32. Soccer (shortened repeat of League Soccer, 1988 - so not logged)  
 33. Homecoming - 60" (logged complete)  
 34. Homecoming - 45" (shortened repeat)

**1991**

35. Charles Glass - 45" (logged complete)

**1992**

36. Soccer Match of the Day (logged complete)

- 37. National Soccer Sponsorship
- 38. Opening/Closing Billboards  
Squeezeback and Stings
- 39. Castle Challenge
- 40. Castle Cameroon Tour - "Shebeen"
- 41. Castle Shebeen "Greatest Crowd Pleaser in the Country"
- 42. Shebeen Soccer - Zambia
- 43. Fundraiser 60"
- 44. Fundraiser 40"
- 45. Shebeen Soccer - Congo
- 46. India Cricket Sponsorship - First Test  
Opening/Closing Billboards  
Squeezeback and Stings
- 47. India Cricket - 2nd Test
- 48. India Cricket - 3rd Test
- 49. India Cricket - 4th Test  
Opening and Closing Billboards  
Squeezeback and Stings

### 1993

- 50. Castle Heritage II
- 51. Castle Shebeen League  
Opening and Closing League Billboard  
League Stings  
League Squeezeback

### 1994

- 52. SA vs Australia Cricket Congratulatory Ad
- 53. SA vs Australia Cricket Campaign  
Promo Spot (Wanderers)  
Opening/Closing Billboard  
Opening/Closing Sting  
Squeezeback  
Supporters World Cup Promo Spot
- 54. Supporters Soccer TV Campaign Supporting Elements  
Opening Billboard Premier League

### 1994 cont.

- Opening Billboard National Soccer Team
- Opening Billboard Generic "The Taste That's Stood...."
- Closing Billboard Premier League
- Closing Billboard National Soccer Team
- Closing Billboard "The Taste That's Stood...."
- Opening/Closing Sting - Generic  
Sting - Action Replay
- Opening Match Billboard - Filling Up
- Closing Match Billboard - Great Header
- 2nd Half Opening Sting - Generic



- Closing Match Billboard - "It's All Over ...."
- 1st Half Closing Sting
- Opening 2nd Half Sting - "Looking Forward...."
- Sting - "Great Header...."
- Supporters Promo - Premier League
- National Team Closing Billboard
- Premier League Closing Billboard
- Squeezeback - "Crowd"
- Squeezeback - "Flag"
- 55. SA vs England Cricket - Heritage Tour Campaign
  - Sting - "Back To The Action"
  - Sting - "Another Great Moment"
  - Sting - "Runout"
  - Sting - "Raining/Pouring"
  - Sting - "Mexican Wave"
  - Sting - "Quick Singles"
  - Opening/Closing Billboard Official Sponsor
  - Squeezeback - "One Castle"
  - Heritage Tour Promo

**NOTE:** THIS LIST ACCOMPANIED THE VHS TAPE COMPRISING THE CASTLE LAGER HISTORY REEL FOR THE PERIOD 1978 - 1992. THE COMMERCIALS LISTED AFTER *SOCCER MATCH OF THE DAY* (1992), FROM NOS. 37 TO 54, WERE NOT ON THE VHS TAPE AND ARE NOT INCLUDED IN THE PRESENT RESEARCH. THE TERMS, 'LOGGED COMPLETE', 'STILLS ONLY' & 'NOT LOGGED' HAVE BEEN ADDED TO THE LIST BY THE RESEARCHER AND REFER TO THE MANNER OF PRESENTATION IN APPENDIX 1B. THE TERMS, 'SHORTENED REPEAT ...' & 'REPEAT SIMILAR TO...' , ALSO ADDED TO THE LIST BY THE RESEARCHER, REFER TO THE NATURE OF A SPECIFIC COMMERCIAL IN RELATION TO A SIMILAR EARLIER VERSION.

## APPENDIX 1A-1

**EXTRACT FROM ORNICO ALCHOLIC BEVERAGES LIST:  
CASTLE LAGER COMMERCIALS (all languages) 1985-90.**

Commercial	Date	Language	Flightings
League Soccer	(02/25/85)	ZXTSSNS	x 3
Testing	(09/23/85)	EAX	x 3
Testing	(09/30/85)	ZXTSSNS	x 3
Critics	(10/21/85)	EA	x 3
Castle Cricket/ Black and White	(11/11/85)	EA	x 3
Cricket	(11/18/85)	EA	x 3
Animation	(12/22/85)	EA	x 3
Jazz	(05/12/86)	ZXTSSN	x 3
Goldmine	(11/17/86)	EA	x 6
Goldmine	(12/17/86)	A	x 4
Goldmine	(12/01/86)	E	x 4
Goldmine	(12/01/86)	E	x 6
Charles Glass	(1/26/87)	E	x 6
Runners	(08/17/87)	E	x 4
Musicians	(10/05/87)	E	x 5
Jam Session	(10/12/87)	EZSS	x 4
Pub	(10/19/87)	ZS	x 4
Pub	(11/09/87)	E	x 4
Jam Session	(12/21/87)	Z	x 4
Football	(05/09/88)	E	x 4
Charles Glass Pub	(05/09/88)	Z	x 4
Castle Lager Pub	(05/09/88)	E	x 4
Jam Session	(06/06/88)	T	x 4
Runners to Bar	(07/18/88)	E	x 4
Soccer	(11/14/88)	Z	x 4
SAB Train Riding Unity	(12/19/88)	EAZSS	x 4
New Label	(06/19/89)	EAZSS	x 5
Change Label/Sculpture	(07/10/89)	EZ	x 2
Change Label/Divers	(07/10/89)	ESS	x 2
Change Label/Artclass	(07/10/89)	Z	x 2
Change Label/Garage	(07/10/89)	EZSS	x 2
Change Label/Divers	(07/17/89)	AZ	x 2
Change Label/Sculpture	(07/17/89)	SS	x 2
Change Label/Artclass	(07/17/89)	ESS	x 2
/ Art	(07/24/89)	A	x 2
/ Art	(08/07/89)	EAZSS	x 5
Cricket	(10/09/89)	E	x 4
Soccer League	(10/09/89)	Z	x 2
River Challenge	(11/13/89)	A	x 5
Soccer League	(11/27/89)	Z	x 2
Change Label/Sculpture	(11/27/89)	Z	x 2
Salute Song	(12/11/89)	ZSS	x 5

<b>Commercial</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Language</b>	<b>Flightings</b>
Reunion	(12/18/89)	ESS	x 5
Boat Race	(01/08/90)	ZSS	x 5
Baseball	(02/12/90)	EZSS	x 5
World Cup Finals	(04/23/90)	ZSS	x 1
Castle Soccer/ World Cup	(06/25/90)	E	x 1
1995 Test Cricket	(01/23/95)	E	x 4

**APPENDIX 1B**

**TIME TESTED** (1978)  
(Running time: 30.16 sec)

**Audio**

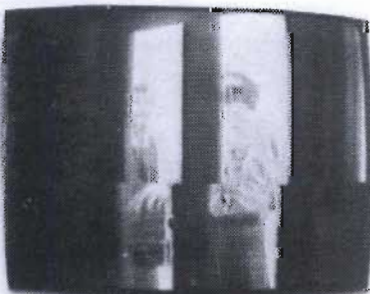
**MVO:** It was to be a beer like no other beer, brewed by a creative brewmaster with a great care. A beer with a very special taste: somewhat bitter, somewhat dry, never sweet.

The beer was Castle Lager. To this day, clean, crisp, fresh tasting, and refreshingly dry. Castle Lager - The taste that's stood the test of time.

**Video**



Shot 1: Inside a pub at the turn of the century. Camera is positioned so that it is pointing along the bar counter. The drinkers have been positioned to the left of frame. The people serving drinks are to the right of frame. In the foreground, to the left of frame, a gentleman is wearing a straw basher, a rather large tie, and a light brown jacket. Opposite him, on the other side of the counter, at right of frame, stands one of the barmen. He has a beard and is slightly balding. He is dressed with bow tie and waist coat. Further in the background there are more drinkers at left of frame, and it is possible to make out a second barman in the background at right of frame. All the people in the pub seem to be fair-skinned. There is a key light directed onto the scene from somewhere approximating right of the camera position. But there are also dark shadows, as the scene is shot against what appears as bright daylight coming in from a window high in the upper right background of the frame. A soft focus filter also seems to have been used over the camera lens. (1.48 sec)



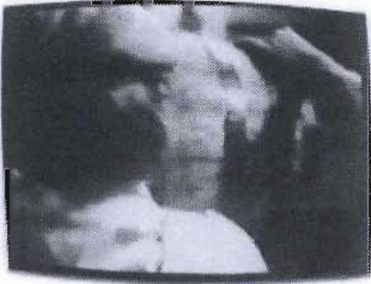
Shot 2: Cut to a shot from inside the pub. The twin bar doors fill the frame. Through the glass of these doors two men are visible outside: they are approaching. As frames continue, it becomes apparent that they are about to enter the pub carrying a barrel. They are dressed with white shirtsleeves and have aprons on. They are both whites, possibly brewery employees. As they push the doors open cut to the next shot. (1.32 sec)



Shot 3: Cut to camera in a similar position to Shot 1. The people at the pub counter look up, apparently towards the two men coming in with the barrel. The two men entering the pub are not in the frame. It is inferred from the editing that it must be their entry which has caused the drinkers' attention to be distracted from their drinking. (1.60 sec)



Shot 4: Cut to high angle long shot with the camera now positioned in what was described as the background area in Shot 1. We now look along the bar counter which in the frame composition comes in from bottom left hand frame corner. (It is shot from the opposite end of the bar counter from Shots 1 & 3.) There is a cash till (of the period) at bottom left corner. The drinkers and barmen have their backs turned to the camera and are looking towards the double doors, and at the two men bringing in the barrel. Light coming from the pub doors and a large bay window to the left of the doors (all at centre of the frame in the upper background) is reflected from the polished mirror-like surface of the bar counter. (1.40 sec)



Shot 5: Cut to medium CU of men carrying barrel. The camera pans left and tilts up slightly to follow the movement of the barrel as the men position it in its allotted place in the pub. The barrel occupies almost the centre of the frame throughout the shot while the head and shoulders of one of the men carrying the barrel come in from left of frame and the hands of the other person holding the barrel come in from right of frame. (1.52 sec)



Shot 6: CU of barrel being tapped. Barrel comes into frame from upper right corner. Person performing tapping operation comes in from left of frame. There is a wooden counter in the foreground upon which the barrel has been placed. A spot light is directed from upper foreground highlighting the brass tap and the white sleeve of the person holding tap handle. (0.76 sec)

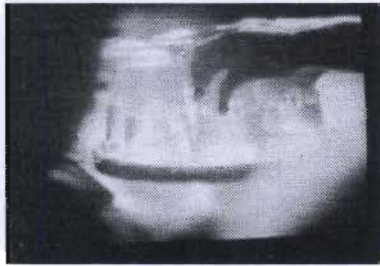
Shot 7: Extreme CU of glass being filled. The entire frame is filled by upper part of the glass which is full of froth. A stream of beer is being poured into it from mid upper frame. (1.04 sec)



Shot 8: Medium CU of a gentleman downing a glass of beer. His shoulders fill whole frame while his face is in semi-profile. He is wearing a dark brown suit, starched collar and tie and bowler hat. Light is directed onto his face from right foreground. To the upper right of frame, in the background opposite the drinker's face, there is another person's face slightly out of focus but highlighted by the same light source. His head seems to be bald. There is soft detail in the shadow areas of this shot. As frames continue the first gentleman brings down his glass, he has beer froth on his moustache. (2.04 sec)



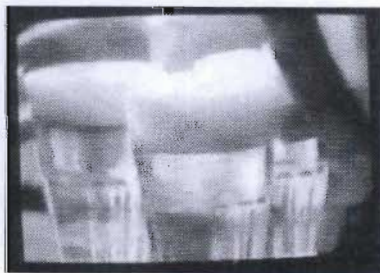
Shot 9: Cut to crowd of drinkers in the pub. Camera is positioned behind the bar counter with some of the counter running diagonally across foreground from about first 1/3 of right frame. The two people in the foreground, leaning against the bar counter, are the same two appearing in Shot 8. A gentleman with bowler hat is in the centre of the frame and is wiping the beer off his moustache. The balding man that was in the out of focus background in Shot 8 is now next to him to his left (right of frame). Behind them are about another seven men who are trying to get to the front of the bar counter (to get some of the new beer that has just been brought in). As frames continue, a hand at left of frame puts some money down on the counter for an order of the beer. (2.20 sec)



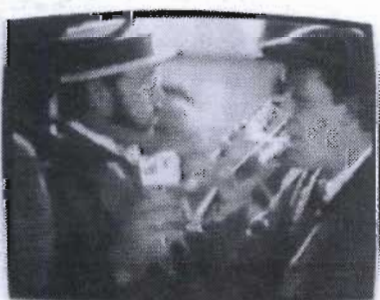
Shot 10: CU of round bar tray with clean empty glasses on it. A hand coming in from upper right of frame is taking some glasses from the tray. As frames continue, more hands come in taking off empty glasses. Shot is lit from upper left background. There is someone whose figure is out of focus in the left foreground, coming in from left of frame. (0.88 sec)



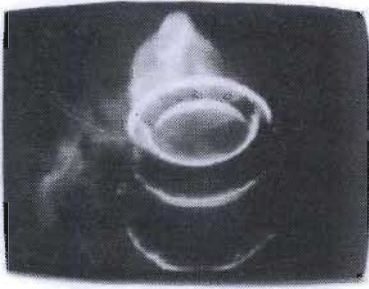
Shot 11: CU of glass of beer being filled at the tap. Tap enters frame from upper right of frame border. Glass is held from bottom right of frame. Camera is focused on the tap and the glass is also in sharp focus. A spot directed from behind the glass is lighting the beer and the rim of the glass. Background is very muted and out of focus. (0.76 sec)



Shot 12: CU of filled glasses of beer. There is one glass in the foreground coming in from centre of lower frame and taking up 3/4 of the frame vertically. In the background, behind this glass, are two more glasses filled with beer. One to left of frame, the other to right of frame. Together the three glasses suggest a triangle with its base at upper frame and point at lower frame. A hand can be seen placing the glass at upper left of frame into position. (1.08 sec)



Shot 13: Head and shoulders shot of two men facing each other drinking their beers. The one left of frame is wearing a straw basher and has long sideburns running into a beard. The one to the right of frame has a moustache and is wearing a cap. The heads of several other people can barely be made out at a lower level in the near background. Light seems to be coming in from above, directly at the camera, from a window situated barely out of upper frame border. But there is also soft lighting coming from the foreground. (0.80 sec)



Shot 14: CU of top of beer bottle being opened. Top of bottle is almost exactly at centre of frame. Chrome-plated opener comes in from right of frame. Bright spot is directed at bottle top and opener. The rest of the frame is dark. As frames continue, the bottle top comes off and opener goes out through upper frame. Now that metal bottle top has been removed, the bright spotlight from near upper background illuminates brown glass tip of bottle. Glass top of bottle glows amber while vapour is visible coming out. (0.76 sec)

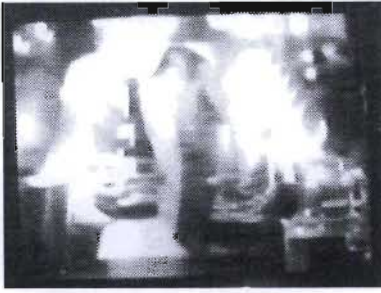


Shot 15: (Transition to modern day pub scene.) Man comes in CU from right of frame and takes bottle of Castle Lager out of a metal barrel and passes it to another man whose arm is coming in from left of frame (camera pans right to left to follow this action). The man passing this bottle has a modern haircut and is wearing a light green shirt with sleeves rolled up to just below the elbow. A barrel lying horizontally is visible in the background at upper right of frame. A man passes a beer bottle as camera pans left to frame person receiving it, while person who passed it goes out of right frame border. The man who has received the beer is wearing a light brown shabby jacket and open-necked shirt with 70's style broad-based, long, pointed collar. He now fills almost the whole frame as he holds his beer with left hand and pours it into a mug he is holding with his clenched right hand. A bright spot is coming in from upper left of frame. There is a light-coloured wall or curtain in the slightly out-of-focus background, close behind his back. As he pours his beer, the camera pans left and tilts up slightly to bring into frame a man in the foreground who is wearing a polo-necked jersey. This man with polo neck brings a mug of beer to his mouth with his left hand and the camera refocuses on his face throwing the previous drinker (with shabby leather jacket) out of focus. This shot dissolves into the next. (4.16 sec, dissolve 0.32 sec)



Shot 16: Long shot of the modern day pub scene (in which the action in Shot 15 was taking place). A man with light coloured jacket is sitting with his back to the camera in the foreground. There is a man with light blue shirt seated to his right (at right of frame). To his left a man with white open-necked shirt and blue jacket is walking towards them with glass of beer and bottle in his hands. The bar counter, where about another eight or nine men are busy drinking, is in the background. Several bright spots are directed from the foreground -- one reflecting off a drinks cabinet behind the bar counter (in the background). Another spot lights up the back of the drinker with light-coloured jacket. As frames continue, the camera zooms out slightly bringing into frame two more drinkers in the foreground. Both are wearing blueish suits and holding mugs of beer. (2.24 sec)





Shot 17: Cut to head and shoulders shot of barman. He is wearing a white shirt with a blueish tie and his long sleeves are rolled up to just below the elbow. Behind him is the drinks/glasses cabinet with glass shelves. As frames continue, barman serves a bottle of Castle Lager and a glass mug across the wooden counter to a drinker out of frame. At the same time camera tilts downwards following this serving action while barman's head goes out of upper frame. (1.32 sec)



Shot 18: Cut to tightly framed head-and-shoulders shot of drinker. He is looking in semi-profile from left of frame to right with his mug of beer coming up to his mouth from bottom right frame corner. He has longish light brown hair and has an open-necked shirt with wide-based long pointed collar. There is a back light directed from left of frame highlighting the back of his hair, and also a light directed from right of frame highlights the background side of his face and top of the beer mug at his mouth. He continues to drink his Castle Lager. The copy line: **Castle Lager/ The taste that's stood the test of time**, becomes superimposed in two lines in a serif typeface at bottom half of frame. The last frame of this shot is frozen. (4.16 sec)

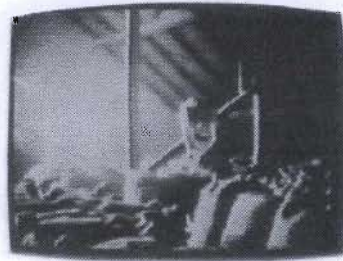
**BREWMASTER 1895 (1978)****Audio**

**MVO:** In 1895 a creative brewmaster set out to brew a beer with a very special taste. Day in and day out he worked at it with a very special care. Till finally he knew he had it. The beer was Castle Lager. Somewhat dry, somewhat bitter, never sweet.

And to this day, crisp, clean tasting and refreshingly dry. Castle Lager, the taste that's stood the test of time.

**Video**

Shot 1:



(dissolve)

Shot 2:



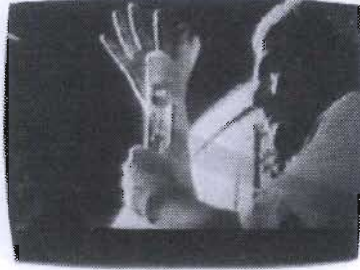
(dissolve)

Shot 3:



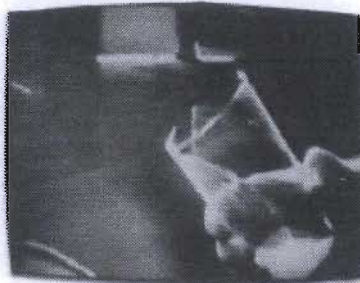
(dissolve)

Shot 4:



(dissolve)

Shot 5:



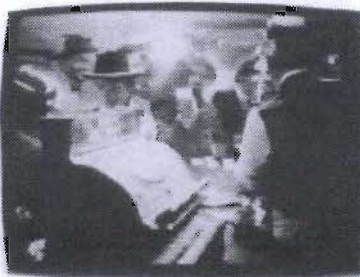
(dissolve)

Shot 6:



(cut)

Shot 7:



(cut)

Shot 8:



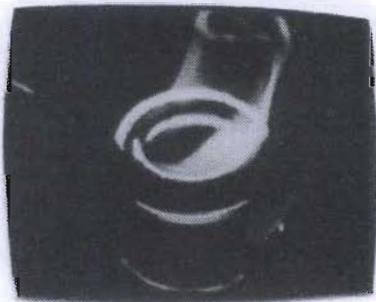
(cut)

Shot 9:



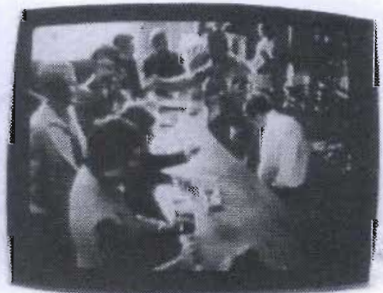
(cut)

Shot 10:



(cut: transition to modern day pub scene)

Shot 11: (crane shot)



(cut)

Shot 12:



(end)

**APPRENTICE (1978)****Audio**

**MVO:** When it comes to taste all beers are not created equal: as apprentice brewers were to learn in 1895. This was a beer like no other. Castle Lager. Somewhat bitter, somewhat dry, never sweet. And to this day, what that first gifted brewmaster knew has been passed on to every generation of Castle brewmasters. Castle Lager. The taste that's stood the test of time.

**Video**

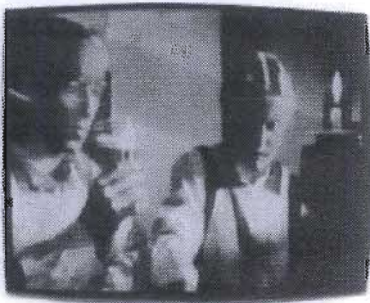
Shot 1: Opens with a wide-angle shot of two young apprentice brewers standing by a rectangular wooden table with an authoritative looking person (who in later commercials is introduced as Charles Glass). This table is situated within the frame so that one corner point is touching the lower left frame border from which the table runs diagonally towards the right background. The two young apprentice brewers are wearing long white aprons. The first is standing by the table just left of mid frame. The second is just ahead of him on the same side of the table at right of mid frame. Charles Glass is further to the right facing the shorter side of the rectangular table. He has something in his hand which he seems to be showing to the two apprentices. There are several objects on the table including a brass scale at the corner nearest to Charles Glass and the 2nd apprentice. Charles Glass is wearing a collar and tie, white shirt, long sleeves, brown or grey waist coat and trousers. There is light coming from the background through an open passageway at upper left of mid frame. There also seems to be light directed on to the three from the right foreground. As frames continue, a fourth person is moving about in the background by the passageway opening. Dissolve to next shot.



Shot 2: Dissolve to medium CU of what appears to be the same group featured in Shot 1. Charles Glass\* is coming into frame from right frame border and is framed from waist up with his head reaching right upper frame border. In this shot one can clearly see that he is holding a magnifying glass with his right hand and he is looking at something he is holding with his left hand. The apprentice that was standing next to him in Shot 1 is now leaning across with his head near that of Charles Glass, and peering down at whatever Charles Glass is examining. This apprentice is fairly elderly with greying hair and moustache. The other apprentice from Shot 1 is looking from left frame border. Dissolve to next shot.



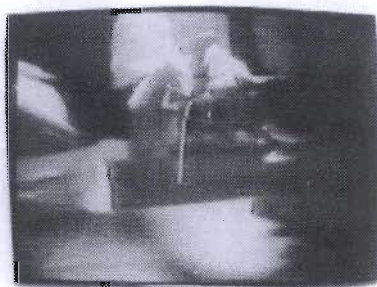
Shot 3: Dissolve to a new scene. Here two apprentices are framed CU standing by a vat of beer and performing some sort of test. They are both quite young. The one at mid frame behind the vat has his hair combed back and is wearing steel-rimmed spectacles. Charles Glass is in the background of the frame keeping a watchful eye at these proceedings. In the composition of the frame the vat comes in from lower frame border and reaches to about 1/3 of the vertical frame distance up. At right of frame, an apprentice with reddish complexion comes in from right frame border and is looking down into the vat. The second apprentice is standing behind the vat at mid frame. He is holding a long brass beaker. It is inferred that he has just taken a sample of beer from the vat, which he is pouring into a glass he is holding with his left hand. When the glass is full, it is handed to the apprentice coming in from right frame border who holds it up with his left hand. Charles Glass comes in from the background, at the left half of the frame, from behind the apprentice who was filling the glass with the brass beaker. He brings his right arm across from left of frame, in front of the apprentice standing by the vat and takes the glass from the hand of the apprentice who is coming in from right frame border. He moves backwards a little and lifts the glass up in front of his face at left upper mid frame (towards camera). The two apprentices are standing at attention by the vat while Charles Glass examines the specimen of beer. As frames continue, Charles Glass turns his head a little towards left of frame, also holding the glass a little towards left of frame. Cut to next shot.



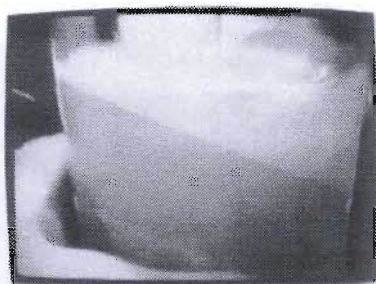
Shot 4: Cut to CU of the two young apprentices featured in Shot 3. Camera has now been moved left from its position in Shot 3 so that the apprentice who was standing behind the vat in Shot 3 is now coming in from left frame border. The apprentice who was coming in from right frame border in Shot 3 is now framed standing behind the vat at just right of mid frame. There is a candle burning on a stand above the vat, just within the frame at mid right frame border. A hand comes in from left frame border (by reference to shot 3, probably Charles Glass) and hands a glass of beer to apprentice with steel-rimmed spectacles who is coming in from left frame border. The other apprentice has his right hand down the vat (out of lower frame border). As frames continue, the apprentice at left frame border takes a drink out of the glass he has been handed, while the other apprentice now brings the brass beaker out of the vat and fills another glass which he is holding at lower right of frame.



Shot 5: Cut to reverse shot with the apprentice with steel-rimmed spectacles coming in from right frame border. The shot is quite CU with his head filling almost whole vertical frame distance at right frame border. He is taking a sip from the glass of beer. Charles Glass\* is framed head and shoulder facing camera at left half of frame. He is looking on as the apprentice brings down the glass. A smile of satisfaction comes across the apprentice's face (at the taste of the beer) and Charles Glass (who is looking on) nods approvingly. Cut to next shot.



Shot 6: Cut to CU of a beer barrel being tapped. Barrel is coming in from right frame border. The wooden surface upon which the barrel is placed is framed so that it runs across to lower left frame at a slightly downward diagonal. The person tapping the barrel comes in from behind the wooden surface from left frame border. A spotlight from upper background highlights the tap and the person's hand pushing against the lower flat part of the barrel. As frames continue, a mallet comes in from left frame border and makes contact with tap so that it is immediately plunged into the side of the barrel with spray of beer coming up towards left foreground. Cut to next shot.



Shot 7: Cut to ECU of glass being filled with beer. The glass is framed so that top of rim just goes out of upper frame border and about bottom 1/3 of glass is out lower frame border. Hand holding glass comes in from left frame border with thumb going across to near lower right hand frame corner. As frames continue, one can see (at upper frame) stream beer being poured into glass and surrounding turbulence which results on the surface.



Shot 8: Cut CU to two glasses of beer on bar counter. First glass at left of frame is in the foreground, filling almost whole frame vertically. Immediately behind is a second glass being taken off the counter by a hand coming in from left frame border. Another glass is put in its place by hand coming in from right of frame. This glass is also immediately taken up, it seems by the same person who took the first glass. Cut to next shot.

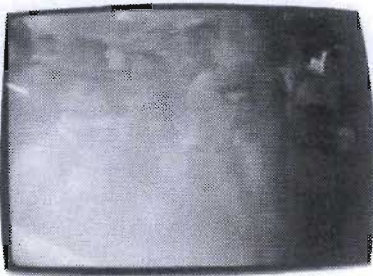


Shot 9: Cut to medium shot of bar scene, taken from a slightly high angle. There are three gentlemen standing in the foreground of the frame. From left to right, the first is wearing a grey hat, grey waistcoat over long white sleeves, white collar with dark bow-tie. He is holding a glass of beer with his right hand (the upper part of his right arm touches the lower left frame border). He is looking downward to the right in 3/4 profile. Next to him is another gentleman, slightly in the background at about mid frame. He is also holding a glass of beer in his right hand. He is looking towards camera. He is wearing a dark jersey over white shirtsleeves. His hair is light brown and he has a moustache. The



third gentleman is leaning against a shaped wooden post which seems to reach from floor to ceiling from about the first 1/3 of right frame border, near the bar counter. This gentleman is holding a mug of beer in his right hand. He is wearing a bowler hat and has a Charles Chaplin demeanour about him.

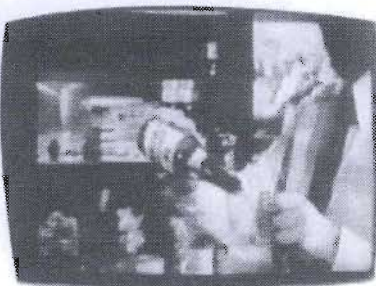
A gentleman wearing a straw basher walks across the frame from left to right and comes to stand near right frame border, behind the third gentleman with the Chaplin demeanour (i.e. between the wooden post and the bar counter). In the further pub background there are about 8-10 other people. All are whites. A lamp hangs in from the first 1/3 of left upper frame border, this light source diffuses the scene as it faces towards the camera. There also seems to be some soft lighting directed from left foreground. The shot is quite soft with muted colours.



As frames continue, the three gentlemen in the foreground turn to look into camera, with the first two from left lifting their glasses of beer ready to drink. An incandescent flash goes off indicating that they were posing for a photograph. (Fade to white.)



Shot 10: Fade from white to CU of black and white (sepia-toned) still photograph of the last frame before fade started in Shot 9. (At this point MVO is saying: "And to this day, what that first gifted brewmaster knew ...".) As frames continue, camera zooms back to show a modern day pub scene. In this shot, the photograph from the past hanging on the background wall goes out of focus, as camera zooms to wide to show a man coming in from right frame border, who is pouring a mug of beer from a quart bottle of Castle Lager. As frames continue, this man walks from right to left of frame, past the old sepia toned photograph in the background, as camera pans left to keep him in frame. He is framed from above the waist up, with the top of his head (above the eyes) going out of upper right frame border as he walks across. He is a white man dressed in a white long - sleeved shirt with dark tie. Another man with his back to the camera comes into frame from left frame border, as camera pans left. This man is very CU and out of focus. He is wearing a dark blue waist coat over a light blue shirt. The back of his head and upper part of his shoulder fill left part of frame. In the space between the back of the man's head (left of frame) and the man approaching (from right of frame), some shelves are visible behind the bar counter in the background. Cut to next shot.





Shot 11: Cut to what seems to be a reverse camera position of the last frames of Shot 10. The man who was coming in from left of frame with the back of his head facing camera in Shot 10 is now facing camera from left of frame. The camera position has been moved approximately a semi-circle in an anti-clockwise direction from its previous position at the end of Shot 10. The tip of this man's right shoulder is now just out of mid left frame, while his left shoulder reaches to about the middle of the frame. He is looking downwards as he drinks from a full mug of beer. Another man coming in from right of frame faces the man in blue shirt. This man's head is turned away from camera towards the background. Part of the back and top of his head are out of the upper right frame corner. In the background, at mid upper frame, there is another picture, possibly of a ship at sea. There are several other pub patrons moving about in the background. A man with a beige jacket with a thin intersecting pattern of dark lines (squares) moves across from right to left with his head out of upper frame border. The lighting in the pub is of medium brightness. It appears that the key light is directed from left frame background, but there also seems to be a spotlight from the right, as the forehead of the man with the blue shirt who is looking right is highlighted. Cut to next shot.



Shot 12: Cut to medium CU of a shiny bar counter which runs diagonally from lower frame border towards right frame background. The front of man's right shoulder comes in from right frame border, facing camera. He has his right elbow on the bar counter and is holding a full mug of beer near right frame border. His head and the rest of his body remains out of right frame border for the duration of the shot. He seems to be wearing a white jacket. There is also a bottle of Castle standing on the bar counter at about mid frame. The background consists of an out-of-focus behind the bar counter scene. As frames continue, two more bottles of Castle are placed on the bar counter. The arms of the person placing these bottles come in from the opposite side of the frame, upper left frame border. The two bottles are placed on the bar counter in the foreground, in front of the bottle which is already there. Two hands come in from right frame border (obscuring the man's right elbow and arm holding the mug of beer in the background) and immediately take up these two bottles as soon as they have been released. Cut to next shot.

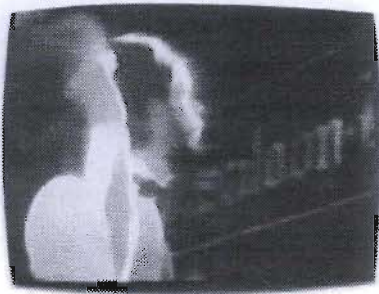


Shot 13: Cut to man framed head and shoulders walking from left of frame to right. He is wearing an open-necked shirt under a fawn coloured jacket. As frames continue, he walks right, through the frame, and out of right frame border. A man is revealed standing behind him framed head and shoulders. This man is closely framed, standing at right of frame with his left shoulder by lower right frame border and looking in profile to left of frame. The top of his head is out of right upper frame border. His right elbow is near lower left frame border as he holds a mug of beer up to his mouth, and drinks from it. He is in his fifties. He is suavely dressed in a dark brown open-necked shirt under an unbuttoned grey jacket. There are two more pub patrons in the out-of-focus left frame background, one partly out of left frame border. (All those who have been featured from beginning of modern day pub scene have been whites.) Also, deeper in the out-of-focus background there are pub shelves with glasses etc. on them. The shot is brightly lit with key lighting from left of frame. As frame continue, the copy line: 'Castle Lager/ The taste that's stood the test of time', becomes superimposed in two lines across the lower half of the frame, running over the lower part of the framed beer drinker's neck at right of frame. The shot becomes freeze framed, somewhat turning the man drinking from the glass mug of beer into an icon. Cut to black.

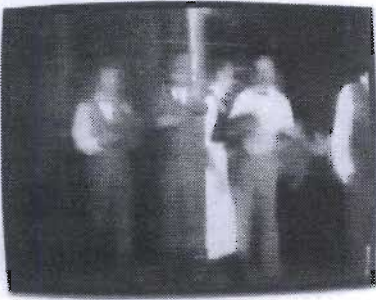
\* The actor who plays the part of the 'gifted brewer' is only introduced as the historical character, Charles Glass, in the 'Beerwagon' commercial of 1979.

**BEERWAGON (1979)****Audio**

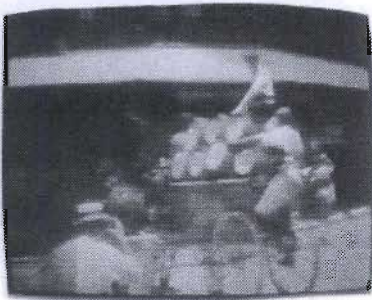
MVO: It was blazing hot that day in 1895 when the old pub ran out of beer. Brewmaster Charles Glass delivered his own special tasting beer himself. The beer was Castle Lager. Somewhat dry, somewhat bitter, never sweet. And to this day, the distinctive taste that's brought fame to the brew. Castle Lager - The taste that's stood the test of time.

**Video**

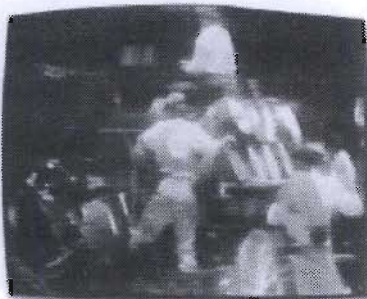
Shot 1: Shot wiped in from white while camera is panning from right to left to frame an old fashioned sign above a pub. (It seems as if a white object is held near camera lens, outside of the field of focus, and pulled away from right of frame to left slightly faster than the speed with which the camera is panning in the same direction.) As camera continues to pan, a man comes into frame at lower left frame border from above the waist up. He is taking off a grey hat and looking up towards right of frame at the pub sign (which comes into frame from right frame border and runs into the background). At this point the MVO is saying: "It was blazing hot that day in 1895...". A bright shaft of light (apparently sunlight, but possibly a spotlight or reflector) is directed at his face from the upper right foreground, lighting up the front of his profile. Supplementary lighting gives some detail in the shadow area of his face, and also highlights his right arm taking off the hat. The man is white with a beard and longish straight hair combed back. Right profile of his face is turned towards camera. He is wearing a white long sleeved shirt, black bow tie, grey waist coat. The sign above the pub is painted on a narrow rectangular brown wooden background with gold letters and a gold border about the edge. It is the type of shop sign one would expect to find at the turn of the century. Only the two last words of the sign are definitely discernable during the shot: .. saloon - Bar. The movement of the pan is also unusual. Initially the pub sign first comes into frame from right frame border, filling almost the whole frame, before the man also comes into the frame as the sign becomes smaller. This suggests that the camera is gliding in an somewhat diagonal downward direction in relation to the sign (initially looking almost horizontally along the sign). This effect has possibly been achieved through the use of a crane. As frames continue, the man brings his hat down in the foreground of the frame. The hat goes out of mid lower frame border. Dissolve to next shot.



Shot 2: Dissolve to a group of people coming out of the pub onto the pavement. An old fashioned lamp post cuts the frame vertically at mid frame. About 5 people have come out of the pub, including a person with long white apron who seems to be the publican. They are walking from left to right of frame. The door of the pub is in the shadows at left of frame. These people are all white men and they are dressed appropriately for the period in question. (This shot has poor resolution. Possibly this is partly an intended effect through the use of a soft focus filter, but also the recording of this commercial seems to suffer from loss of quality consistent with it being many generations removed from the original master tape.) Implicitly these people have come out for a special reason: the arrival of Charles Glass's special delivery of his special beer! Dissolve to next shot.



Shot 3: Dissolve to wide shot of horse drawn carriage arriving at the pub. The carriage is travelling from right of frame into left background, towards the old pub building. It is drawn by two dark horses. Seven barrels are visible on the side of the carriage facing the camera. There are two people on the back of the carriage, one sitting on top of the barrels and the other hanging on at the back. There is bright sunlight in this street scene. The road surface seems to be untarred orange to rust coloured dust. There is a faded red overhang bordering around the pub building, running from left frame border to right frame border (at about first 1/3 down from upper frame border). As frames continue, horses turn to face directly into the background. They are followed by the carriage behind them which begins to turn from a 3 o'clock to a 6 o'clock position so that the man hanging on now has his back to the camera. Another man comes into frame from lower left of frame and is walking towards the back of the carriage. He is dressed in white shirt, white trousers, with a straw basher on his head and a grey jacket over his shoulder. Cut to next shot.



Shot 4: Cut to medium shot of the back of the carriage as it is coming to park by the pub building. The man who has been hanging on the back is now about to jump off. The man dressed in white with straw basher and grey jacket over his shoulder (featured at the end of previous shot) has now reached the back of the carriage and is running behind it. Cut to next shot.



Shot 5: Cut to CU of Charles Glass jumping off the front of the carriage and virtually through the pub door. (He must have been sitting on the front of the carriage but could not be seen in the earlier shots.) The door Charles Glass is coming in through fills frame from left frame border to about 5/8 of the way to right frame border. Camera is positioned inside pub so that part of the inner

entrance by the door cuts vertically across the remaining  $\frac{3}{8}$  of the frame to right frame border. Charles Glass's head is initially out of left upper frame border. As frames continue he descends downwards through the frame, temporarily going out right of lower frame border and then bobbing up again. At the point Charles Glass is momentarily completely out of lower frame border, the carriage driver he was sitting next to is partially revealed. Also visible, behind the carriage in the background, is a beige building with square windows. Glass comes back into frame to fill almost whole frame head and shoulders. He is wearing a brown bowler hat. Cut to next shot.



Shot 6: Cut to Charles Glass shaking hands with publican over what seems to be the bar counter. The background is dark and out of focus, but it seems that there may be more people standing behind the publican. Charles Glass is framed with his back to the camera and with his head turned slightly in profile towards left of frame. He comes in from mid lower frame border with the top of his left shoulder just out of left frame border. His right shoulder is turned slightly towards the right background, near the lower  $\frac{1}{3}$  of right frame border. His head is slightly to the right of mid frame with the top of his brown bowler hat  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the way to upper frame border. He is wearing his brown jacket and brown bowler hat. The publican is in front of Charles Glass. He is facing camera from further in the depth of the frame. In two dimensional terms, he is situated from the left half of the frame with his right arm near left frame border and his left arm at about just beyond mid frame to the right. His head is just left of mid frame, near the upper border, a little higher than the head of Charles Glass. He is wearing a white shirt with sleeves rolled up to just below the elbow, a dark waist coat, and dark bow-tie. He is in his fifties with hair thinning to bald in the front. He also has a dark moustache and is wearing steel framed spectacles. After shaking hands Charles Glass begins to turn around from left of frame while at the same time moving backwards towards lower right frame border as cut to next shot.

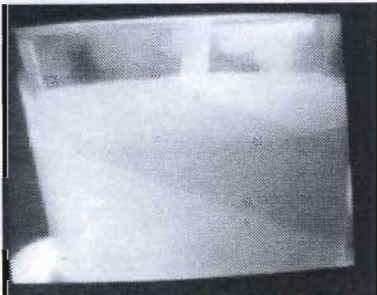


Shot 7: Cut to a hand held shot with camera panning CU in a circular motion from right to left amongst a crowd of people. The people in the foreground are framed heads only while those behind them are framed head and shoulders. The faces of these people are slightly blurred by the movement of the panning camera. As frames continue an elderly man with round steel rimmed spectacles, who resembles the publican, comes into frame. The round steel rimmed spectacles momentarily reflect the light source which appears to be coming from right foreground. A person standing behind the publican to right of frame waving his right hand seems to be Charles Glass. Several other people transiently come into the frame as camera sweeps the scene. The SFX are cheering, no doubt at the breaking of the beer drought. The publican turns his head to the camera, left of frame, as cut to

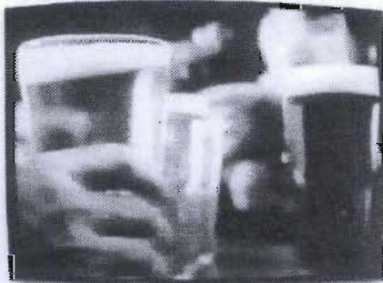
next shot.



Shot 8: Cut to shot of a barrel being tapped. Barrel comes into frame from right frame border and is lying on a wooden surface, possibly a bar counter. This wooden surface runs at a slight diagonal from lower left frame border to just below mid right frame border (at which point it is obscured by the barrel coming into the frame). The person performing the tapping operation is standing on the other side of the counter, coming in from left frame border with his head and one shoulder out of left upper frame border. Initially, the tap is shown being held against the barrel by the person's left hand, highlighted by a spot of light from above. As frames continue, the hammer comes in from mid left frame border, held by the person's right hand. Spray blurs across from upper right of frame to left as tap is being hammered in. Cut to next shot.



Shot 9: Cut to ECU of the upper part of an almost full glass of beer. The rim of this glass runs level with the upper frame border, just within the frame from left frame corner to just beyond upper right frame corner. The glass of beer seems to be illuminated by a bright spot directed across from upper right background. As frames continue, the glass slowly fills up more with camera tilting slightly upwards. Cut to next shot before glass is completely full.

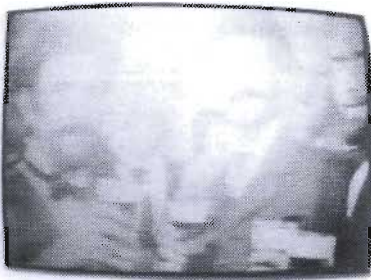


Shot 10: Cut to shot of several full glasses of beer on a bar counter with people's hands coming into frame to pick them up. The bar counter comes into frame from lower frame border running towards frame background. As frames continue, a hand comes in from lower left frame border taking up a glass of beer. In the further background, also at left of frame, there is another hand is taking up another glass of beer. And even further behind, still on the left hand side of the frame, a third hand is just visible about to reach for a glass of beer. From lower half of right frame border, on the opposite side of the bar counter, there is also a hand coming in. This is the hand of the barman placing more glasses of beer onto the counter. There is also a glass standing in the foreground which has not been taken up yet. There is very little depth of field thus people standing on either side of the counter in the immediate background are quite out of focus. Cut to next shot.

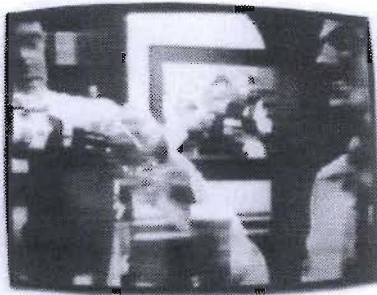


Shot 11: Cut to medium shot of several drinkers as they are coming away from the bar counter. Camera zooms in towards the bar counter at the same time as a person at left of frame is walking towards camera (he goes out of left frame border). At the bar counter, two people are standing (on opposite side of mid frame) in conversation. The man on the left is wearing a grey suit, grey hat, and black bow-tie. The man on the right is wearing a brown suit, white shirt with rounded collar tips, tie and brown bowler hat. He could well be Charles Glass, but there is some uncertainty as the shot is very soft focus. Another man with red hair and a beard is

looking in from right frame border, listening to their conversation. He is wearing a light brown beret, brown waist coat over rolled up sleeves. In the out of focus background, behind the bar counter, there seem to be some shelves with possibly beer glasses and another object which is difficult to identify. As frames continue another gentleman comes in at left of frame, edging in between the gentleman in grey and the bar counter (he remains partially obscured by the gentleman in grey). He is holding a glass up to the gentleman in brown (Charles Glass?). Cut to next shot.



Shot 12: Cut to medium CU of four men framed from waist up. They are crowded together holding up their glasses of beer. The man in grey suit is at left of frame near left frame border. Next to him comes a man who seems to have slightly reddish hair -- he is situated at mid frame slightly further in the background, so he is not very clearly visible. Third from left is Charles Glass looking towards camera in 3/4 profile. Another gentleman with a bushy moustache is coming in from right frame border. From the ensuing body language it becomes apparent that this group is posing for a photograph which is about to be taken. As frames continue, shot fades to white as incandescent flash apparently goes off. Dissolve to next shot.



Shot 13: Dissolve from white to CU on sepia toned old BW photograph apparently depicting the group described in Shot 12. As frames continue camera zooms back until the still photograph, framed in a dark brown wooden frame, becomes situated in the background of a modern day pub. (At this point MVO is saying "And to this day ...") In the shot there is now a barman coming in from left of frame border (in the near background in three dimensional terms). And there is a drinker with mug of beer in right hand coming in from right frame border. He seems to be wearing a light blue jacket. His head comes in from upper right frame corner. He is white and has a dark brown moustache. As frames continue, camera zooms further back to show that the barman (at left) is now almost fully within frame. He is busy pouring another mug of beer from a bottle of Castle Lager. Cut to next shot.



Shot 14: Cut to CU of the bar counter running from lower frame border diagonally to the right of the frame. A man's shoulder comes into frame from right frame border, near upper right frame corner. His elbow is on the bar counter and his hand is on the handle of a half empty mug of beer which is also on the bar counter. The rest of his body is outside of the frame. There is a bottle of Castle Lager at his elbow. As frames continue, two more bottles of Castle are placed on the bar counter by two hands coming in from left upper frame border. Two hands immediately come in from right of frame border and take up the bottles. Camera then pans left and tilts upward to frame this person who





was initially sitting outside left of frame with his elbow on the counter. His head now comes in from upper right frame corner. He is lifting up the mug of beer with his right hand and taking a drink. He is fair skinned with fair hair and is wearing a light cream coloured suit, white shirt, a dark tie with diagonally running light coloured bands. Cut to next shot.



Shot 15: Fade to medium shot of man walking away from the bar counter, towards camera. He is holding two bottles of Castle Lager with his left hand and two empty beer mugs with his right hand. (By reference from last shot, this is the man who picked up the two bottles of Castle from the bar counter.) He is wearing a brown suede jacket over a light coloured shirt which has its upper buttons undone. Behind his back, partly obscured by his left shoulder, is another man standing by the bar counter at right of mid frame. This man is wearing light grey trousers and a light green shirt. His hair is light brown and he is wearing brown-rimmed glasses. He is looking towards left of frame. There is another man who is seated at the bar counter near the right frame border. He has dark hair and is seated with his back to the camera. All these people in this modern day pub scene are whites. As frames continue the man walking towards camera swings his arms up and down, holding the bottles of Castle and two empty mugs, and smiling or talking to someone in the foreground out of frame. Camera cuts to next shot as he approaches lower left of frame.



Shot 16: Cut to medium shot of barman pouring a mug of beer. He is standing at left of frame with his right elbow going out of mid left frame border. He is framed from waist up with the top of his head touching left upper frame border. His waist rises from behind a narrow strip of bar counter which runs along lower frame border. The barman is fair-haired and is wearing a white shirt and black tie over dark trousers which just protrude above the bar counter. He is looking down, slightly to the right, at the mug of beer he is pouring. Another man is slightly visible just coming in from right frame border. As frames continue, camera position dramatically changes in relation to the barman. Initially the camera framed the barman from a position in the left foreground. As frames continue, camera moves to the right, following what must be a circular pathway, to frame the man who was initially just coming in from right frame border. Camera position has thus moved along a semi-circle. From the new camera position barman now appears to be standing behind the drinker and is totally eclipsed by him. The drinker is framed head and shoulders with left shoulder just touching lower

mid left frame border and his right shoulder pointing into the background but obscured by his neck. He is looking in profile to right of frame, holding his full mug of beer to his lips with his right hand. He is wearing a light blue jacket and has longish brown hair. The top of his head reaches to upper left half of the frame. Background is CU of a portion of dark brown shelf behind the bar counter. As frames continue the copy line: 'Castle Lager/ The taste that's stood the test of time', becomes superimposed in two lines across the lower part of the frame, while MVO speaks the same words. Cut to black.

**DUMPY (1979)****Audio**

**SFX:** Commentary and cheering from a TV sports programme.

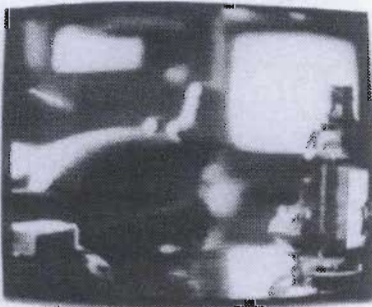
**Housewife:** Bought you the new super dumpies, dear. They've got the unusual 500 ml instead of 340. Its the SAB twist prime top.

**MVO:** Now exclusive to SAB, the new super dumpy with nearly 50% more of your favourite: Castle, Lion, Carling Black Label, and Hansa dumpies, only bigger.

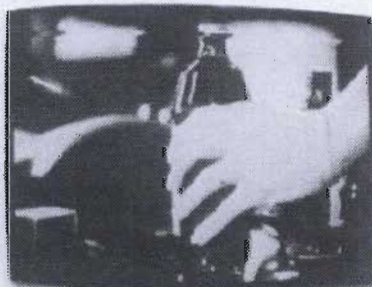
**Housewife:** ....Aaah, maybe I should've got you a bigger glass. (Very stylised, nagging, almost sadistic housewife tone.)

**SFX:** Cheering and commentary from sports programme on TV - - sounds as if somebody has also made a false move in the game.

**MVO:** The new 500 ml super dumpy from SAB. More dumpy for your money. Check the price out at your local bottle store.

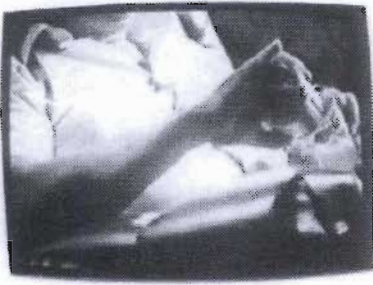
**Video**

Shot 1: Opens CU on a coffee table with an open dumpy bottle of Castle Lager on it, near right frame border. There is light coming from a TV screen in the dark out-of-focus background at upper right of frame. SFX indicate that the TV set is tuned into a sports match. The reflection from the TV screen lights up the polished surface of the coffee table. At left of frame there seems to be the arm of an arm chair coming into frame.



As frames continue a person's right hand comes into frame from right frame border (framing still CU) placing a second, unopened, dumpy bottle mid frame on the coffee table. The second bottle appears to be considerably larger than the first. Another hand now comes in from left of frame putting down an empty glass behind the larger dumpy bottle. The white froth on the inside of this glass suggests it has just been emptied. The hand momentarily goes out of left frame border, and then comes in again to pick up the large dumpy bottle. Camera begins to track around from left to right bringing into frame the man who is sitting in the arm chair.





Initially, his head is still out of upper left frame corner as he picks up the empty glass with his left hand and begins to pour the beer into it with his right hand. His shirt is light coloured and, from what can be seen in the frame, at this point, he seems to have either short or rolled-up sleeves. He comes in from left frame border with the arm of the arm chair going towards right of frame and partially out of right frame border. In the foreground the empty dumpy bottle is still on the coffee table at left of mid frame, and a round dark glass ash tray is also visible on the coffee table at lower right of frame. As frames continue, camera tracks further around to the right so that the beer drinker sitting on the easy chair is now facing camera. Camera tilts up as it is tracking around, so that the drinker's head is now wholly within the frame. The drinker is a man with light brown hair. He is looking ahead absent-mindedly at the TV screen which is now out of frame. He has a tired or slightly sleepy expression on his face. The arms of the arm chair are covered with dark brown leather or leatherette. He is looking ahead instead of following the proceedings in the glass of beer which he is pouring, almost as if by remote control from long-standing experience. We can now see that he is wearing a short sleeved shirt and beige trousers. He has the beginning of a beer drinker's pot belly and is in his forties. He seems to be the stereotypical beer drinker. As he continues to pour his beer (without looking at the glass) the glass overflows and beer pours onto his lap.

(At his point the MVO has been saying: ...."only bigger!"). The nagging housewife now says, in a manner of fained empathy: "...aaaaah, I should have got you a bigger glass". This simple, basically one shot commercial, works on the level of conceit through the fact that one suspects that she knew all along that he would not pay any attention to what she was saying and would just pour his glass in the usual manner. She had thus planned this 'little accident' and, while giving the information about the unusual size of the bottle, was just waiting to catch him out. In actual fact, there was no point in telling him what she knew wouldn't register -- she should have given him a bigger glass and let him carry on in his normal absent minded, mesmerised manner.



He lifts up the bottle looking at it and at his wife who is out of frame at the same time -- at the same time as she is saying "...a bigger glass". He brings his glass down and turns his head slightly to the left of frame with a hurt and anguished look on his face. As if to say that his wife found a way to undermine his relaxation again. (The wife is never visible except for her hand when she puts the large dumpy bottle on the table. She she has a white South African working class accent.)

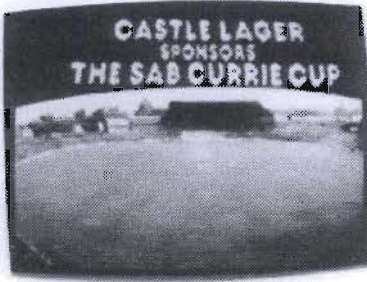


Shot 2: Fade to two dumpy bottles of Castle Lager shot against a backlit translucent white perspex infinity curve. Initially, both bottles are the same size. 340 ml is written in black typeface beneath each bottle. As frames continue, the bottle on the right begins to grow while the 340 ml written beneath it changes accordingly to 360 ml, 380 ml, 400 ml, 420 ml, 440 ml, 460 ml, 480 ml, and 500 ml. As this transformation is taking place, MVO is saying: "The new 500 ml super dumpy from SAB. More dumpy for your money". The copy line: 'More Dumpy for your money.', becomes superimposed across the upper part of the frame, above the tops of the two dumpy bottles. Cut to black.

**SAB CURRIE CUP (1981)****Audio**

**SFX:** Exclamatory shouting 'allaaah...' of bowler (Vincent van der Byl), Batting sounds, and spectator reaction sounds.

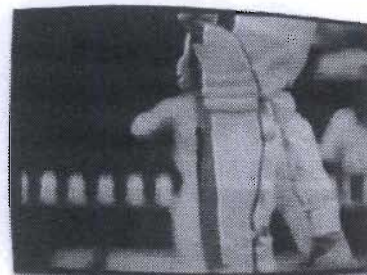
**MVO:** The SAB Currie Cup brought to you by Castle Lager. The taste that's stood the test of time. See you there.

**Video**

Shot 1: Extreme wide angle (fish-eye) establishing shot of cricket field. The camera seems to be positioned under one of the stands with the lens pointed directly towards the opposite stand at the other side of the field. The fish-eye lens includes, as a curved black band on the upper 2/5ths of the frame, the upper roof of the stand under which the camera is positioned. On this black part of the frame the following copy is superimposed: CASTLE LAGER/ SPONSORS THE SAB CURRIE CUP. Some of the edge of the cricket field is picked up by the camera lens and reproduced at the lower left and right hand sides of the frame. The fish-eye lens distorts the cricket field into a green circle. At about the centre of the frame the tiny figures of the white-clad cricketers are just visible.

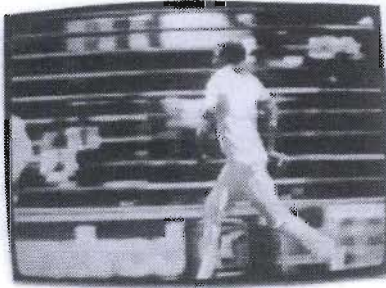


Shot 2: Cut to telephoto CU of bald-headed bowler (Vincent van der Byl) coming into frame from centre of lower frame border, framed from below the waist up with the top of his head reaching to about upper 1/3 of the frame. He is holding a red cricket ball in front of himself with his left hand. He is wearing a white short-sleeved and long white trousers. Behind Vincent van der Byl, the powerful telephoto lens has drawn in a stand made of wooden-boarded metal scaffolding. Remarkably, this stand is virtually empty of spectators. Van der Byl is facing camera and moving from left of frame to right, as he prepares to bowl. He signals with the forefinger of the hand which is holding the cricket ball. As camera pans to follow his movement across the frame, two black people come into frame who are sitting on the out-of-focus background stand. They seem to be field workers, as the person on the upper level is wearing red-overalls and what seems to be a white plastic helmet. The fact that these 'field workers' are sitting alone without anyone near them, suggests that this filming took place during a practice session.

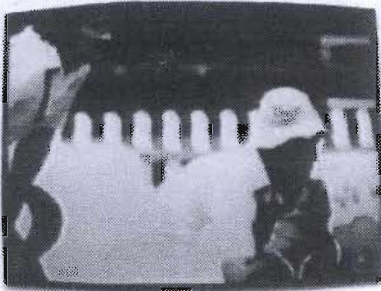


Shot 3: Cut to batsman at wickets. His legs fill whole frame with his feet at lower frame border (legs above the knees going out of top frame border). The bat is mid frame, being held from left half of frame. This is also an extreme telephoto shot which has brought in the out-of-focus background. There seems to be an indistinguishable black person at mid-right frame border. As

frames continue to run, the batsman moves his one leg backward towards right of frame, he is preparing for the on-coming ball.



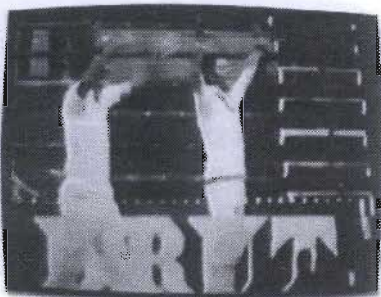
Shot 4: Cut to Van der Byl moving from right of frame to left as he prepares to bowl. The telephoto lens has brought in the background stands. But for a few indistinguishable objects (perhaps a cricket kit bag at upper left of frame) the stands are completely empty. At lower left of frame, close to the ground at the side of the field, is a blue and white oval shaped 'Ford' (motor company) logo. As frames continue, Van der Byl gathers speed on his run, passing by some other player. There are some indistinguishable spectators on the stand ...



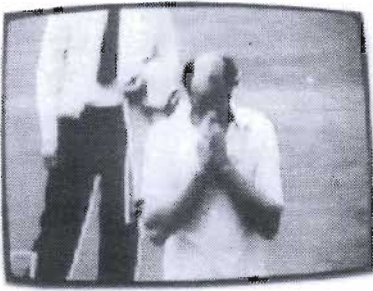
Shot 5: Cut to medium CU of wicket keeper kneeling and tensely waiting for the ball. He is positioned at centre of frame, facing the right of frame with his head and hand at just about 3/4 of top right frame border. Behind the wicket keeper, at left frame border facing right frame border, is another cricketer who is standing with his hands on his knees. In the background, at about mid frame is the white wooden fence at the edge of the field. In the further background are the spectator stands which are all empty in this shot.



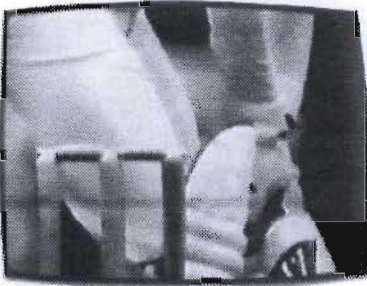
Shot 6: Cut to Van der Byl as he is about to hurl the cricket ball with all his might. He is at mid frame with his head about 3/4 of the way to upper frame border. At left frame border is the umpire dressed in white shirt and dark tie. The shot is taken from a high camera angle, therefore the whole frame is backgrounded by the green grass of the field. As frames continue to run, Van der Byl throws the ball and at the same time leans forward so that his head approaches close to mid lower frame border. He slowly begins to erect himself again as cut to next shot.



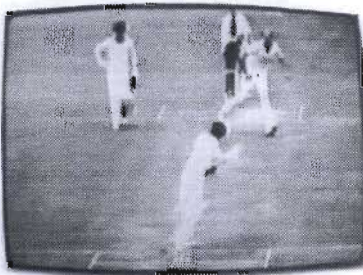
Shot 7: Cut to two cricketers standing upright with both their arms up in the air -- presumably in response to the bowling action which has just been executed by Van der Byl (Shot 6). One of these cricketers is outside the left frame border and the other is standing at about mid-frame. Their upraised arms are just short of reaching the upper frame border. There is a BRUT (men's deodorant) logo behind them on the fence at the side of the field. In the further background are empty spectator stands, which appear to be painted dark green in this shot. There seem to be two people seated by the fence at lower right frame border, near the letter "T" of the BRUT logo.



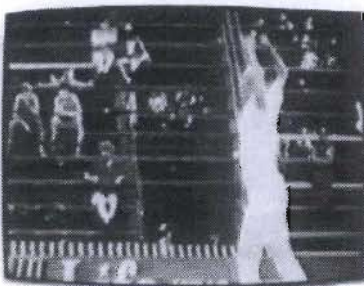
Shot 8: Cut to Van der Byl who is now at centre of the frame and standing upright. He slowly brings his hands together, as if in a thankful prayer for his apparently successful shot. The umpire, dressed in dark trousers, white shirt with dark tie, is standing behind Van der Byl, near left frame border with his head out of upper frame. He seems to have a towel hanging from his left arm. As frames continue, Van der Byl brings his hands together and bows his head as if in supplication. On the soundtrack there is delighted applause from the spectators at this gesture, but the intensity of this applause is inconsistent with the sparseness of spectators which the shots have so far revealed. This aspect does not necessarily constitute a flaw in the commercial because it tends to contribute a certain enigma suggestive of the qualities of cricket, which the coming series will offer to spectators. The suggestion that the action in this commercial is meant to be a foretaste of the real series is reinforced when at the conclusion the MVO says: "See you there".



Shot 9: Cut to CU of batsman prepared for oncoming ball. The shot frames the upper part of the wickets at left background. The batsman is framed also at left, behind the wickets, coming in from upper left frame border. He is in the frame from waist level down with his legs below the knees out of lower frame border. His knee guards reach to about just right of mid-frame, pointing diagonally towards upper right frame corner. His arms holding the bat come down into frame from upper right half of frame border.

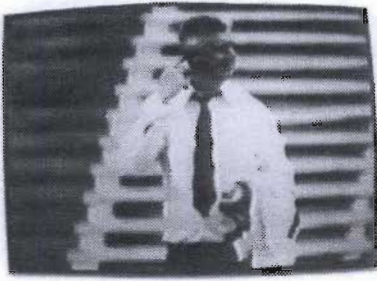


Shot 10: Cut to a long shot which frames: at upper right half of the frame, Van der Byl about to bowl; and the batsman at lower mid frame, ready to respond. This is a long shot which has been taken with a telephoto lens from a considerable distance, the space between Van der Byl and the responding batsman has thus been compressed. It is also shot from a high camera angle, giving a shallow background with the whole frame filled with the green grass of the field. The umpire, standing behind Van der Byl, is wholly within the frame; as is the batsmen at the other crease, at Van der Byl's right (left of frame), ready to chalk up his runs. Van der Byl throws the ball and then jumps up in the air with both his arms up and fists clenched.

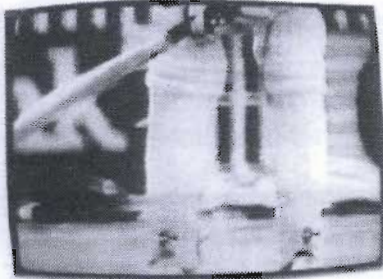


Shot 11: Cut, from another camera angle, to a medium CU of Van der Byl with his arms up in the air and fists clenched. He is running from right of frame to left. In the background the spectator stands are pulled in by the telephoto lens, but spectators are very sparse. Only about six people can be made out on the stands. At the foot of the stands, by the field fence, is an advertising banner for 'Life King Size filters'.





Shot 12: Cut to medium CU of umpire who has been standing behind Van der Byl in previous shots. He is framed from below the waist up with his head reaching almost upper frame border. He is looking to right of frame with an expression of puzzlement on his face while scratching his right ear, as if he is trying to fathom Van der Byl's strange antics of jumping up in the air, etc. As frames continue to run, the umpire turns to face camera and brings his hand down from his ear as cut to next shot.



Shot 13: Cut to extreme CU of batsman. In this shot his knees are facing the camera. He is standing at centre of frame with his legs above the knees out of upper frame border. He is holding the bat at an angle from about mid upper frame border with the lower end towards lower left frame border.



Shot 14: Cut to long shot of Van der Byl bowling again. The shot is again taken from a high camera angle (as in Shot 10), thus the depth of background is limited and the green grass of the field fills the whole frame. There are four cricketers in this shot: In the upper part of the frame is the batsman at the other crease, Van der Byl and the umpire; in the lower part is the batsman at ready to face Van der Byl's shot. As frames continue, Van der Byl bowls and the batsman successfully bats the ball (there is an audible sound of contact as the bat hits the ball).



Shot 15: Cut to four team members walking from left of frame to right with their arms up in the air, in response to the play of the previous shot. Again the telephoto lens has pulled in the spectator stands but there are few spectators. There seem to be two darker skinned people, one of whom is possibly an Indian.



Shot 16: Cut to medium CU of Van der Byl framed from waist up with the top of his bald head just out of upper frame border. He has his back turned to the camera and is raising up his arms. The telephoto lens has brought in a small portion of the stands in the out of focus background, but no spectators are visible in this area. As frames continue, Van der Byl raises both of his arms and shakes his clenched fists (camera tilts up to frame this action). At right of frame, a red object becomes visible in the out of focus area of the stands ... it is a bag held by the out of focus figure of a person who walks into frame from right frame border. The following copy becomes superimposed on the lower half of the frame: CASTLE LAGER/ SPONSORS/ THE SAB CURRIE CUP. As frames continue, Van der Byl turns around to face camera, he has a slightly opened mouth smile with lip tight over his lower teeth - what one might call a chuffed expression. The frame freezes then cuts to black.

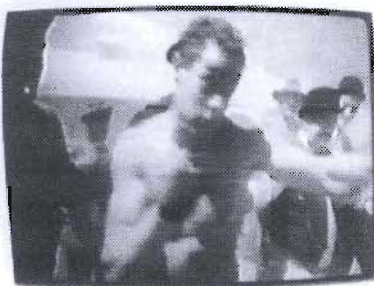
**BOXING (1981)****Audio**

**MVO:** There was great excitement in old Johannesburg when Australian Willy Docherty climbed into the ring with world champion King McCoy from the USA for one of the toughest fights in boxing history. The winners were McCoy and the bookies. Afterwards McCoy celebrated with a beer on the house from the famous brewmaster Charles Glass. It was a beer like no other. Appreciated by a worthy champion and a brave challenger. Castle Lager, somewhat dry, somewhat bitter, never sweet. And to this day, the popularity of this special beer is a tribute to the genius of that first creative brewmaster. Castle Lager. The taste that's stood the test of time.

**SFX:** Some intermittent cheering etc. from onlookers.

**Video**

Shot 1: Opens with camera positioned within boxing ring, at wide angle. The ropes run across the upper half of the frame, with the second rope just inside upper frame border. The ring is slightly elevated from ground level and the floor of the ring runs horizontally from lower frame border to about 1/4 of the way up the frame. A black chicken and a white rooster are standing on the ring floor with their backs to the camera. In the background, a crowd of about 20 people are running towards the ring cheering with their arms up in the air. They are following one of the boxers who is making his way to the ring. Cut to next shot.



Shot 2: Cut to medium shot of the boxer who was approaching the ring in Shot 1. He is framed coming in from mid lower frame border from waist up. He is leaning to right of frame taking a swipe in the air with his right arm, while his left arm is already going out of just below mid right frame border from a previous motion. His head reaches to about 2/3 of the way to upper frame border. He is wearing blue green shorts and is naked from above the waist up. A large hefty man dressed in dark suit and a broad rimmed hat is standing behind him to the left of mid frame. This man could be the boxer's manager or trainer. There are two or three more people at right of frame, partly obscured by the sparring boxer. And there is also someone in the background at left of frame. As far as can be made out black people are conspicuously absent amongst the crowd of onlookers. A blue green horizon runs across the left part of the frame as far as the hefty man's shoulder, about 2/3 of the way to upper frame border. The further background is the

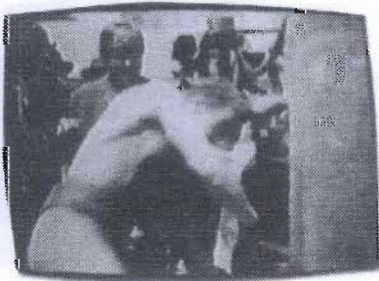
blue sky of a bright sunny day. Cut to next shot.



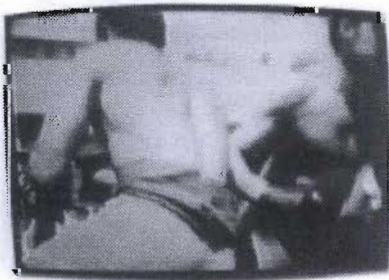
Shot 3: Cut to CU of opposing boxer amongst his supporters and manager. He is framed head and shoulders standing at about centre of frame looking in profile to left frame border. His hair is greased and combed back and he has a thin moustache. A man with grey suit and grey hat with a black band is standing close behind at left frame facing camera. This boxer is also sparring, towards left of frame. There are more people crowding around in the background but their faces are not distinct. Cut to next shot.



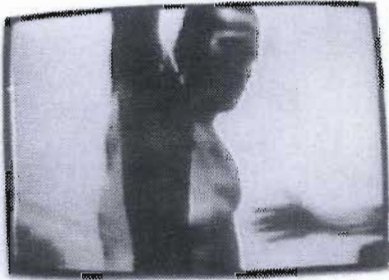
Shot 4: Cut to medium shot of a group of people around what seems to be a bookmaker's table. The table is just visible in the lower part of the frame, coming in from lower frame border. The bookmakers seem to be two men standing at left of frame. The first from left is wearing jacket, white collar, bow tie, and straw basher. Next to him stands a man in a brownish suit with grey bowler hat. The camera is contre-jour giving a soft diffused effect. Next, situated a little to the background, slightly right of mid frame, comes a man wearing a broad-rimmed khaki-coloured felt hat. Further right is a man dressed in grey and with grey bowler hat. Everyone is moving about in excitement as they place their bets. Another two men are leaning in from right of frame border. The one nearest the foreground seems to be wearing a black hat which comes in from upper right frame corner. He is pointing down at papers on the table with his right hand. All featured in the shot are fair skinned. The sky is visible in the background at upper part of the frame, it is bright and sunny. Cut to next shot.



Shot 5: Cut to Docherty coming in from left frame border, about to climb into the ring. The ring comes in from right frame border, occupying more or less the right half of the frame. The angle of the camera is low so the floor of the ring is not visible. The side of the ring which comes into frame has two wooden posts with ropes hanging across: one post is CU in the foreground, the other is further in the background at about mid frame. There are several people behind Docherty at left of frame as he climbs into the ring. The most prominent is a stocky man with straight blond hair who is wearing a light brown suede jacket. There are no blacks amongst these spectators. (As Docherty moves across to the right, camera person follows him with camera hand held.) The background spectators at left of frame go out of left hand frame border followed by the wooden posts which initially were at right of frame. Camera person follows this action as Docherty is getting up into the ring, now at left half of frame with his back turned to camera. At this point McCoy is standing at right of frame, facing camera while looking right with the back of his head partly out of right frame corner. It is now possible to see that Docherty is not in actual fact wearing green shorts -- he is wearing light brown tights with a green piece of material tied as a band around the waist. McCoy is



wearing similar tights in a grey blue colour with a red and white striped piece of material around the waist, suggesting the USA flag. There is a large crowd in the background as camera moves across, all are whites. McCoy lifts his arms up at the crowd at right of frame as cut to next shot.



Shot 6: Cut to wide angle medium CU of King McCoy with his one arm up in the air. He is framed from waist up. He comes in from lower left of centre frame with his head near the middle of upper frame border. He is looking down to right of frame. His right arm is up in the air towards foreground so that it goes out of frame at the elbow. A person's hand comes in from lower right frame border, stretching across to touch McCoy's body. The background is washed-out white blue sky, the shot being taken against the light, probably not long after midday. McCoy's face is partly in shadow but the sun catches his forehead. As frames continue, camera pans to right and the man stretching his hand across to touch McCoy comes into frame. He is wearing a blue jacket, light blue shirt and grey bowler hat. The camera is on McCoy pointing up from a low angle. The man who has come in from right of frame seems to be his manager or trainer. No spectators are visible in this shot as camera is pointing up from a low angle with the sky above as the background. Cut to next shot.



Shot 7: Cut to medium/long shot of inside the ring from a high angle. Willy Docherty is in the centre of the frame facing towards camera but looking slightly to the right towards his opponent (McCoy). McCoy is just coming into frame from right hand side of frame border. Behind Docherty's back are the ropes, going across lower half of frame from left to one of the corner posts which is inside the right hand side frame border. Behind the ropes about eight spectators are visible, all of whom are whites. In the further background there is a building or wall which runs horizontally across the frame. The light is bright midday sun. As frames continue, Docherty prepares with both fists ready to meet his opponent who momentarily goes out of right frame border as camera homes in on Docherty. Cut to next shot.



Shot 8: Cut to a medium shot of a man ringing a brass bell to signal the start of the first round of the boxing match. (The camera seems to be positioned within the ring at about floor level.) He is standing by one of the boxing ring corners, looking upwards into the sun (he is squinting slightly) and towards the boxers who are not in the camera frame, but somewhere in the foreground behind camera position. The brass bell is close up to the camera lens and slightly out of focus. The frame composition is such that two sides running into the corner of the ring enter the frame at lower left frame corner and lower right frame corner. The point of the corner is situated at the lower left first 1/4 of the frame and the brass bell

is ringing directly above this corner. A rope runs across the top half of the frame, coming in from upper right frame corner and running downwards to a point a little down from upper left frame corner where it is being pulled by the hand of a spectator who has his white shirt-sleeved elbow around the corner post. The man ringing the bell is dressed in a white shirt with a dark brown or black waist coat. He has a slight moustache and is wearing a beret. The man behind his right shoulder (i.e. at left of frame who is pulling the rope) is wearing what seems to be a cap or bowler pulled over his head. Close behind stand three more male spectators. The first from left has his mouth open and is seemingly shouting encouragement to the boxer with much zest and animation. He seems to be wearing a Stetson or a broad-rimmed Voortrekker hat. Next to him is a man with brown beard and moustache, also hatted but with the top of his hat out of upper frame border. The third is a tall-looking man with brown trousers, white shirt and an unbuttoned cream jacket. His face is mostly outside upper frame border, from above the chin up. All in the frame are white males. Cut to next shot.

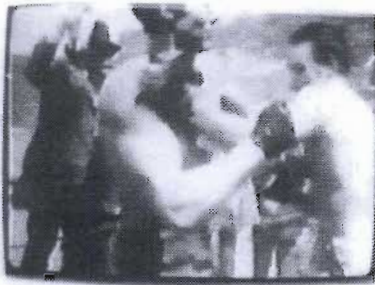


Shot 9: Cut to a shot which gives the impression of being something between a fade in from white and the burnt out effect which might occur through overexposure if the camera is pointed directly into the sun at a wide aperture. Initially, the shape of a boxer framed head and shoulders and situated towards right of centre frame can barely be made out in the burnt-out part of the frame. At first his face is completely burnt out so it cannot be distinguished whether the figure is that of Docherty or McCoy. (In all probability this effect has been achieved in the processing laboratory as the fade is more intense in the centre of the frame rather than proportionately distributed. Possibly this special effect is intended to suggest to the TV audiences the point of view of the opposing boxer who is out of the frame -- what he would see of his opponent immediately after receiving a few blows in the face.) The boxer's left shoulder is near right frame border, the gloved fist of his right hand at lower left of frame but well inside left frame border. As frames continue, one is able to just make out that the person moving about has a dark moustache -- this identifies him as King McCoy. In the background a person dressed in long white sleeves, dark waist coat and light coloured tie is standing on a high platform at left frame border, in the upper part of the frame. In the further background there seem to be the green leaves of a tree. Cut to next shot.

Shot 10: Cut to a normally exposed version of the last frames of



Shot 9. (It does not seem that his cut is intended to be noticed as a separate shot.) King McCoy can now be seen quite clearly. He is CU, framed head and shoulders, towards right of frame with his left shoulder going out of the lower half of right frame border. He is facing camera with the gloved fist of his right hand raised up just left of mid frame to the level of his head. His face is more to the right, with the top of his head almost reaching upper frame border. He seems to be very close to the camera and is slightly out of focus. The man who was standing on a high platform at left of frame in Shot 8 is still there, just inside left frame border in the upper half of the frame. The further background is again out-of-focus green leaves of a tree with light coming through in areas that are bare. As frames continue, McCoy's fist comes forward toward camera and down towards right lower frame border, just reaching it but not going out. The fist is very large, more than half the length of the frame. McCoy has leaned to the right, revealing another white male spectator who is standing outside the ring on ground level at left frame (below the man on the high platform). This man has a black beard and is wearing a straw basher. Cut to next shot.



Shot 11: Cut to shot of the two boxers locked together in the ring. They are framed from above the waist up. King McCoy is at right of frame and Docherty at left, partly out of left frame border. In the near background are various spectators around the ring but their faces are not initially very distinct. As frames continue, several blows are exchanged with Docherty getting the worst of it. Behind Docherty's back (leaning into the ring at left of frame), a fat man with a dark-coloured stetson pulled low over his face is shouting encouragement. Several more spectators are visible at right of frame, all are fair skinned. Docherty is drawn towards the middle of the frame by McCoy's two gloved fists which are locked about his neck. At this point Docherty manages to get a punch in at McCoy's face as cut to next shot.



Shot 12: Cut to soft focus, burnt out, CU of two spectators. They are framed head and shoulders with the top parts of their heads out of upper frame border. Both are wearing collar and tie. As frames continue, the man on the left leans forward pointing his right arm forward towards the right -- his right hand going out of right frame border. Camera pans to keep him in frame so that he fills the whole frame, while the man who was on his right goes virtually out of frame (only his right ear and the rim of his straw basher are still in frame at upper right corner). The man pointing his arm shouts something and there is an intense expression on his face as cut to next shot.

Shot 13: Cut back to the boxing ring. King McCoy is framed alone from waist up. He is facing left of frame with Docherty outside of

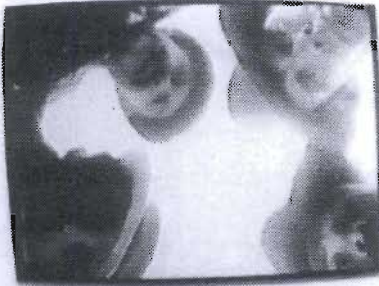


left frame border. The left shoulder and arm of a person who seems to be the referee come in from upper left frame border -- he is wearing a light blue shirt and black waist coat. The background is out-of-focus green leaves of trees with the sky visible through small bare patches. Bright sunlight is falling upon McCoy's back from the right foreground. As frames continue, McCoy's left arm jabs out of left frame border in a powerful punch at his opponent. At this stage, camera has panned slightly to the left so that the referee is now fully within the frame. Besides blue shirt, black waistcoat, the referee is also wearing a dark grey bowler and a bow tie. McCoy is framed a little more CU with the top of his head (above the nose) out of upper frame border. As frames continue, he leans his right shoulder forward as he takes a right punch at his opponent who is still out of frame (as he moves he partly obscures the referee). McCoy continues in his forward leaning motion (towards left of frame) in this powerful right-handed punch, his head reaches upper left frame corner as cut to next shot.

Shot 14: Cut to wide shot (taken from behind McCoy's back) of the two boxers together including spectators across one side of the ring (in the background at about mid-frame). The ten or twelve spectators are dressed in appropriate attire for 'old Johannesburg' -- most are wearing suits and bowlers but there is also a stetson and a beret. In the further background is the same long warehouse-like structure with grey roof as in some earlier shots. Docherty is initially partly obscured by McCoy's back. As frames continue, McCoy with his back to the camera executes a powerful left punch which as far as can be ascertained connects Docherty under the chin, carrying him across towards the right of frame. Docherty loses his balance and falls to the floor, initially towards right frame background, but comes to rest at lower right of frame with his head just above lower right frame corner. The shot is very brightly lit, slightly overexposed, with the sun at about 1 or 2 o'clock position, shining down from frame foreground (short shadows of the two boxers were cast on the ring floor during the fray). As Docherty collapses, cut to next shot.

Shot 15: Cut to wide angle medium shot of one of the corners of the boxing ring with Docherty on the ground. The corner of the ring comes in from lower frame border with one side of the ring running diagonally across, through just above mid-left frame border. There is a small dark triangle of area outside of the ring at left frame corner with spectator's heads just barely visible. The rest of the frame is filled by the floor of the ring. Docherty's body lies spread-eagled with the lower half of his right leg going out of the upper frame border at right of mid-frame. His head is right of lower mid-frame with his reddish hair near lower frame border. Docherty has

an agonized expression on his face, with his right arm still up in the air and his left arm stretched out towards left frame border. Light shines in from right frame background. As frames continue two spectators, who come into frame in the dark triangle at lower left frame corner, lean their heads into the ring to shout something. The first from lower frame has longish light brown hair, the other is wearing a straw basher. Cut to next shot.



Shot 16: Cut to shot with camera position looking up from the ring floor (i.e. from the point of view of the downed Docherty). Several heads are looking downwards from each frame corner. As frames continue, a face comes in below the other faces (partly distorted due to being very close to camera lens). This person's neck comes in from left half of upper frame border with his forehead just going out at right half of lower frame border. This face looks rather bizarre due to its close proximity and distortion. Also, due to the way this person is leaning down, his eyeballs are turned into the lower parts of their sockets, with the upper white part of the eyeball prominent. Cut to next shot.



Shot 17: Cut to tightly composed close shot of Docherty lying horizontally unconscious on his back along lower frame border with the referee giving count. Docherty's body comes in from lower left frame border, with his head at lower right frame corner. His head is turned up towards camera but his eyes are closed. The referee is facing at mid frame, kneeling by Docherty and giving count. He is dressed in white shirt, black open-fronted waist coat, grey bowler and bow-tie. In the further background, in the space at left of frame behind the referee's right shoulder, stands McCoy facing camera with his fists still ready looking slightly downwards at Docherty. The face of a man with red hair is also looking down at Docherty from upper right corner (possibly it is the man who was filmed from ground level up looking down at Docherty in Shot 15). At upper right of frame the ropes of one side of the ring run from the sides of upper right frame corner into the background. The spectator with a broad rimmed felt hat is looking down at Docherty from between the ropes at right of frame. There are two more spectators partly visible on either side of this man. As frames continue, the referee throws out both his arms to indicate that Docherty has been counted out. Cut to next shot.

Shot 18: Cut to King McCoy being carried away by his supporters with his arms up in the air and his fists clenched just above the





level of his head. The heads of the people carrying McCoy come into frame from lower frame border. McCoy is visible from just above the waist up with the top of his head slightly above mid-frame. All amongst the crowd of his supporters are fair skinned. The background is green leaves of trees. The out of focus ropes of the ring cut across the frame from high up left frame border to near right frame border (indicating that camera is situated inside the boxing ring but at same level as McCoy who is being supported up high from ground level out side of the ring. As frames continue, McCoy is momentarily lifted higher so that the blue cloth band with white stars around his waist is visible. McCoy is smiling broadly, animated by his victory. Cut to next shot.

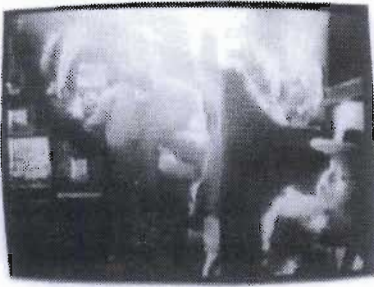


Shot 19: Cut again to bookmakers (previously featured in Shot 4). One is framed filling most of left of frame. He is lifting up a suitcase, presumably full of money. (MVO says: "the winners were McCoy and the bookies"). In this shot the bookmaker at left half of frame has a thin moustache and is wearing a sporting jacket and beret. In the background at upper left frame corner above the bookmaker's shoulder a shop sign comes into frame with the first 3 letters (Bar..) visible. As frames continue, the bookmaker turns left and walks out of left frame border with the suitcase of money. His partner dressed in a tweed jacket and a black bowler (who was initially standing behind and mostly obscured) follows him. The betting shop sign in the background momentarily becomes fully readable, revealing the name, Barney Ohara/ Bookmaker (in two lines). In the further background behind the shop sign are trees. Afternoon sky lights up the background in the upper part of the frame. Cut to next shot.

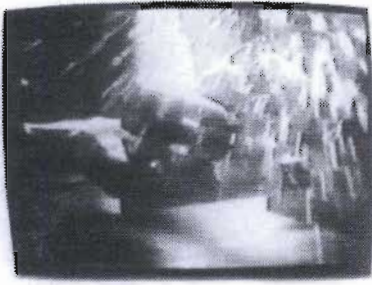


Shot 20: Cut to medium CU shot of the unconscious Docherty being carried away. He is being held up from under both armpits by a man who is just coming in from right frame border with his head out of upper right frame border. As frames continue, it seems that Docherty's legs are being lifted up by people who are outside left frame border. His head slumps down against his left shoulder with his hair by upper right frame border. He is now framed even closer with his body coming in from lower left of frame from above the waist up. The people carrying him are outside the frame. As frames continue, the person holding Docherty at right frame border moves a little towards left lifting Docherty's head higher. At this point Docherty seems to be showing some signs of revival on his face. Cut to next shot.

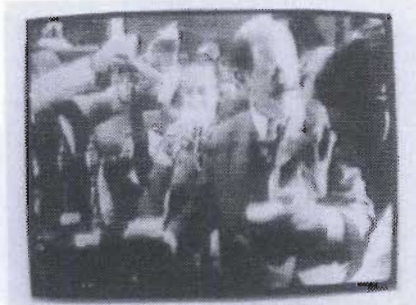
Shot 21: Cut to shot from inside a pub with crowd coming in through the door opening at upper right of frame. The person who



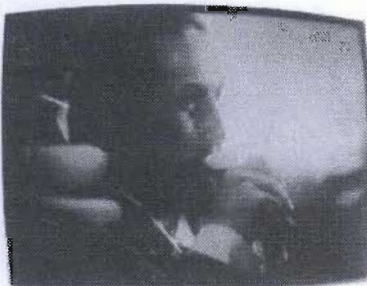
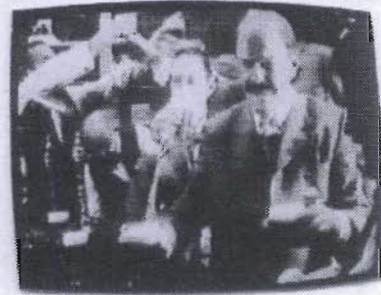
is in front of this group is a bearded middle-aged man who is balding on the front of his head. He is well-built and wearing a buttoned-up grey suit with his hat in his right hand. Next to him is someone with his left arm up in the air. At lower right frame border a man with thin-rimmed spectacles and a straw basher on his head is partially within the frame. It seems that this man has been sitting in the pub sipping beer from a glass. As frames continue, it becomes apparent that the two people coming through the pub door are part of a group who are carrying McCoy into the pub. The two men leading the group are holding McCoy up by the legs. McCoy is holding a straw basher up in the air with his right hand. As frames continue, they come into the pub with the rest of the group who are supporting McCoy from under the shoulders. Camera pans left to keep them in frame and the man sipping his beer at lower right of frame (who was also wearing a straw basher) goes out of right frame border. As frames continue further, the group moves through the pub to bring McCoy down onto his feet a little before reaching the pub counter. As this action is taking place there is loud cheering and McCoy is patted on the back. McCoy stands on his feet, walks the rest of the way to the pub counter placing his straw basher on it. The pub counter runs from right half of lower frame border, looking towards the background. At right frame border there is a wooden post coming up off the counter towards the ceiling. McCoy now has his left fist down on the counter and his right hand on his straw basher which is also lying on the counter. Various gentlemen are crowded around McCoy. At upper right of frame is the tall balding man with moustache and beard smoking a pipe (this seems to be the man who headed the crowd carrying McCoy into the pub). As the group carrying McCoy approached the pub counter a gentleman wearing a brown suit came in from left frame border and put his right hand on McCoy's shoulder. As frames continue, it becomes apparent that this gentleman is none other than Charles Glass. McCoy turns to face camera, leaning on the pub counter on his right elbow with his hands clasped together. Charles Glass is profile from upper right of frame border towards the other side of the bar counter at left of frame. He is ordering beers on the house (MVO says: "Afterwards McCoy celebrated with a beer on the house from the famous brewmaster Charles Glass".) As frames continue, the face of the barman comes in from left frame border, as Charles Glass speaks to him while raising his left hand to give directions. Charles Glass is not wearing a hat in this shot. He has a reddish complexion and is balding in the front. Cut to next shot. Shot 22: Cut to shot of a barrel being tapped. Barrel comes in from right frame border. It is placed on a wooden counter running



across lower part of frame. The person performing the tapping operation comes in from left frame border and drives tap in with spray coming out in opposite direction towards left upper frame border. Cut to next shot.

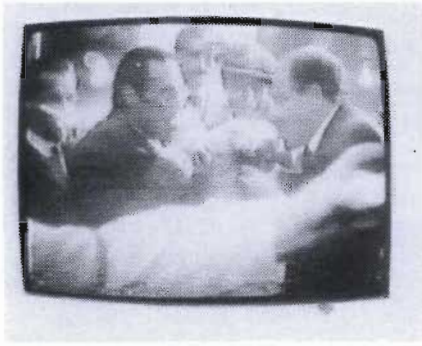


Shot 23: Cut to Charles Glass handing out glasses of beer. He turns around from the bar counter with a glass of beer in each hand giving one glass to a man with white shirt standing by the right frame border. The other glass he gives to someone standing outside of the frame at lower left frame corner (stretching his right arm across the frame in order to do so). McCoy who is standing at about mid-frame behind Glass's right shoulder is already sipping a glass of beer. In the upper part of the frame the barman has his both arms stretched out over the bar counter handing out two beers. As frames continue, the man to whom Charles Glass had handed a beer at lower left frame border now comes into the frame, walks across the frame, and out of right frame border (earlier in the shot he was outside of the frame at left frame border.) He is wearing a dark blue suit, his hair is greased and combed back and he has thin steel framed spectacles on. The crowd around the pub counter has now thinned out and McCoy and Charles Glass are standing talking while the two barmen are still busy behind the bar counter. Cut to next shot.

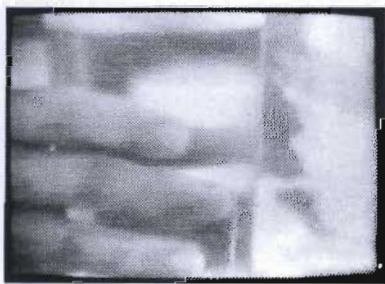


Shot 24: Cut to shot of McCoy framed head and shoulders looking in profile towards right of frame. At upper left frame corner there is a face behind McCoy's head but it is out of focus. There seem to be some hands at lower left frame corner, and there is a person's head just coming in from right frame border. A bright light source is shining towards camera from a large area (+- 25% of the frame space) at upper right of frame. As frames continue, McCoy sips his beer and turns his head around to face camera but looks downwards at the same time. A man's face in profile has now come into the frame at above mid-left frame border. At right frame border, someone with what seems to be a greyish coloured cap slung over his face is approaching McCoy. It is Docherty, now obviously recovered. He brings a play right fist to McCoy's jaw while both men smile broadly. Docherty softly pushes McCoy's head with his fist left across the frame and out of left frame border. A man with a moustache in a grey suit, white shirt, and dark tie is standing behind them at left half of frame, also smiling broadly. Docherty's cap is actually black and white checkered and he is wearing a powder blue suit. Docherty pulls his arm back and McCoy comes back into the frame with the back of his head turned towards camera. His dark straight hair is greasy and combed back

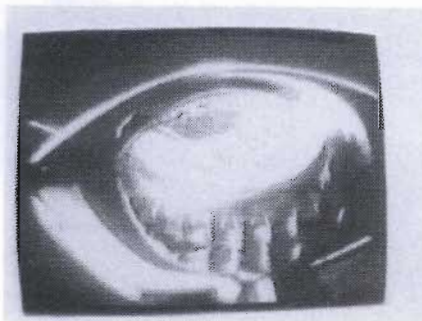




slickly against his head. McCoy puts his right arm over Docherty's shoulder and Charles Glass comes into frame from right frame border. The barman hands two more beers across the bar counter which Charles Glass takes up, handing one to Docherty while the other he keeps for himself. All three now raise their glasses, while the hand of the barman traverses across the lower half of the frame from left frame border handing out another glass of beer to someone outside right frame border. As frames continue, the three, Charles Glass, McCoy and Docherty, continue drinking while the barman retracts his arm across the counter then repeats his previous action, handing out a further beer across the lower part of the frame to someone outside right frame border. Cut to next shot.

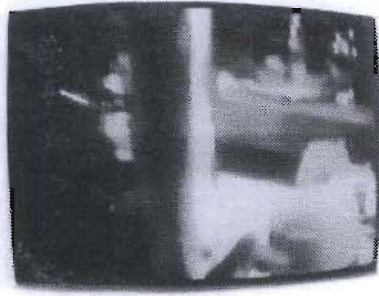
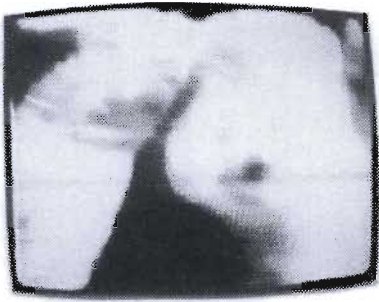


Shot 25: Cut to CU of hand taking up glass of beer from the counter. Hand comes in from left frame border to take up glass which is situated at about left of mid-frame. There are two empty glasses which follow the full glass in a line towards upper right of frame, with the third glass at upper right frame border and its top part out of right upper frame border. The empty glasses are brightly lit, also reflecting light onto the bar counter at lower right of frame. The full glass also seems to be illuminated by a spot of light from a rear position. There is also some front lighting which makes some details visible -- such as fingernails on the hand holding the full glass. It is the hand of a fair skinned person. There is a band of yellow at the upper left of the frame, between left frame border and the full glass of beer. But it is not possible to identify what this yellow object is. As frames continue, camera zooms in onto the full glass of beer. The two empty glasses at right go out of right frame border and the hand which was coming in from the left disappears from left frame border. Camera continues to zoom in on the full glass until only a brightly lit golden spot of beer fills virtually the whole frame. At this point cut to next shot.



Shot 26: Cut to ECU of top of a modern day bottle of Castle Lager being opened with a chrome bottle opener. The round bottle top fills +- 35% of the area of the frame and is more or less centred (just slightly to the right of the frame). Bottle opener comes in from lower frame border. As frames continue, bottle top is whipped off with popping SFX. Lighting is from above and after top has been removed there is a blue reflection around the mouth of the bottle. A waft of vapour is visible at the bottle mouth. The shot of the bottle being opened has been filmed against a dark/black background. Cut to next shot.

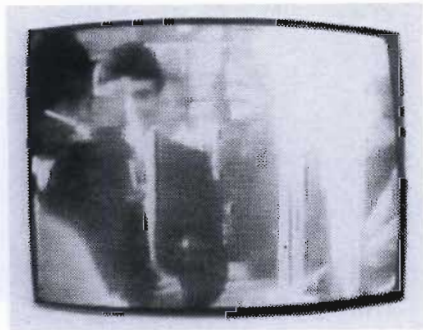
(The opening of the modern day bottle of Castle Lager is used as a transition mechanism between past and present. After the bottle has been opened MVO says: "And to this day the popularity of this special beer pays tribute ....")



Shot 27: Cut to a complex shot which begins with ECU on a full mug of beer. The whole frame is initially filled by the gold of the illuminated beer. (In effect, the editing here echoes the end of Shot 24, thus visually bridging the interval from the Castle Lager of the past to the Castle Lager of the present which was introduced in Shot 25.) After these opening frames of ECU on the illuminated beer the camera pulls back to reveal a mug of beer and a hand holding it. Camera continues to pull back so that the slightly out of focus hand comes in from lower left frame corner, becoming smaller as camera pulls back further at an angle towards left foreground. As frames continue, camera follows the hand and mug of beer which is now situated so that it comes into frame from lower right half of frame border. The shadow of the person holding this mug of beer is visible coming in from left frame border. The bar counter is also in the frame, running diagonally from lower right frame border to mid-left frame border. There is a brass post closed up, coming up from the bar counter in the foreground at left of frame, and going out of upper frame border. In the further background, the inner side of the opposite bar counter is visible. As frames continue, the person holding the mug turns towards camera. He is partly out of left frame border from waist up -- his head above the shoulders is not visible as it is out of left half of upper frame border. He seems to be wearing a dark jacket with a white shirt underneath. As he moves towards camera his dark shape comes to fill about 2/3 of the frame, leaving a triangle from mid upper frame border to almost lower right hand frame corner. This triangle sub frames a brightly lit scene behind the bar counter. Here the barman can be seen behind the bar counter, at right of mid frame, with the top of his head out of upper frame border. He is a fair-skinned man with longish blond hair. He is wearing a blue shirt and dark tie. As frames continue, the man with dark jacket who was filling much of the frame from left frame border moves towards the left foreground and out of the frame altogether. A man wearing a black and white checked jacket who has been standing by the bar counter in front of the man with dark jacket is now revealed. This man is middle-aged with light coloured hair combed back and has a reddish skin tones. He is wearing a cream shirt and a brown tie. He is downing a large elongated full mug of beer. He is standing with his left shoulder at right frame border looking towards left of frame in 3/4 profile. Another man with a blue suit momentarily moves past in front of the man with checked jacket, CU from left frame foreground and out of right frame border. The man with checked jacket downing his beer is then momentarily fully visible from above the waist up. The barman in the background is now mostly obscured by the man in checked jacket. In the further background the shelves behind the bar counter with mugs, glasses, bottles etc. are visible. Lighting seems to directed from upper foreground. As frames continue, a person's two hands come in from lower left frame border taking up two



mugs of beer at lower left of frame foreground as cut to next shot. Shot 28: Cut to head and shoulders shot of three men in the pub. The first from left is closely framed with his head coming in from upper left of frame border and the top of his head out of left upper frame border. Of the lower part of his body, only his left shoulder is in the frame. He is wearing a light coloured shirt (probably white as the lighting is soft and there is a slight shadow). He is in slightly soft-focus due to close proximity to camera lens (depth of field). He is looking downwards to slightly right of camera. He seems to be speaking softly as his mouth is slightly open. His hair is light brown. Next to him (at right of frame) is a fair-haired man with light blue shirt and a dark tie. This seems to be the barman and he is pouring a beer into a mug. The beer is held horizontally from left of frame and the mug is near lower right frame corner. A third man is looking into the frame background from right frame border. He is looking towards the other two who are facing the camera, therefore he has his face turned away from camera. He partly obscures the barman (about half of his face). This man has longish dark brown sideburns, but the rest of his features are not visible, apart from the fact that he is fair-skinned. As frames continue, the man at left of frame raises a mug of beer into the frame from lower left frame border and drinks from it as cut to next shot.



Shot 29: Cut to medium shot of people at the bar counter. In this shot the bar counter runs from right of lower frame border towards the mid-frame background. The camera is at about eye level with the people in the frame. At right of frame there are two shining brass posts which run up vertically from the bar counter to out of upper frame border. The barman with light blue shirt is just visible leaning in from right frame border. He has his left hand at right frame corner next to the first brass post and his right hand between the two brass posts. 4-5 men are visible standing by the bar counter on the opposite side drinking beer. First from foreground, a man with yellow jersey comes into frame from left frame border but is looking away from camera towards the background. Next is a man with dark suit who is leaning against the bar counter at left half of frame and facing camera with mug of beer up in front of his face. He is obscuring two other men who are in the further background behind him. In the background just right of mid-frame is a man with moustache who is leaning back against the bar counter with his left shoulder behind the second brass post (brass posts described above). He seems to have stylishly longish brown hair with some grey streaks, cut in a 'Prince Valiant' style. He is wearing a dark shirt. As frames continue, he lifts his mug of beer to his lips as camera zooms in to frame him head and shoulders with the rest of the men in the shot mostly going out of frame. The two shining brass posts remain in the frame CU at right frame border. The copyline: 'Castle Lager/ The taste that's stood the test



of time', becomes superimposed in two lines at the lower part of the frame. Camera continues to zoom in until this man is framed head and shoulders with mug of beer with white froth to his mouth -- an icon representing the quintessential Castle Lager beer drinker. Cut to black.

**FIRST RAND SHOW (1983)**

(Running time: 59.64 sec)

**Audio**

**MVO:** It was hot and dusty in old Johannesburg during the 1907 Rand Show. When famous brewmaster, Charles Glass, entered his first beer competition. It was a trying time for a young apprentice brewer. Who would be the winner? Finally the moment arrived. Mr Glass joined his rivals. The winner was Castle Lager. The brewmaster Mr Charles Glass. Castle Lager created by a gifted brewmaster to be the beer most suited to South African tastes. Somewhat dry, somewhat bitter, never sweet. And to this day, that brewing tradition is passed on in every Castle Lager. Castle Lager - the taste that's stood the test of time.

**Video**

Shot 1: Long shot inside the judges tent at the Rand Show beer competition. Tent is white so there is bright white sunlight filtering through the white canvas. A long narrow table covered with a white table cloth runs diagonally across the foreground from lower left hand frame corner to just below mid right hand of frame. There are about 11 glasses of beer on the table. Three judges dressed in black suits and black bowler hats (one top hat) walk through behind the table (from right of frame) to the beers.

(2.68 sec)

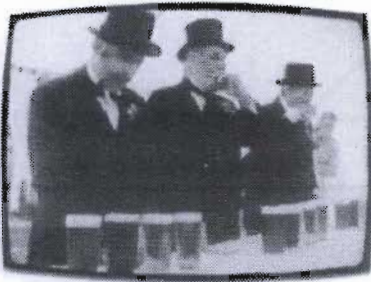


Shot 2: Cut to mid-shot of brass band marching. The band members are dressed in red tops, some are marching from left to right and some from right to left. (1.28 sec)



Shot 3: Cut to mid-shot of brass band marching but this time with the camera lowered by a head to frame a young boy dressed in a suit and a large light blue cap. The boy marches across the frame, from left to right, in pastiche with the band. (0.84 sec)

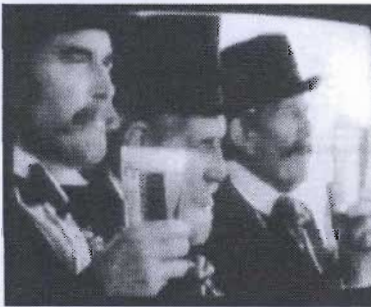




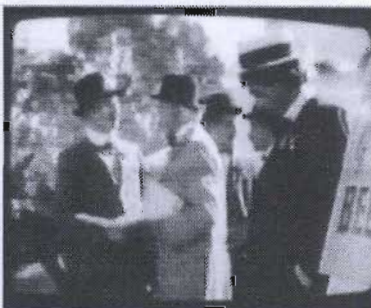
Shot 4: Cut back to scene inside the judges tent (image a bit more tightly framed than in Shot 1). The three judges are now holding up glasses of beer which they are about to test. (1.76 sec)



Shot 5: Cut to outside the tent. Charles Glass is standing right of frame with some sheets of paper (forms?) in his left hand. He is shaking hands with a bearded gentleman dressed in light blue suite and dark blue hat, who walks into frame from the left. There is a horse drawing an open carriage which is arriving in the background behind them. There is an elderly gentleman in dark suit sitting next to a lady in white dress and large white hat seated in the horse-drawn carriage. In the further background the crest of a white tent is cut by the upper frame. (1.84 sec)



Shot 6: Telephoto shot inside the tent compressing the space between the three judges. The one left of frame has a glass of beer to his lips, the middle one is holding a glass of beer up in front of him at right of frame and the third judge seems to have a glass of beer near to his lips (it is obscured by the glass of the second judge). As frames continue they bring their glasses of beer down. (1.84 sec)



Shot 7: Cut to further shot outside the tent. Charles Glass is at left of frame. Now shaking hands with an elderly gentleman in light beige suit with black hat. To the right of mid-frame in the foreground is a young apprentice brewer dressed in dark suit and wearing a straw basher. (1.92 sec)



Shot 8: Cut to further shot inside the tent. Again the three judges are framed close to each other in a compressed telephoto shot. The judge at left of frame has his head bent down. The middle judge, elderly and bearded with top hat, is swishing some beer in his mouth for good measure! The judge to the right is wiping his moustache. The background is very white and bright as sunlight is filtering through the white tent. (1.92 sec)

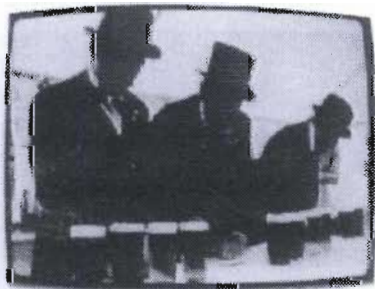


Shot 9: Cut to shot inside a large open-sided tent. Charles Glass is at left of frame. He is wearing his usual (as in other commercials) brown suit and brown bowler hat. He is leaning forward to touch a small donkey with his right hand. The donkey comes into frame with the back of its ears sticking up just below mid frame to the right. There is a young black man coming into frame from the right, who seems to be supposed to be tending the

young donkey. This young black man is dressed in a felt stetson hat with dark trousers and a dark waist coat over long shirt sleeves. Next to him is his white 'master' who is talking to Charles Glass. The white master points to the little donkey with a black walking stick and then points the stick towards the ground outside of the tent. The young black man appears to be quiet and motionless and stares directly in front of himself -- as if he is there 'to be seen but not heard'. Next to Glass is another white gentleman with long shirtsleeves, light blue waist coat and light coloured bowler hat. In the composition of the frame there is a yellow tent pole dissecting the frame just right of mid frame. At the top of frame white and yellow triangular flags are hanging into the frame from the top of the tent opening. (1.28 sec)



Shot 10: Cut to young apprentice with straw basher and dark suit. He is standing right of mid frame. In his background to the right is a big white tent. To his nearer right is an elderly gentleman with a light coloured suit and dark hat who is talking to a gentleman in a charcoal grey suite, with starched white collar and tie. In the further background, just behind this gentleman's right shoulder, is a brown horse with its head just outside mid left frame. Beyond the horse are the leaves of a large green tree merging into the washed-out back-lit background. (1.44 sec)



Shot 11: Cut back to inside judges tent. Frame is composed as in opening Shot 1, with diagonally running table with glasses of beer in the foreground. The first judge to left is noting something down, while the other two are wiping beer off their moustaches with the back of their hands. As frames continue, the other judges also make notes on their score cards. (2.36 sec)



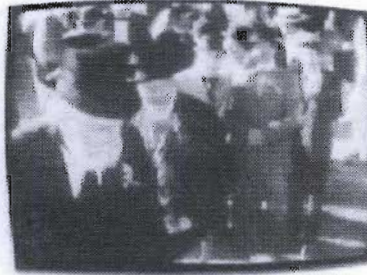
Shot 12: Head and shoulders medium CU of young apprentice brewer wearing his straw basher. He fills left half of frame and is back-lit. To the right of frame is the judges tent. He turns around and opens a tent flap to peep inside at the proceedings of the judges. (1.80 sec)



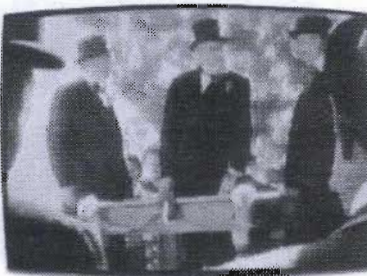
Shot 13: Cut to inside tent. The judges are at the far side of the table at right of frame discussing their score cards with each other. To the left of frame is a barman or assistant who presumably has been dispensing the beers for the judges. He is wearing white shirt sleeves, collar and tie, and black braces under a light-coloured apron. He is busy clearing the beers from the table. He turns left with a chagrined look upon his face, apparently having spotted the young apprentice brewer spying into the tent. (1.36 sec)



Shot 14: Cut to young apprentice brewer interrupting Charles Glass while he is talking to another gentleman. The young apprentice brewer is reporting back what he saw inside the judges tent. Charles Glass of course is very confident and not particularly interested. He is left centre of frame with the young apprentice brewer behind him at right centre of frame. The other gentleman is looking in from right of frame. (1.20 sec)



Shot 15: The judges are filing out towards the podium outside the tent to announce the results of the competition. There is a crowd of male onlookers in the background. No blacks are present anywhere in the crowd. (1.56 sec)



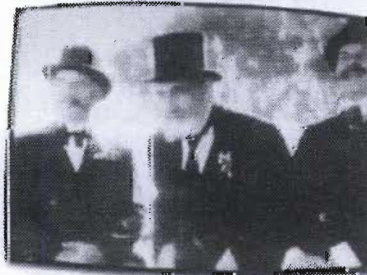
Shot 16: The three judges are on the podium. They are shot from behind the crowd of onlookers. In the foreground there is the head of an onlooker with a top hat on, just coming into the frame from the left hand side. There is another gentleman coming into the frame from the right hand side. As in all shots in this commercial, the colours are slightly bleached out as a result of intentional overexposure to convey a 'hot and dusty' atmosphere. (0.88 sec)



Shot 17: Cut to shot with Charles Glass moving through the crowd to make his way to the front. Towards the background, just above mid centre of frame, to the left, is one woman onlooker. She is dressed in white with a large white hat. She is probably the lady, mentioned above, who arrived on a horse drawn carriage. As frames continue, Charles Glass makes his way to the front with his hand on his bowler hat. The young apprentice is hanging on close behind him. (2.20 sec)



Shot 18: Low angle shot of the three judges on the podium. The eldest with top hat is dominant in the middle of the frame and has his hands on his slight paunch. The other two judges are tightly framed at left and right of frame. Behind them, above in the background, are the leaves of a tree -- an image which is somewhat burnt out as the shot has been filmed against the light. As frames continue, the eldest judge announces the results: "...the winner - Castle Lager". (2.04 sec)





Shot 19: Cut back to Charles Glass as the results are being announced. He is standing left of frame, looking to the right in profile. There are many other gentlemen in the crowd all around him. No blacks are present. A gentleman to the right of frame turns around to look at Charles Glass, which suggests that his name is being announced. (1.16 sec)



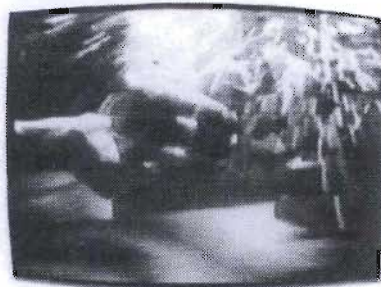
Shot 20: Cut back again to the three judges on the podium. The elder judge in the centre has his thumbs in his waist coat pockets as he continues to announce results. As frames continue to run he bows momentarily as cut to the next shot. (1.80 sec)



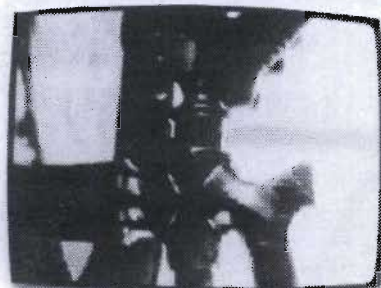
Shot 21: Charles Glass steps up to the podium and shakes hands with the elder judge. Camera is situated from behind the judges. The back of the elder judge is at right of frame. Glass is facing the camera just right of centre frame as he shakes hands with the judge. The back of one of the other judges is coming into frame from the left. This is a fairly wide angle shot. The background is filled with the faces of the onlookers. As with other shots in the commercial, this one is also filmed against the light. The result is faded colours due to overexposure, intended to represent that it was "hot and dusty in old Johannesburg when Charles Glass entered his first beer competition". (1.72 sec)



Shot 22: Cut to mid-shot of the crowd of onlookers clapping for the winner of the competition. The young apprentice brewer is clapping at the left of frame. There are two gentlemen in the foreground, to his right, who are also clapping. And there are more gentlemen behind, all dressed according to the period. A white ladies umbrella is also visible at upper left of frame. (2.36 sec)

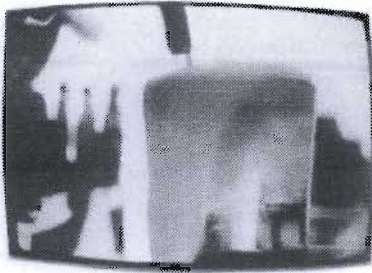


Shot 23: CU shot of barrel being tapped. Barrel is framed at the right of frame. Person performing the tapping operation is facing camera CU at left of frame so that he is visible waist up to just below the shoulder. Camera is run at slower speed so that registration of spraying beer, as the tap is punched in, blurs to add drama to the shot. (0.40 sec)



Shot 24: Extreme CU of tap being turned closed. Barrel is coming in from left of frame with brass tap filling almost whole frame. Thumb and forefingers closing the tap come in from top of frame. It seems that this shot has also been taken inside the tent, under the diffuse white light filtered through the white canvas. The background is the bleached-out white of the side of the tent, but

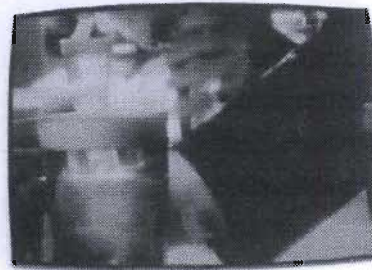
there is fill in light in the foreground probably filtering in from above and from opposite sides of the tent. (0.52 sec)



Shot 25: CU of glass being filled with beer under tap. The glass is at centre of frame occupying about 1/3 of frame space. Tap nozzle comes into frame from upper left of frame. Hand holding glass comes in from lower right of frame. Glass (not Charles) froths up and beer runs over the side on the left. (0.44 sec)



Shot 26: Cut to low angle medium long shot of Charles Glass walking between two other gentlemen inside the judges tent. They are walking into frame from right towards the open tent exit at mid-left frame. (Camera pans to follow their movement.) As they reach the table (covered with white table cloth), they help themselves to glasses of beer that are being served. (1.68 sec)



Shot 27: Cut to CU of hands picking up glasses filled with beer. Arms come in from right of frame to pick up the glasses. There is a glass of beer CU at left of frame. And there is another behind it being picked up at centre of frame. And another in the background left of frame. In the background, in the upper mid-right of frame, more glasses of beer are visible on the table. As frames continue more hands lift glasses out of frame while barman serves more glasses of beer into frame. (1.56 sec)



Shot 28: An elderly gentleman, filling most of the left half of frame, holds a glass of beer up. Next to him at the right of frame is Charles Glass. There is another gentleman coming into frame at the right of frame border. As frames continue, Glass turns to face this gentleman while lifting up his glass of beer. (0.76 sec)



Shot 29: Three gentlemen are framed holding their glasses of beer together, toasting. The one on the left is the young apprentice brewer wearing a straw basher. The two on the right are wearing bowler hats. There is a hand with a glass of beer coming into frame at the lower left foreground. The camera is situated from within the tent. Canvas (at top of tent opening) cuts across top right hand frame corner. There are some people just barely visible in the background which is washed out due to overexposure. (1.52 sec)

Shot 30: Cut to head and shoulders shot of group of four men



drinking. First from left to right is the young apprentice brewer with straw basher, his face is partly obscured by the second gentleman who has his glass to his lips. Third from left and dominant is Charles Glass. There is a sense of satisfaction on his face as he holds his glass of beer in front of him: savouring its taste which for him is also the taste of success. Fourth, looking in from right of frame, is another gentleman with his glass of beer to his lips. Top of the frame is filled by the white canvas of the tent in which they are drinking. Some background trees are visible, outside, through the tent opening at left frame. (2.44 sec)



Shot 31: Cut to mid-shot of modern day scene in an outdoor beer garden. A man in a greenish brown checked shirt is seated in the foreground towards the left of the frame, looking towards the right, his back turned slightly to the camera. A man with denim jeans and blue checked shirt walks in from left of frame, on the opposite side to the camera of the first man, and places three bottles of Castle on a concrete table. The camera pans right and tilts down slightly to follow this movement. The image is framed in such a way as to focus attention on the bottles and at no stage do we see the heads of the two men. The bottles are brought to rest beside three glasses filled with beer. A second table with drinkers seated around it is visible in the out-of-focus background. (1.48 sec)



Shot 32: Cut to head and shoulders in semi-profile of the two men in checked shirts from the previous shot. They are sitting in the beer garden with glasses of beer to their lips. Both are looking towards the right frame border. The first man is nearer the camera and fills the left half of the frame. The second man fills the lower right half of the frame with his nose almost touching the right hand frame border. In the immediate background, the upper right half of the frame is filled with a bright yellow garden umbrella. Dark green foliage, out of focus, is visible in the far background. For a brief moment a spot of light, ostensibly coming through a gap in the foliage, shines through the glass that the first man is drinking out of. The shot ends as the men bring their glasses down. (1.28 sec)



Shot 33: Cut to head and shoulders shot of a man wearing a white jacket with a red open-necked shirt underneath. He has a large moustache and dark brown hair and fills almost the whole frame. Prominent in the background is a yellow garden umbrella with the Castle logo. Other drinkers are also visible in the background. A bottle of Castle is picked up and taken across to the right of the frame. As frames continue, a glass of beer is picked up and taken across to the left of the frame. As the glass exits the frame the man with white jacket pours his Castle beer from a bottle. (1.56 sec)



Shot 34: CU of a man wearing a brown jacket. He is looking in from right of frame drinking his beer from a glass. Someone passes in the foreground, momentarily obscuring him. More people are visible drinking in the garden in the out of focus background. As frames continue the man drinks more of his beer. (1.28 sec)



Shot 35: Cut to a long shot (i.e. wide shot) of 3 guys and a woman with blond hair around a concrete table with a yellow umbrella. One of the guys is standing while the remaining members of the group are seated. They are all looking towards the camera. There are four Castle bottles on the round concrete table. Two of the guys are the ones in the checked shirts who appear in Shots 31 and 32. All three guys have glasses of beer in their hands. As frames continue two of the guys hold up their glasses of beer as if toasting to someone in front of them. (1.44 sec)



Shot 36: Cut to scene from the past again, at the 1902 Rand Show. Charles Glass is in the foreground standing with the elderly judge. They are posing for a portrait and both have their hats in their hands. There is another gentleman posing behind the elderly judge to the left of frame. To the right of frame, behind Glass, is the young apprentice with his straw basher in hand. In the upper middle of the frame is a large red Castle logo, about the size of the flat side of a barrel. It is the old Castle logo with antique typeface. As frames continue, the elderly judge and Charles Glass lower their hands further as the copyline: 'The taste that's stood the test of time' becomes superimposed across their chests. (4.84 sec)

**CRICKETING GREATS (1984/1985)**

**Audio** (Song sang to the accompaniment of banjo)

It was 1895 when Durban's Lord's came alive  
With Loman's seven for seventy two  
Our taste for Castle Lager grew

Hurrah, hurrah, the Castle Currie Cup

And then came Tatham, then McGlew  
With Roy McLane and Goddard too  
The runs came quick, the wickets too  
And our taste for Castle Lager grew

And now it's Kirsten, Pollock and Rice  
Faster keeping the pace  
And Castle Lager is still the one with  
the somewhat bitter taste

Hurrah, hurrah, the Castle Currie Cup.

**MVO:** I wouldn't miss it, would you?

(**SFX:** Occasional cheering of cricket match spectators)

**Video**

Shot 1: Opens on shot of old black and white still photograph from the late 19th century. This photograph appears to be of a cricket field. It has been photographed from a fairly high angle and from some distance. The shot of this photograph coincides with the words of the song, "It was 1895 when Durban's Lord's came". The picture has possibly been taken at the end of a match as there is a large crowd of people around the pitch, with more people on the field walking towards the pitch. In the background, at upper part of the frame, is what appears might be the lower part of a spectator stand. As frames continue, camera tilts down along this old photograph to show some of the crowd more close up. Mostly men are walking towards the pitch but there are 2-3 women in long white dresses walking into frame from lower right of frame. The woman coming in from right frame border is holding a white parasol over her head. Cut to next shot.





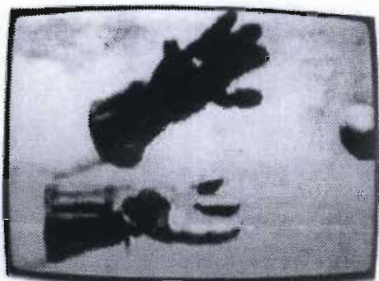
Shot 2: Cut to further shot of an old photograph which seems might be slightly sepia-toned. This is a CU of a wicket keeper who has just caught the ball with his right hand. As might be expected, this cricketer is wearing a style of cricket gear which was worn in the last century. In the way the photograph has been framed for the TV screen, he is standing mid frame with his right hand up in the air almost reaching up left of frame. In the background there is an old building of about three storeys high with sloping roof and what appears to be a chimney going out of mid upper frame.



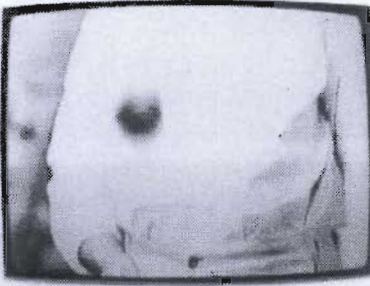
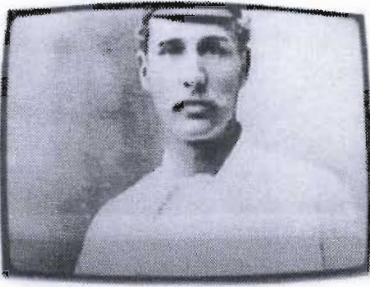
Shot 3: Cut to further shot of an old black and white still photograph. This photograph has been framed for the TV screen with the batsman medium CU at the moment when the bat is about make contact with the cricket ball. The batsman is facing left with his leg stretched to lower right of frame corner. His head is at mid upper frame, while the bat is stretched to left to about 8/10ths the way to lower left frame border. He has knee guards on and the wickets are behind his left knee at lower mid frame. He is also wearing last century style cricket clothing. He has long shirt sleeves which are rolled up. In the background there is some old building structure starting from mid frame. This is a ground floor structure consisting of a row of large cubes with some sort of overhang over the front. In the further background, behind this structure, some trees can be made out - either the photograph is very faded or it was taken on a very overcast day. Cut to next shot.



Shot 4: Cut to further shot of an old black and white still photograph. This is a photograph of a wicket keeper. In the framing of the TV screen he is standing just behind the wickets leaning from left of frame to right. His head is at about mid upper frame while his hands are near right frame border, just above mid frame. The cricket ball is just coming in from upper right frame border. He is wearing a dark coloured cap and dark cricket gloves. He seems considerably older than most cricketers of today and he has a long moustache. In the out-of-focus background of this old photograph are some people standing at upper frame with their backs to the camera. Cut to next shot.



Shot 5: Cut to ECU of a part of old BW photograph shown in shot 4. This shot shows only the section with the two gloved hands coming from left frame border and the ball coming in from the right hand border. The gloved hands which are coming in from the left hand border are very graphic. They seem to be floating in mid air as the part of the arms which precedes them is bleached out. The cricket ball is at mid right frame border. Cut to next shot.



Shot 6: Cut to further shot of an old BW photograph. In the framing for the TV screen, a cricketer from the past is shown in head and shoulders portrait. His head is at exact mid frame with the top of this cap going out of upper frame border. He is looking directly at camera. He has strong facial features and his hair seems fair-coloured. He is wearing a white shirt with a collar and his broad shoulders run horizontally across the frame with his left shoulder slightly tilted towards the foreground. It seems that he was originally photographed against a neutral background in a photographic studio. As frames continue, this old photograph becomes partly animated. First, a cricket ball bounces into frame from lower frame border. Camera tilts to follow ball on its way down. It seems as if the ball is being thrown up and down by the cricketer's right hand, which initially was out of frame. As the ball comes up again, camera cuts to next shot while the ball is moving vertically through the frame. At this point the cricketer's head is out of frame as camera had tilted to follow the ball down.



Shot 7: Cut to CU of part of the old BW photograph shown in Shot 6. In this shot his head fills the whole frame: his chin is just above lower frame border with the top of his cap is out of upper frame. He is looking directly at camera. As frames continue, his eyes become animated and look from left to right. The rest of his face remains an old still photograph. Cut to next shot.

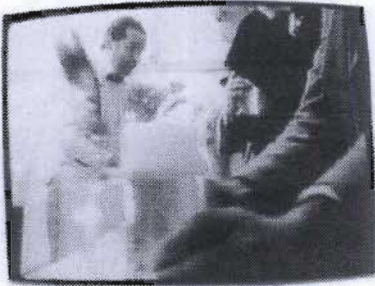


Shot 8: Cut to BW shot from the past. Unlike earlier shots, this is not a shot of an old black and white still photograph. It is a black and white version of what closely resembles one of the shots of the 1983 Castle commercial, **'First Rand Show'**. By coincidence, this seems to be the same scene as in Shot 8 of the 'First Rand Show' commercial, but filmed from another camera. Or it could have been an earlier take of that shot which was not used. It is inside the tent where the judges are tasting the different beers in the competition which Charles Glass has entered. There are three judges in the frame with the bearded elderly judge with top hat at the centre of the frame. This old judge is swishing a mouthful of beer for good measure. The judge to his right (left of frame) is wearing a bowler hat and seems to have just taken a sip from the glass of beer he is holding. The judge at right of frame doesn't appear to be holding a glass (or his glass is not visible in the shot). Unlike Shot 8 in the 'First Rand Show' commercial, camera is positioned in the foreground slightly to the left of frame. Here camera is facing the three judges relatively directly at relatively wide angle, whereas in 'First Rand Show' it was a compressed telephoto shot taken from the left with the camera facing along the long table with the beers. In this shot a strip of the long table with the beers runs horizontally across the foreground along the bottom

of the frame. The old Castle logo is visible in the background of the tent behind the elderly judge's right shoulder (towards left of frame).



Shot 9: Cut to further shot inside the judges' tent, as part of the mise-en-scene used in the 'First Rand Show' commercial. In this shot the barman is filling a glass with beer from a small barrel of Castle. The old antique Castle crest hangs beneath the barrel. In the frame composition the barman comes in from right frame border and has his head looking down from the foreground towards the little barrel which is located at about mid frame.



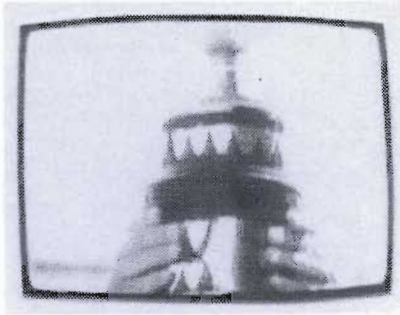
Shot 10: Cut to further black and white shot inside the tent of the 'First Rand Show' commercial. This seems to be a shot from the sequence after the results of the beer competition had been announced and many people were inside one of the tents drinking beer. In this shot a long narrow table with glasses of beer comes in from lower frame border and runs into the centre of the frame, till just about lower mid frame. A barman with apron on is standing on the one side of this table (at left of frame) while several people, with their heads out of upper frame border, are taking up beers on the other side, at right of frame. In the background, a view of the grounds outside the tent is visible through the tent opening - mostly out-of-focus trees. Cut to next shot.



Shot 11: Cut to a further shot from the sequence of the 'First Rand Show' commercial. This is a medium shot of Charles Glass with three other people in the frame, all are framed head and shoulders. Charles Glass is third from left and holding a full glass of beer by the rim with his thumb and forefinger. He is showing something about this glass to a gentleman on his left who is coming from right frame border. On the opposite side of the frame is the 'young apprentice brewer' wearing his straw basher and looking on intently at these proceedings. As frames continue, Charles Glass brings this glass of beer across to right of frame and hands it to the gentleman he has been showing it to.



Shot 12: Cut to further BW shot from the footage of the 'First Rand Show' commercial. In this shot the 'young apprentice brewer' is standing in profile from left of frame. He is looking towards another gentleman who is standing in profile at right of frame. A gentleman who slightly resembles Charles Glass but doesn't quite have his presence is standing between them, facing camera but looking slightly to the left, towards the 'young apprentice brewer'. As frames continue, all three raise their glasses -- the two at opposite ends up high, while the one in between lifts his glass only as high as his shoulder. This shot has actually been culled from the earlier part of Shot 29 of the 'First Rand Show' commercial. Cuts to next shot.



Shot 13: Cut to shot of a BW still photograph. In this shot a large and ornate silver cricket trophy is being held up high. Initially the hands holding it up are coming in from lower frame border and top of trophy is out of upper frame border. As frames continue, camera tilts up to show upper part of trophy as cut to next shot.



Shot 14: Cut to BW CU of an elderly man wearing some strange looking dark framed spectacles with small lens barrels that protrude. This does not seem to be a shot of an old still. It has more depth than earlier shots of stills shown, also the grey tonal is more panchromatic. This suggests that the shot could have been taken from old newsreel or other movie footage. The man in question is framed so that his chin is just above lower frame border with half his forehead out of upper frame border. It appears that this man might be a cricket umpire. As frames continue this man turns his head from right to left, as if he has just taken cognisance of some action out of frame. Cut to next shot.



Shot 15: Cut to a shot of a still photograph. A cricketer, who appears to have just bowled, is framed head and shoulders but with some space between his head and upper frame. He is leaning forward with his eyes looking to the left and his right shoulder (at left of frame) is leaned slightly forward. He is wearing a white jersey with a deep v-neck that has a dark border over the vee. His shirt collar is open. This seems to be a telephoto photograph as in the background dense leaves of a tree have been brought in closer and these are out of focus. In terms of the words of the song which is sang in accompaniment to this commercial, this cricketer could be the person whose name sounds like 'Tatham'.



Shot 16: Cut to further shot of a still photograph. This one seems to be from about the 1950's. A batsman is framed with bat up high going out of upper right frame border. His body is primarily at the left half of frame and facing right of frame. His head is turned towards the foreground. He is framed from above the waist up. He is in his thirties with curly light brown hair. According to the song this man is probably Jackie McGlew. The shot is taken from a high angle therefore the background is filled with the green grass of the field which rephotographed registers as about 30% grey tone. Cut to next shot.



Shot 17: Cut to further shot of a still photograph. As previous shot, this is also a batsman in action. He is framed from waist up with bat going out of upper right frame border. The wicket keeper is standing behind at left half of frame with his head partly obscured by the head of the batsman. The batsman is standing at right half of frame, holding the bat with both hands over his left shoulder.

His head is in upper half of mid frame. He is also wearing a short-sleeved jersey with a deep v-neck with dark border. The shot is taken from a high angle with the background being the green grass of the pitch which registers as grey. According to the song, this person is probably Roy McLane. Cut to next shot.



Shot 18: Cut to shot of BW still photograph. A batsman is coming in waist up from mid-lower frame border. He has been photographed while in a stance leaning towards right frame border. His head reaches right upper frame border and is leaning forward, looking towards camera but slightly downwards. He is holding the bat with both arms in front of himself, pointed towards left frame border, almost like a probe. The bat is almost level on a horizontal plane. He is wearing a white V-neck jersey with a dark border on the V-neck. He has short brown hair. In the background, at the bottom right frame corner, is part of the corrugated roof building. Cut to next shot.



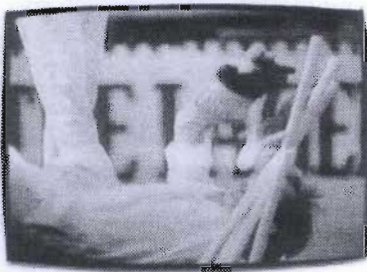
Shot 19: Cut to shot of BW still photograph. Here a cricketer is leaning eccentrically towards right of frame. His head is at upper right frame corner. His right leg, just above the knee, is coming in from lower left frame border. His bent left elbow is going out of lower right frame border. His right arm is stretched out so that the tips of his fingers are just out of mid left frame border. It seems from his stance as if he may be about to bowl, but this cannot be said for certain as no ball is visible in his right hand. The background is a dark-toned out of focus blur. Cut to next shot.



Shot 20: Cut to shot of BW still photograph. This seems to be a shot of a bowler who has just bowled. He is coming in from left frame border from waist up with his back bent and his head near upper right frame border. He is looking towards camera and his hair is standing in the air at upper right frame corner, indicating the downward speed and the force of his movement. His facial expression has a touch of the ridiculous but is indexical of extreme concentration with regard to the manoeuvre he has just executed. Cut to next shot.



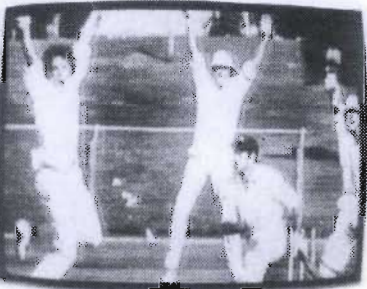
Shot 21: Cut to shot of BW still photograph. Once again this is a shot of a cricketer. He has an almost agonised expression of concentration on his face. His head is near upper right frame corner. His hair is up in the air and he is looking towards right foreground (right of frame). His tensed shoulder is bulging under his white shirt at lower left of frame. Possibly he has just bowled. In the background there is an indistinguishable face behind his back at upper left frame border -- possibly another cricketer or the umpire. Cut to next shot.



Shot 22: Cut to shot of BW still photograph. This one shows a wicket keeper who has just fallen on his back. He is on his back, coming in from lower left of frame from just below the waist up. He is crushing the bottom part of the wickets with his left shoulder. His gloved hands are in the air. Someone with long white trousers, who is out of upper left frame from above the waist up, is walking towards him. This is a telephoto shot. In the out-of-focus background a wooden fence around the cricket field has been drawn in. Cut to next shot.



Shot 23: Cut to shot of BW still photograph. The ball has just struck the wickets. The wickets are at right of frame with the ball continuing in its path at lower mid frame. There is a cricketer in front of the wickets facing camera at left of frame. He is framed from above the knees up with his right shoulder at left frame border and his head near upper left frame corner. His right arm is bent out towards right of frame. It seems that this person could be the bowler who has just thrown the ball, having been brought in closer to the wickets due to the space distortion caused by a powerful telephoto lens. Cut to next shot.



Shot 24: Cut to shot of BW still photograph. This is a medium long shot with four cricketers in the frame. One cricketer, at left of frame, is jumping up on one leg with both of his arms up in the air. Another, just right of mid frame is jumping up with both arms up in the air. Another is running in from right frame border also with an arm up in the air. The wickets are at lower right of frame. The batsman, with bat in hand, is running from lower right of frame away from the wickets, towards camera. He is chalking up his runs. Behind the wickets there seems to be a fence with a tubular pipe running across mid frame horizontally. There are various other indistinguishable shapes and shadows in soft focus in the further background. Cut to next shot.



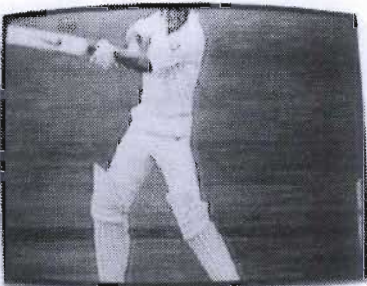
Shot 25: Cut to a shot of a BW still photograph. Seems to be about 1960's era. It is an out door photograph with three cricketers in the frame. They are framed from above the waist up. The two cricketers on the left and the right of the frame have dark hair and are wearing cricketing caps. They are partly in profile, looking towards the right. The cricketer in the centre is looking towards camera. He has fair, curly hair, and is looking towards camera. He is holding a glass in his right hand. There are trees in sharp focus behind their heads in the background. Cut to next shot.



Shot 26: Cut to shot of BW still photograph. Two males, presumably cricket stars, are framed CU head and shoulders looking to left of frame. The one at left of frame has darker hair, a moustache, and an open mouthed smile. The other has his head coming in from right frame border. He has very short cropped hair and is slightly balding in the front. He is holding a dark beer bottle horizontally into his mouth from mid frame with his right hand. No brand label is visible on this beer bottle. This could be a shot taken at a party or in the change rooms after a match. Little background is visible in this shot. Cut to next shot.



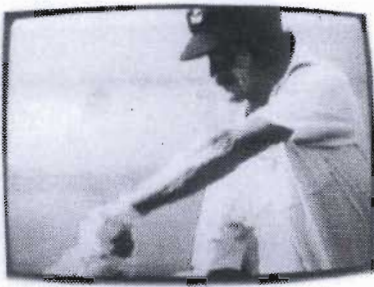
Shot 27: Cut to shot of BW still photograph. Three cricketers are framed from above the waist up. The tall one, at centre of frame with a towel hanging around his neck seems, to be Vincent van der Byl who features in the 1981 SAB Currie Cup Cricket commercial. To Van der Byl's right, at left of frame is a blond-haired cricketer with a mustache. To his left (at right of frame) is a cricketer with light brown hair. Van der Byl is looking at camera, while the other two are looking to right of frame. It is an outdoor photograph. In the background, behind Van der Byl's head, at mid upper frame, there seems to be a scoreboard with partially visible slightly out-of-focus words: TOTAL/WICK.../... There is a tree at upper right frame corner. Cut to next shot.



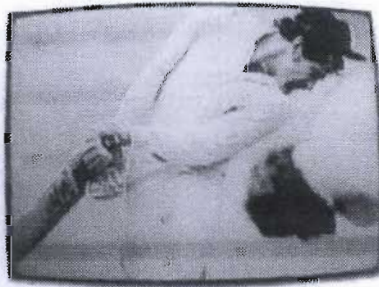
Shot 28: Cut to shot of BW still photograph. A batsman is framed at left of mid frame from a slightly higher angle. His bat is going out of upper left frame border, just below the frame corner. He is wearing a white cricketing outfit with short sleeved shirt and no jersey. He has knee guards on and also seems to be wearing a cap. It seems that the original still photograph on which the shot is based was panned while the batsman was moving from right frame to left, as the grass of the field in the background has a movement blur. The batsman has a wincing expression on his face. It seems that part of the wickets are just slightly visible at lower right frame border. Cut to next shot.



Shot 29: Cut to shot of BW still photograph. This is a CU of a segment of a previous shot. The batsman is now framed from waist up at right of frame with his left shoulder almost touching right frame border. He is facing camera and his wincing expression is now more closely apparent. He is wearing a cricket cap. The bat is going out of frame at just about mid-left frame border. The background consists of panned plain grey described in previous shot.



Shot 30: Cut to shot of BW still photograph. This is a further shot of batsman in action taken from a high angle. This batsman has dark hair and moustache. He is framed from waist up coming in from lower right frame border. He is looking left of frame, holding the bat with both hands almost at lower left frame corner. The top of his head almost reaches to just right of mid upper frame border. He is wearing a white short sleeved shirt. The background consists of a grey movement blur of the green grass of the field, resulting from a panning shot. Cut to next shot.



Shot 31: Cut to shot of BW still photograph. This is a further shot of a batsman in action. He is standing just left of mid frame with his body twisted upon its own axis so that he is leaning to right of frame from above the waist up. His cricketing cap is near upper right frame corner and he is looking down with his chin over his left shoulder. The bat is held at mid frame level at left of frame pointing to the lower background and going out of lower left frame border. The background consists of out-of-focus speed blur resulting from a panning shot. There is also a blurred object in the right foreground. This could be the out-of-focus form of a team member leaning into frame head-and-shoulders from mid-right frame border. There seems to be the silhouette form of a forehead, eye cavity, nose, mouth and chin. But as it is out of focus and against the light it is not too easily definable. Cut to next shot.



Shot 32: Cut to CU of BW still photograph. This is a photograph of the famous West Indian cricketer, Sylvester Clarke. It is an ECU with his forehead out of upper frame at just above the bridge of his nose. The lower part of his chin is out of lower frame border. The left of this face is touching right frame border in the upper part. Some of his curly black hair is visible at upper left of frame, coming into frame from upper left frame corner. Bright sunlight is falling on his face at left of frame. He is looking directly at camera. He has a slight smile and a tranquil expression of inner sangfroid on his face. Cut to next shot.



Shot 33: Cut to shot of BW still photograph. This is a group photograph of five cricketers. They are all looking up directly at camera. The one who is framed from just below the waist up at left of frame commands dominance in the mise-en-scene. He is wearing one of the dark bordered V-neck jerseys and he is playing a banjo. This is one of the most compelling shots in the whole commercial because the music which accompanies the Castle cricket song jingle is supported by a banjo. The intended illusion at this point of the commercial is that the banjo music of the audio is coming from here. The still is partially animated in as far as the right hand of the banjo playing cricketer moves up and down across the strings in a slightly mechanical mode, in sync with the banjo SFX of the audio. The banjo players four fellow cricketers all look like frightfully keen young men. This photograph is slightly reminiscent of the mise-en- scene of some of the shots from the



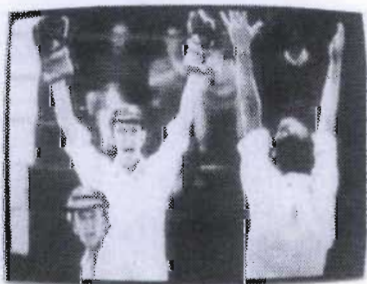
film **Chariots of Fire**. In the background, behind their heads, it seems that their coats are hanging from the wall. Cut to next shot.



Shot 34: Cut to BW shot of a man drinking beer from a glass. This is not a shot of a BW still photograph. It is an outdoor shot of a man downing a glass of beer. (This shot resembles one of the closing shots from the 1903 Rand Easter Show commercial (1983), at the point where the narrative cuts from the past to the present, at the words of the audio “and to this day”.) The man comes in from right frame border at upper right frame corner, in profile looking to left of frame. He is holding the glass with his right hand, with just above the elbow coming in from lower left frame corner. The shot is taken against the light but there is some soft detail in the shadow area of the profile of his face.



Shot 35: Cut to BW shot of two men framed head and shoulders. This is not a shot of a BW still photograph. The man in the foreground fills most of the frame. He is coming in from left frame border and facing right of frame in profile. He is holding his empty beer glass in the air above his nose at upper right of frame. He has apparently just gulped his beer down. (This shot also closely resembles one of the last shots from the 1903 Rand Show commercial.) The second man at right of frame is looking out of the lower half of right frame border. Both are wearing shirts with a tartan pattern. There are out of focus leaves in the background. As frames continue, he puts the empty glass down and leans forward. Cut to next shot.



Shot 36: Cut to shot of BW still photograph. There are three cricketers in the frame. Two have both of their arms stretched up in the air. The one at left half of frame is facing camera with his gloved hands reaching almost to upper frame border. He is wearing a white shirt with rolled up sleeves and a cricket cap on his head. The cricketer at left half of frame also has his arms stretched up in the air but has his back to the camera. At left of frame is the third cricketer standing at a lower level and turned as if ready to perform some action in the foreground. He is also wearing a cricket cap. This is a telephoto shot and in the out of focus background is a scaffolding with wooden stands with spectators seated. Cut to next shot.



Shot 37: Cut to BW shot of a glass of beer with about an inch and a half of froth at the top (not a shot of a still photograph). Next to it is a full bottle of Castle Lager. The glass is positioned just right of mid frame with the bottle of Castle further right but with some space separating it from right frame border. In front of the glass, to left of mid frame, is a cricket ball, partially out of lower frame border. These objects are placed on a wooden table. There is also some other unidentified object on the table at left of frame -- possibly a cricketers knee guard. The background beyond the table ledge is dark grey. As frames continue, this shot changes from BW to colour. At the same time a copy line comes onto the screen, from upper left, in the form of a headline in two lines: 'I wouldn't miss it,/ would you?' (MVO speaks the same words at the same time.) Cut to black.

**TRAIN** (1984)

(Running time: 60 seconds)

**Audio**

**MVO:** It had taken brewmaster Charles Glass more than time to perfect Castle Lager. And he wouldn't compromise the first time it would travel by rail. So he told the railway chief almost a century ago. Castle would either travel well or not at all. But he checked his beer at every stop. The railway chief hungered for the contract. Twelve gruelling hours later, tension stretched the moment of truth as they waited for the ultimate test. The test of Charles Glass's tongue.

**Charles Glass:** Gentlemen I am not easily pleased, but ...

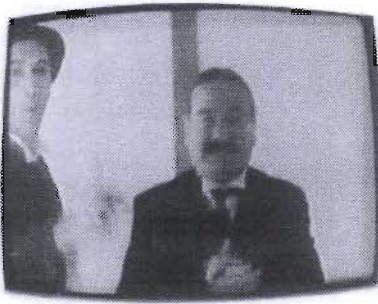
**MVO:** It was worth the wait for the thirsty throng; the beer had a taste like no other -- somewhat bitter, somewhat dry, never sweet. And to this day, Castle Lager has the taste that's stood the test of time.

**Video**

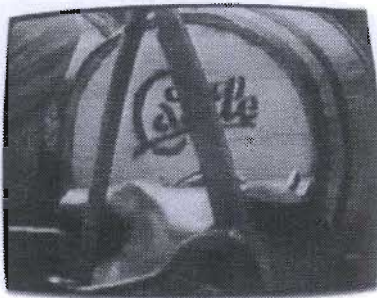
Shot 1: Early morning, dawn. Cart drawn by two horses, one dark brown and the other white, arrives at a railway station. There are some barrels on the cart. Two gentleman are visible on the driving seat, one black and one white (there might be a third white). They are dressed in white shirts and waist coats. As the frames continue to run the cart proceeds between the station building and comes parallel to the waiting train. (It seems that this is a crane shot as camera elevates to frame the scene from a high angle.) (2.68 sec)



Shot 2: Charles Glass jumps off the cart. The stationary train is behind him and bears the letters CGR above the compartment windows. In this composition the rear and tail of the white horse enter the frame from the bottom right hand corner. The black gentleman is not visible in this shot. As his feet settle on the ground, Charles Glass brings his hands to his chest and pulls down his waist coat which had lifted up while he was jumping off his horse. (1.80 sec)



Shot 3: Cut to a round-faced moustached gentleman with brown jacket and tie. Next to him on his right (left of frame) is another gentleman, similarly dressed, but with a bowler hat on his head. Behind them, there is some sort of beam or wall support which registers as a vertical line dissecting the frame. Also, part of the station clock is visible as a hemisphere dissected by the right hand side of the upper frame. It appears that these people might be station personnel waiting to greet Charles Glass. As frames continue, the round-faced moustached gentleman clasps his hands in anticipation. This suggests that Charles Glass is somebody highly regarded or important, and these two stereotypes of the late 19th century are looking forward to doing business with him. The hand clasping gesture thus vindicates the statement of the MVO, that the railway chief 'hungered for the contract' (1.24 sec)



Shot 4: CU of one of the barrels on the cart, with antique version of the Castle logo branded on one of the sides. (1.12 sec)



Shot 5: Charles Glass is facing camera, to the right of frame, but very dominant. He is wearing his bowler hat, brown jacket, starched collar with tie. There are several people behind him but their heads are out of the frame, to his right is a man with a blue apron over a white shirt with collar and tie. As the frames continue to run we see Charles Glass slapping his hands together, as if to signify that part of the job has been completed and that he is contemplating the next part. Some people, railway personnel, approach him. (1.00 sec)



Shot 6: CU of Charles Glass in semi-profile, left of frame, giving instructions in a very determined manner. Coming into the right of frame is the head of the railway chief. In a dark doorway opening behind them the black gentleman with brown bowler hat is visible doing some unidentified task. (2.00 sec)



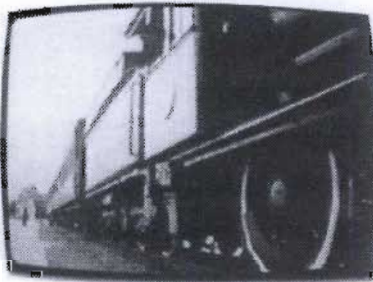
Shot 7: The railway chief with his mean-looking clerk. It is a CU with his head filling most of the frame in 3/4 portrait. He has a rather worried expression and his assistant/clerk behind him, right hand side of frame, is looking rather grim-faced. (0.72 sec)



Shot 8: This **important** shot shows Charles Glass straining under the weight of a barrel of Castle on his right shoulder. His head is to the bottom right of the frame. At left of the frame a black gentleman's arm (dressed in white shirt sleeves) is about to take the barrel. As the frames continue, the black gentleman transfers the weight of the barrel to himself. (1.52 sec)



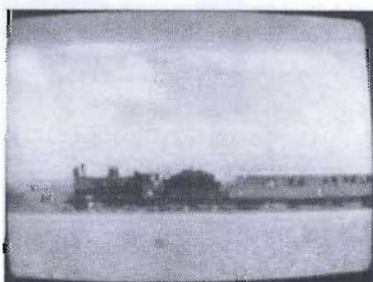
Shot 9: VCU of a barrel being tied down with a rope. Part of the barrel enters the frame from the left, while an arm tensing a rope enters the frame from the right. (0.64 sec)



Shot 10: Low angle perspective shot of the train leaving the station. One of the carriages fills the right half of the frame while the remaining carriages disappear into infinity towards the left border of the frame. The sky is visible from the top left hand corner of the frame down. The train moves towards the camera thus exiting the frame from the right border. This shot dissolves into the next. (1.36 sec + dissolve 0.48 sec)



Shot 11: Dissolves into a shot of Charles Glass with two other gentlemen in the train dining car. They are about to be seated at a table covered with a white table cloth as the frame dissolves into the next shot. (1.44 sec + dissolve 0.72 sec)

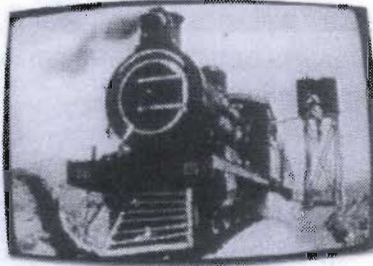


Shot 12: Dissolves into a fairly long shot of the train travelling across the countryside. We can see only the locomotive and second carriage as it is still too CU for rest of train to be visible. It is drawn by old steam locomotive and travelling from right to left of frame. (1.88 sec)

Shot 13: CU of railway chief looking out of train compartment window as the train speeds across the country. As the shot continues to run he leans out. (0.76 sec)



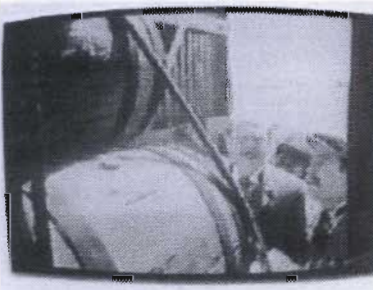
Shot 14: The train has stopped and Charles Glass jumps off, moving dynamically towards camera with determined look upon his face. (1.28 sec)



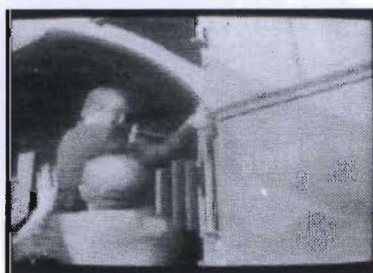
Shot 15: Cut to wide angle shot of locomotive facing towards camera with tracks running into the bottom left hand of the frame. There is water tower to right of frame. It appears that the train is stationary and the steam locomotive is being replenished with water from a water tower. (1.36 sec)



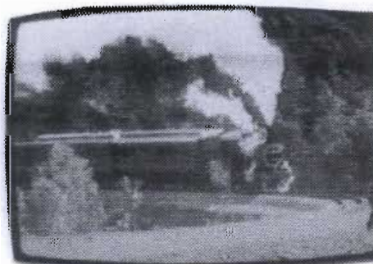
Shot 16: Cut to shot of railway chief and his clerk, looking out of train compartment windows with worried expressions on their faces. (1.04 sec)



Shot 17: Cut to shot from within railway truck. Camera is positioned from behind the roped down barrels of Castle Lager. The door is opened and Charles Glass is looking in to ensure that the barrels are in order. As frames continue to run two more people (one of whom is the black gentleman featured earlier) appear behind him and peer into the goods carriage. (2.32 sec)



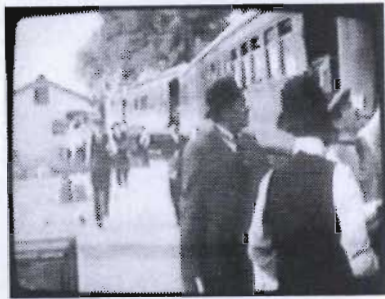
Shot 18: Cut to shot of railway chief climbing off dining car, with Charles Glass helping him get his feet firmly onto the ground. This shot dissolves into the next. (1.24 sec + dissolve 0.52 sec)



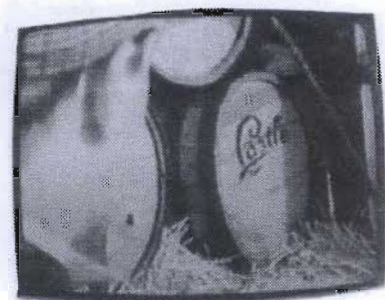
Shot 19: Dissolves into shot of train travelling around a curve towards camera. The curve starts mid left frame, almost reaches right frame border and returns to bottom left corner. There is a plume of steam coming out of the funnel from mid-frame to top left hand corner. This shot dissolves into the next. (1.68 sec + dissolve 0.60 sec)



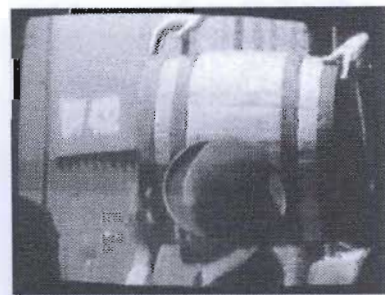
Shot 20: Dissolves into shot of train arriving at the coastal station. Dissolves to next shot. (1.84 sec + dissolve 0.48 sec)



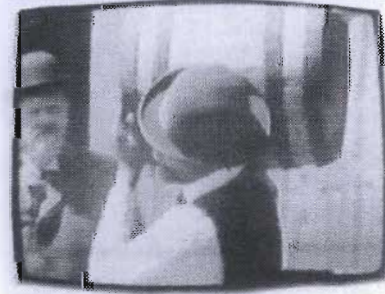
Shot 21: Dissolves to train stopped at station. Train carriages come into the frame from the right. There is a station building in the background at the left of frame. There is much activity. Charles Glass approaches to supervise the opening of the goods carriage where his barrels of Castle are stored. (1.80 sec)



Shot 22: Cut to shot of the barrels of Castle inside the goods carriage. They are still roped down and the floor is padded with hay. Camera is set up outside the carriage for this shot. There is someone's head with long side burns looking towards the barrels from top left of frame. (0.80 sec)



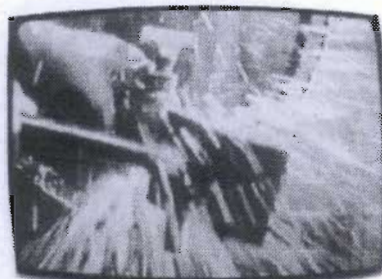
Shot 23: Cut to shot of barrel being placed onto black gentleman's shoulders by two white hands. The white person is standing inside the goods carriage and is thus at a higher level, while the black gentleman is off the train and standing on the ground. He is wearing white shirt sleeves, waist coat, tie, and bowler hat. As the frames continue, we see the black gentleman carrying the barrel on his shoulders and walking past Charles Glass. (1.00 sec)



Shot 24: Cut to the railway chief wiping the sweat off his brow, as out of focus CU of black gentleman with barrel (very near camera) comes into frame and obscures him momentarily. When railway chief reappears he is replacing his bowler hat. (1.84 sec)



Shot 25: Black gentleman carefully places barrel onto a wooden cart similar to the one that had delivered the beer to the train when it left upcountry. (0.88 sec)



Shot 26: CU shot of a barrel of Castle being tapped with a wooden mallet. This shot has been filmed at about 12 f.p.s which makes the spraying beer appear particularly dynamic. Segment of barrel is coming into frame from top left hand corner. (0.52 sec)



Shot 27: CU of glass being filled with Castle from freshly tapped barrel. Camera pans up to show hand closing tap. (1.36 sec)



Shot 28: Cut to Charles Glass surrounded by other participants in the endeavour which has just been completed. Glass is to the left of frame but more in the foreground and larger than the rest, his dominance in the mise-en-scene is unchallenged. He has the glass of Castle Lager to his mouth and the others are looking at him in suspense for his reaction. As frames continue to run he takes a large sip and lowers his glass, turning to face the others. There is some froth on his moustache as he makes his awaited statement: "Gentlemen I am not easily pleased but ..." (3.52 sec)



Shot 29: Cut to portrait shot of railway chief with his clerk to his right (left of frame). (1.00 sec)

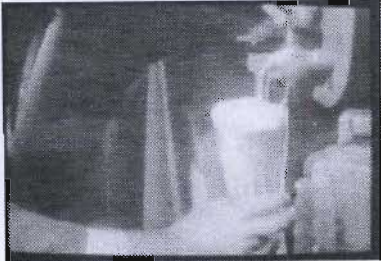


Shot 30: Cut to shot of Glass and rest as in shot 28. (This is Shot 28 continued, Shot 29 interrupted with an instantaneous CU of railway chief, to show his anxiety and emphasise the tension of the moment.) (1.44 sec)

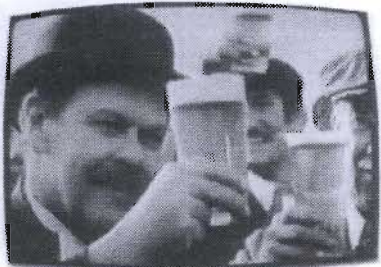




Shot 31: Railway chief looking much happier now. He is in profile, turning towards his mean-looking clerk who is left of frame. Charles Glass's hand which is holding the glass of beer is large at bottom left of frame. (0.88 sec)



Shot 32: Cut to another glass of Castle being filled at the barrel. (1.52 sec)



Shot 33: Charles Glass at head and shoulders level, holding up a glass of Castle. The people surrounding him are also lifting up the glasses of Castle for a toast. (1.88 sec)



Shot 34: A white man with a checked beret is looking towards the black gentleman who has featured considerably in this commercial. The black gentleman is looking back towards the left of the frame from the right hand border. He is smiling broadly as he lifts his glass of Castle to his lips -- he is wearing a silver ring on his left hand. He is not dominant in the mise-en-scene, though he has clearly been shown to have been a fellow protagonist in the endeavour. (1.80 sec)



Shot 35: Cut to a further shot of the group. Dominant here is the railway chief who now looks as pleased as punch. (1.72 sec)



Shot 36: Cut back to Charles Glass who still looks as determined as ever while holding his glass of beer. An elderly gentleman with white moustache, wearing a beret is on the right of Glass. They all drink as shot dissolves into the next. (2.16 sec + dissolve .80 sec)



Shot 37: Pack shot of part of bottle of Castle Lager and part of full beer mug (next to it on the right of frame). Camera zooms out to show more of bottle and bring whole of beer mug within frame. Superimposed beneath: 'The taste that's stood the test of time'. (6.00 sec)

**GENTLEMEN OF THE PRESS (1985)****Audio**

**MVO:** Eager to win popular approval Charles Glass invited the Gentlemen of the Press to test the taste of Castle Lager.

**Clerk:** This way please .. (Music) .. Good afternoon ...

**Gentlemen (Press):** This business is going to take all day ...  
... hope not... (Music)

**MVO:** Like its critics, the beer was somewhat dry, somewhat bitter, never sweet. (Music)

**Gentleman (Press):** Oh, splendid stuff Mr Glass!

**MVO:** Nevertheless, the response was favourable...

**Charles Glass:** Hello Wilkins (clerk) come and join us .. give him a glass.

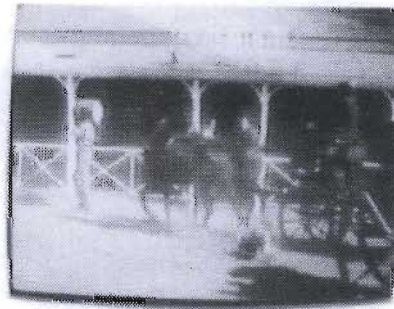
**MVO:** And the official press review ... almost as lavish in its praise.

**Gentleman (Press):** Do you mind if I call you Charles?

**MVO:** Castle Lager: The taste that's stood the test of time.

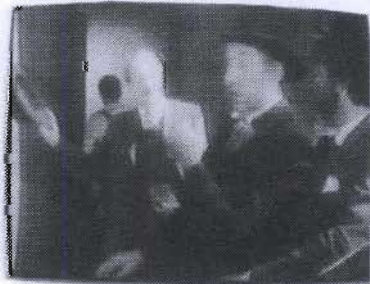
**Video**

Shot 1:



(cut)

Shot 2:



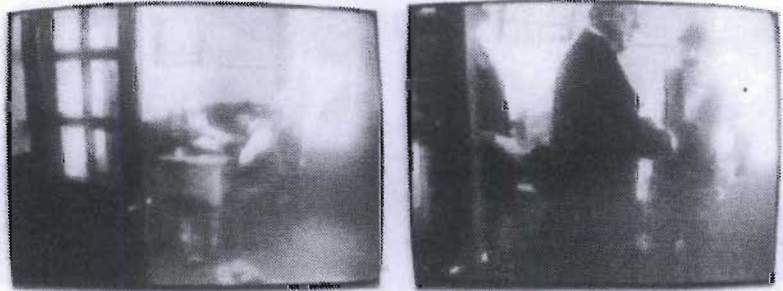
(cut)

Shot 3:



(cut)

Shot 4:



(cut)

Shot 5:



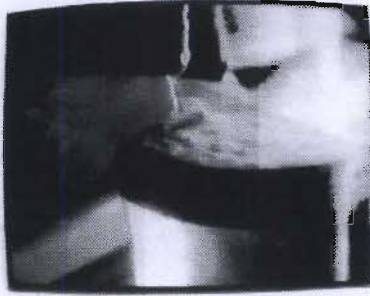
(cut)

Shot 6:



(cut)

Shot 7:



(cut)

Shot 8:



(cut)

Shot 9:



(cut)

Shot 10:



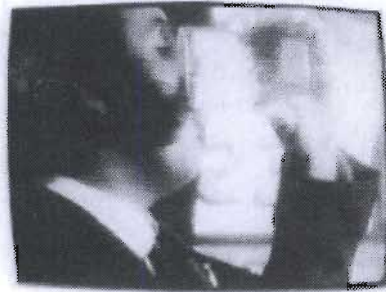
(cut)

Shot 12:



cut

Shot 13:



cut

Shot 14:



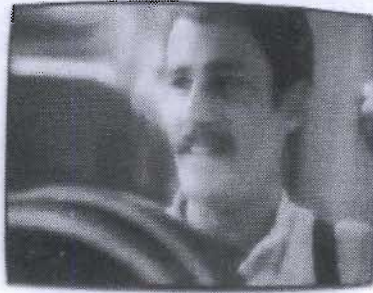
cut

Shot 15:



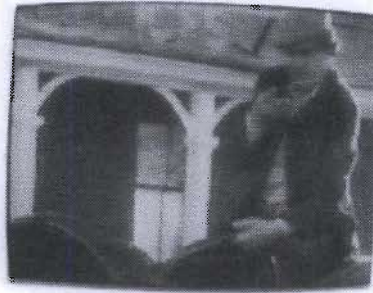
cut

Shot 15:



cut

Shot 16:



cut

Shot 17:



cut

Shot 18:



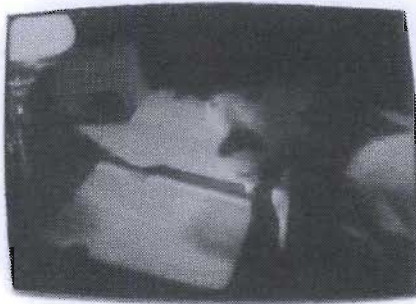
cut

Shot 19:



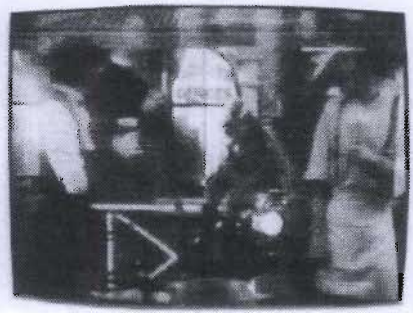
(cut)

Shot 20:



(cut)

Shot 21:



(dissolve)

Shot 22:



(cut to black)



**WINSTON NGOZI (1985)****Audio**

**MVO** (in African-accentuated English): The year was 1968 when Winston Ngozi was voted Castle Jazz musician of the year for his classic .. ... (last two words indistinguishable due to technical problem on audio track of VHS tape). Today it's good to know that things of quality have survived. Like the music of Winston Ngozi and the taste for Castle Lager. Somewhat dry, somewhat bitter, never sweet. Castle lager -- The taste that's stood the test of time.

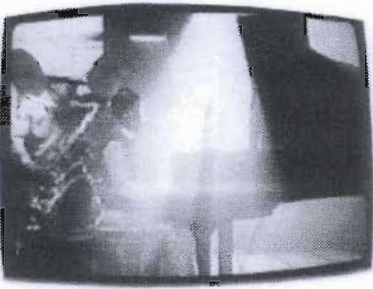
**Video**

Shot 1: Opening shot of a newspaper cutting consisting of text and a black and white photograph. This newspaper cutting fills the whole frame. The photograph is more or less centred on the TV screen, filling a double column of the newspaper cutting, from upper frame border down to just below mid frame. In this photograph two jazz musicians are being presented with a large trophy. The person presenting the trophy comes in from the left border (in the photograph), while the person receiving it (Winston Ngozi) is just right of centre. He is wearing a black beret, a light coloured shirt and greyish trousers. He is holding his saxophone which is slung with a strap over his neck. Behind him at right border (in the photograph) is the second black musician who is wearing a beret and suit and tie. Beneath the photograph, reaching to lower frame border, is a headline in bold typeface. (This headline works as caption to the photo as well headline to the report which follows). The headline reads in upper case letters: WINSTON WINS CASTLE JAZZ AWARD. As frames continue, a dramatic and visceral effect is achieved by a zoom into the photograph as frames dissolve to next shot.



Shot 2: Dissolve from last shot to fade in of wide shot of band playing. But before this wide shot quite fades in, a CU shot of Winston Ngozi framed head and shoulders fades in over it. His head is large in the centre of frame facing left in about 3/4 portrait. His left shoulder is cut by right frame border, while the saxophone he is blowing comes into frame from mid left frame border. He is wearing a beige jacket over a beige polo neck jersey. He wears spectacles and has a checkered beret on his head.





Shot 3: Cut to wide shot showing Winston Ngozi at left frame border blowing on his saxophone. There is a grand piano coming in from right frame border and reaching to left of mid frame. In the background are two large glass square windows from the floor up which are curved at the top. These windows are made up of separate square frames, suggesting a backstreet warehouse and giving a certain industrial ambience to the venue. Bright light is streaming in through the large window at the right half of the frame. This light source washes over the grand piano and the player sitting at the piano stool at left of frame near Winston Ngozi who is further left. Against the back light a mug and a bottle of beer can be made out upon the piano. As frames continue, Winston Ngozi turns in an expressive gesture to the piano player and motions him with his saxophone as cut to next shot.



Shot 4: Cut to CU of piano keyboard which comes into frame diagonally from upper left frame corner to lower right of frame. From the triangle of space at lower left, two hands come onto the keyboard.



Shot 5: Cut to CU of double base player filling left of frame head and shoulders. Winston Ngozi's head is also coming in from right of frame but is silhouetted as bright spotlight is coming in from right background, highlighting the neck of the double base and the face of its player. He is wearing an Afro-type shirt with round collarless neck outlined by a yellow border. He has long hair (African), spectacles, and beard. As frames continue, Ngozi leans forward to left of frame, slightly obscuring the large string instrument player.



Shot 6: Cut to extreme CU with portion of the saxophone filling more than 2/3 of the frame coming in from mid upper frame border diagonally reaching almost as far as lower left frame corner as it goes out frame. In the remaining triangle of space at left of frame enters the hand of the saxophone player and rests on the keys. The sleeve which enters from upper left frame corner is beige coloured (Winston Ngozi). Behind this sleeve and hand is the right trouser leg of Winston Ngozi. As frames continue, he turns back and forth with the beat also slightly moving a little to right of frame.

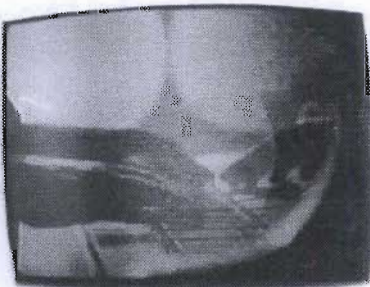


Shot 7: Cut to shot of drummer (camera positioned from behind the drum kit). A bright light source is coming in from left background so that it highlights the right hand side of the drummer's face. He is also an African. His hair is short and he is wearing a short sleeved shirt, and spectacles. He is younger than the other musicians featured so far. He is seated at right of mid frame with the two drums silhouetted in the foreground and upper

right hand corner. Camera slowly pans across from left to right as cut to next shot. (This panning effect is consistent with and reinforces the visual pace and rhythm already established by the commercial.)



Shot 8: Cut to medium shot of Winston Ngozi and piano player viewed from camera positioned behind the piano. Initially Winston Ngozi is at left of frame border with the top of his head out of upper frame and his right elbow and lower curve of the saxophone are out of upper left hand frame border. The area behind the piano keyboard is at lower right of frame with a quart bottle of Castle, a full mug of beer, as well as half a glass of beer all at lower left of frame. As frames continue, Winston Ngozi motions the piano player with his saxophone. The piano player leans back responding to the notes of the saxophone. As frames continue further, camera pans from left to right with Winston Ngozi going out of left frame border, while the piano player comes fully into frame. He is wearing an open necked shirt over a waist coat and a black cap. He has short hair (African) and is also slightly younger though not as young as the drummer. In the background to the right, one can make out part of the double base which was featured in earlier shots. Dissolve to next shot.



Shot 9: Dissolve to CU of keyboard. In this shot the keys are running lengthwise from lower frame to mid frame (camera is at slightly higher angle than keyboard). Piano player's hand comes in from mid left frame, reaching keyboard at about mid frame. The keys and player's hand are mirrored on the glossy surface of the open keyboard lid (a bright light source comes in from left background). Hand continues to play on the keyboard as dissolve to next shot.



Shot 10: Dissolve to extreme CU of backlit yellow mug with beer froth running down. A portion of this mug fills the whole frame. There is a red Castle Lager logo on the mug with white typeface in upper case. The froth running down the mug obscures the letter "C" of the word 'Castle. As frames continue, the shot dissolves to next.



Shot 11: Dissolve to head and shoulders CU of Winston Ngozi blowing on his trumpet. He is facing left of frame. Before this shot quite fades in it begins to fade out, revealing a silhouette of the double base player in the background. Camera slowly moves in towards the double base player as cut to next shot.



Shot 12: Cut to CU of full mug of Castle Lager, the half empty glass, and the quart bottle of Castle Lager, which earlier shots had shown to be on top of the grand piano. The mug is at left half of the frame, with glass at right half and going slightly out of right frame border. A hand is coming in from left frame border, revealing out of focus head and shoulders of the piano player. As frames continue, camera refocuses to show the changing expression on the piano player's eyes. Cut to next shot.



Shot 13: Cut to Winston Ngozi framed head and shoulders from left of frame. He is lifting the mug of beer to his mouth and drinking from it (just about mid frame). The light source is coming in from slightly rear of upper frame, lighting up Winston Ngozi's face, the mug of beer, his hand, his beret, and his beige clothing. As frames continue, he brings down the mug (which goes out of lower frame border) and he throws his head backwards towards left of frame, closing his eyes and pursing his lips. The Castle logo and the copy line: 'The taste that's stood the test of time' fade in on the lower part of the frame. Freeze frame before cutting to black.



**GOLD PROSPECTORS (1986)**

(Running time: 60 seconds)

**Audio**

**MUSIC SFX:** Frontier Western movie tune intermittently throughout.

**MVO:** There was a time when one prize was as great as gold itself. And that was a beer fit to satisfy a goldminer's thirst. It would take a brewmaster like Charles Glass to meet the challenge. Day in and day out he laboured, until finally he knew he had it. The beer was Castle Lager, somewhat dry, somewhat bitter, never sweet.

Goldminer: At least somebody struck gold today.

**MVO:** Castle Lager -- The taste that's stood the test of time.

**Video**

Shot 1: Early morning silhouette of someone riding a horse. CU with horse filling almost whole frame. There is a strong blue cast. The rider is wearing a jacket and a broad-rimmed hat. There is a leafless tree branch entering the frame from left. The rider is moving from right to left of frame. There is some out of focus vegetation in the foreground. (1.72 sec)



Shot 2: Cut to CU of a goldminer wiping the sweat off his brow with his forearm. There is still a blue cast, as in Shot 1. He is wearing a felt hat and a red scarf around his neck, open necked shirt and leather waist coat. As frames continue to run, his face is revealed: he is young and fair-skinned with brown hair. He has a prominent nose and chiselled features. His head turns as he lowers his arm to raise his pick again, which he brings down as cut to the next shot. (2.44 sec)



Shot 3: The horserider in Shot 1 arrives at the digging, moving in from right of frame and filling 2/3 of the frame. Left of frame there is a white miner bending down near a bucket. (1.76 sec)



Shot 4: Cut to shot of two black mining labourers leaning from left of frame towards a light green tent at right of frame. The rope tent supports cut diagonally across the frame, lending to the composition. The first black mine labourer is wearing a light green short-sleeved shirt and blue trousers with leather belt. The second is wearing light coloured trousers, blue shirt with rolled-up sleeves and a blue cloth sun hat. The head of a white goldminer with brown felt hat is bending down out of the tent opening. Behind the black mine labourers, there is a table upon which is a paraffin hurricane lamp, enamel mugs and some other items. There is a square wooden notice hanging from the table. On this notice painted white writing: BLACK 20 CLAIMS NO. 671. As frames continue to run, we see more of the white miner in the tent. He is rather elderly and ragged, with white moustache and beard. The horse rider now passes between camera and tent scene obscuring the old miner momentarily -- the old miner directs the horserider to someone somewhere out of frame. (2.16 sec)



Shot 5: Cut to young miner featured in shot 2. He is bending over his pick and fills whole frame. He has turned to meet the approaching rider who is still out of frame. As frames continue to run, he moves left of frame towards the rider while taking his hat off. Head of oncoming horse has now come CU into about half of the frame. In the composition of this frame there are also tent ropes running diagonally across from bottom left hand corner to upper right. The young goldminer puts his hand on the horses head and comes around smiling to shake hands with the rider. A faceless black miner with pick axe over his shoulder and cloth sun hat pulled down over his head walks past solemnly (under-exposure for dark skin tones and direction makes the black miner's representation peculiar -- he is present but somehow unknown). (5.08 sec)



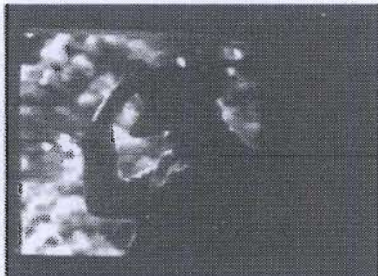
Shot 6: Cut to horserider still on horse but with his head facing about 3/4 towards camera. We can now identify him as Charles Glass. It is a mid-shot with him framed from waist up. The back of the young goldminer's head is at bottom left of frame. Marching in from the background at left of frame is a faceless black miner. He is wearing a dark coloured sun hat pulled down over his face and is marching solemnly towards camera at left of frame. As frames continue, the head of the young goldminer goes out of bottom left frame border. (2.16 sec)



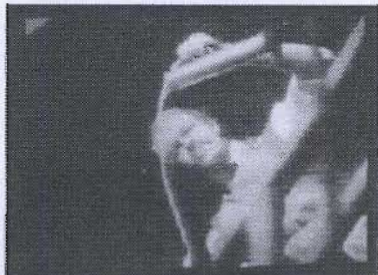
Shot 7: Cut to CU of fully loaded mine trolley being pushed by the arms of a black miner. Trolley comes into frame from left and black miner from just below the knees up, to just above waist, is visible right of frame. The head of this black mine labourer is never shown in the shot. (1.32 sec)



Shot 8: Cut to young goldminer with red scarf standing together with Charles Glass. They are both more or less in profile and facing left of frame. There are some unidentified miners bending down in the out-of-focus background. Glass and the young miner seem to be discussing something. They walk together as frames continue to run. They pass by a rather dissolute-looking white miner in blue tee-shirt who holds out a hand to Glass. They come to greet a wily hillbilly-like miner with light brown beard and a brown leather hat on his head. Camera continues to follow them as they walk on. Shot begins to dissolve to next. (4.60 sec + dissolve 0.28 sec)



Shot 9: Dissolves to inside a room with a door slightly ajar at left of frame. Exposure is for outdoors and it is dark inside. Outside, visible through the crack of the open door, is dark green vegetation. The door opens more and Charles Glass comes in, taking off his hat. (1.32 sec)



Shot 10: Cut to Charles Glass leaning over a vat of beer. Segment of the circumference of the vat fills whole lower 1/3 of frame. Glass's head is almost exactly centre of frame. He is lit from left foreground. As frames continue to run he lifts a brass beaker with a handle. He carefully pours the sample back into the vat while observing it running, presumably to assess its texture. (4.00 sec)



Shot 11: Cut to CU of a glass being filled at a tap. The lighting has a strong amber cast. (0.96 sec)



Shot 12: Cut to Charles Glass drinking from the glass of beer. He is lit from left of frame with same amber (beer-toned?) lighting as in Shot 11. The right of his face and right shoulder are in shadow. He brings down the glass of beer and we see a pensive look upon his face. (3.52 sec)



Shot 13: Cut to long shot of the interiors of a barn-like structure which is full of sacks, from foreground to about 2/3 of the frame up. Presumably the sacks are full of beer making ingredients such as hops or malt etc. There is a figure wearing an apron in the centre of the frame amongst the sacks (Charles Glass). This shot is also lit with a strong amber cast suggesting the colour of beer. Dissolves into next shot. (1.76 sec + dissolve 0.52 sec)



Shot 14: Dissolve to Charles Glass inside brewery again, standing close to a vat. Lighting now has amber green cast. He is holding some sort of glass beaker with a brownish red fluid in it. He has some type of object immersed in this beaker. (1.08 sec)



Shot 15: Cut to shot of Charles Glass tasting a glass of his beer again. He is lit from left of frame with same amber toned lighting used in earlier shots. The left of his face and upper torso (right of frame) are in shadow. As he lowers the glass, this time, a smile comes to his lips. (3.16 sec)



Shot 16: CU of barrel being tapped. The lighting is still very reddish-amber toned. The barrel is at the right of frame and hand performing the tapping operation is coming in from left of frame. (0.52 sec)



Shot 17: Cut to pub door being pushed open and miners pouring into pub. Lighting is still very amber. (1.04 sec)

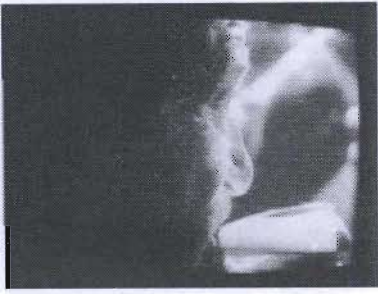


Shot 18: Cut to further shot of drinking scene inside this turn of the century mining era frontier pub. Miners are unwinding their misery and woes. No blacks are present. Camera pans to follow young goldminer with red scarf featured earlier, who was the first one through the pub door. Frames continue to run as he comes to greet Charles Glass who is also in the pub. (2.84 sec)



Shot 19: Cut to further shot of pub scene as miners lift their glasses of beer. (1.56 sec)





Shot 20: Cut to CU profile of weather beaten face of old miner with glass of beer to his lips. (1.16 sec)



Shot 21: Cut to CU of young goldminer with red scarf with glass of beer to his mouth. His chin and nose fill top left of frame, while glass comes in from bottom right. Lighting is still very red brown as if shot through an amber filter. (1.76 sec)



Shot 22: Cut to CU of Charles Glass's face looking from left of frame and smiling with a sense of satisfaction at the beer drinkers' positive response to his beer. He is looking out of frame at someone he apparently knows, and to whom he seems to be nodding in a manner which asks for this person's response. (1.08 sec)



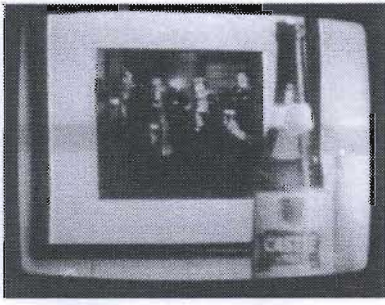
Shot 23: Cut to further CU of young goldminer with red scarf -- looking into frame from left while holding glass with his hand out of frame, but glass is visible at bottom right corner of frame. His mouth is open as if to say a word of praise .... he is exuberant: "At least somebody struck gold today". (2.16 sec)



Shot 24: Cut to shot of another miner wearing a tweed jacket, filling about 2/3 of frame from left of frame. He is smiling broadly while holding his glass of beer. (1.20 sec)



Shot 25: Cut to long shot of Charles Glass in his suit -- jacket, waist coat, shirt with rounded collars and brown tie. He is standing in the pub with a group of miners/beer drinkers in a straight line. They are lining up to take a toast and to pose for a photograph. As they lift their glasses frames fade to white to indicate old type of magnesium flash going off. White frame dissolves to next shot. (1.72 sec + dissolve 0.12 sec)



Shot 26 Dissolves to a still frame of the group who had apparently lined up for a portrait at the end of the last shot. (It appears that this 'photograph' was taken with a lens at a different focal length than was being utilised by the motion picture camera in the last frames of Shot 25.) Camera zooms back to show a portrait of Charles Glass with two miners on his right (left of frame) and one miner on his left (right of frame). There is a broad white border around this photograph. At the same time as camera zooms out still further, colour of the photograph fades to black and white. There is also a bottle of Castle Lager at the right of frame, but it retains its full colour. As zoom continues glass mug filled with Castle Lager comes into the frame at the further right. The bottle and the mug are standing on a wooden table top and the black and white portrait from which camera has just zoomed out of 'from the past', to which the commercial had taken us, is hanging on the wall in the background. The bottle of Castle partly obscures the white border of the photo right of frame. The lighting is still amber-toned but lighter than some of the earlier brewery and pub shots. The copyline: 'The taste that's stood the test of time' finally appears on the wooden table top foreground. (6.88 sec)

**JOGGERS (1987)**

(45.28 sec)

**Audio**

**MVO:** “Although every fellow of the Charles Glass society would run a mile for it, those who have got the exercise down to a fine art seldom have to run more than around the corner. To enjoy that somewhat dry, somewhat bitter, never sweet taste of achievement”.

**Song:** When we drink Castle, we fill with admiration of Charles Glass whose brewing class won fame across the nation.

When we drink Castle, we draw our inspiration from Charles’s brew and how it grew a mile high reputation.

**MVO:** “Castle Lager: The taste that’s stood the taste of time”.

**Video**

Shot 1: Opens on white man dressed in light blue shorts, light blue sleeveless tee shirt, white cap and running shoes. He gives his wife a little goodbye kiss before embarking on a “jog”. They are standing by the gate. Although we can’t see their house, it seems it must be quite an upmarket area as there is an attractive stone wall and painted white wooden gate. The woman is on the inside of the gate and leaning against it. She has short blond hair and is wearing black trousers and a yellow blouse with black spots. Their dog is sitting on the stone fence, next to one of the stone gate posts (at top left of frame). Some green foliage is visible along the top of the frame. (1.20 sec)

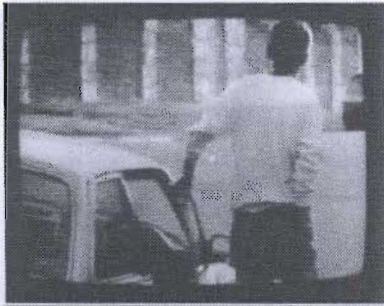


Shot 2: Cut to mid-shot of the above scene as dog is about to jump off the wall to follow its master who is turning around to face the street and begin his jog. He is at right of frame with his head and his feet out of the frame: he is visible only from the shoulders down to above the knees. As frames continue to run he turns around and runs out of frame. The camera does not pan after him but instead tilts down to keep in frame the dog which has jumped off the wall and is running toward camera. (2.32 sec)



Shot 3: Cut to somewhere further along the road as the jogger, described above, comes into frame with his dog running beside him. We see the jogger first, then his dog’s head rise above a ridge on the road (which acts as a horizon in the earlier frames of this shot). As frames continue to run, they meet up with two more joggers, one white and one black. Our protagonist jogger first slaps the black jogger on the hand and then the white jogger. (Friendliness, informality etc.) The black jogger is wearing a blue-toned but almost white tee-shirt and grey running shorts.

The other white jogger is wearing navy blue running shorts and green rugby jersey with a white collar. They are all very happy and elated. (4 sec 13 frames)



Shot 4: Cut to black guy getting out of a small white car to join race. He is wearing a white cotton long sleeved top and grey track suit trousers with maroon running shorts over them. He joins the rest of the joggers as they come round the corner (i.e. he represents 'those who have got the exercise down to a fine art seldom have to run further than around the corner'.) At the head of the group, coming around the corner, is the protagonist white jogger with light blue shorts who featured in the shots above. There are 6 runners in the group coming around the corner, 2 of whom are black. With the one who gets out of the car there are 7 in the group, 3 of whom are black. The joggers are laughing and talking to each other. As frames continue the group runs towards the camera and there seems to be a growing excitement amongst them. As they approach the pub door cut to the next shot. (5.16 sec)



Shot 5: Cut to the camera on the other side of the pub door as it is being opened from the outside. Joggers stream through. Leading is the one with light blue shorts, light blue sleeveless top with red sleeves from tee shirt underneath, and white cap. Camera pans after them as they come to the bar counter. There are two black guys coming into frame from left, drinking Castle dumpies. Our protagonist in light blue outfit is in centre frame and has taken off his white cap. He takes a Castle dumpy into his left hand, passed to him by the white barman. The barman is wearing a green 'Lacoste' type shirt -- his arm and left shoulder come in from right of frame with the rest of his body out of frame. There is another white jogger in the out of focus background, at the left shoulder of the protagonist, right of frame. (3.04 sec)

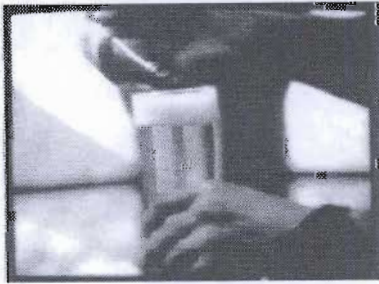


Shot 6: Cut to shot of the back of a white jogger with red floppy hat and black and yellow tee shirt. His back fills almost whole frame, with top of frame cutting his floppy hat. As frames continue to run, he hops out of frame so that the barman is now in the dominant position at centre of frame. The barman is in his forties with light brown hair, very urbane, somehow reminding one a little of Charles Glass. As frames continue, the black

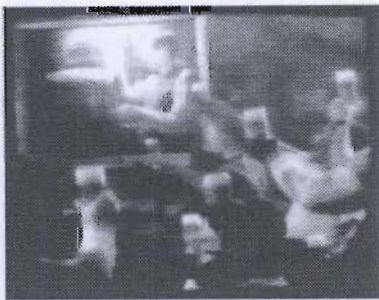
jogger with whitish tee shirt from Shot 2 hops through the frame. He is followed by a white jogger as cut to the next shot. (1.64 sec)



Shot 7: Two guys sitting at the bar counter. In this composition the bar counter runs diagonally from just above the bottom of left of frame. A black guy is sitting drinking in mid-frame. He is wearing blue shiny viscous material track suit trousers and top. He is holding his glass of beer and is in profile to the camera. Behind him is a white guy in a dark suit who is waving towards camera with his left hand. As frames continue to run, a black jogger with white long sleeved cotton top comes into frame CU in the foreground. He is just followed by protagonist with blue sleeveless shirt and red tee shirt sleeves as cut to next shot. (1.08 sec)



Shot 8: CU of glass being filled to the top from dumpy bottle of Castle. Glass is held just to the left of mid-frame by hand coming in from lower right frame. Bottle is held by arm coming in from upper right frame. The background is bright coloured, possibly a window with light pouring in. (1.28 sec)



Shot 9: Cut to mural-sized framed portrait of Charles Glass. He is wearing an apron and standing to the right of a horizontal barrel of Castle, while holding up a glass of his brew to the light. In this frame composition, the Charles Glass portrait is coming in from top left of frame. Camera zooms back to show people inside the pub, including the group of joggers all toasting to Glass. As frames continue, outward zoom continues so that upraised arms holding glasses are coming into frame from both sides and bottom in somewhat surreal manner. (Both white and black arms are featured toasting, but there are more white arms.) This shot dissolves to the next. (2.40 sec + dissolve 0.88 sec)



Shot 10: Dissolve to medium CU of Charles Glass in portrait described in Shot 9. (Dissolve connotes journey back in time.) He is framed head and shoulders at right of frame. Part of the horizontal lying barrel (which is in the portrait) is coming in from left of frame. He is holding up a glass of his beer to the light and looking at it intensely. Lighting is directed from higher left of frame (i.e. in this picture within a shot). As frames continue to run camera zooms in more CU towards the glass of beer that is under examination. Shot dissolves to next. (1.00 sec + 0.76 sec dissolve)



Shot 11: Dissolves to members of the jogging group drinking inside the pub. The barman with green shirt is framed leaning very casually (as is his style) on the counter with his back to the camera. He is coming in from right of frame. In front of him is the white jogger with black and yellow shirt, with white sleeves and the capital letter ACG and the number 10 on the yellow part in the front. He has light brown hair. As frames continue he hops up and down and turns his hands to point to his chest. There are various people sitting drinking in the background, including the black jogger with whitish shirt from Shot 2. (1.96 sec)



Shot 12: Cut to protagonist (in blue outfit, with red tee-shirt sleeves protruding). He is framed with his head coming in from top right of frame corner. He is looking in profile towards his dog which he is stroking on the head with this right hand. The dog has its nose near the left of frame. It is a labrador retriever. Protagonist is holding glass of beer, coming in from lower centre frame. The background is a light green-tinted glass window which is moulded in a pattern of circles. As frames continue he brings his glass to his lips and takes a sip. (1.48 sec)



Shot 13: Cut to shot of a group of the drinkers in pub again. In this composition the bar counter is in the lower foreground of frame. To the left of frame is the jogger with black and yellow shirt, with the letters ACJ and the number 10 on the front. His right shoulder and back of his head are out of frame. He is holding a Castle dumpy in his left hand. To the right of frame is a non jogger -- the white guy wearing a black suit. He has dark hair and is wearing a white shirt without a tie. He is drinking beer from a glass. In the background, just left of centre frame, is the black jogger with white tee shirt and grey shorts, holding a glass of beer in his left hand. Further in the background is the protagonist dressed in blue jogging outfit. (1.92 sec)



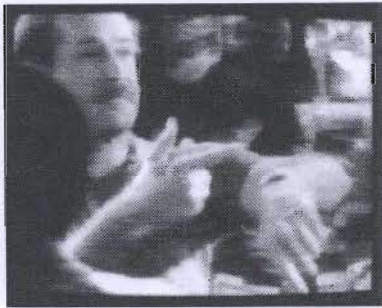
Shot 14: Cut to another CU crowd shot in the pub. White jogger with black tee shirt physically dominates the frame just left of centre. He is looking to right of frame. A black jogger is visible at left of frame. He has bushy hair and is wearing a white and red shirt, he is smiling and very jovial. As frames continue, the dominant white jogger is talking to a black jogger whose face just comes in from right of frame. Our protagonist is just behind him talking to another black person further in the left background. Behind them is the mural-sized portrait of Charles Glass. As frames continue, dominant white jogger slaps black jogger on the hand (in the same manner as was done in Shot 2). (2.40 sec)



Shot 15: Cut to head and shoulders shot of black guy in red long sleeved shirt downing a glass of Castle which he is holding with his right hand. Behind him is a white man with long sleeved white shirt. There is a green background and red curtains coming in from top right of frame. Part of the window is also just visible, vertically at right of frame. (1.24 sec)



Shot 16: Cut to further pub shot from yet another angle. Here black jogger with white tee shirt and grey shorts is dominant. He is shot waist up coming in from just right of frame. Two white joggers are facing him from left of frame. Protagonist in blue is just behind him at about centre of frame. The bottom strip of the portrait of Charles Glass is just visible at the top left of frame. (1.28 sec)



Shot 17: Cut to shot of barman with green shirt pointing at his watch. He is framed coming in from left of frame. The back of a black jogger's head is visible in front of him, partly obscuring his face. (1.24 sec)

Shot 18: Cut to head and shoulders profile shot of our protagonist. He is coming in from right of frame with the profile of his face at about mid-frame (similarly seated as in Shot 12). His dog is looking in the same direction with its snout just below protagonist's chin. A drawn curtain is secured at mid-left frame border. There is light coming in from a light green tinted window at the left of frame. Protagonist is holding a half-empty glass of beer. As frames continue to run he looks at his watch and gets up hurriedly. (2.08 sec)



Shot 19: Cut to protagonist running to the bar counter where barman slaps a sponge of cold water on his forehead and then at both his armpits. Protagonist turns to run out of the pub. Behind him the barman and drinkers are all smiling or laughing, including black guy with blue track suit. The red Castle logo has appeared at mid- lower frame with the copy line underneath it: 'The taste that's stood the test of time'. (7.32 sec)

**MUSICIANS (1987)**

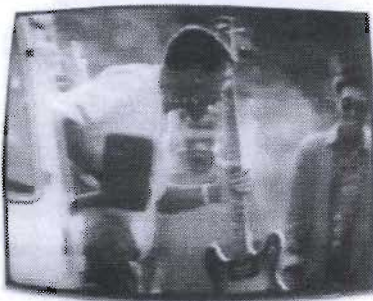
(Running time: 48 seconds)

**Audio**

**MVO:** When fellows of the Charles Glass society get together for a (pause) session, it's vitally important that they are heard to make all the right noises before giving in to that somewhat dry, somewhat bitter, never sweet brew of malt.

**Song:** When we drink Castle, we fill with admiration of Charles Glass whose brewing class won fame across the nation. When we drink Castle, we draw our inspiration from Charles's brew and how it grew a mile high reputation.

**MVO:** Castle Lager: The taste that's stood the test of time.

**Video**

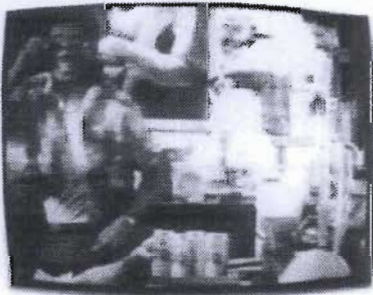
Shot 1: A black man climbs out of a white minibus taxi, at left of frame. In his twenties, he is wearing a white sweater with sleeves rolled up and is carrying an electric guitar. As he gets out we are just able to glimpse the dark silhouette of a passenger at the front of the taxi. The camera pans from left to right to follow him as he steps onto the pavement and then turns around (his back to camera) to greet two black men walking towards the camera. One of the men, at left of frame is wearing a red shirt and is possibly in his late thirties or early forties. The second man is positioned to the left of the man in the red shirt. In his twenties he is wearing a trendy blue jacket with folded sleeves, a black hat and dark glasses, his appearance very much along the lines of the 'cool' guy stereotype. There is a white lamp post behind the two men while the background is covered with trees suggesting an upmarket area. ( Had this been a working class area, the background would very likely be barren). The soft lighting with strong yellow tones reflected in the foliage suggests that it is late afternoon. The man with the blue jacket is carrying a black guitar case. As frames continue, the man in the white sweater and the man in the blue jacket slap hands in a friendly manner while the man in the red shirt gives the 'all is well' thumbs-up sign. The man in the white sweater then joins the two other men as they continue walking towards the camera. They are extremely jovial throughout the shot and there is a definite bounce in their step as they walk. Just before the shot ends a second guitar case held by a white arm (we do not see the rest of the person's body) comes into frame from the left hand side. (4.00 sec)







Shot 2: Cut to medium shot of a white man looking out through the window of a building, presumably at the men in Shot 1. The camera is positioned outside the building with the man looking towards a point slightly left of camera. He is in his late forties, has dark hair and is wearing a white shirt that is partially unbuttoned over a navy blue tee-shirt. There is a mischievous smile on his face. Over his shoulder are the other windows of the room he is standing in. A cluster of dark brown bottles with labels are visible to his left while a blue and white object is visible in the foreground. As frames continue, he waves and one after the other we see two men passing through the out-of-focus foreground. They move through the frame from left to right and only their heads are visible. The first man is black and looks like the man who was wearing the red shirt in Shot 1 while the second man is white. Cuts to the next shot as the second man exits the frame. (1.28 sec)



Shot 3: Cut to interior shot, presumably of the room that the man in the white shirt was looking out in Shot 2. The room is brightly lit by light flooding in from a window in the right background. Against the wall, to the left of the window is a large framed painting of Charles Glass. Part of the painting is cut off by the upper frame border. There is a shelf below the portrait with numerous bottles and other objects. Much of the foreground is occupied by a workbench on which are various tools and cans of Castle. The combination of beer containers and tools which litter most of the room make it a stereotypically masculine environment. Seated beside the workbench, in the foreground at the bottom left of the frame there is a white man holding up a can of Castle. He is in semi-profile, looking away from the camera. As frames continue a black man, in his late twenties or early thirties, wearing a pair of gold-rimmed dark glasses, walks stealthily across the room from right to left of frame in the space between the portrait and the workbench. There is grin on his face which reinforces the sense of conspiracy suggested by the naughty smile of the man in shot 2. As he reaches the end of the frame he looks in the direction of the camera and adjusts his dark glasses in a slightly comical fashion. At this moment the man seated beside the workbench puts down his can of Castle. The man in dark glasses is followed by a white man wearing a dark green shirt. He is in his twenties and has curly dark blond hair. The white man is in turn followed by the man wearing the white sweater and carrying the electric guitar from Shot 1. As the man in the green shirt approaches the left of the frame, the man that was seated beside the workbench stands up with his back to camera. We now see that he is wearing a white shirt and is possibly the man who was looking through the window in Shot 2. Cuts to the next shot as he is about to shake hands with the man in the green shirt. (1.64 sec)



Shot 4: Cut to reverse angle medium close-up of the scene in Shot 3. The man in the white shirt who stood up at the end of Shot 3 is now shaking hands with the man in the green shirt. With the angles reversed we are able to confirm that the man in the white shirt is the same man that was looking through the window in Shot 2. The man in the green shirt moves from left to right across the frame for the duration of this Shot. (1.12 sec)



Shot 5: Cut to reverse angle medium long shot of Shot 4. Our main protagonist now has his back to the camera but is still shaking hands with the man in the green shirt. Following close on the heels of the man in the green shirt is the man in the white sweater (from Shot 1) followed by the man in the blue jacket (also from Shot 1). The men appear to be lining up to greet or shake hands with the man in the white shirt which suggests that he is the host (a notion supported by his role in Shot 2). The three men who are arriving move continuously across the frame, from right to left, for the duration of the shot. As frames continue they are joined by the man in the red shirt (also from Shot 1). At this moment our host gives the man in the green shirt a friendly slap on the shoulder. The man in the green shirt continues to move over to the left of the frame and the camera starts to zoom in to the characters. At this moment we notice that the man in the green shirt is carrying a small musical instrument case, possibly for a saxophone or a trumpet. Cuts to the next shot as he is about to exit the frame. (1.64 sec)

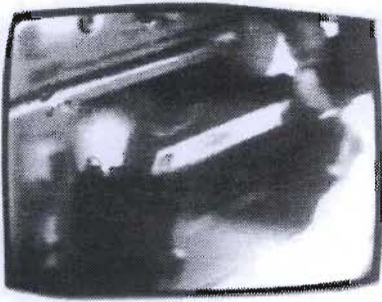
---

Comment: The passage of the main characters across the set (and across the frame) serves as a narrative thread linking the first five shots of the video. These shots follow a rhythm which builds up a sense of anticipation in the viewer.

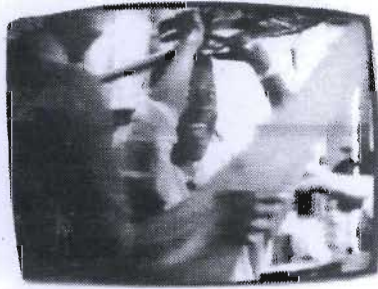
---



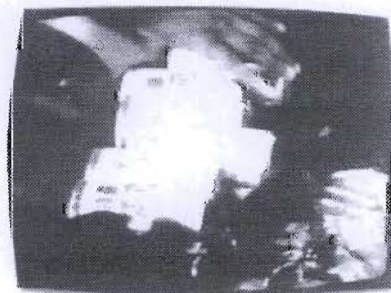
Shot 6: Cut to medium shot of the trendy guy in the blue jacket bending over a hi-fi system, which is against the wall at left of frame. He has an audio cassette which he momentarily holds up with his right hand, presumably for his friends to see, and waves with his left hand. There is grin on his face as he poises himself to act out his role in the conspiracy - that of enabling himself and his friends to be "seen to be making all the right noises", as the voice-over tells us. (0.80 sec)



Shot 7: Cut to close-up of hand placing the audio cassette inside the tape deck and then closing the tape deck. (1.40 sec)



Shot 8: Cut to medium shot of the guy in the white sweater. His dark glasses are stylishly clipped to the front of his sweater. Now that we see him at close quarters we notice that he has a smart haircut and is as trendy as the guy in the blue jacket. He is seated at mid-frame at a slight angle to the camera, looking towards the right frame border, and is playfully lifting his electric guitar up over his head as if to indicate that he has no intention of actually seriously playing the instrument. Behind him is a shelf or working surface littered with various mechanical objects and mugs of beer. Behind the shelf is the wall which is at a slight angle to the camera imparting a greater sense of depth to the image. Diffused light filters in through the windows in the door which is partly cut off by the right frame border. The lighting is soft with yellow and orange tones and is consistent with the lighting in the exterior shots (1 and 2). As frames continue, the man in the red shirt enters the frame and walks through from left to right, in front of the man in the white sweater. His back is partially towards the camera and he is carrying a guitar case. As the man in the red shirt passes him, the man in the white sweater looks at him with a broad grin on his face, showing off a set of perfect teeth, while holding his guitar up over his head. As the shot comes to an end we see the host entering the frame through the right frame border. He is walking in the opposite direction to the man in the red shirt. A strong sense of a busy, dynamic environment is conveyed. Cuts to the next shot as the man in the red shirt exits the frame. (1.40 sec)



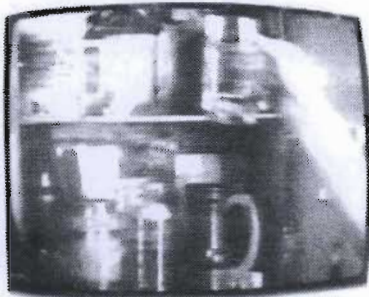
Shot 9: Cut to close up of black musical instrument case being placed on a surface covered by a red, blue and yellow cloth or sheet of paper. The camera pans slightly left bringing into frame the hand that is putting the case down. It is dark in colour and possibly belongs to the guy in the red shirt (who was carrying a guitar case in the previous shot). It is placed beside a pair of gold-rimmed sunglasses. The lid is opened and the camera zooms in slightly. The hand is no longer in frame and instead of a musical instrument we see 6 cans of Castle. The hand re-enters the frame and picks up a can of Castle. (1.32 sec)



Shot 10: Cut to a medium shot of the host handing a can of Castle to the man in the blue jacket. (This represents a slight break in continuity because the hand picking up the can in Shot 9 was black.) The host is on the right hand side of the frame, in semi-profile looking slightly away from the camera. The man in the blue jacket is looking towards the camera and shifts his weight from one foot to another in excitement as he puts his hand forward to take the can of beer from the host. The large painting of Charles Glass dominates the background. The host's position in the frame is almost parallel to Charles Glass's position in the painting, and he seems to almost merge with the painting. To the right of the host, and largely obscured by him is the man in the white sweater. His arms are extended forward and he is holding a can of Castle. (0.92 sec)

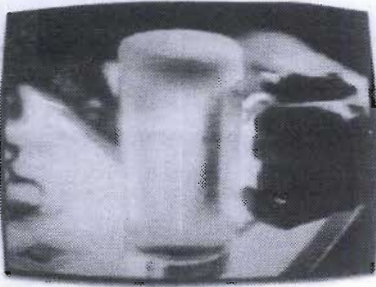


Shot 11: Cut to a medium shot of the guy in the white sweater. This is a continuation of the scene in Shot 10 but from a different camera position. He is at left of frame in semi-profile looking right. There is a can of Castle in his hand and he has a broad smile on his face. In the space above his head we see the hand of the man in the blue jacket taking the can of beer from the hand of the host, and thus completing the action that began Shot 10. The host, only part of his body visible, is on the right hand side of the frame. Only the hand of the guy in the blue jacket is visible in the frame, and for a short time. As frames continue the guy in the white sweater turns his head around and looks towards the left frame border as if intending to talk to someone (possibly the man in the blue jacket). The camera pans right, tilts up and zooms in to show the host opening the door of a cupboard fixed to the wall. Two shelves with beermugs of various sizes can be seen inside the cupboard. Cuts to the next shot as the host takes a beer mug off one of the shelves. (2.12 sec)



Shot 12: Cut to a close-up profile shot of the man in the green shirt. He is at left of frame, looking right. He has a neat haircut, is clean-shaven and has the same toothpaste advertisement smile as the man in the white sweater. The background is completely out-of-focus. The man laughs and then takes a sip from a can of Castle. The can is held with the label facing the viewer. (1.52 sec)





Shot 13: Cut to CU of a mug of beer standing on a white workbench with a blue painted metal rim. Light directed from the upper right background and also reflected off the white surface, makes the beer glow brightly. A dark hand grips the handle and lifts the mug up through the upper frame border. (0.80 sec)



Shot 14: Cut to a wide shot of the room. In profile in the left foreground, near the left frame border we see a black guy (possibly the guy that was wearing small gold-rimmed specs in Shot 3) holding a can of Castle. In the right foreground near the right frame border we see a white hand holding a mug of beer. Further inside the room at about mid-frame we see the guy in the red tee-shirt seated in a blue armchair, facing the camera. He is holding up a can of Castle and is far more sedate than the two younger black men who were also featured in the previous shot. To his left, standing, is the guy in the blue jacket. He is also facing the camera and is waving his hands and talking excitedly. There is a can of Castle in his right hand. To the left of, and slightly in front of the guy in the blue jacket is the guy in the white sweater. He is in semi-profile, seated at a higher level (possibly a bar stool) than the guy in the red shirt. In the background, immediately behind the guy in the red shirt and the guy in the blue jacket is a narrow shelf on which the tape deck and speaker are standing. There is a can of Castle on the speaker. The shelf is more or less against the wall on which the portrait of Charles Glass is displayed. As in earlier shots part of the portrait is cut off by the upper frame border. A carpentry saw hangs from the wall to the left of the painting. As frames continue, the guy in the blue jacket followed by the other guys in the room turn and hold their drinks up in the direction of the painting. We hear their voices for the first time as they shout in chorus: "Charles!" (Their voices are mixed with the Song that is transcribed above.) As their hands come up to toast in honour of Charles Glass the camera pans right and tilts up to bring the portrait more clearly into frame. We are now also able to see a Castle label that is either pasted or painted on the wall above the portrait. Among the various objects and people in the room, the painting is the most brightly lit and really stands out in this shot. The pan also brings into frame the host, standing in profile against the right frame border. At this stage we are also able to see the white guy in the green shirt at the left frame border as well as a white hand extended through the right frame border belonging to a seventh character to whom we have yet to be introduced. There are in total four black guys and three white guys in this shot. Apart from the host, who is holding a mug, all the guys are holding up cans of Castle. (3.20 sec)



Shot 15: Cut to a close-up of two cans of beer. The camera lens is in the telephoto position with the background completely blurred. A black hand comes into frame and picks up one of the two cans of beer. (1.04 sec)



Shot 16: Cut to a close-up of the host talking to a person in front of him and off camera. He is in profile looking towards the right frame border. He shakes his head and then takes a sip from a mug filled with beer. Bright white light filtering through the windows in the background, highlight the side of his face that is turned away from the camera, while imparting a warm glow to the mug of beer. (1.92 sec)

---

Shot 16 marks the end of the first part of the commercial in which the white host is the main protagonist. In the second part of the commercial he is replaced as the main protagonist by the man with the double bass instrument case.

---



Shot 17: Cut to a medium close-up of the guy in the white sweater. He is in semi-profile against the right frame border. There is a can of Castle in his right hand which is raised towards the left background. The can appears to have just been handed to him by someone (whom we do not see) in the background. He is laughing and talking to the man in the blue jacket who is at left of frame and slightly further back from the camera. As frames continue the guy in the white sweater lowers the can of Castle and takes a sip from it while the guy in the blue jacket, steps closer (towards the right hand side of the frame) and gives him a friendly slap on the back. The camera pans a short distance towards the right to follow the action. (1.40 sec)

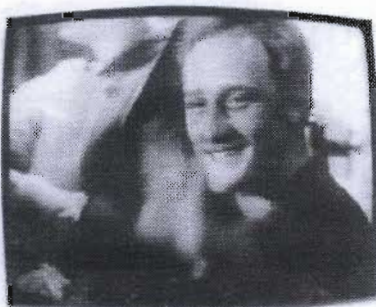


Shot 18: Cut to a medium shot of a new character - a white guy with dark hair and wearing a red and white sweater. He is seated behind a table, his body facing the camera. His head is turned towards the left frame border, as if in conversation with someone off camera. On the table there is a small black musical instrument case that he is clutching with his right hand. Seated on his left is a white guy, most of whose body has been cut off by the right frame border. All we see are this person's hands, one of which is holding a can of Castle, and part of his legs. Against the left frame border, in the out-of-focus foreground, we see the back of the shoulder and arm of the guy in the green shirt. (The rest of his body is cut off by the upper, lower and left frame borders.) He is on the opposite side of the table to the guy in the red and white sweater. As the shot draws to an end the guy in

the red and white sweater turns his head and looks up in the direction of the guy in the green shirt. He starts to lift the black case with his right hand and makes a slight movement with his left hand while asking the question “what?” (which we deduce by reading his lips because the ambient sound has either not been included or is at a very low level). It appears that the guy in the green shirt has questioned the contents of the case. (1.40 sec)



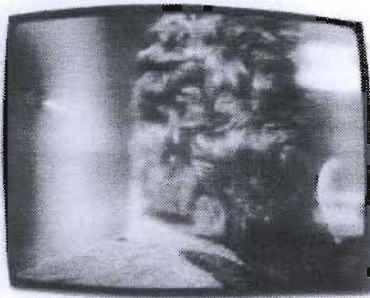
Shot 19: Cut to exterior medium long shot of a white guy struggling under the weight of a large double bass case. There are three red and white “handle with care” stickers on the case suggesting that the contents are somehow valuable. The guy is wearing a navy blue shirt and navy blue trousers and has blond hair. He is rushing across the garden in front of a building with a roughly plastered wall. (In the frame he is moving from left to right and is in profile for the greater part of the shot.) The partially opened windows with square window panes as well as the blue and white object that is visible on the inside identifies the building as the one in which the guys are having their “session”. The camera pans from left to right to follow the blond guy as he approaches the entrance to the building. The panning motion brings into frame in the foreground what looks like the upper part of a child’s pram. As the pan continues we see in the foreground two casually-dressed white women one of whom has a hosepipe and is watering the garden. The two women are in medium long shot and are facing the camera. The guy with the double bass guitar case and the building are behind them. They suddenly turn their heads around as the movement of the guy catches their attention. At this stage he is directly behind them and has also reached the door of the building. There are two stickers on the door, one of which has the word “OIL” written across it. They watch him put the case down, (which he does presumably to open the door) and then turn their heads around again to face the camera. Cuts to the next shot as they each put a hand on their hips, shrug their shoulders slightly and tilt their heads to show that they are in no doubt as to the real contents of the instrument case. (It should be noted that their body language suggests good-natured amusement, rather than angry disgust at the deception that is being played out.) (3.48 sec)



Shot 20: Cut to interior shot of the blond guy in the denim shirt. He is in medium close-up profile and is walking across the room with the double base case. From this shot we are able to tell that he is in his forties. He waves and smiles at someone in the direction of the camera and then continues walking. The camera pans from right to left to follow him a short distance. Part of the painting of Charles Glass which can be seen in the out-of-focus background tells the viewer that the interior location is the same as in all the earlier shots. (1 sec)



Shot 21: Cut to wide-shot of the room above. In frame is the portrait of Charles Glass, various tools and other objects that are familiar from the earlier shots, the guy with the blue denim shirt and the three guys that we were introduced to in Shot 1. The guy with the blue denim shirt is at right of frame in profile. He is still carrying the guitar case and is walking across the frame from right to left. The guy in the blue jacket is standing slightly to the right of the centre of the frame with his back to camera. He is in the foreground of the shot. The guy in the white sweater and the guy in the red shirt are seated near the left frame border. The guy in the red shirt is in the foreground, his body turned slightly away from the camera and looking at someone or something outside the left frame border. Seated more less behind him on a high stool and facing the right hand side of the frame is the guy in the white sweater. When the guy with the blue denim shirt (who is carrying his case across the room) reaches the guy with the blue jacket, he gets a friendly slap on the back from the latter which he (the guy in the denim shirt) returns. At this moment the guy in the white sweater gets up from his seat and starts to help with the case tugging it at the front. The guy with the blue also provides some token assistance and holds the top end of the case from over the shoulder of the guy in the denim shirt. The camera pans a short distance left to follow the passage of the case. The pan brings more of the guy in the red shirt into frame. He is still seated in a blue chair as in Shot 14 and has turned his head around to watch the action. There is a guitar leaning upright against his left leg. As in previous shots he is far more sedate than the two younger black guys in the shot. Cuts to the next shot as he picks up a can of Castle in his right hand. (2.00 sec)

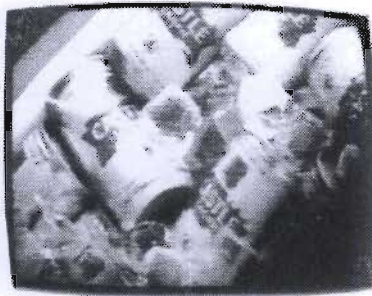


Shot 22: Cut to close-up shot from behind the right shoulder of the man in the green shirt. He is close to the left frame border and is looking towards the right background. We see the curly hair at the back of his head and part of the back of his shoulders. The host, holding a mug of beer in front of him rushes through the out-of-focus foreground. He enters through the right frame border his image completely blurred by his rapid movement across the frame. Once he has exited through the left frame border, the guy in the green shirt turns his head around and looks towards his right. The camera pans right to bring him more fully into frame. His face is now in profile and we see him laughing. He then turns his head back to its original position. Cuts to the next shot as we notice the double bass case coming into frame in the out-of-focus right background. (2.00 sec)





Shot 23: Cut to close-up of the guy in the blue jacket. His is in profile against the left frame border. Part of the case is visible in front of him (in the right hand side of the frame.) He seems to have just put down the case as he is lowering his right arm. The camera pans right to follow him as he leans forward and takes hold of the handle at the front of the case. Cuts to the next shot as the smiling face of the man in the denim shirt appears at the other end of the case. (0.96 sec)



Shot 24: Cut to close-up of a section of the case. The lid is opened to reveal cans of Castle in a bed of ice cubes. One of the ice cubes falls from the top right to the bottom left of the frame - an indication that the case is standing at an angle to the right. (1.24 sec)



Shot 25: Cut to a medium close-up of the guy in the denim shirt. He is standing behind the guitar case and against the right frame border looking left. The upper two halves of the opened guitar case are visible on either side of him. The guy and the guitar case are well lit while most of the background is in shadow. The guy with the denim shirt leans forward slightly and the camera pans left bringing into frame the guy with the blue jacket who is in the lower left background. He is initially bent over and then stands upright as if he has just taken a can of beer from the case. Cuts to the next shot as the guy in denim jacket says "Charles Glass" (as in Shot 18 the words are deduced from lip movement). (1.00 sec)



Shot 26: Cut to Wide Shot of room. At mid-frame, upright at a slight angle to the horizontal, we see the opened instrument case with bright yellow padding. Inside the case are two crates with beer cans. The man in the blue denim shirt is standing behind the case (as in the previous shot) but is now facing the camera. His hands are at each end of the case. On the wall behind him is the portrait of Charles Glass. (While the content of this shot is similar in many respects to shot 14, the case with beer has replaced Charles Glass's portrait as the focus of attention.) To his right is the guy in the blue jacket followed by the guy in the white sweater. Near the left frame border in semi-profile is the host. Seated in the right foreground, his back to camera is the guy in the green shirt. The guy in the red shirt is seated a little to his right facing him (and the camera). As frames continue, the host bends forward and takes a can of Castle from the bottom of the case while the other guys raise their cans in honour presumably of Charles Glass. The guy in red shirt stands up as he toasts to Charles Glass. Two hands come into frame

through the right frame border and eventually part of the body of a fourth black man who has come forward to toast. He is holding a can of beer in each hand. As in Shot 14 there are in total four black men and three white men in the shot. After the toast, the Castle Lager logo and the words: 'The taste that's stood the test of time', are superimposed on the screen. The guys continue their merrymaking which appears to have reached its climax in this shot. As the shot ends the guy in the denim shirt leans forward and points at the beer in the case. The image is frozen at this point and held for the last few frames of the shot. (6.76 sec)

**TABLE SOCCER (1987)****Audio**

**MVO:** To fellows of the Charles Glass Society, it's not whether you win or lose at soccer or even how you play the game. It's how much half time you allow for a certain, somewhat dry, somewhat bitter, never sweet, refreshment.

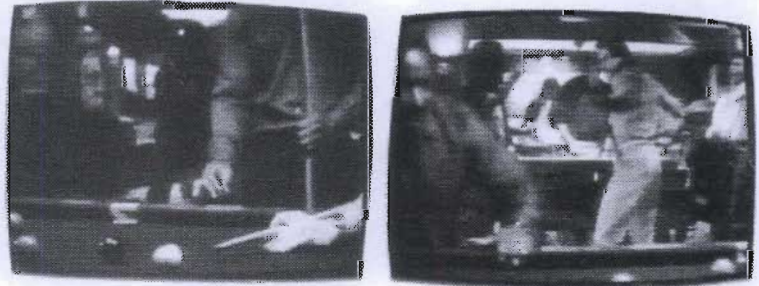
**Song:** When we drink Castle  
We fill with admiration  
For Charles Glass whose brewing class  
Won fame across the nation.

When we drink Castle  
We draw our inspiration  
From Charles' brew  
And how it grew  
A mile high reputation.

**MVO:** Castle Lager: The taste that's stood the test of time.

**Video**

Shot 1:



cut

Shot 2:



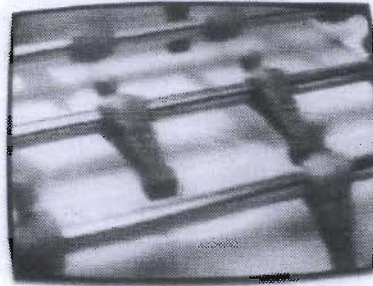
cut

Shot 3:



cut

Shot 4:



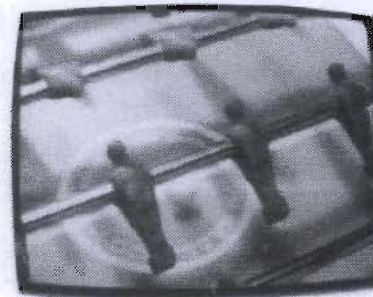
cut

Shot 5:



cut

Shot 6:



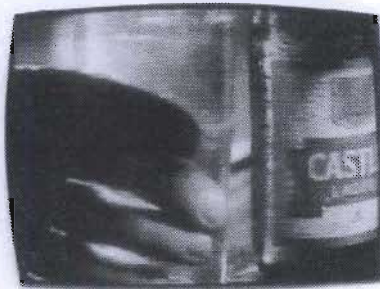
cut

Shot 7:



cut

Shot 8:



cut

Shot 9:



cut

Shot 10:



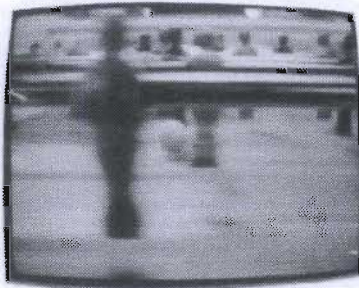
cut

Shot 11:



cut

Shot 12:



cut

Shot 13:



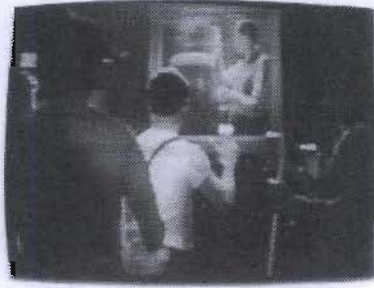
cut

Shot 14:



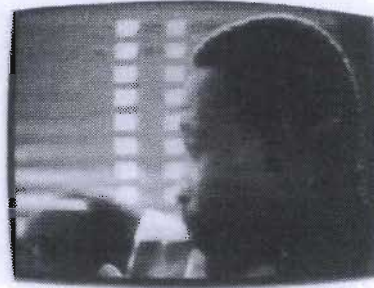
cut

Shot 15:



cut

Shot 16:



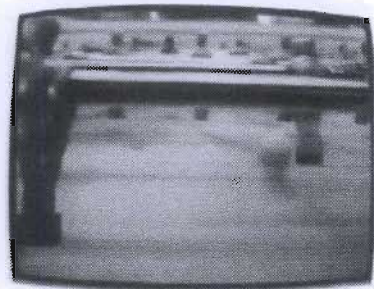
cut

Shot 17:



cut

Shot 18:



cut

Shot 19:



cut

Shot 20:



cut

Shot 21:



cut

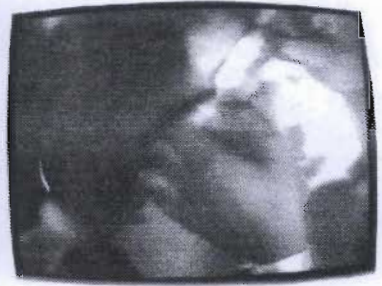
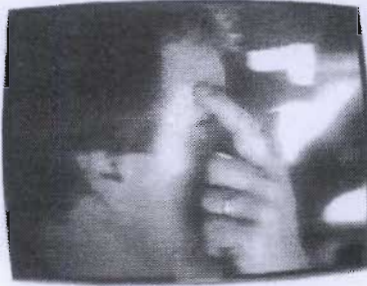
Shot 22:



cut



Shot 23:



cut

Shot 24:



cut

Shot 25:



cut to black

**LEAGUE SOCCER (1988)****Audio**

**MVO:** To fellows of the Charles Glass Society only one thing rivals the thrills and skills of the Castle League. And that's that ice cold Castle Lager waiting to meet you at the end of the game.

**Song:** When we watch soccer, we fill with (exaltation?)\*  
to Castle League that's big and (...?...)\*  
today across the nation  
When we watch soccer, we rise in affirmation  
to all the things that brew our beer's  
sky high reputation.

**MVO:** Castle League, the only serious rival to that other crowd pleaser: Castle Lager.

\* (The spoken words were not clearly audible on the history reel used for this research.)

**Video**

Shot 1: Medium long shot of **one of the teams as they are** walking side by side in quick pace through a dark tunnel under the stadium. They are about to enter the soccer field. They are completely silhouetted as they are shot against the light coming in from the tunnel opening. There is a strong blue tone. Camera is behind the players as they are jogging through the tunnel, catching up with them and coming CU onto their legs as cut to next shot. (2.36 sec)



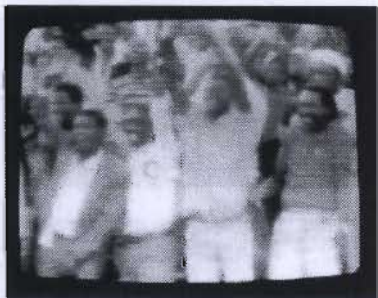
Shot 2: Cut to players as they are entering the field. The camera is now in front of the players. Up ahead at the centre of frame, filling the whole frame vertically, is a very tall black player with the soccer ball in his left arm. He is wearing a white shirt with a slanted red band across the chest, from left shoulder to right waist. Emblazoned across the chest is a sponsor's logo, Midas (car spares). People have come onto the field to shake hands with the team. There is a black man dressed in blue trousers and blue top who is shaking hands with this tall player (probably the team captain), at left centre of frame. There is a young boy at right centre of frame trying to touch the soccer ball the captain is holding in his hand. The rest of the team is behind the captain but not quite in focus. They are all framed by the black square of the tunnel opening behind them. (1.40 sec)



Shot 3: Cut to black drum majorettes dressed in yellow tops and black skirts running onto the field from right frame to left. There is a long red banner set up longitudinally as a long low tent-like structure on the soccer field. It fills the frame from lower left border to almost mid-right border. The Castle logo is printed on this banner in white. As they approach it, three drum majorettes run to the one side of this banner (at upper frame) and two on the other side (at lower frame). (1.36 sec)



Shot 4: Cut to medium long shot of crowd of spectators. There are four men standing in the foreground from the first third of the frame from left to right. The first man is wearing a yellow plasticised anorak and yellow plasticised hat. Squeezed between the first man and the third man is a man with dark trousers and a red short-sleeved shirt. Third comes a man with yellow trousers and yellow top. The fourth man, at right of frame is wearing darker yellow to orange trousers and top, and also a yellow cap. The SFX are crowd cheering and shouting as players come onto the field. Behind and in front of the four standing men many others are seated. (These are all ordinary members of the working classes or proletariat.) As frames continue, excitement heightens, more people stand up and everyone is waving. (0.68 sec)



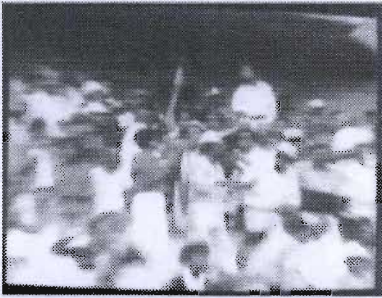
Shot 5: Cut to medium long shot of another group of spectators. (Some of these people feature again in Shot 30.) Four black men are standing in the foreground of the frame. The first, from left, is wearing a grey-blue suit with a white open-necked shirt which is slightly untucked on his right (left of frame). Next to him is a man with grey trousers and a light blue shirt with a blue and white rosette on his chest. Next, there is a man with light grey trousers with a thin black leather belt and a khaki shirt. Next, at right of frame, is a man with faded blue denim jeans and a short-sleeved red shirt. Behind this group are dozens more spectators. Everyone is jumping up and down and waving with excitement. (1.08 sec)



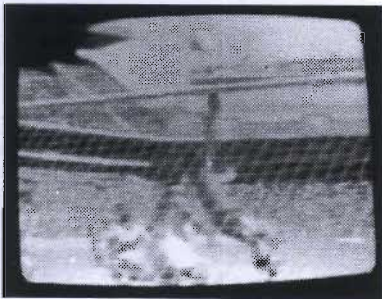
Shot 6: Cut to medium close-up (head and shoulders) of an excited spectator. He is a black man in his late twenties. He has his arms crossed in front of his chin. His mouth is wide-open as he is shouting with excitement. He has a very fine set of white perfect looking teeth. Many more spectators fill the frame around him but none of their facial characteristics are visible. The dominant black man described has short hair with a nicely shaped forehead. He seems working class. (0.68 sec)



Shot 7: Cut CU onto the green soccer field with the white line going diagonally across the frame. The camera is positioned quite low and there is a white horizon across top 1/5 of the frame. The soccer ball is set on the white line. As frames continue to run, a player runs into frame from right of frame. Only his legs are in frame (from the top of the frame down). He is blurred from the speed with which he is moving. He is wearing yellow socks. As frames continue to run he kicks the ball with tremendous force. He continues his run out of left frame border as cut to next shot.(0.80 sec)



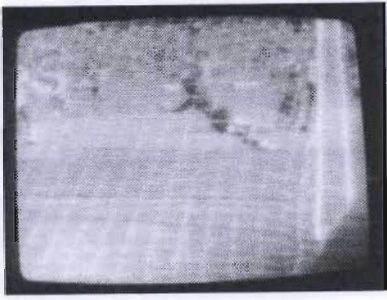
Shot 8: Cut to zoom into spectators. The people look of a similar class as earlier shots. In this shot there are also two young boys at left of frame and a woman with a white skirt and red shirt next to them. Next to her is a rather large woman dressed in yellow. Next to her is a man with yellow trousers, yellow top and a yellow plastic helmet. At right of frame is another man wearing beige trousers, cream shirt, and cream cap. There is another man with a white shirt standing in the upper right background. None of the people in this shot are very sharply in focus. Thus these people come across as slightly amorphous. (0.88 sec)



Shot 9: Cut onto the soccer field. Camera is positioned close behind the net of the goals. The net comes in from bottom of frame and runs to upper 1/3 of frame. The action which is taking place near the goals is thus visible through the net. In the background the stadium and spectators are also visible through the net. As frames continue a white goalie wearing black shorts and a red top jumps into the air trying to save the ball which is coming almost vertically down towards him through the middle of the upper frame border. There are several black players with white shorts around him. The goal-keeper manages to deflect the ball away from the goalposts as cut to next shot. (1 sec)



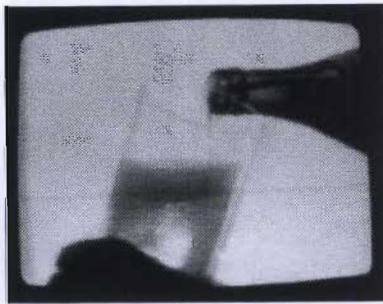
Shot 10: Cut to medium shot of two players dribbling after the ball. They are framed from top of frame from waist down. They are moving from right of frame to left. The player who is in control of the ball has a yellow top, black shorts, and yellow socks with a black upper band. Behind him is a player with white shorts and white socks with black upper band. From the skin colour of their legs both appear to be black soccer players. The player who is control of the ball begins to gain speed and kicks the ball out of frame as cut to next shot. (1.16 sec)



Shot 11: Cut to camera behind the goals again. In this shot the net of the goals covers the entire frame. The same white goalkeeper with black shorts and a red top is at mid frame. He runs a short distance to the right and then leans eccentrically to left of frame with his arms up in the air. The ball is a blur at upper left of mid-frame. As he touches the ball cut to next shot. (It is not exactly clear whether or not he deflects the ball successfully from the goals. It seems that he probably does save it.) (1.00 sec)



Shot 12: Cut to CU of two bottles of Castle being placed on a white floral-based table surface. The bottles enter from top of frame. When the bottles are fully in position the two Castle labels on the bottles fill much of the frame (the necks of bottles are out of the upper frame border). At the same time the blurred figure (barely noticeable) of the person who put the bottles down exits through the left frame border. There are droplets of condensed water on the bottles. (1.00 sec)



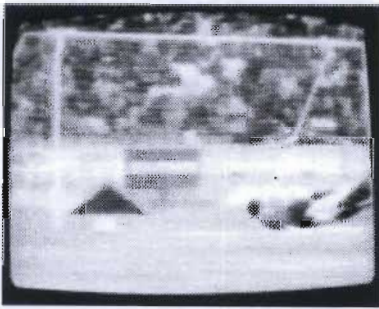
Shot 13: Cut CU to a glass being filled with beer. The hand of a black person is visible at the bottom left of the frame holding a glass tilted slightly towards the top right of the frame. The neck of bottle of Castle with the label partially visible comes in from the upper right frame border. The clear circle of the rim of the glass frames the amber mouth of the beer bottle. There is a bright diffused white background to this shot. It seems that the glass is being filled against a clouded sky. As frames continue, more beer fills into the glass. (2.28 sec)



Shot 14: Cut to WS of living room of middle class black home. Seven men, six black and one white, are seated around a coffee-table and in front of a TV set. They are watching the soccer match on TV and drinking Castle. The TV set is positioned at about centre of frame with the table running lengthwise towards the TV set. On the table are quart-sized bottles of Castle and glasses filled with beer. None of the faces of the men is clearly visible as they are looking away from the camera and towards the TV set. Most of the men (including the white guy) are also somewhat obscured by the two black men (at the left and the right of the frame) who are closest to the camera. The home surroundings seem fairly luxurious and spacious. Light filters through a large window at left of frame and the narrow slit of a second window cut by the right frame border. The windows have pink curtains drawn to the sides. Behind the TV set there are three portraits arranged on the wall in ascending order. Above the portraits there seems to be a triangular flag representing some soccer team. As the group watch the action on the TV screen, they become more excited. Camera cuts to next shot -- the 'actual' scene on the soccer field. (1.96 sec)



Shot 15: Cut to soccer game as it is taking place on the soccer field. The field fills about 2/3 of frame with upper 1/3 being the barrier with advertisements on the side of the field, followed by spectators upon one of the stands. The two opposing teams are dressed in different colours (obviously). White shorts, white tops, and white socks with upper black band. Black shorts, maroon tops, maroon socks with upper black band. In this shot a player dressed in white team-wear is controlling the ball and moving with great speed from right to left of frame. He is somewhat blurred from the speed. A player in the maroon team-wear is intercepting him at left of frame. A further two or three players from both teams are advancing from the further background. A goalkeeper dressed in red is visible at upper left. The goalkeeper is white while the rest of the players in the frames of this shot are black. As frames continue, the player with white team-wear collides with the maroon dressed interceptor while at the same time kicking the ball away from the interceptor. Cut to next shot. (0.52 sec)



Shot 16: Cut to camera panning from left to right to frame the white goalkeeper who is wearing black shorts and a red top. He is about to intercept the ball which presumably was kicked towards the goals in the previous shot. Camera follows and holds the goalkeeper in frame as he meets up with the ball and turns around to run after it towards left of frame. But he seems to fail to intercept the ball as he dives towards the goals after it. The ball continues to travel towards the goalpost at left of frame. Camera cuts to next shot as the ball enters the goals. (0.96 sec)

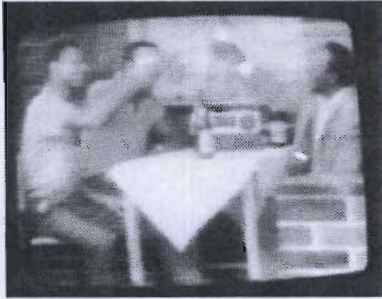


Shot 17: Cut back to black middle class home from Shot 14. Both the camera, and the people and objects in the room, are in the same position as in Shot 14. The two men in the immediate foreground, one at left and one at right of frame, have their hands up in the air cheering. One holds up his thumb and the other his glass of beer. A man in a black tee-shirt in the left background jumps up in excitement followed by two other men. One of these men, at left of frame is wearing a light blue shirt while the other, at right of frame, wearing a red shirt, is the only white man in the room. Once they stand their heads are cut off by the upper border of the frame. Further in the right background a man who is seated, looks towards camera and also waves his hands excitedly. (1.24 sec)



Shot 18: Cut to head and shoulders shot of young black man holding a glass of beer. He is looking in profile from left of frame with the left frame border cropping the back of his head and the upper frame border cropping the top of his head. He is wearing a light blue shirt. He seems to be standing by the large glass window which was at the left of frame in Shots 14 and 17. Diffused white light coming in from the window brightly illumi-

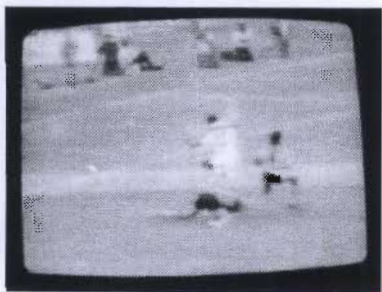
nates the glass in his hand and the front of his head and face which looks to right of frame. The right hand side of this head is in shadow. He nods his head and is smiling broadly. He seems to be one of the men who stood up at left of frame, second from the background, in Shot 17. (0.84 sec)



Shot 19: Cut to three black men seated outdoors at a light coloured wooden table with white table cloth. They are drinking Castle and have their 3 beer mugs raised up together for a toast. The table they are sitting at seems to be set outside, below the window and against the wall of a red brick house (probably the verandah). There is a transistor radio and two quarts of Castle on the table. The two younger men at left of frame are wearing short sleeved shirts, the first (from foreground) light blue the second maroon. The elder man seated at right of frame is wearing a patterned blue suit. As they raise their glasses and bring them down again cut to next shot. (1.16 sec)



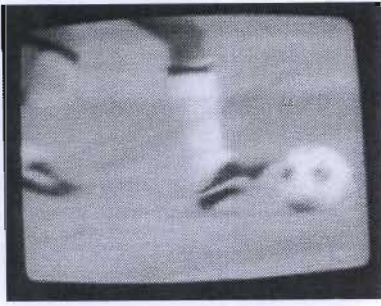
Shot 20: Cut to ridiculous soccer clown. He is dressed in a strange yellow and golden outfit. He is wearing a necklace of gold beads which fits tightly around his neck. He is holding an unusual looking banner with golden trumpets sewn onto it. This banner also has on it the motif of a Native American chief with 'Chiefs' printed underneath. (Probably representing the soccer team called Kaiser Chiefs.) This soccer clown seems to be wearing a yellow plastic safety helmet on his head. He is also wearing a gigantic pair of yellow spectacle frames which do not have any lenses in them. As frames continue camera comes in closer to his face.(0.76sec)



Shot 21: Cut back to soccer field. The action is taking place near the edge of the field. A white soccer player who is wearing black shorts and a yellow top seems to have fallen. A member of the opposing team is running towards him and jumps clearly over him in order to avoid collision. The black player lands upright on his feet and the fallen player also gets up behind him. At the side of the field there are about six people, some of whom seem to be photographers. (0.96 sec)



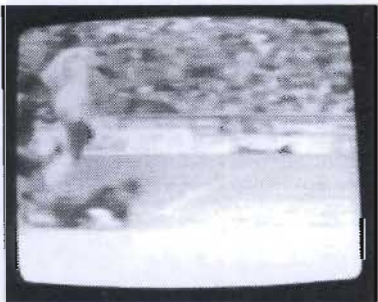
Shot 22: Cut to medium shot of scene somewhere in a field where large trees are growing (the large tree trunks are in the background in the frames of this shot). In the foreground at left of frame is an aged black man who is passing a soccer ball to a young boy. The old man is dressed in long pale coloured trousers with a white shirt and the boy is wearing navy blue shorts and a red top. (0.72 sec)



Shot 23: Cut CU to ball on the playing field. Players legs are coming in from top left of frame. There is a player wearing white socks with black upper band who is leading. Behind him is a player wearing yellow socks with black upper band. As they move to right, the camera pans after them blurring the green soccer field. The player with white and black socks kicks the ball out of right frame border while at the same time the legs of a player with red socks are coming into frame from right of frame. (0.88 sec)



Shot 24: Cut to long shot of two young black men leaning against a battered old Toyota listening to a very large transistor radio-tape on the bonnet. The Toyota comes in from left of frame and fills more than half of the frame diagonally. The left headlight is at about bottom right of frame. The two young men are leaning forward from right of frame. The one has his head very close to the radio, the other has his head near his friend's shoulder and is also listening attentively. In the background at upper right of frame is a wooden pole supporting telephone or electric lines. The roads are un-tarred dust roads and there is wild bushy vegetation in the background which seem to suggest a rural setting. (1.44 sec)



Shot 25: Cut back to the action on the soccer field. There is a player on the ground at left half of frame. Two players, one in maroon the other white, jump over the player who is on the ground in order to avoid collision. The player who is on the ground is a goalkeeper dressed in black who is covering the ball he has saved. The player in white goes right up into the air and rolls over on the ground as cut to next shot. (1.80 sec)



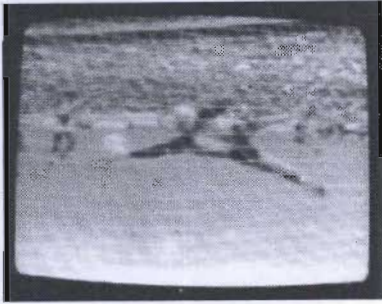
Shot 26: Cut to a CU crowd shot on one of the stands. A man with a long sleeved shiny black jacket is dominating the frame. His jacket has some white tassels across the front. He is wearing a white plastic safety helmet and holding a long silver whistle in his left hand. To right of frame is another black man who is wearing a light brown jacket over a white open v-necked shirt. There are more people around them but their faces are indistinct. All are looking to right of frame. (0.96 sec)

Shot 27: Cut to a wide angle medium CU of a light skinned black man with a bushy Jimi Hendrix hair style. He is dressed in yellow and his shoulders run from left of frame to right of frame. The top of his hair reaches to just below the upper frame. He has an intense expression on his face and is jumping up and down screaming. There are more spectators in the frame background. (0.88 sec)

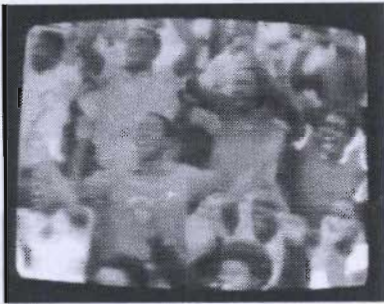




Shot 28: Cut to soccer field. There are three players on the ground forming a triangle. At left of frame is a player with black shorts and yellow top with the number 2 on his shirt. In the background, a little to the right, is a black player with white shorts and white top with a red band coming down diagonally. At right of frame is another player moving with the ball at his feet towards left of frame. As frames continue he kicks the ball to left of frame. (0.44 sec)



Shot 29: Cut to camera behind the goals. The net fills the entire frame. The goalkeeper is visible through the net trying to save the ball. He is momentarily leaning eccentrically on his one foot to left of frame. He has yellow socks with the black upper band, black shorts and a yellow top. He is white and has blond hair. He falls onto the ground and it is not clear if he has succeeded in saving the ball. (The ball is never actually shown inside the goals.) (0.72 sec)

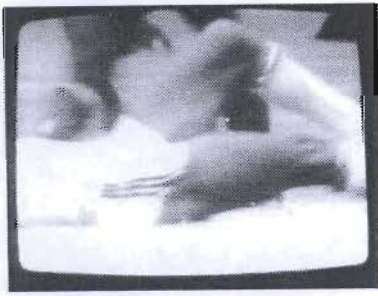


Shot 30: Cut to shot of spectator stand. About 16-18 spectators are framed. They are all on their feet and cheering with their hands in the air. Most are men but there seems to be one woman in the foreground. All are black. All are neatly dressed and possibly slightly more middle class looking than the people in the earlier spectator shots above. As frames continue, camera zooms in closer to frame spectators who initially were at mid-frame. Cut to next shot. (1.40 sec)



Shot 31: Cut to two labourers (both black) sitting outdoors on two blue plastic Juba crates. There is transistor radio positioned just right of mid-lower frame. The man sitting on the plastic crate at left of frame is dressed in grey trousers, grey shoes, light blue top and a light green cap. The man sitting on the box at right of frame is wearing black rubber galoshes and a bright blue overall. They are discussing the soccer game which is being relayed over the radio. As frames continue to run, the man in bright blue overalls at right of frame raises both his arms with clenched fists several times in response to some exciting development in the game. The man on the left of frame has taken his green cap off which he flings down in disappointment. In the background behind them is the open entrance of what seems to be a shop of some sort. (1.16 sec)

Shot 32: Cut to action on soccer field. A player in white shorts and white top speeds into frame from right of frame and falls onto his knees. Another player in black shorts and maroon shirt is walking across the field at left of frame. (0.24 sec)



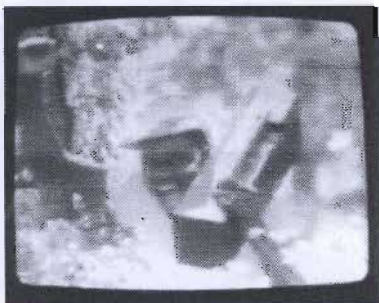
Shot 33: Cut CU to further action on the soccer field. A falling soccer player's leg is slipping into frame from left frame border and reaches across to right of frame border. As frames continue to run, camera pans right to show mid-shot of player on his back with his leg muscles tensed. As he begins to get up cut to next shot. (0.96 sec)



Shot 34: Cut to eye level shot of two players's legs. The black player wearing a maroon shirt and socks has control of the ball in the middle of the frame. Meanwhile a white player with white shorts and socks is coming from left of frame to try and gain control of the ball. The black player kicks the ball and they both slip and fall onto the ground as cut to next shot. (0.72 sec)



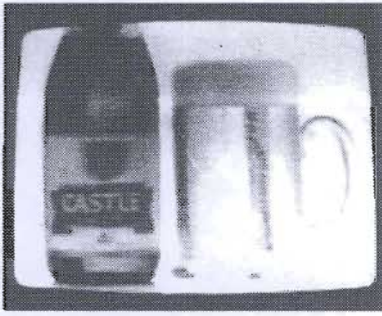
Shot 35: Cut to camera at wide angle panning right to left from behind the goals. Net fills whole frame and action on field is visible through the net. The ball is coming towards a white goalkeeper dressed in black shorts and white shirt. He fails to intercept the ball which goes straight through and into the goals. (0.68 sec)



Shot 36: Cut to medium shot up of young black man framed from waist up. He is wearing a white tee-shirt, a white floppy cotton hat and has a stereo radio cassette player over his left shoulder. He has his right arm raised in a clenched fist, which suggests that his team has scored successfully. He seems to be in a park or garden with out-of-focus pink Cosmos flowers visible in the foreground. In the background the whole frame is filled by the leaves of trees. There is sunlight coming through the leaves. (1.20 sec)



Shot 37: Cut to the team captain who was featured at the beginning of the commercial (Shot 2). He is now being carried on the shoulders of his team's supporters. He is holding a large soccer trophy up high with both his arms. The up raised arms of the surrounding supporters are coming into frame at lower half of the left frame border, from the lower frame border, and from the lower half of right frame border. The sun is setting and, as the captain sways from left to right on his supporter's shoulders, light from the rays of the setting sun behind his back shines directly into camera. (3.04 sec)



Shot 38: Cut CU to shot of bottle of Castle Lager next to a full mug of beer. The bottle is positioned at left of frame with the beer mug at right of frame with its handle almost at right frame border. (It is shot against a white background, probably a translucent white perspex infinity curve with intense lighting directed from the back.) It is not a freeze frame. Also, unlike other commercials on the history reel, there is no slogan superimposed at the bottom of the frame in this final shot. (3.16 sec)

**GARAGE** (1989) 33 sec.

### Audio

**SFX:** Group of guys talking, sound of rattling bottles being carried in cardboard box, braai party sounds throughout, applause at lowering of garage door.

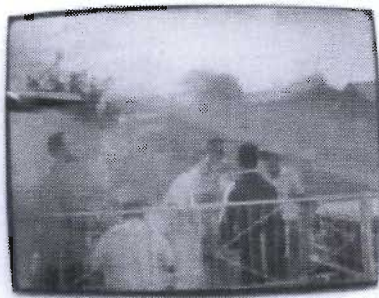
**MVO :** These fellows of the Charles Glass Society haven't bothered to enter Castle Lager's 'We're changing the label not the beer' competition .... or have they?

**SFX:** Changing the label not the beer theme tune.

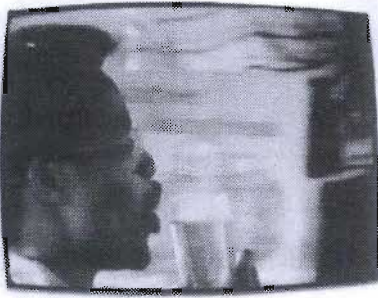
**MVO:** Not bad guys! Now put it in an envelope and post it to us.

(MVO is in a white South African English-speaking accent)

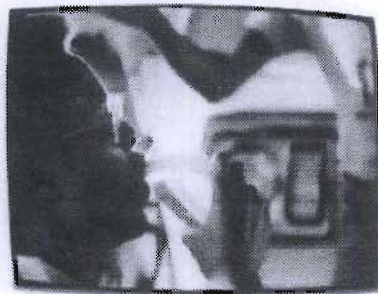
### Video



Shot 1: Opens with a wide shot with camera positioned above on what appears to be the upper landing of a house verandah/patio above the drive-in garage of a fairly substantial township house, possibly Soweto. An aluminium railing runs across the frame foreground. There is a group of black guys standing below in front of the garage. At left frame border stands a tall man with black trousers and untucked long sleeved red shirt or sports jacket. He is wearing dark glasses and has a pointed black beard. He is looking away from camera towards the right foreground. Next comes a man of rather large bearing who has his back turned to the camera, later shots will indicate that this man is the host to the braai party which is taking place. He is wearing a short-sleeved white shirt and slightly off-white shorts. Next is a man with beige shirt, grey trousers and a hat. The front of a car comes into frame from lower half of right hand border. In all about seven black men are visible standing below at ground level. The background seems to be an early morning township scene. There is dense fog from pollution from house fires which makes the background indistinct. Colours are muted dark browns to green. Some house structures are barely visible in the mid right background and these are solidly built, indicating a more upmarket part of the township. The further horizon is immersed in dense fog. As frames continue, it becomes apparent that a cardboard box has been unloaded (probably from the motor vehicle coming in from right of frame). This box is being carried from right of frame into the centre of the group by a man with a short-sleeved striped shirt. Cut to next shot.



Shot 2: Cut to CU of bespectacled African man (thin gold wire frames) who has a full glass of beer near his lips. In terms of the composition of the frame he comes in with his head just above the shoulders from left frame border. He is looking in profile to right of frame. His right hand comes in from mid lower frame border holding the full glass of beer to his lips at a point directly below the centre point of the frame. CU in the background, a man carrying a cardboard box moves from right to left of frame. This man is framed from above the waist up with his head (just below the shoulders) out of upper frame border, his left shoulder is initially out of right frame border before he moves across to the left. The cardboard box is CU and large in the frame, filling about 40% of the frame area. This man carrying the box is wearing a white shirt with brown stripes. As frames continue, he moves past holding the box in front of his chest facing camera and out of left frame border. It becomes apparent that this must be the man who was featured at the right part of the frame in Shot 1, carrying a light brown cardboard box with dark brown glass beer bottles. Thus, the action taking place in Shot 2 is part of part of the action filmed in the scene encompassed by Shot 1. Shot 2 has been edited from footage taken, it appears, at the same time by a second camera located at ground level in a position somewhere left background and facing towards right of the scene in Shot 1. As frames continue, another man comes in CU from right frame border talking to someone (this is apparent from his hand gestures, as his head and lower part of his body are out of frame) outside left frame border. He is possibly talking to the person who has just moved past with the cardboard box full of beers. Then as frames continue further, yet another man moves past from right to left of frame very CU to the camera in front of the man drinking his beer. This man moving across the frame is holding several beers in his hand which fill much of the frame CU and out of focus. (The bottles come in from upper frame border reaching to about 2/3 of the way down the frame.) This shadowing of the frame by the dark brown glass bottles is used as an editing point to cut in the next shot -- as the bottles move from right to left the next shot is revealed behind them.



Shot 3: Cut to shot of black man framed from above the knees up. He is leaning forwards, towards camera, over bottles of beer which come in from lower frame border. He is wearing an unbuttoned sports jacket which is a shiny light reddish colour. He has a light-coloured shirt or jersey underneath and his trousers are black. He is also wearing dark sunglasses and has a Sammy Davis junior-like moustache/beard. Behind him (and mostly obscured) stands a large somewhat corpulent man. They both are framed by what seems to be an open garage entrance behind them. As frames continue, the man in reddish jacket whips the lid off one of the quart bottles of beer, lifting it up more fully into the frame as cut to next shot.



Shot 4: Cut to shot of a seated man leaning back towards left frame border. He could be the man obscured in Shot 3. He is framed in this shot from just above the shoulder up with the top of his head well within left upper frame border. His head is completely shaven and he is wearing a light coloured shirt. As frames continue, he leans his head right back so that it goes slightly out of left frame border. At the same time he brings a newspaper he is reading over his face as if to cover his eyes from the daylight. The newspaper slides down to just below his nose but his eyes remain closed. The back page of this newspaper is clearly visible -- it is the Sowetan sports page. The red 'Sowetan Sport' logo is on the left and a large headline 'Lousy Downs' is in the middle of the page. Another man's back partly comes into the frame at right frame border, but this person remains mostly out of the frame for the duration of the shot. In the close background, at left of frame is part of what appears to be the wall at one side of the opening of the garage. Lighting is of a brassy toned hue, suggesting early morning glare and the atmospheric conditions the sun is shining through. Cut to next shot.



Shot 5: Cut to wide shot with a man in the foreground who is leaning over a braai. He is leaning from left to right. He has a plate in his left hand and in his right hand a braai fork with which he is placing more sausages onto the braai. He is wearing greyish/beige trousers and a light coloured short-sleeved shirt. Behind him, to the right of the frame, are three more people. One is standing at mid-frame with his back turned to the camera and partly obscured by the man who is leaning over the braai in the foreground. Next, further to the right, directly behind the braai, a person is sitting upon a chair drinking beer from a glass. This person appears somewhat effeminate looking but later shots seem to confirm that he is the man with pink shirt and thin gold-rimmed spectacles who was sitting drinking a glass of beer in Shot 2. In addition to pink shirt and gold rimmed- glasses, this person is wearing blue jeans. Further right (near right frame border) is seated the black man with reddish jacket and a flat top haircut, and dark sunglasses. He is facing camera but looking downwards. He seems to be the Sammy Davis junior-like person who was also in Shot 3. In the further background is the garage opening which comes in from left frame border and continues to about 3/4 of the way to right frame border. There is some sunlight shining into the garage and forms of certain objects, possibly a fridge, can be made out. Cut to next shot.



Shot 6: Cut to ECU of profile of man's face with his hand holding a glass of beer to his mouth. The face comes in from right frame border and the hand comes up from right of mid-lower frame border. The man is wearing a black wrist watch which has a white face. The back of another person's head just comes in from left frame border. A bright beam of light shines in from left background giving a golden glow to the lower part of the glass of beer, at lower left of frame. The further background is a muted out-of-focus green-brown, indicating that this is a telephoto shot at wide aperture. As frames continue, the man pulls the glass of beer away from his mouth, stretching his arm towards left of frame to place it down upon what must be a low table surface. Camera pans after the glass so that the man's face goes out of right frame border. The glass of beer, which is still quite full, is placed down next to another full glass. At the same time, a dark amber beer bottle is lifted out of upper right frame corner. Cut to next shot.



Shot 7: Cut to CU of the man that was depicted in last frames of Shot 4. In this shot the man's face comes in from left frame border in profile with his nose near right frame border. Below his nose, at lower right frame corner, a small triangle of the newspaper with which he covered his face in Shot 4 now covers his mouth. As frames continue, he opens his eyes and looks mischievously from the corner of his right eye. He then looks straight ahead, towards right of frame, with a wry smile on his face as he pulls the newspaper down to uncover the rest of his face. He then looks left again. At this point the MVO (English speaking white South African accent) is saying: "... or have they?" Cut to next shot.



Shot 8: Cut to wide shot of group sitting in front of the open garage door. They are having a braai and drinking beer. We can now see that there is definitely a large old-fashioned fridge inside the garage at left of frame. The man who was covering his face with the Sowetan has now jumped up. He is the somewhat corpulent man identified with the group in Shot 1. He is presumably the host. There is another man in the slightly further background who is wearing white shorts and a short-sleeved lilac shirt. He is laughing and saying something to the bearded man with the reddish jacket ('Sammy Davis jr.') who is sitting across at the opposite side of the garage opening at upper right of frame. In the left frame foreground three more men are sitting in line towards the background. They are looking towards right of frame at a man with blue jeans and a short-sleeved yellow tee-shirt. This seems to be one of the men who walked through the frame in Shot 2. He is busy at the braai with fork in right hand and a white foam braai pack tray in his left hand. Two more

people are coming in from right frame border, including the seated one with pink shirt and thin gold-rimmed glasses, who was also in Shots 2 and 5. As frames continue, the host who had jumped up from his supine position in Shot 4 lifts up his arms to pull down the flip-over garage door. Cut to next shot.



Shot 9: Cut CU to garage door being pulled down. The host is framed coming in from lower right frame corner. His head reaches to about 4/5 of the way to upper frame border at right of frame. The rest 1/5 of the upper frame is filled by the garage door, which is in the process of descending. At this point it can already be recognised that the garage door has some bright coloured patterns on it. As frames continue, the garage door comes down about 4/5 of the way to lower frame border. The host still has his back turned to camera. We can now see more of the strange pattern which is painted on the garage door. It seems to resemble a Ndebele motif. Also, it can now be seen that the host has some black, yellow, and red squares of different sizes on the upper part of the back of his light-coloured shirt. Cut to next shot.



Shot 10: Cut back to wide shot framing the closed garage door and the foreground in front of the garage with the braai party group of black men described in earlier shots. The host is standing by the garage door at left of mid-frame. He is facing to the right with both his arms out in front of him. He is smiling broadly at the group in front of him. The man with white shorts and lilac shirt is standing behind him, further to the left near left frame border. He is laughing somewhat ecstatically and has a glass of beer in his right hand. The Sammy Davis junior stereotype is standing by the opposite side of the garage door at right of frame. He has his right arm stretched out and is shouting back at the other two. The rest of the party are seated in right and left foreground. The garage door is fully within the frame and is itself framed by the sides of the garage building. The design of the Ndebele painting on the garage door incorporates what seem to be two parallel stepped walls pointing into its depth, towards what appears to be a rectangular entrance in the centre of the picture. This arrangement lends a certain degree of three-dimensionality to the design. A green geometric pattern surrounds this arrangement of the two-walled entrance in the painting. On either side above, this pattern is further encompassed with blue, suggesting sky. Two white shapes upon the blue on either side at left and right (clouds) add balance and harmony to the design. In the centre foreground of the picture, in front of the two stepped walls leading to the 'entrance', stands a white geometric-shaped 'dog'. Further right of frame is a geometric chicken facing the white dog. In addition to the dog and chicken facing each other, is the figure of a partially dressed brown skinned man in the left half of the picture but also in front





of the house. The few items which this man in the painting is wearing appear to be of traditional tribal costume. Beneath the painting (at the lower part of the garage door) there is a white band upon which are painted the words - I - CASTLE in red upper case letters with thin black outline. As frames continue, the host and others standing in front of the painted garage door move out of the way left and right to give full view of the painting. In the foreground at centre of frame 6 quart bottles of Castle Lager are standing on a table. (MVO says “.. Not bad guys, now put it in an envelope and post it to us”.) As frames continue, a red Castle Lager logo consisting of upper case letters upon a red and gold bordered banner becomes superimposed just below centre of frame. The copy line: ‘We’re changing the label, not the beer’, becomes superimposed in two lines at lower part of the frame below the red logo. There are SFX recorded from a slight distance of the guys partying and laughing about their exploit. These SFX create a similar atmosphere to the SFX at the beginning of the commercial, signifying that our brief visitation upon these ‘fellows of the Charles Glass Society’ is now ending. The frames do not freeze at this point, as in some other Castle commercials. The guys continue talking and moving about, with the host turning his one hand round and round. Cut to black.

**ART GALLERY (1989)****Audio**

**MVO:** When fellows of the Charles Glass Society heard that the brewers of Castle Lager had to call in professionals to improve Castle's Label, reaction was to say the least, mixed. However, whatever reservations they may have had were dispelled because when sampling the contents they immediately recognised that somewhat dry, somewhat bitter, never sweet character first created by that true artist, Charles Glass back in 1895.

Various SFX from crowd in gallery: Phweet! Hey guys! Charles! Charles! Hey! Charles! etc...

**MVO:** Castle Lager: The taste that's stood the test of time.

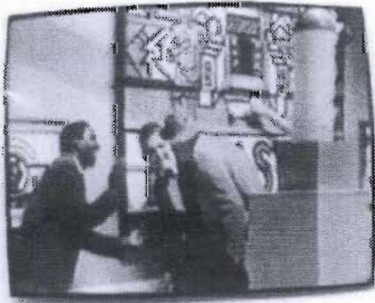
**Video**

Shot 1: Open inside art gallery hall (architecture possibly Victorian) with 'members of the Charles Glass Society' walking around viewing the exhibits (entries to the 'Changing the label not the beer' competition). The walls of the gallery are painted red with the lower 3 feet white. The floor is also a reddish wood colour. On a yellow pedestal, in the left foreground, is an exhibit which is covered with a red cloth. Whatever is hidden beneath this cloth creates a pyramidal shape (because the red cloth flows down the four sides of the pedestal top from an invisible peaked object in the centre). The painted exhibits hang about +/- 12 inches above the white line around the lower part of the gallery walls. The township entry, 'Garage Door', hangs most prominently (at upper right of frame). A white man wearing a black suit is standing by it with his back turned to camera and his hands clasped together behind his back. The smaller exhibits follow towards left frame, going around the corner of the hall (corner at about 4/5 of the way to left frame border). In this shot about seven people are framed milling around the gallery looking at the exhibits. The four people in the left of the frame are dark skinned. Coming in from right frame border is the fool/clown/jester character who perhaps epitomises the heavy beer drinker (he appears in the first commercial of the Changing the Label campaign, 'Art Class' (see Appendix 1A), and also in the later politically relevant commercial 'Reunion'). He is wearing an unbuttoned black and white checked jacket, floppy red hat, and has his hands in his pockets. As frames continue, the crowd mills around the hall with the camera first homing into the obelisk-like exhibit (described above) and then turning towards right of frame so that an entrance from another chamber of the gallery comes into the frame at left of frame. This entrance is lit with blue lighting. Cut to next shot.





Shot 2: Cut to CU of brass plate fixed to the red gallery wall beneath one of the exhibits. The red wall fills the whole frame and the brass plate is at lower frame slightly to the left. A slight shadow is cast on the wall, apparently by someone who is viewing the exhibit. As frames continue, this viewer bends his head into the frame from right frame border to have a close look at the brass plate -- his nose must be about 3-4 inches away from the brass plate. The three lines of black engraving on the brass plate read: "INKOSI CASTLE" / Charles Glass Society / Kwa Mashu. As frames continue, the head of a black man also comes into the frame from left frame border to look closely at the engraving on the brass plate. The white man coming from right of frame brings his finger up to point at the plate as a third white man just comes in from upper right frame border to look over his shoulder. (It will become apparent in Shot 3 that it is the floppy red hat of the heavy beer drinker/clown character with black and white checkered jacket) Cut to next shot.



Shot 3: Cut to wide shot of the three people looking at the brass plate in Shot 2. The Garage Door painting (Ndebele wall mural design) is very large, filling about +-42% of the frame. It comes in from upper frame border, with one end a little within right frame border, and runs 4/5 of the distance to lower frame border. (The design of this painting was described in some detail Shot 10 of the transcript of the 'Garage Door' commercial.) In the right foreground stands what seems to be a somewhat phallic looking sculpture on a rectangular pedestal. A later shot will reveal that this is actually an aqualung tank. (This aqualung tank featured in an earlier 'Changing the label not the beer competition' commercial, were an underwater club (white males in their twenties) entered it with a Castle Label stuck diagonally across and the MVO comment was: "We said (change) the label not the bottle".) The black man who is looking at the brass plate comes in from lower left frame border. He is wearing a blue jacket and grey trousers. He is leaning forwards with his hands on his knees which are out left lower frame border. He is looking up a little towards the white guy who is pointing at the brass plate. He seems to be laughing with slight amusement. The white guy is wearing a black tuxedo, white shirt, and black bow tie. As frames continue, the black guy straightens up and clasps his hands together as the other two also straighten up and lean back a little. Behind them further to the right of frame a fourth viewer is standing beside the painting. His hand is actually touching the geometric white dog in the picture. He is fair-haired and seems younger than the other three guys. He is wearing a short sleeved light brown or orange shirt. As frames continue, the guys on the right move a little to the left so that all four are closer together as cut to next shot.



Shot 4: Cut to shot of four black men examining a sculptured Castle lager Label exhibit. (This is an entry which was featured in an earlier commercial where a group of 'Charles Glass Society' members (whites and blacks) were meticulously sculpting a rather fat bottle, about eight feet tall, out of plaster. Its label was sculptured in relief. As the final touch was about to be completed on the top, the whole bottle crumbled and they had to start all over again.) In this shot this sculpture fills about 40% of the frame and is centrally positioned in the frame. There are two equal sized spaces on either side of the sculpture (between the sides of the frame and the sculpture) through which the red wall with some of the paintings on the right hand side is visible. The four black spectators who are looking closely at the sculpture come in from left and right of frame -- two from each side. The one at upper right of frame is dressed in a light brown suit. The one at lower left corner is wearing a saffron-coloured traditional West African outfit, with a saffron coloured cap to match. From lower right hand corner comes in a casually but smartly dressed black man: with short-sleeved cream-coloured tee-shirt with thin brown and grey stripes and a light brown or grey beret on his head. He is squatting with his left elbow on his knee. In actual fact there are two more black men with their heads coming into the frame from right frame border, making 5 people in all (instead of four as was initially assumed). The one who is leaning in from mid-right frame border is wearing a brown jacket and a brown hat with a band in darker brown. Just above his head, at upper right frame corner, is the head of a black man with bushy Afro-style hair. He is wearing thin gold-rimmed spectacles. As frames continue, the man in the West African outfit lifts up the brass plate from the sculpture as the whole group bursts into laughter. Cut to next shot.



Shot 5: Cut to close shot of 3 men around the phallic-looking exhibit which appeared in Shot 3 which is in actual fact an aqualung bottle. In this shot the aqualung bottle is positioned in the centre of the frame (the upper part of the pedestal it is on is coming in from lower frame border). The top of the bottle is at upper frame border with the valve outside of the frame. A pair of diving goggles are hanging from the top of the bottle, facing camera like a pair of eyes. Of the three spectators, one stands on each side of the bottle and one is viewing the bottle from the back. The spectator at left of the bottle is a well-groomed light skinned African man who is dressed in a powder blue suit jacket with a tee-shirt underneath. At right of frame is a coloured or Indian man with a long-sleeved beige tee-shirt type of top which has broad horizontal running grey stripes. The man 'admiring' the exhibit from the back is a dark haired white man with moustache in his early thirties. He is wearing a black jacket over what appears a rugby jersey with broad blue and white stripes. In the background is the red gallery wall with several of the

framed exhibits hanging. As frames continue, the three spectators rotate anti-clockwise around the exhibit, two with their hands caressing the base on which the exhibit stands. Cut to next shot.



Shot 6: Cut to medium CU shot of a black man in his thirties who is dressed in blue suit with a white shirt and a tie. He is about to peek under the red cloth covering the mystery exhibit. He seems to be waving over someone outside left frame border - presumably to share sight of the mystery exhibit. This is the exhibit which had appeared in Shot 1 and seems to have a pyramidal shape in its upper part. The man is framed head and shoulders, from left frame border. He is looking to left in semi-profile and smiling. The top of his head is about 4/5 of the distance to left frame border (on a regularly shaped TV screen). One side of the pyramidal shaped red cloth comes in from right frame border and reaches to a point a little before mid frame. A strip of the 'Garage Door' exhibit comes into frame from left frame border. As frames continue, the black man with navy blue suit lifts the red cloth and spies on the mystery exhibit with his head all but disappearing beneath the red cloth. At this point, the head of a white man in his early thirties comes in from the upper half of left frame border to also peek at the mystery exhibit (over the black man's shoulder). The background is red gallery wall but for the multicoloured strip of the 'Garage Door' exhibit. As frames continue, the white man's head comes more into the frame from left frame border so that he gets a good look at whatever is hidden beneath the red cloth. Cut to next shot.



Shot 7: Cut to wide shot of mystery exhibit on the pedestal at centre of the frame with a crowd of about 15 people around it. As far as can be made out, all are men with blacks possibly in majority. They come in from all directions but they are more concentrated at right of frame. The African man dressed in the saffron-coloured West African outfit walks past in the frame foreground from left frame border (in front of the exhibit) to right frame border. As the crowd of spectators moves towards the exhibit with seeming urgency the camera zooms in a little while they seem to rotate around the exhibit in an anti-clockwise direction. Several of the people described in earlier shots, including the heavy beer drinker/clown character with checkered jacket and red floppy hat can be made out amongst the crowd. The casually dressed black man with cream-coloured tee-shirt with thin brown and grey stripes and brown or grey beret (from Shot 4) also appears in some of the frames of this shot. The mystery exhibit is in turn framed by the blue lit entrance to the gallery chamber. The blue lit entrance is also centred in terms of the frame composition but partially obscured by some of the crowd of people. The remaining background visible through the crowd is red gallery wall which in addition to the red cloth

covering the exhibit makes this shot predominantly red coloured. The people in the shot are all smartly dressed with some more casual than others. As already pointed out, those with darker skin complexions seem to be in majority. Cut to next shot.



Shot 8: Cut to CU shot of several heads crowded together all trying to peer under the red cloth at the same time. The red cloth is being lifted up on the left background side by a man's arm which comes in from top left hand frame border. (The mystery exhibit has not yet been revealed to camera in any of the shots thus far.) The spectator's heads are concentrated in the left half of the frame (i.e. they are all looking in a direction approximately towards right frame foreground). Two heads come in from left frame border including, it seems, the head of a dark haired European man whose arms it might be that are lifting up the red cloth in this shot. (The exhibit comes in from right frame border.) Four other heads can also be made out, all of whom are black African. What little of background visible behind these heads is red gallery wall, which also makes this shot predominantly red. Cut to next shot.



Shot 9: Cut to shot of the red cloth being pulled away to reveal the mystery exhibit. The pedestal with exhibit comes in from left frame border. Coming in from lower right frame border is the left shoulder and two hands of a black man. He has his two hands together as if in wonder or admiration. He is wearing a thin gold ring on his left hand finger. After the cloth comes away and the mystery exhibit is revealed he brings his hands down and out of lower frame border. The mystery exhibit consists of a bottle and a can of Castle Lager, both with the new label design. Several people are crowded in behind the exhibit. Looking down from upper right of frame there is a dark-haired white man in his early thirties who is wearing a black leather jacket. Also looking down (from the left half of upper frame border), over the dark haired white man's right shoulder, is a black man of similar age who is wearing a fairly broad-rimmed hat (the rim of the hat comes into the frame). This black man has his right hand on the shoulder of someone with orange clothing (just coming into the frame from upper left frame border). The shoulder of someone with a light maroon coloured jacket comes in from lower left frame border. As frames continue, the white man with black leather jacket sways across to the left to fill almost the whole frame from shoulder to shoulder. The black man with hat who was peering over his right shoulder still remains in frame but now at upper left frame corner. Another black man's face has just come into frame from upper right corner -- this man is wearing a white shirt and a black bow tie. Cut to next shot.





Shot 10: Cut to a CU telephoto shot of a painting hanging on a wall in the blue lit or (blue painted) entrance hallway (described in earlier shots). At about 2/3 of the distance to right frame border the frame is dissected by the vertical of the right hand side of the white bordered entrance. A little vertical strip of red gallery wall is also visible at right frame border. The painting hanging on the blue wall is slightly outside of the plane of focus so the subject matter of the picture is not very distinct. It is, quite possibly, a painting of a rather upmarket English bar scene from the 1930's (perhaps reminiscent of some British Guinness advertisements from that period). In the painting there seems to be a white waiter dressed in black tuxedo, white shirt, and black bow tie. He is standing at left in the picture, holding a tray over a wide and slightly curved wood coloured bar counter. There could be a canopy over the bar counter and there is considerably interesting detail in the background of the painting but this detail cannot quite be distinguished. Across the bottom of the painting is a gold outlined red banner with Castle typed in upper case gold letters in typeface consistent with the period depicted. The painting has a plain gold frame. As frames continue, an elderly white gentleman dressed in black tuxedo peeps into the red wall gallery chamber from behind the right hand side of the blue wall entrance. He is an elderly fair-skinned blond man with a fair moustache. He is a stereotypical gentleman butler, perhaps a relic from the period depicted in the painting on the wall. Cut to next shot.



Shot 11: Cut to CU of several faces looking at the exhibit of the new Castle Label design, on the bottle and the can. They are crowding in very close with their noses 6-8 inches away. From left of frame is a balding fair-skinned white man in his early thirties. He is looking down towards the bottle, which is nearest to him, and smiling broadly. (The bottle and the can are arranged so that their new label designs are facing camera. Therefore, somewhat ironically, these spectators are enthusing over the rear side of these containers.) A black man's face, from below the eyes down, comes into frame from mid upper frame border. And there is also another white man at left of frame, looking towards the rear of the Castle Lager can. As frames continue, two more white men come partly into the frame, one at left frame border and the other at right frame border. These two latter spectators appear to have their backs to the camera and are apparently looking directly at the new Castle label designs. The one on the right has his left shoulder in the frame and seems to be wearing a grey jacket. Cut to next shot.



Shot 12: Cut to ECU of elderly gentleman butler, dressed in black tuxedo and a cream bow tie (who first appeared in Shot 10, where he was peeping into the red gallery chamber). In this shot he is facing camera and appears to be about to enter the red gallery chamber, perhaps after having established that the mystery exhibit has been unveiled. A vertical of the white bordered entrance dissects the frame near right frame border. He comes into the frame from just above the shoulders with the top of his head going out of upper frame border. Initially, he fills the left half of the frame. He must be holding the silver tray outside lower frame border as one of the tumblers of beer comes into frame from behind the out-of-focus white vertical at right of frame. As frames continue, he moves his head further left and brings into the frame a slightly ornate silver tray with two bottles of Castle Lager and 3-4 tumblers full of beer. (It seems that at the beginning of this shot, and in Shot 10, this tray with the beers must have been hidden behind the right vertical of the entrance to the gallery.) As the old gentleman butler moves to the left his face goes almost out of upper left frame corner. There is a concentrated sidelight directed from the rear right which lights up the glass and beer bottles on the tray and the lefthand side of the butler's face. Cut to next shot.



Shot 13: Cut to CU of spectators looking at the unveiled new bottle and can of Castle on top of the pedestal. This shot is quite similar to the latter part of Shot 9 and to Shot 11, only the crowd viewing the exhibit has been rearranged. In this shot the dark-haired white man in his thirties wearing a black leather jacket is framed centrally in the frame head and shoulders and is looking down at the back of the bottle and can. Looking in close on his left shoulder, at right of frame, is a blond-haired man of similar age. A black man with broad-rimmed hat is looking in at upper left of frame, over the dark-haired white man's right shoulder. Both at left and right frame borders are two black men with the back of their heads to camera, i.e. looking directly towards the front of the bottle and can of Castle Lager. The black man at left of frame seems to be wearing a reddish purple beret. (The dark haired white man with black leather jacket had featured in an earlier "Changing the label" commercial, "Art Class".) Cut to next shot.



Shot 14: Cut to wide shot of the group of spectators surrounding the unveiled exhibit. Camera is positioned at the back of the chamber (behind the crowd of spectators). The wide angle of acceptance includes two opposite corners of an entrance on one side of the red gallery hall. The blue entrance is in the background at centre of frame and the butler is also in the background facing camera, just to the right of the entrance. From the lower frame to about mid-frame there are about 14 people crowded around the exhibit, 8 of whom seem to be blacks. This



crowd includes most of the people who have been accounted for in earlier shots. As frames continue, the black man in saffron-coloured West African outfit, who is situated just right of lower mid frame, lifts his right arm to hail the butler. He then clasps his raised hand into a fist as the crowd breaks up, presumably to get drinks from the butler. Cut to next shot.



Shot 15: Cut to CU of tray being held up in the air. Hands are coming into the frame from all sides to take up drinks. There are the two bottles of castle on the tray and about 3 or so tumblers full of beer. A white person's arm comes in from lower left frame corner taking up the bottle on the left. A black person's hand comes in from upper right frame corner to take up the bottle on the right. There is an out of focus black person's face at mid-left frame border looking towards the tray (and towards camera). And there is yet another white man's hand at left upper frame border coming to take up one of the tumblers of beer. Also, there seems to be a black person's hand near the tray at lower right frame corner. In the background, behind the tray, some of the red gallery wall is visible. As frames continue, the two bottles of beer are taken off the tray while two tumblers of beer are virtually being lifted off the tray as cut to next shot.



Shot 16: Cut to CU of the heavy Castle drinker/clown stereotype. He is coming in from right of frame with the profile of his face at about mid-frame. He is wearing his red floppy hat and checkered jacket. He has a bushy light brown moustache and bushy sideburns. His hand just comes in from left lower frame border holding up to his lips a tumbler full of beer and with white froth (at about mid-frame point). There is a bright spotlight directed from left frame background which outlines his profile and the underneath of the front of his floppy hat. The glass of beer is also illuminated by the same light source, giving a bright golden glow to the beer. As frames continue, he slowly moves the tumbler of beer around beneath his nose -- as one would do to approve or reject a glass of wine. Cut to next shot.



Shot 17: Cut to CU of black gentleman in a royal blue to purple suit. He is coming in from left of frame with the profile of his face about 2/5 of the distance to right frame border. He is holding a tumbler of beer with his right hand which comes into frame from lower right frame border. He is holding a bottle of Castle with his other hand and looking pensively at the label. The shot has been taken at telephoto and the background behind the black gentleman's profile (from left) consists of out-of-focus red gallery wall to just beyond mid-frame. This is followed by a broad white vertical strip which reaches beyond right frame border -- it must be the white outline of the blue lit entrance to the red gallery. There is a bright spotlight directed at the subject from the right background, this light source presumably located

in the entrance. It lights up the black gentleman's forehead and side profile facing the opposite side of the camera and also the front of his suit around the neck. The glass and bottle are also illuminated from the rear by the same light source. As frames continue, he lifts the bottle to a direct line of vision with his eyes. The expression on his face indicates that he is not entirely satisfied. He lowers the bottle and turns to look at the glass of beer in his right hand more closely. He then holds the glass of beer and the bottle together as the expression on his faces begins to look more approving. (This action indicates recognition that the one comes from the other, Thus as MVO said "...whatever reservations they may have had were dispelled because when sampling the contents they immediately recognised that somewhat ...") Cut to next shot.



Shot 18: Cut to CU of Castle heavy drinker/ clown stereotype. (This is basically a continuation from the last frames of Shot 16 which was interceded by the shot of the black gentleman giving his appraisal of Castle Lager and its new label design.) Frame composition and lighting remain identical to Shot 16. Here the white man with the checkered jacket and floppy red hat (heavy beer drinker) has just finished sampling the aroma of the beer and now takes a sip. As frames continue, he brings the glass away from his mouth, leaving some white froth on his moustache. He brings the glass down to lower left frame corner as an expression of ecstatic satisfaction comes over his face. Cut to next shot.



Shot 19: Cut to head and shoulders CU of black man in saffron coloured West African outfit and another black man who is wearing a checkered black and white jacket, open necked pale blue shirt, and a grey hat with black band and little feather. The man with the West African outfit comes in from left frame border with his back turned to the camera. His right shoulder reaches to just beyond mid-lower frame border to the right. The man in checkered jacket has his face towards camera but is looking 3/4 profile to left of frame. His left shoulder is partly out of right frame border, with the profile of his face just beyond mid-frame to the left. Both men are holding glasses of beer to their mouths at just before mid-frame to the left. The glasses of beer cross one another slightly as they go off in opposite directions to their respective drinkers. As frames continue, the black man with checkered jacket who is facing camera looks upwards and opens his mouth quite widely in ecstasy at the taste of the beer he has just sipped. Background to this shot is red gallery wall. Lighting is directed from left background, slightly outlining the profile of the man facing camera, and giving the glasses of beer a golden glow. Cut to next shot.

Shot 20: Cut to head and shoulders medium CU shot of 3 more men from the group in the gallery. They are also with beers in



hand. They are standing near the phallic-looking aqualung exhibit which just comes into frame at right frame border. From left frame border comes in a white man wearing a very light blue (or white) shirt. He has the back of his head turned towards camera and is looking into the background. Just below his right shoulder a hand comes in from left lower frame border holding a glass of beer (probably his own hand) at about just below mid frame slightly to the left. There are two more full glasses of beer directly behind this glass. The two other men in the shot (one black man and one white man) are at the right half of the frame. The black man is somewhat squeezed in near the aqualung exhibit with his face just coming in from behind it and looking in profile to left of frame. Next comes the head of a white man who is wearing the diving goggles which in an earlier shot were hanging from the aqualung bottle. The upper half of the background is red gallery wall. There is a little space of pale green at about mid-left half of the frame which may be a painting hanging off the red wall. As frames continue, the three men move about in their merriment (but not out of the confines of the frame). The three glasses of beer, which previously were grouped together in a vague triangle, move apart so that it becomes apparent to which of the three drinkers each glass belongs. Cut to next shot.



Shot 21: Cut to wide shot of crowd scene in the red gallery chamber. Camera faces towards the Ndebele wall mural exhibit which is hanging in the background. The Ndebele painting is framed in the camera so that it occupies about 1/3 of the frame space, initially situated slightly to the right of the frame but as frames continue becomes more centred. There are about 9-10 people in the frame. The elderly gentleman butler stands in the frame foreground to the right of centre frame facing camera in a 3/4 profile to the right. He is holding the silver tray with two beers. As frames continue, a white man dressed in a charcoal grey suit comes into frame from right frame border in the foreground in front of the elderly butler. This man takes one of the two beers off the silver tray with his right hand. He is followed by a short black man in a dark grey suit and possibly a red tie (he is not in sharp focus). This black man already has a beer in his left hand. They both move towards left frame with the white man clearly going out of left frame border. The crowd of people in the background are all men (no women feature in this commercial) and 5 of these men are black. The man in the saffron-coloured West African outfit is standing close to the left corner of the Ndebele painting but is partly obscured by people in front of him. The heavy beer drinker/clown is at right of frame slowly



tip-toeing towards camera. Prominent at left of frame is a white man dressed rather more casually than the rest. He is wearing a pair of pink-coloured surfing baggies, slops, and a light blue short-sleeved tee shirt. His back is turned to camera and he seems to be holding a beer in his left hand. The background red wall and reddish floor give this shot a predominant red colour. Dissolve to next shot.



Shot 22: Dissolve to CU of still colour photograph of Charles Glass next to a barrel of his beer. The picture has more subtle lighting than portraits of Charles Glass featured in other commercials on the Castle Lager history reel. The lighting gives the picture a textured quality reminiscent of a Dutch master, such as Rembrandt -- perhaps consistent with the fact that the action in this commercial takes place in an art gallery. In the frame composition the barrel comes in from left frame border and Charles Glass is at right of frame with the tip of his left shoulder out of right frame border. He has his left hand clenched on the tap of the barrel, at mid-lower frame. He is holding up a full glass of beer with his right hand (to the left of mid-upper frame). His head is to the upper right half of the frame and he is looking intensely (in profile) at the glass of beer. Charles Glass is wearing a brown tie with a loose white shirt which has lots of brown shadows in the creases. He is also wearing a brown waist coat and a brown leather apron over this waist coat. The shot has a warm brown tone. Dissolve to next shot.



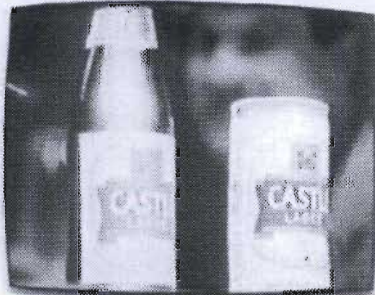
Shot 23: Dissolve to head and shoulders CU of heavy beer drinker/clown character. He comes in from right of frame. He has his head back, apparently downing the last contents of his beer glass. His red floppy hat goes out of right frame border at the back. The floppy red hat has a light tartan pattern which could not be clearly distinguished in earlier shots. His pursed mouth is more or less at mid-frame. His right hand which is holding the glass comes in from about mid-left frame border. The background to the shot is a brownish red colour. In the foreground are the bottle and can of beer which are quite out of focus. The bottle is at left of frame, near but not quite at left frame border. The can is immediately to the right of mid-frame. Both bottle and can come in from lower frame border, with the top of the bottle going out of left upper frame border. (Quite probably this bottle and can are the ones unveiled on the yellow pedestal -- with this shot being taken with the camera lens at telephoto.) As frames continue, the heavy beer drinker character brings the glass down somewhat, but not quite out of left frame border as cut to next shot.



Shot 24: Cut to head and shoulders medium CU of fair-haired white man dressed in a black tuxedo, white shirt, and black bow tie. He comes in from left frame with the back of this head out of the left frame border. He is looking in profile towards right of frame at a glass tumbler of beer which he is holding up with his left hand. This glass is situated at right of frame near right frame border. The neck of a bottle of Castle Lager, which presumably he must be holding with his right hand, comes in at an angle from mid lower frame border. The background to this shot is red gallery wall with part of an abstract painting visible at left of frame, behind the man's face and left shoulder. (This painting was featured in a 'Changing the label' commercial where group of aspirant young advertising creatives present their zany, over the top design, with the MVO saying: "Don't contact us guys, we'll contact you...".) As frames continue, the man holding up the glass vocalises 'Charles!' as cut to next shot.



Shot 25: Cut back to CU head and shoulders shot of the heavy beer drinker character. The bottle and can exhibits are again out-of-focus in the foreground of the shot. This shot is a continuation of Shot 23 where he had just downed his tumbler of beer. The empty tumbler is now half out of left frame border and he has turned to look towards camera (and downwards at the out-of-focus bottle and can of Castle in the foreground). A mischievous smile comes over his face. As frames continue, camera selectively refocuses onto the bottle and can so that the heavy beer drinker now goes out of focus in the background. Cut to next shot.



Shot 26: Cut to wide shot of heavy beer drinker character featured in last shot. He is standing just to the right of the yellow pedestal with the bottle and can exhibits. He is looking down at the exhibits. The yellow pedestal is in turn framed by the arched entrance to the blue lit corridor in the background at centre of frame. There are about 12 people in the background, including the gentleman butler who is serving beer to people at left of frame. All of the crowd are men and many can be recognised from earlier shots in this commercial. The background, save for the blue lit entrance, is red gallery wall and the floor is also a reddish wood colour as in earlier shots. As frames continue, the heavy beer drinker cannot resist the temptation to pick up the exhibit can off the pedestal and begin to pop it open, unobserved by the people in the background. (The idea of drinking the exhibit can was communicated in Shot 25 by his mischievous expression and the refocussing of the camera on the exhibits.) Cut to next shot.

Shot 27: Cut to ECU of the aqualung exhibit. (Although only an ECU portion of the cream-coloured tank is in the frame, it is possible to distinguish it from similarly coloured cans of Castle Lager by the fact that the label is running diagonally.) The tank fills half the frame from left frame border and is partly out of focus, although the Castle logo can still be made out quite easily. The rim of a hat is protruding into the right half of frame from behind the aqualung tank near mid-upper frame border. Also, an out-of-focus face seems to be coming into the frame from right frame border. The background is red gallery wall. As frames continue, the head of a black man comes into the frame from behind the aqualung tank, looking directly towards camera which pans slightly to the right so that less of the aqualung tank remains in the frame. At the same time, the out-of-focus face at right of frame border comes into the frame in the foreground, looking away from camera and partly obscuring the other man's face on the right. This second black man is wearing spectacles and could be ECU of the head of the man in the saffron West African outfit. As frames continue further, it becomes apparent that the first black man in broad-rimmed hat has noticed the action of the heavy beer drinker (Shot 26) and is shouting "Hey!" to alert the rest. Cut to next shot.



Shot 28: Cut to medium CU of heavy beer drinker character. He is framed coming in from right frame border. It is telephoto shot which brings in a luminous blue background with a greyish white strip running across the top of the frame -- it is the white outlined blue-lit entrance to the red gallery. The heavy beer drinker is looking down in profile towards left of frame. His forehead is at about mid-frame point, coming in from the right. His left hand is coming in from left lower frame border obscuring the exhibit can of Castle Lager which he is in the process of opening with the same hand. He has a guilty but somewhat thick-skinned expression on his face, which is consistent with the audacious act which he is perpetrating. About four or five people are visible behind him in the space between the exhibit and the blue lit entrance in the frame. They have been alerted to what is happening as they are all looking towards camera and the heavy beer drinker. As frames continue, the heavy beer drinker brings his right hand into the frame, in which he is holding the can of Castle Lager (with label turned towards camera). He brings the can up, turning right to face camera more directly and displaying the can to everyone as he says "Charles!". He then brings the can to his mouth and drinks. As he brings the can down again cut to next shot.



Shot 29: Cut to a wide shot of action taking place in shot 28. This shot is of similar composition to Shot 26. The heavy beer drinker is still standing to the right of the yellow pedestal. He is in the process of replacing the Castle Lager exhibit can which he has just violated. The crowd which in Shot 26 was milling about in the background is now crowding around the yellow pedestal. Most of the people in the frame can be recognised from earlier shots. The black man with white trousers, white tee-shirt with brown horizontal stripes is standing at the left of the yellow pedestal. The short black man dressed in blue suit is standing directly behind the yellow pedestal. The black man with brown-striped white tee-shirt brings a grey beret down, over the shoulders of the black man with blue suit, to cap the heavy beer drinker over his floppy hat. There is shouting and reverie. The elderly gentleman butler is walking in from left frame border somewhat somnambulistically with silver tray held out in front of himself. Cut to next shot.



Shot 30: Cut to telephoto CU of the top of the yellow pedestal with bottle of Castle in the left half of the frame and (empty?) exhibit can being replaced by the hand of the heavy beer drinker in the right half of the frame. (The hand replacing the can is identifiable as that of the heavy beer drinker by his brown shirt sleeve under the black and white checkered jacket sleeve, and of course also by the logic of the editing sequence.) In the background, behind the pedestal, are the out-of-focus figures of the crowd, and the out-of-focus face of a black man just to the upper right half of the frame. As frames continue, the can is placed on the pedestal and the heavy beer drinker takes his hand away and out of the frame. The copy line: 'The taste that's stood the test of time', becomes superimposed in the lower part of the frame, along the line of the top of the pedestal. As frames continue, a tumbler of beer in a black man's hand sways just behind the pedestal at left frame border. The out-of-focus crowd also moves about. Cut to black.

**CURRIE CUP CRICKET (1989)****Audio**

**MVO:** Although not every fellow of the Charles Glass Society can be a star player, there are those who are always willing to give up their valuable working time to lend support to the game. Thus providing a lot of entertainment for those fellow spectators at the Castle Corner, and for those fellows who are the star players. So whether you are going to be one of the fellows, on the pitch, or off, do come along and play your part in this year's Currie Cup. Because it simply wouldn't be cricket without you.

**Video**

Shot 1:



cut

Shot 2:



cut

Shot 3:



cut



Shot 4:



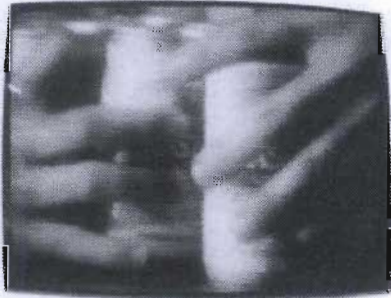
cut

Shot 5:



cut

Shot 6:



cut

Shot 7:



cut

Shot 8:



cut

Shot 9:



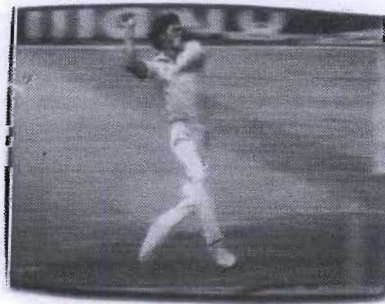
cut

Shot 10:



cut

Shot 11:



cut

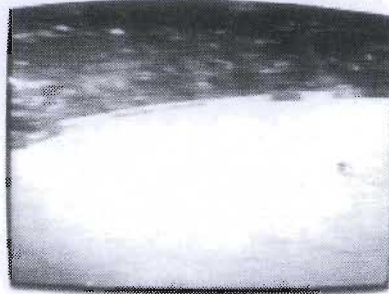
Shot 12:

cut



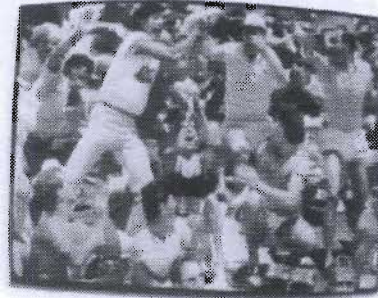
cut

Shot 13:



cut

Shot 14:

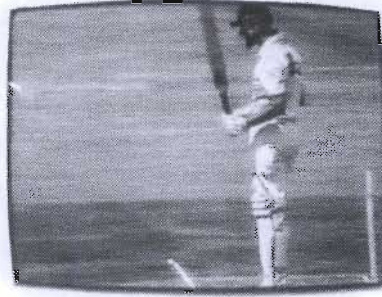


cut

Shot 15:



Shot 16:



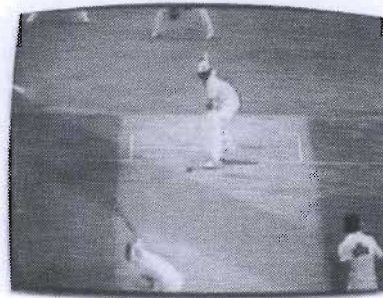
cut

Shot 17:



cut

Shot 18:



cut

Shot 19:



cut

Shot 20:



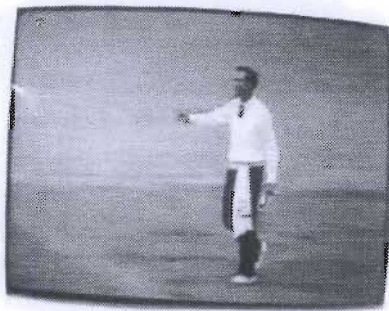
cut

Shot 21:



cut

Shot 22:



cut

Shot 23:



cut

Shot 24:



cut

Shot 25:



cut

Shot 26:



cut

Shot 27:



cut

Shot 28:



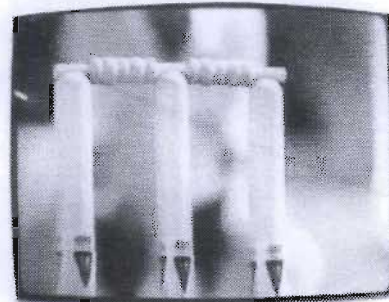
cut

Shot 29:



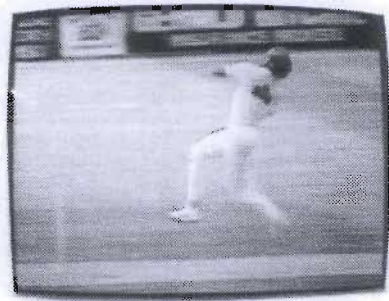
cut

Shot 30:



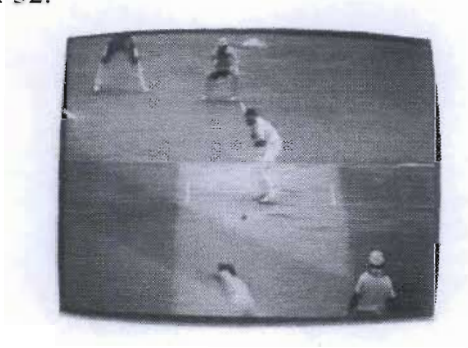
cut

Shot 31:



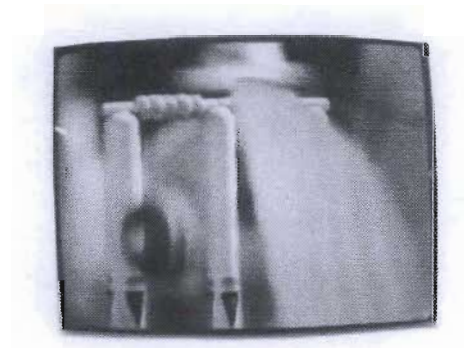
cut

Shot 32:



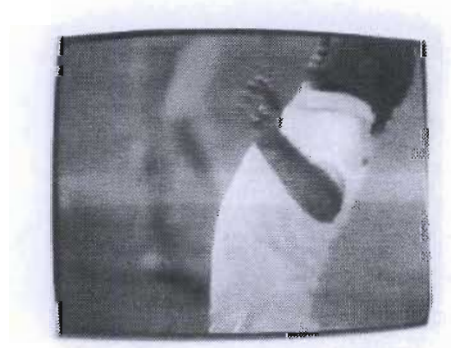
cut

Shot 33:



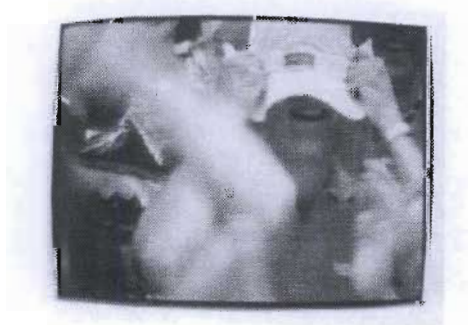
cut

Shot 34:



cut

Shot 35:



cut



Shot 36:



cut to black

**CANOE RACE (1989)****Audio**

**MVO:** Would the fellows of the Charles Glass Society shy away from a challenge? No sir. Bold, resolute, and equipped with Charles Glass's, 'somewhat dry, somewhat bitter, never sweet brew', they completed preparations. The question was, who would triumph -- the fellows oof the Charles Glass Society, or the raging waters of the great Makabuza ....

Guy: Come on guys let's go...

**MVO:** We'll find out soon... (If it rains).

Guys: Charles!

**MVO:** Castle Lager. The taste that's stood the test of time.

**Video**

Shot 1:



dissolve

Shot 2:



dissolve

Shot 3:



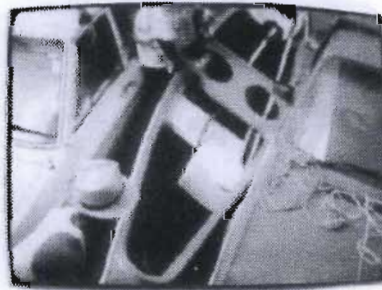
cut

Shot 4:



cut

Shot 5:



cut

Shot 6:



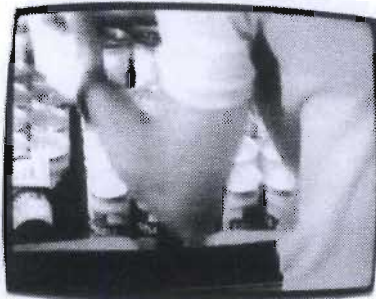
cut

Shot 7:



cut

Shot 8:



cut

Shot 9:



cut

Shot 10:



cut

Shot 11:



cut

Shot 12:



cut

Shot 13:



cut

Shot 14:



cut

Shot 15:



cut

Shot 16:



cut

Shot 17:



cut

Shot 18:



cut

Shot 19:



cut

Shot 20:



cut

Shot 21:



cut

Shot 22:



dissolve

Shot 23:



cut

Shot 24:



cut

Shot 25:



cut



**REUNION (1989)**

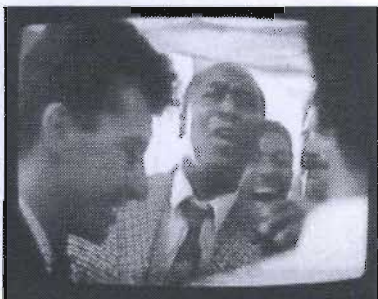
53 seconds

**Audio****Party SFX:** Hey Martin!

When we drink Castle, we fill with admiration  
 For Charles Glass whose brewing class  
 Won fame across the nation.  
 When we drink Castle  
 We draw our inspiration  
 For Charles Glass's brew and how it grew  
 A mile high reputation.

**Party SFX:** Charles! Charles!**Video**

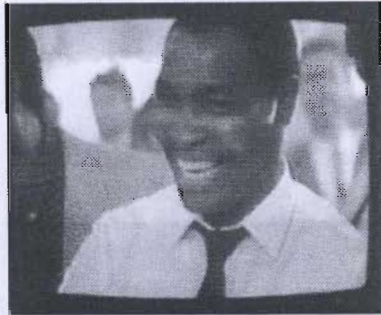
Shot 1: Someone is wheeling a large string instrument into a hall. It is dark outside. Through the open doors one can see that the hall is decorated with streamers coming from the centre of the ceiling to the sides. There are people standing socialising inside, indicating that some sort of party or reception is in progress. From the outside, the hall building seems to be made partly of yellow bricks traversing horizontally. Although it is dark outside some light is directed onto the front of the building. The words 'The Reunion' appear on the bottom of the frame. (2.84 sec)



Shot 2: Cut to inside the hall, medium CU of head and shoulders of some of the people taking part in the function. Coming into frame from the left of frame there is a white man dressed in suit with curly hair and quite prominent nose. In the centre of the frame is a partly bald black man in his fifties. He is wearing a suit with small black and white checks. There is another black man coming in from right of frame, only his left cheek and a little more than his ear and left shoulder are within the frame. He has his back turned to the camera. The black man with checked suit in the middle of the frame is passing bottles of Castle -- one to the white man on the left of frame and one to the black man at right of frame. As they take the beers he suddenly calls out "Martin!" to someone out of frame and points to attract this person's attention. (1.76 sec)



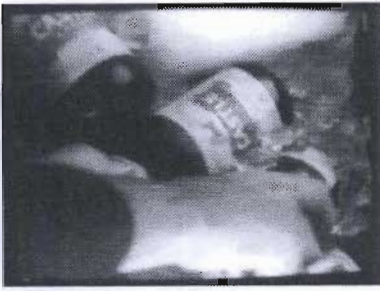
Shot 3: Cut to long shot of doorway from inside the hall. The man who featured in shot one is just visible above the heads of the crowd in the hall. The party crowd in front of him seems to be composed of about 50/50 blacks and whites (about 10 people in all are visible within the frame). Martin, the man coming in with the large string instrument waves back. He is a fair-haired white man in his early forties. (0.88 sec)



Shot 4: Cut to CU of two black men. They are both looking to left of frame. The one nearest the left of frame border has his face partly out of frame. He is also wearing a black and white checked suit but of slightly different pattern than the more elderly black man in Shot 2. He has a dark shirt on with white spots and a red tie. He is bearded but not balding. The black man next to him has a white shirt on and a red tie. He is clean shaven. Both men are laughing. As frames continue to run camera pans left and a white man dressed in suit, white shirt and tie comes into frame as the black man with white shirt goes out of right frame. (The two black guys were looking left because they were talking to the white man who was previously out of frame to the right.) (1.32 sec)



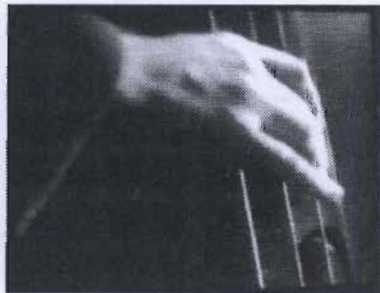
Shot 5: Cut to crowd of people opening the large string instrument case. In this frame composition the large string instrument comes in from the bottom of the frame, at mid frame, occupying about half the area of bottom frame border. The opened hinged lid is to the right of frame, with its tapering narrow end (for the neck of the instrument) going out of top mid-frame to the right. Two people are looking in from right of frame -- one bespectacled white man with a glass of beer in his hand is just visible, next to him is a black man wearing a dark suit. He is followed by the white man who brought the string instrument into the hall, Martin. Martin is lifting the instrument out of its case by the neck. The black man who called out to him in Shot 2 has his head located almost exactly at the centre of the frame, in the space between the instrument case and its open lid. He is looking into the instrument case. There is feigned disappointment over the fact that string instrument case actually contains a string instrument, rather than Castle Lager. (This refers to an earlier commercial, 'Musicians, 1987', where such an instrument case turned out to contain Castle. The inside of the open case has a bright yellow lining. There is another white man's head at top right of frame, on the other side of the open lid. To the upper very right there is the face of a black man just making it into frame. Above their heads and across the upper part of the instrument case run the party streamers. (2.32 sec)



Shot 6: Cut to CU of bottles of Castle lying on ice. Two hands are coming into frame from lower left of frame, picking up two bottles at right of frame. (0.64 sec)



Shot 7: Cut to shot of standing drinkers. The camera pans to left of frame showing a small cross section of the people present. There is a white man in his late twenties or early thirties in striped white shirt and drinking beer from a glass. Behind him two black men dressed in dark suits are in intense conversation, the one has his hand on the other's arm. The one nearest right of frame has a clean shaven head, the other has his hair short but well groomed. In the foreground at mid frame is a white man dressed in dark grey suit who is leaning forward towards camera. His suit jacket sleeves are pulled up revealing his bare forearms. He is holding a can of Castle lager in each hand. At left of frame (partly out of frame) is a waiter dressed in blue suit who is passing a tray with bottles of Castle above the head of the black man leaning forwards with can of Castle in each hand. An elderly white man with light coloured suit, who is standing to the left of the two black men in conversation (described above), is receiving the tray. (1.88 sec)



Shot 8: Cut to CU of a white hand plucking at the strings of the large string instrument. In the frame composition the hand plucking at the strings comes out of a light brown jacket sleeve which comes in from upper left of frame. The hand plucking at the strings reaches to the right of the frame. The strings come almost vertically across the frame from mid-upper right to lower right. Lighting is directed from upper right foreground giving soft detail at right of frame with light shadow at left of frame. (1.20 sec)



Shot 9: Cut to head and shoulders shot of black man turning around (at the sound of the first few notes being plucked on the large string instrument). He has a charming expression on his face, signifying a mixture of feigned surprise and delight. He is dominant in the mise-en-scene of the frame, as the heads of the three other black men who surround him are in soft focus. Depth of field is very shallow with background a muted orange and red. There is a bright spotlight directed from the foreground. This spotlight lights up part of the frame dominant black person's jacket which has an unusual diamond-shaped check pattern. (1.04 sec)



Shot 10: Cut to wide angle down the hall passage in the middle of the hall. Above, the streamer decorations are making a soft reversed 'vee' as they suspend from the mid-top frame to upper frame sides. In the background there is a very large mural of Charles Glass staring intensely at a glass of his beer. This mural fills the entire back wall of the hall. There are people on either side, beneath the reversed 'vee' of the streamers, talking to each other and shaking hands. In the foreground are four black men, two on either side. The black man in the right foreground has his arm across the frame and is shaking hands with a white man in the left background. Many more people are visible in the background. The balding black man in the left foreground, who is older, has a red shirt on, the rest are mostly dressed in either dark or light coloured suits or black and white checked suits. The shot is well-lit with both soft lighting and spots positioned at various places -- this allows for the deep focus of this shot. (1.12 sec)



Shot 11: Cut to head and shoulders CU of barman serving bottles of Castle. In the foreground is the head of a black man looking in from left of frame. He is talking to a white man with moustache who is looking in from right of frame. Behind them is the black barman dressed in a dark suit. He is leaning forward handing out two bottles of Castle to another black man who is partly visible behind the two talking in the foreground. (1.16 sec)



Shot 12: CU of faces. Coming in from upper left hand frame corner is the face of an old black man. He has a weather-beaten face and his moustache and beard are grey. His forehead is cropped by upper frame and his right ear is cropped by left hand frame border. His right hand comes into frame from bottom left hand corner and he is holding a full glass of beer with about an inch and a half of foam reaching level with the top of the rim. At right of frame is a bespectacled black man -- his mouth is open (revealing a fine set of teeth). His forehead is lined expressively of the animated conversation he is engaged in. The tip of his glass of beer, which he is holding out of frame, is visible at bottom left of frame just after his right shoulder. He seems to be wearing a green-brown coloured suit. Stereotyping and demeanour of these two black men might suggest that they could have been dignitaries of one of the anti-apartheid (resistance) movements of the 1980's.

In the foreground, at more right of frame, in front of the bespectacled black man's face, is what appears to be part of the completely out-of-focus face of a white man. The background of this shot is also quite out of focus but a person can be made out lowering his glass of beer. With his arm and glass of beer out of

the way, his blue suit jacket, white shirt and red tie are revealed - the pattern thus formed by these spaces and colours strongly suggests a Union Jack. The foreground of this shot has very soft toned lighting but there is a bright spotlight directed from right of frame which picks out the frontal face features of the weather-beaten old man looking in from left corner of frame. (1.16 sec)



Shot 13: Cut to head and shoulder CU of black man wearing black and white checked suit, who called out to 'Martin' in Shot 2. Looking in from top left hand corner of frame is the forehead and nose of a fair reddish-skinned white man. He is playing the large string instrument, the neck of which comes in from bottom left of frame. The first few notes were plucked in sequence with the duration of the shots above, after Shot 8. Now, as the voice of the black man in checked black and white suit slices through the party SFX, the atmosphere is quite electric. His voice turns out to have an inimitably expressive quality as he sings: "When we drink Castle ... (and the rest of the party joins in chorus in the shots which follow below: "We fill in admiration for Charles Glass ... etc.) (2.24 sec)



Shot 14: Cut to high level long shot showing some of the party crowd filling bottom half of frame. Lighting is soft and subdued and light amber-toned. The crowd is composed of about equal numbers of whites and blacks. But whites tend to stand out more in this shot, as two have their jackets off and their light coloured shirts are dominant. In the background a black man is pulling off the cloth cover from over a piano. To the left of the piano is the image of a huge glass of beer -- it is the glass in the very large mural of Charles Glass at the back of the hall. (1.24 sec)



Shot 15: Cut to head and shoulders shot of four men singing in chorus and looking into the foreground, slightly to right of frame. Looking in from top left of frame is a dark-haired moustached white man with white shirt and blue tie. Squeezed together next to him to right of frame are three well-groomed black men. All four are singing intensely: "We fill with admiration ..." The background space above their heads is a fluorescent bright yellow -- suggesting a brightly lit glass of beer, like the one in the large Charles Glass mural. Foreground lighting is soft and subdued and light amber-toned. (1.72 sec)



Shot 16: Cut to CU of piano keyboard. The black and white keys fill bottom half of frame facing to left of frame. Two black hands come in from left of frame and strike the harmonising notes of the Castle melody. There is very shallow depth of field in this shot with the foreground and background of keyboard out of focus. Sharp focus is on three black keys below centre of frame which run horizontally to right of frame. The hands

playing at the keys are blurred due to shallow focus as well as movement. The general lighting is soft, but there is a bright spotlight coming from left of frame, from behind the piano player. The piano player casts his shadow on some parts of the keyboard, while others parts of the keyboard are highlighted as he moves. There is a bright triangle at top right hand corner of frame, possibly some out-of-focus sheet music which is catching the spotlight directed from right of frame.

(1.08 sec)



Shot 17: Cut back to group framed in Shot 13. The fair-skinned white man playing the large string instrument at left of frame is now a little more in frame -- he has light brown reddish hair and is looking down at the strings he is plucking. The black man with black and white checked suit and red tie is looking left towards him while singing the words of the song with inimitable expressiveness and relish. His glass of beer is visible at bottom right of frame, held by his left hand which is mostly out of frame. Between their heads, behind them, is a black man with white shirt and loose tie. This man is not in sharp focus but his hair seems teased and jet black, and he is also singing and moving with the rhythm of the song. To the right background at upper right of frame is a dark-haired white man in his twenties who is wearing white shirt black bowtie and black jacket. He is also looking to right of frame. Above their heads are the yellow and red streamers decorating the hall. Lighting is muted but there are traces of a foreground spotlight coming from right of frame.

(1.52 sec)



Shot 18: Cut to head and shoulders of black man playing the piano. He is wearing the checked suit with the unusual diamond check pattern and open necked black shirt underneath. He is at right of frame with part of his left shoulder outside the right frame border. A magenta filtered-spotlight is directed towards him from left frame highlighting his forehead. The piano is out of frame in this shot. As he plays he also sings the Castle song and turns around to face some of the people behind him, who are outside the depth of field and in soft focus. Lighting in the background is muted and with a slight reddish-brown cast.

(1.76 sec)



Shot 19: Cut to CU of some of the party members in the hall who are sitting by a table with white table cloth. The white man on the left is one who appears in several commercials on the Castle Lager history reel. He supposedly personifies the real beer drinker to whom beer is more important than anything else. In a sense he is also the equivalent of the character of the fool in Shakespearean drama. He is wearing a red floppy hat dark shirt with tie and a black and white check jacket. (Repetition of black and white check jackets of significance in this commercial.) He

is in his late thirties, tall and obese with puffy cheeks (as all good beer drinkers should be). In this shot he still remains seated while those about him have all risen at the words '...fame across the nation', which infers that the Castle song is almost synonymous to a national anthem. As frames continue he becomes aware that those around him have risen. He takes his eyes off the beer and begins to rise as well. Two other white men on either side of him are mostly out of frame in this shot. (1.64 sec)

Shot 20: Cut to longer shot of protagonist in shot 19. He is now standing upright but seems drunk (as usual). The two white men on either side of him seem intense and sincere as they sing the Castle 'anthem'. The one to the left has his jacket off and is wearing a light blue shirt with dark blue tie. To his right there is a broad shouldered and Aryan-looking white man. He also has his jacket off. He is wearing dark trousers, white shirt with bowtie and braces. (1.40 sec)



Shot 21: Cut to black piano player with unusual diamond motif black and white checked jacket. He comes in from left of frame with his back half-turned towards the camera. But his face is looking up from the piano and turned towards the camera/his audience, to whom he is smiling as he rings out the notes of the song on the out-of-frame keyboard. To the right of frame there is a full glass of beer, almost level with the bottom of the frame border, on the piano top in front of him. The lighting is generally soft and muted but there is a purple-tinted spot from the foreground slightly picking out his face and right shoulder. Also, there is a spot directed from the right background (from behind the piano) onto the glass of beer. The out-of-focus background seems to be a nearby wall. (1.00 sec)



Shot 22: Cut to long shot of crowd inside hall. In the foreground, seated behind a long narrow table covered with white table cloth are 3 black men. Even though TV screen definition is low it can be made out that they are very well groomed. The man from left of frame is wearing a white shirt with red tie, the man next to him is wearing a black jacket with a white handkerchief in the top pocket, underneath he has a white shirt with brownish tie. Next to him, at right of frame, is a black man wearing a light brown jacket and light brown tie. All three are in conversation together and the two on each end are gesturing with their hands. They all have full glasses of beer and bottles of Castle in front of them. Seated at the table behind them are two white men. The one at left of frame has a grey jacket with white shirt and greyish tie. His hair is mousy-fair. Next to him is another white man with white shirt and tie. Further in the

background are evenly interspersed blacks and whites. As frames continue to run all are rising to join in the singing of the Castle Lager song. (2.56 sec)



Shot 23: Cut to CU of white man coming from left of frame. He has short cropped mousy hair. The bottom left of frame cuts his shirt collar. He has strong features and is singing the Castle song with passion and intensity. He is shot with lens at telephoto. Behind him in the out-of-focus background are several more white men, also singing. There is a bright spot of lighting in the background at the upper half, right of frame. As frames continue to run, this intense young man lifts his glass of beer when the song comes to the word: '... Inspiration!'. (3.36 sec)



Shot 24: Cut to camera moving slowly across hall from the back to the front, looking directly into the faces of the standing crowd who are singing. It appears that this shot may be achieved through the use of a special camera operated via a cable or a crane which has been wheeled backwards (possibly this effect has been achieved by zooming out). People represented in this shot are blacks and whites more or less equally dispersed spatially -- all are singing with the same passionate intensity. (2.92 sec)

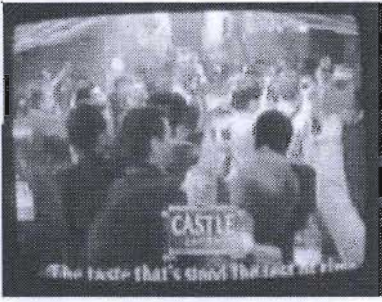


Shot 25: Cut to further pan of audience inside hall. This time the camera appears to track along the aisle from the front of the hall to the back, i.e. from left of frame to right of frame. The audience is framed head and shoulders, all seemingly singing with sincere intensity. (3.60 sec)



Shot 26: Cut to the heavy beer drinker stereotype who appears in several Castle Lager commercials. He is a tall white man with light brown hair, slightly overweight, and bearing a slight resemblance to the founder of Castle Lager, Charles Glass. He is framed head and shoulders. Other members of the audience, both blacks and whites, are visible in the background behind his shoulders. He is wearing his prominent black and white check jacket and a red floppy hat, which is out of place with what the rest are wearing. Beneath his jacket he is wearing a loud blue shirt with a maroon and white striped tie. He raises his glass of beer and shouts the toast to 'Charles!', while turning his right shoulder to the camera. (1.16 sec)





Shot 27: Cut to long shot (i.e. wide angle) from the back of the hall. The rest of the crowd in the hall are following the lead of the jester/fool of Shot 26 in toasting to Charles Glass. All arms are raised with glasses of beer. At the top of the frame the hall decorations are coming into frame from top centre, forming a soft downward 'vee' to the left and right sides of the frame. The large mural of Charles Glass is at the back of the hall. The red Castle Lager logo with the slogan: 'The taste that's stood the test of time', are at the bottom of the frame. (7.64 sec)

**HOMECOMING** (1990)

62 seconds

**Audio****George:** Hey Mike, my train!**Mike:** Come on guys, were late.  
Okay, lets go.**Song:** It's been five years, since I hit the road.**Mike:** Okay George.**Song:** Five years since friends have eased the load.  
Yet coming ain't easy, when nobody one knows is  
around. And you're feeling like a stranger in your own  
home town.**(Pub SFX)****George:** Mike!**Mike:** Hey George!**(Castle Lager theme music starts)****MVO:** Just as great friendships will always stand the test of  
time, so will a great beer. Somewhat dry, somewhat bitter,  
never sweet, Castle Lager."

People in pub: Charles! Charles! Charles!

**MVO:** Since 1895: The taste that's stood the test of time.**Video**

Shot 1: Pub scene with people drinking. There is a guitar in its case on the bar counter in the foreground. At the right of the frame stands the protagonist, George, a black man in his late 20's. He is casually dressed -- shirt with its top buttons undone and tee-shirt underneath. He has a thin moustache and well-groomed hair. He is middle class and very sophisticated-looking. Next to him, on his right, stands a white guy of about the same age. Opposite him stands Mike (George's white friend) who is also in his late twenties. Next to Mike, in front of George, is a black waiter who is wearing black tuxedo trousers, black waist coat, white shirt with black bowtie. The waiter is holding a silver tray with bottles of beer and glasses. Further in

the background is another black guy, dressed in floral shirt (Hawaiian style) with a mug of beer to his mouth. Even further in the background, there is another black guy and some white guys playing pool. Suddenly it is realised that George's train is about to leave and they hurriedly depart from the pub for the station. There is much activity as people rush (out of focus near the camera) in the foreground. One can just make out George picking up the guitar case from the bar counter. (4.08 sec)



Shot 2: An almost imperceptible cut from Shot 1 on the back of someone who fills whole frame with camera now facing the exit of the pub. Everyone of George's group is storming out. As swinging pub doors close behind them we see the name of the pub, 'Satchmo's', and Louis Armstrong's face is etched on to the glass. (2.08 sec)



Shot 3: Cut to the railway station as the group is running towards the train. They are on the platform. One of George's black friends, wearing a checkered shirt is in front. George is almost parallel with him with guitar case in hand. Mike and another white friend are just behind, with the black guy dressed in floral shirt a little further back. There are three black children standing by on the platform in the bottom left hand frame corner. As frames continue to run we see George just making it onto the train. (2.36 sec)



Shot 4: Cut to camera inside the train compartment facing the window. The window is framed with Mike outside in front of the other friends. They pass George's luggage through the window -- his bag first, then the guitar case. (1.60 sec)



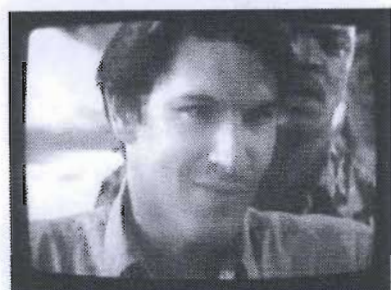
Shot 5: Cut to CU of George with hands raised up, apparently towards the luggage rack which is out of frame. As the frames continue to run he brings his arms down and we see an expression in his eyes which is supposed to communicate the bond of friendship he has with his white friend Mike, with whom he is about to part. (2.16 sec)



Shot 6: Cut to CU of Mike's face outside at the compartment window, he has a similar expression in his eyes. Behind him to the right of frame is the head of the black friend with floral shirt. Mike opens his mouth into a smile as he says some parting words. (1.76 sec)



Shot 7: Cut back to CU of George's face, shot from over Mike's shoulder with the back of his head in soft focus. (1.56 sec)



Shot 8: Cut again to CU of Mike's face (shot from inside the compartment) with smile of affection which seems to be just managing to hold back tears. The black friend with floral shirt is close behind and also on the verge of tears. (0.96 sec)



Shot 9: Cut back to George CU looking out of compartment window and waving. We can see the train is moving as reflections and shadows pass over George's face. (1.60 sec)



Shot 10: Cut back to George's friends, with Mike leading. They are running after the train (towards camera) and calling out. CU of train compartment windows, running down frame in perspective from right. This shot dissolves to next as the subtitle 'Five years later' becomes superimposed at bottom of the frame.

(2.72 sec + 0.80 sec dissolve)



Shot 11: A CU of George's face in profile looking to left of frame fades in, as friends running after his train when it left five years ago fades out. (George is now returning.) It is night. As frames continue to run, round circles of out of focus lights flash past outside the compartment window in front of George's face, first a bright blue one and then a white one. The train is re-entering the station George had left five years ago. George looks more mature now and has a serious and somewhat sad expression on his face. (1.72 sec)



Shot 12: Cut to platform as people are climbing off train. The subtitle 'Five years later' is still superimposed at the bottom of the frame. It is the same platform 7 from which George had left. We see George get off with his luggage and guitar case in hand. There is a very blue cast to this shot. (1.92 sec)

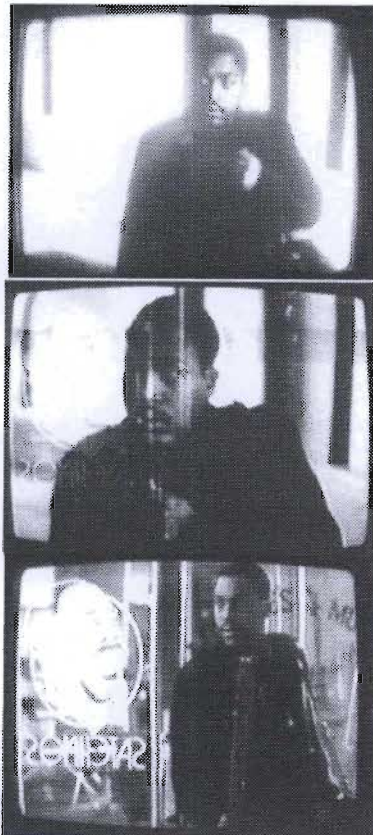
Shot 13: Cut to medium close-up head and shoulders shot of George on the platform. It is a telephoto shot with the background out of focus. (1.80 sec)



Shot 14: Cut to a wide angle shot taken from high angle down. This shot is taken through the black wrought iron letters of the station EXIT sign which fills the whole frame horizontally.

Below the sign is the out-of-focus figure of George, walking towards the exit. There is still a very strong blue cast to the lighting, in fact the shot is like a blue-tone monochrome.

George proceeds into the field of focus, towards the camera which tilts down to keep him in frame, as he fills more and more of the frame. As he leaves the station to re-enter his old world, he brings his left hand up to close his jacket -- signifying anticipation of cold, the unknown, vulnerability etc. (5.40 sec + 0.52 sec)



Shot 15: Dissolve to George at the Satchmo's Pub door. He comes through and enters the pub almost disappearing from frame. (1.60 sec)



Shot 16: Cut to head and shoulders portrait shot of George inside the pub. His jacket is now open but his shirt collar buttons are done up to the top button. There is an amber cast to this shot. People pass by in the foreground as shadows come over George's face. (1.52 sec)



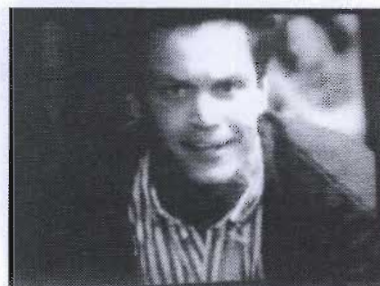
Shot 17: Cut to Mike inside the pub, turning around. His hair looks longer than it did 'five years ago' and is brushed back. He is wearing a black leather jacket. (1.24 sec)



Shot 18: Cut back to George -- his eyes seem to be meeting Mike's. He calls out to Mike and a smile of affection comes over his face. (1.56 sec)



Shot 19: Cut to Mike who is getting up to come over to George. It is a wide aperture telephoto shot with the background very out of focus. He is moving towards camera saying something... (George!), and looking very intensely at George who is out of frame. (1.76 sec)



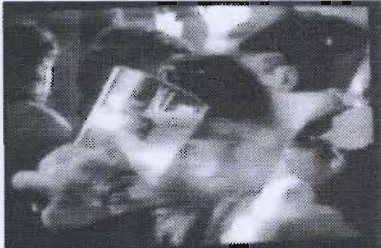
Shot 20: Cut to the other white friend from the past who is also in the pub and playing pool. (0.72 sec)



Shot 21: Cut back to George making his way through the pub crowd to his friends. There seem to be more blacks than whites in the pub, and they are mostly dressed in suits. (2.12 sec)



Shot 22: Cut to Mike moving towards George. There is a red-headed white guy left of frame holding a glass of beer. There is a saxophone at top right of frame hanging from the wall. Camera pans to show Mike and George come together in the same frame and greet each other. They talk, laugh, and smile exuberantly as Mike pats George on the left shoulder. (4.76 sec + 0.60 sec)



Shot 23: Last frames of previous shot dissolve to CU of mug of Castle being held at an angle with left hand from bottom left corner of frame. As frames continue to run, more beer is being poured into this mug. (1.96 sec + 0.60 sec)



Shot 24: Dissolve from last shot to head shot of George looking from left of frame. He is not too tightly framed in this shot. As George turns his head further to look behind him, camera re-focuses on the background and we see the mural of Charles Glass standing by a horizontal barrel with his left hand on the brass tap and his right hand holding a mug of Castle to the light. Camera pans slightly to the left and refocuses on George's face as he smiles broadly and lifts his glass to toast Charles! (Charles Glass). At the same time many other glasses rise up near George's face. (6.16 sec)



Shot 25: Cut to CU of Mike with glass of Castle to his mouth. The line: 'The taste that's stood the test of time', becomes superimposed at the bottom of the frame as dissolve into next shot. (1.40 sec + 0.60 sec dissolve)



Shot 26: Shot of Mike and George at the bar counter surrounded by all their friends while they relate what has been happening in the last five years interim. There is laughter and happiness all round. The red Castle logo has also been superimposed on the brown wooden bar counter (from shot 25 as dissolve started). (4.92 sec)

**CHARLES GLASS 45'** (1991)

45.68 seconds

**Audio**

**MVO:** The year was 1895. A skilled brewmaster set out with great determination to create a truly exceptional beer. The taste he insisted would be somewhat bitter, somewhat dry, never sweet. It wasn't an easy task. But he refused to compromise. And then one day his patience was rewarded. The man was brewmaster Charles Glass. The beer -- Castle Lager. The same brew enjoyed today by the fellows of the Charles Glass Society. Castle Lager. The taste that's stood the test of time.

**Video**

Shot 1: Wide shot (or long shot) of Charles Glass driving a horse drawn carriage. The camera pans right to left to follow him as he drives past an old white building of the period. The road is untarred and light brown coloured. (1.04 sec)



Shot 2: Cut to a low angle mid-shot of Charles Glass seated on top of his carriage holding the reins, still driving past the old building in Shot 1. The last frames of this shot dissolve into the next shot. (0.60 sec + 0.56 dissolve)



Shot 3: Dissolves from last shot to Charles Glass arriving at the brewery building -- which is brown coloured. Mid-frame at left frame border, there are two large barrels with red lids outside the building. A black attendant comes to meet Charles Glass from mid-left frame, taking hold of the horse by the bit. The black man is wearing brown trousers, a long-sleeved white shirt, a brown waistcoat and a brown bowler hat. (1.56 sec)

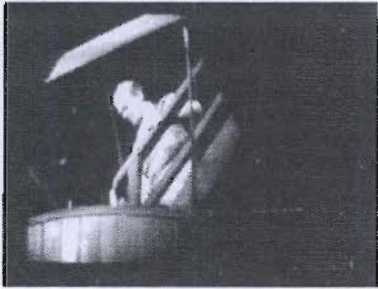


Shot 4: Cut to a low angle mid-shot of Charles Glass getting up on his carriage in order to dismount. Shot with telephoto lens with green background out of focus. Glass is wearing a reddish brown suit with brown waist coat and light brown felt hat. He fills most of the centre of the frame. The dominant brown of his suit dissolves into the next shot which is also predominantly brown in its early frames. (1.80 sec + 0.20 sec dissolve)





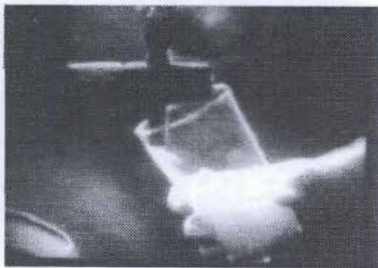
Shot 5: Dissolves to the inside of a room with the door slightly ajar. (This shot is identical to Shot 9 in the Gold Prospectors commercial of 1986.) There is bright green vegetation outside which is visible through the slit of the door. The exposure is for outdoors causing the inside of the room to appear very dark. The silhouetted figure of Charles Glass comes in, opening the door and taking off his hat. (1.76 sec)



Shot 6: Cut to a low angle medium long shot inside the brewery. Charles Glass climbs down a short flight of stairs leading from a wooden loft to a large vat. The camera pans left and tilts down slightly to follow him. Near the end of the staircase he leans over the railing, bringing a shiny brass flask, which he is holding in his right hand, towards the vat which is now immediately below him. At the same time he lowers a shiny brass flask, which he is holding in his right hand, into the vat. (2.64 sec)



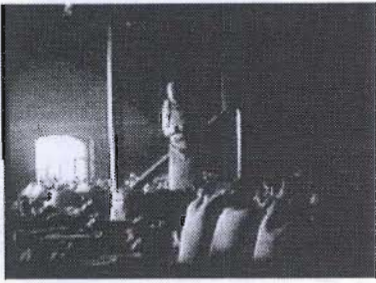
Shot 7: Cut to a low angle mid-shot of Charles Glass lifting the brass flask in which he has retrieved a sample of beer. (This is similar to Shot 10 in the Gold Prospectors commercial only it is slightly longer and filmed from a wider camera angle.) He pours the beer back into the vat, carefully observing its texture as it runs out. (4.44 sec)



Shot 8: Cut to CU of a glass being filled from a brass tap at a barrel. Tap comes in from left of frame. The glass is being held under the tap from right of frame. The other hand is holding the tap open from upper frame. (1.16 sec)



Shot 9: Cut to a head and shoulders shot of Charles Glass, at a slight angle to the camera, drinking a glass of 'Castle'. A low brick archway, visible in the immediate right background, its curve intersecting Glass's head and shoulder, suggests he is in a cellar. Light is coming in from left of frame with Glass's face to the right of frame in shadow. He lowers the glass with a thoughtful expression on his face and then looks down on to it. (5.72 sec)

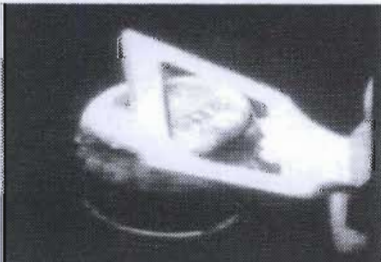


Shot 10: Cut to Charles Glass inside a barn like structure with sacks in the foreground filling the lower half of the frame. (This shot is also used in the Gold Prospectors commercial as Shot 13.) Glass is wearing an apron as he apparently selects the hops, grain, or malt etc. for his beer. The main source of light is, a very large window at the left of frame. (1.76 sec)

Shot 11: Cut to Charles Glass holding a glass beaker with some sort of instrument immersed in it. He is in profile looking into frame from the right. There is a large vat with a plaque on it behind him. Lighting is directed from the left background of the frame highlighting the vat and the profile outline of Glass's face. The left hand side of Glass's face to the is in shadow but there is detail in the shadow area. (1.72 sec)



Shot 12: Cut to head and shoulders shot of Charles Glass tasting a glass of his beer again. (The location, framing and lighting are identical to Shot 9.) Glass takes a sip. This time a smile comes to his lips. There is some froth from the beer on his moustache. (7.00 sec)



Shot 13: Cut to a big close-up of the top of a bottle being opened with a silver bottle opener. It is lit from above and as the lid starts to come off, the bottle opener produces a very bright reflection of this light. Once the bottle lid falls off, vapour, coming out of the opening, is visible. (0.72 sec)



Shot 14: Cut to inside of pub. There is a black person's head looking into frame from left and a white man looking into frame (back at him) from right. Both are stereotypes of middle class businessmen. In the background there is a black barman wearing a black suit and leaning forward with a bottle of Castle in each hand -- the beers are being passed to someone. (0.92 sec)



Shot 15: Cut to CU of white man in semi-profile looking in from left of frame. His face fills about 2/3 of frame with the top of his head trimmed by upper frame border. He is holding a mug of Castle towards his mouth. This shot is lit from rear right but there is some shadow detail at left of frame. As frames continue to run, he lifts the mug to his mouth and takes a sip. (1.08 sec)



Shot 16: Cut to crowd shot in bar. (This is a slightly shorter version of Shot 14 in the Joggers commercial of 1987.) A white man with short sleeved tee-shirt fills centre of frame and is dominant. He lifts his right arm and slaps it down again. There is a black face coming in from left of frame -- this man has bushy African hair and is wearing some sort of sporting tee-shirt, possibly basketball. He is smiling and very jovial. A white man and a black man to right of frame are wearing similar, sport related, tee-shirts. There is also a partly obscured black man behind the dominant white man described above. In the far background there is a mural-sized colour portrait of Charles Glass. All are holding their glasses of beer. (1.04 sec)



Shot 17: Cut to black guy with attractive red long-sleeved shirt. (This is identical to shot 15 in the Joggers commercial.) He is filling virtually the whole frame while downing a glass of beer which he is holding with his right hand. He is also wearing large stylish brown rimmed spectacles. There is an out-of-focus white man behind him wearing a white shirt. The further background is green and part of a window with red curtains pulled to the side is visible right of frame. (1.24 sec)



Shot 18: Cut to a shot of a group of drinkers in a pub. (This is a more tightly framed and shorter version of Shot 13 in the Joggers commercial.) Towards the left of frame, in semi-profile mid-shot, there is a black guy wearing a white tee-shirt. He is standing, holding a glass of beer in his left hand and is engaged in conversation with a white guy who is standing directly in front of him (right of frame). Light from window in the right background highlights the profile outline of the white guy. To the left of the guy in the white tee-shirt, and slightly out of focus is another black guy wearing a light-coloured tee-shirt. The second black drinker is seated and is talking to a white drinker who is seated opposite him. The face of the second white drinker is obscured by a third white drinker seated in the foreground. The white drinker in the foreground is in medium close-up profile. He is wearing a black jacket and an open-necked white shirt and is looking in from right of frame. On his left, and in the immediate foreground, is a glass of beer and a bottle of Castle. He points towards his right and possibly to the mural sized portrait of Charles Glass which fills much of the out-of-focus background. As the shot ends he turns around to talk to someone in front of him. There is bright smile on his face. (0.96 sec)



Shot 19: Cut to Castle being poured into a glass. The glass is held mid-frame by a white person's hand coming in from right of frame. The person's right hand is holding a bottle with the nozzle facing towards camera. (1.16 sec)



Shot 20: Cut to scene in pub. (With the exception of the Castle logo and copy line that comes up at the end, this shot is identical to shot 9 in the Joggers commercial.) The greater part of a mural sized framed portrait of Charles Glass can be seen in the background. He is wearing an apron and standing to the right of a horizontal barrel of Castle, while holding up a glass of his brew to the light. There are a few drinkers in the foreground. The camera zooms out to show the rest of the framed portrait. As it zooms out many more drinkers become visible in the foreground. Their arms come in from the bottom and left and right of frame making the shot somewhat surreal looking. They are all holding glasses of Castle and toasting Charles! There are more or less an equal number of whites and blacks. As the zoom comes to an end a large red Castle logo is superimposed on the lower half of the frame. The copy line: 'The taste that's stood the test of time' is superimposed in white beneath the logo. This shot becomes freeze framed. (6.72 sec)

**SOCCER MATCH OF THE DAY** (1992) 46.28 sec**Audio:**

“We played a good game today”.

“Oh come on, what do you mean?”

“We lost the game together.”

“Hey Victor! Victor, you look like the loser”.

“What happened today?”

“We lost 4-1 guys”.

“Again!”

“What do you mean again?”

“The same thing happened last week man”.

**MVO:**

On the subject of soccer, fellows of the Charles Glass Society have many different opinions. But when it comes to beer - they speak with one voice: “Charles!”. Official sponsor of the national soccer team. See the country’s top players in action this Saturday at FNB stadium or on CCV-TV.

**Video**

Shot 1: Opens on five soccer players sitting at a table. The surroundings look more like a soccer club than a shebeen, and this is probably an after-match soccer club drinking session. In the foreground filling the right of the frame, from just before mid frame, is a black soccer player (or club official). He is wearing a light brown shirt and has his back turned to the camera. A white player with bright blue shirt is to his left (left of frame as the black guy has his back to camera). Next to the white guy, towards the other end of the table, a black player is about to take a seat. He is wearing a black leather jacket and a black leather cap. On the right is another black player who is wearing a khaki shirt. There are two floor lamps on pedestals at opposite ends of the frame in the background. (1.44 sec)



Shot 2: Cut to low angle MCU of elderly black patriarch. He is dressed in dark blue suit, with a grey jersey and a spotted dark tie. He has very broad shoulders and is positioned left of frame. He is holding a glass of beer in his left hand and playing cards in his right hand. He has a wizened look on his face. He is of an older generation, of class vintage which is not easily categorised in terms of the new black middle class. The light on his face is directed from the foreground and is warm orange-toned. On the wall behind him, slightly out of focus, hangs a large framed, horizontally dominant poster of Charles Glass standing beside a barrel and holding up a glass of beer. The frame of this picture comes in from right of camera frame and fills the top right of the camera frame up to the old man’s neck. (0.88 sec)



Shot 3: Slightly out of focus CU of a black guy's face coming in through the door opening. There is a yellow orange cast. Camera pans after him as he walks into the room. He has a slightly hard and impatient look on his face. He doesn't have any of the slick, suave middle class qualities of the new black middle class stereotypes which were usually represented by the media during the 1980's. And yet, he is neither lumpenproletariat or ordinary working class. He seems intelligent, streetwise and hard-boiled, but behind all this essentially good-hearted and fair. He is a person who has been disciplined and forged by the most important activity he devotes his life to: soccer. This is Victor. As he walks through, various slightly out-of-focus, colour toned, portraits of soccer teams are on the wall and within the frame. (1.64 sec)



Shot 4: Cut to CU of another black man with his mouth open in laughter -- he has a front tooth missing. His face is partly obscured by someone out of focus in the foreground. (0.64 sec)



Shot 5: Cut to long shot of these players at the table again, as in opening scene. Victor is now arriving at the table. The camera dollies-in slightly. The black player at the head of the table, with his back turned to the camera, waves at him. The white player with bright blue shirt has also turned towards Victor. As Victor walks to the table he first has his arms outstretched with palms turned towards camera, somewhat in resignation. He then brings his hands down to his sides again. He is wearing a black leather jacket and a coloured floral shirt underneath. (1.84 sec)



Shot 6: Cut to CU (just head and neck visible) of Victor taking a seat at the table. He has his head bent down into right of frame and fills virtually the whole TV frame. As he sits down, the camera pans to keep his head movements in frame... He does not look too happy. (1.04 sec)



Shot 7: Cut to CU of soccer field with ball being dribbled by player with bright red socks. The ball is white and the rest of the shot is very green (green from the grass of the soccer field). (0.68 sec)



Shot 8: Cut back to the after-match session where the players are drinking beer. There is a CU of a black man's face in profile, coming into frame from the right. The face is lit from the front, i.e. left of frame. He has a glass of beer to his mouth which is coming in from the lower left frame. The back of another person's head is obscuring part of the left of the frame, diagonally from the bottom corner going up towards centre frame. (0.72 sec)



Shot 9: Cut to CU of Victor's face with his eyes looking down and partly closed. It is a telephoto shot and there is an out of focus arm in the right foreground, partly obscuring Victor's face. As frames continue to run Victor brings up both his hands to cover his face. (0.96 sec)



Shot 10: Cut to the other black guy wearing black leather jacket and black leather cap with red shirt underneath his jacket. There are quart bottles of Castle on the table in the foreground. Somebody else's arm, also in leather, cuts across the screen from left of frame. Camera pans across to the right to momentarily frame a table lamp which causes a bright white spot on the frame. At this point cut to next shot which also has a bright white key -- a soccer ball. (0.60 sec)



Shot 11: Cut to soccer field. The white soccer ball is in the air spinning towards the camera. A player's arm is visible coming in from lower left of frame. The ball is in the most dominant part of the frame, just right of the very centre. The bright green playing field backgrounds the ball. At the top 1/3 of the frame, out of focus, are the advertisements at the side of the field and the soccer audience. As frames continue to run, the camera zooms out to bring into frame a player wearing a green jersey. (The arm of this player, coming in from left of frame was visible earlier in the shot.) He catches the ball. He is goalkeeper and has the number 1 on his jersey. (0.80 sec)



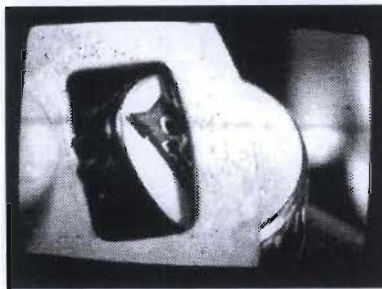
Shot 12: CU of black guy with leather jacket and leather cap (mentioned in Shot 10). He is on the right hand side of the frame looking left and is lit from the foreground. He is shouting and grimacing. (0.72 sec)



Shot 13: Cut to matching shot of Victor (CU left of frame looking right). He seems thoughtful and has his hands together, almost as if in prayer. He brings his hands down, somewhat angry and peeved at the teasing remarks he has been getting. (0.88 sec)



Shot 14: Cut back to soccer match. This is a telephoto shot, two players at the centre of the frame are jumping up. The camera pans right and tilts to keep them in frame. The soccer audience in the background has been drawn in close to them by telephoto effect. There is a red cast to this shot. (0.60 sec)



Shot 15: CU of top of beer bottle being opened. Once the lid comes off vapour can be seen rising from the bottle opening. There is a red cast to this shot. (0.68 sec)



Shot 16: CU of the white player (at the table with the black players). His face is coming in from left of frame looking right. It is a telephoto CU so the background is very out of focus. His face fills about half of the frame with his left hand coming in with glass of beer from right of frame. The lighting on him is hard -- he is lit with a bright spot from background and with soft red-filtered light from foreground. The out-of-focus background is green. Cuts to the next shot as he brings his glass down and wipes his mouth. (0.80 sec)



Shot 17: Cut back to soccer match. A white player with light brown hair, wearing a reddish purple jersey jumps up and throws the ball back into the field. (He must be the white goal keeper of one of the sides.) The background crowd in the soccer stadium is out of focus but can be made out to be a wholly black audience. (0.36 sec)



Shot 18: Cut back to the post-match drinking session. This is a CU of the table. On the table there is an empty beer glass at the left of frame. And there are two quart bottles of Castle, one in front of the other, at the right of frame. A hand is reaching out from the background to take up the nearest bottle. As frames continue to run, camera pans to the right to show the Castle Labels. No faces (of people) are visible in the shot. (0.60 sec)





Shot 19: Cut back to soccer match. Two players are framed running from left to right. Only their legs are visible as they fight to gain control of the ball. It seems that the player with white shorts and white socks to the left of frame is white, while the player with black shorts and yellow socks to the right of frame is black. (1.04 sec)



Shot 20: Cut back to the after-match drinking session. The black guy with the black leather cap, black leather jacket with red tee-shirt underneath, is looking in from right of frame. He seems quite animated in the discussion about the match. As frames continue to run, camera pans to left past his up raised hand. Two men in white tee-shirts can be seen in the out-of-focus background as cut to next shot. (1.16 sec)



Shot 21: Cut back to the match as white goalie with reddish purple jersey and green cap jumps up and catches the ball. He is medium CU with just his head and shoulders in frame. His arms are up towards the top right hand corner of the frame, where he catches the ball. It is telephoto shot and the background spectators are pulled in but are in soft focus. The spectators are all black. (0.68 sec)



Shot 22: Cut back to after-match, post mortem drinking session. Victor is framed CU, at a slight angle to the camera, looking from left to right of frame. He still has a peeved look on his face. As frames continue the camera moves slightly around Victor in a curved path to a position in which he is directly facing the camera. Part of the head and shoulder of the person he is talking to can be seen, out of focus, in the foreground. Victor lowers his eyelids and smiles a little. (1.16 sec)



Shot 23: Cut back to game. There is a white player at left of frame border with the number 14 on his jersey. He is facing a black player who is wearing white shorts and white jersey and who is in control of the ball. The black player has a black Castle Logo on the front of his white soccer jersey. In the background, a big red and white Castle Lager logo can be seen at the border of the soccer field. The soccer audience are out of focus but can be identified as being all black. As frames continue to run, black player kicks ball over the white players head. Camera pans after the ball, causing the background spectators to blur. (1.08 sec)



Shot 24: Cut back to the post-match drinking session. This is a continuation of shot 22 with Victor in CU facing the camera, and the shoulder of the person he is talking to visible out-of-focus in the foreground. A bright spot is directed from left of frame which highlights the right hand side of his face, near his right eye. He is beginning to smile a little now. Camera holds him in frame as he talks about the match -- one can see that he is still

smarting beneath his smile. His next comment (in voice-over) overlaps with the next shot (1.40 sec)



Shot 25: Cut back to the soccer match. Camera is panning across field till it reaches black goalkeeper who falls on his back agonizingly as he misses the ball. Mixed with the ambient sound from the soccer match we hear Victor's voice. He is saying: "Okay guys, one for every ball we gave over." (1.56 sec)



Shot 26: Cut to black referee in profile at left of frame, about to bring whistle to his mouth. This is a telephoto shot with the background spectators an out-of-focus mass of colours. (0.64 sec)



Shot 27: Cut back to Victor looking from right of frame to left. Lighting is directed from left of frame. He has his right hand raised with four fingers outstretched to indicate the number of beers he is ordering. Camera tilts up. Cuts to next shot as the out-of-focus figure of the barman comes partially into frame in the background. (0.72 sec)

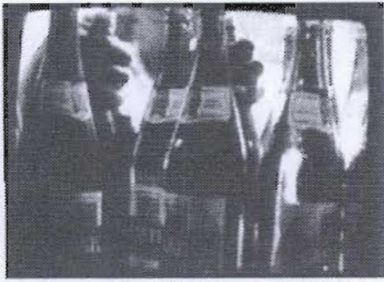


Shot 28: Cut to barman waving back in confirmation. He is a tall, light skinned, striking looking black man. He has a clean shaven head and beard with moustache. He is wearing a light blue shirt with red-necked jersey underneath. (1.00 sec)



Shot 29: Cut to MCU of Victor facing camera while arguing and pointing at fellow black player whose back of head and right shoulder is entering from left of frame. The background, the left of which is blue and the right of which is a white/yellow, is in soft focus. As frames continue, Victor's attention is drawn to his left (right of frame) and his pointed fingers relax and open out receptively as cut to next shot (0.92 sec)





Shot 30: Cut to CU of about 10 quart bottles of Castle which have been served up. This is what drew Victor's attention at the end of Shot 29. These bottles fill almost the entire frame space but for the top where the necks taper. Two hands are busy taking up some of the bottles. Cut to next shot as camera dollies-in towards hands. (1.08 sec)



Shot 31: Cut back to soccer match. CU of two players running after ball from left to right of frame. The shot is predominantly green, from the grass of the field. Only the legs of the players are framed, coming in from top right hand of the frame. They run after the spinning ball. From the hue of their legs, both of these players seem to be black. The one is wearing white socks while the other yellow. (1.00 sec)



Shot 32: Cut back to after match drinking session. Victor's face in CU is visible in the out-of-focus foreground. In the background, in sharper focus, a pair of hands holding four quart bottles moves across the frame from left to right. The camera initially pans right to follow the bottles and thereafter pans left to its original position with Victor in the foreground. As the bottles exit we see a portion of the arm of the person holding the bottles and can tell from the light blue shirt that it must be the barman. (1.40 sec)



Shot 33: Cut to intimate CU pan of the various faces at the table drinking -- including the white player who seems to be grimacing and trying very hard to affect black or working class soccer sub-cultural mannerisms. (1.68 sec)



Shot 34: CU of Victor positioned towards left of frame, facing camera. In the out-of-focus foreground, coming in from left of frame is part of the head and right shoulder of the man sitting opposite him. The camera pans left slightly to bring Victor's face to the centre of the frame. Cuts to next shot as Victor raises a bottle of Castle. (0.36 sec)



Shot 35: Cut back to match. Two players close to the side of the field have both fallen down. One is wearing black pants with yellow socks and yellow soccer jersey with the number 12 on it, the other white shorts and a white jersey with the number 6 on it. Both are black. (0.48 sec)



Shot 36: Cut to CU of quart of Castle being caught in mid air by a hand. Presumably having been passed by someone. The hand which is doing the catching comes in from the bottom of the frame. (0.52 sec)



Shot 37: Cut back to soccer match. CU of black player running towards camera. He is wearing a yellow jersey with black Castle logo on the front. He is framed to just before the top of his shoulders and fills the whole frame. He has the number 18 on his black shorts. As he continues to run his face comes into frame. He has a finely featured African face. He is looking semi-profile to left of frame, with backlighting highlighting the profile of his features. (1.36 sec)



Shot 38: Cut to big CU of glass being filled with Castle. Top 1/3 of glass fills whole frame and Castle logo on glass is visible at the left of frame. Tip of nozzle of beer bottle comes in from top right hand frame corner. (0.68 sec)



Shot 39: Cut to Victor's face, CU coming in from left of frame and filling whole left half of frame. He is grimacing and seems to be beginning to unwind a bit from his chagrin of having lost the match. As frames continue to run he turns towards right of frame to look behind him as he raises his glass. (1.00 sec)



Shot 40: Cut to MCU low angle shot of old patriarch with a deck of playing cards in his hand. (He might have been sitting behind Victor in the last shot.) He is facing the camera and is seated left of frame. Hanging on the wall behind his left shoulder is the lower half of a poster-sized portrait of Charles Glass. The camera tilts up as the old man raises a glass of beer with his left hand and says: "Charles!". The tilt brings more of the portrait of Glass into frame. In the portrait Glass is standing next to a horizontal barrel and holding up a glass of Castle. Attention is drawn to the poster by a spotlight directed from somewhere in the right foreground. This spotlight is focussed on the top left of the Charles Glass poster, illuminating the top of Charles Glass's head and a small semi-circle of wall just above the poster. This light also highlights the old man's left hand in which he is holding a glass of Castle. A softer fill-in light illumines the right hand side of the old man's face. (1.40 sec)



Shot 41: MCU of Victor with his glass raised. He is seated towards the left hand side of the frame and has turned around to look towards the background where we can just discern the old man and the portrait of Charles Glass (from the previous shot). In the right foreground is the blurred close-up of another drinker, glass in hand, his back turned slightly to camera. As frames continue, Victor brings his glass down and turns around to face camera. The expression on his face is of immense jubilation. (1.16 sec)



Shot 42: CU of Victor taking a sip of Castle with glass coming in from left of frame. (0.96 sec)



Shot 43: Cut to Victor again, framed medium CU. He is leaning his head downwards towards right frame border, his eyes are partly closed, and he has a warm happy smile on his face. The right arm of another player (or club member), who is outside of the frame, comes in from lower right hand frame border, stretches slightly upward and across the middle of the frame, with the hand being placed affectionately on Victor's right shoulder, near left frame border. Lighting is coming in from left of frame. But there is soft detail visible in shadow areas. As frames continue to run, Victor straightens up, as he and the out-of-frame player sway together to the left. At the same time, camera pans to hold Victor in the middle of the frame, while the head of the out-of-frame player comes into the frame at lower right frame border. We see that it is the black guy with black leather cap that has his hand over Victor's shoulder. (0.64 sec)



Shot 44: Cut back to match. It is the end of the match and three players in the middle of the frame have their arms around each other in comradeship. As frames continue, the third player moves left of frame and only two are left with their arms over each other's shoulders. The one is a white player wearing black shorts with the number 14 on his yellow soccer jersey, and the other a black player with clean shaven head who is wearing white shorts and white soccer jersey. (1.00 sec)



Shot 45: Cut to shot of soccer spectators. All are black. A yellow flag momentarily passes by at left of frame. The Castle logo is superimposed at the bottom of the frame. Beneath it the copy line: 'The taste that's stood the test of time'. The crowd cheers as frames fade to black. (2.64 sec)

## APPENDIX 2a

## RAMA: CAMPAIGN HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT

## 1977-1983

**Tongue Tip Test:** Outdoor staging. Rama Man goes around offering 'tongue tip test' from tub.  
 'USP': Rama Soft is the best tasting/finest quality brick margarine. (Tub)

1 version in English (logged complete)

## 1979-1980

**Just One Bite and You Know You're Right!:** 'USP': Best tasting finest quality brick margarine.  
 (Brick)

1 version in English (logged complete)

## 1981-1982

**Just One Bight and You Know You're Right!:** 'USP': Introduction of food/appetite appeal shot.  
 (Brick: New TV2 Black Station)

1 ethnic version (logged complete)

## 1983

**Just One Bite and You Know You're right! - further development**

'USP': Further focus on food to enhance the appetite appeal, strengthening the taste claim and nutritional aspects. (Brick)

(Not on history reel)

## 1984

**Better Taste Rama:** USP: Leading taste brand. (Tub - Soft Re-launch)

1 English version (logged complete)

## 1986

**Rugby/Soccer** USP: Rama rates 10/10 for taste.

1 English version (rugby) (logged complete)

1 Ethnic version (soccer) (logged complete)

**1986**

**Slipping and Sliding** USP: Taste and multiple usage area of Rama, South Africa's favourite taste.

- 1 English version (logged complete)
- 1 Ethnic version (logged complete)

**1987**

**Housewife Campaign I** USP: New Rama Tastes Better than Old Rama.

- a) English version: dark haired young housewife (logged complete)
- b) English version: blond " " (logged complete)
- c) Ethnic version: young black housewife (logged complete)
- d) Ethnic version: black family (logged complete)

**1989**

**Housewife campaign II** USP: Even People who usually disagree, do agree that Rama is South Africa's Favourite Taste.

- a) English version: mother and daughter (not logged)
- b) English version: married couple (" " )
- c) Ethnic version: black married couple (" " )
- d) Ethnic version: 2 young black women Twins (" " )

**1991**

**Hurrah Ma - It's Rama** USP Mom congratulated for choosing the best -- Rama South Africa's Favourite Taste -- not only suitable for spreading but for cooking/frying as well

- 1 English version (logged complete)
- 1 Afrikaans version (same visuals as English version)
- 1 Zulu version (logged complete)
- 1 S. Sotho version (same visuals as Zulu version)

**1992**

**Everybody is loving it - the natural fresh taste of Rama**

USP: Introduction of emotional/aspirational brand values. Moment of sharing the great taste of Rama. 1 Version, English (logged complete)

**1994**

**Just One Bite and You Know you're right!**

USP Introduction of Rama ladder showing TASTE -- REACTION -- SATISFACTION transformation. 1 Version, English (logged complete)

RAMA : CAMPAIGN HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT

PERIOD	TYPES	CAMPAIGN	UNIQUE SELLING PROPOSITION
1. 1971 - 1978	Brick	Rama for the natural fresh taste.	Emphasis on taste using bread/spread situation.
2. 1975 - 1976	Soft Launch	Incorporated into the brick "Rama for the natural fresh taste" on launch.	Emphasis on taste using bread/spread situation.
3. 1977 - 1983	Soft	Tongue Tip Test	Rama Soft is the best tasting/finest quality tub margarine.
4. 1979 - 1980	Brick	Just one bite and you know you're right!	Best tasting/finest quality brick margarine.
5. 1981 - 1982	Brick New TV2 Black Station	Just one bite and you know you're right!	Introduction of food/appetite appeal shot.
6. 1983	Brick	Just one bite and you know you're right! further development.	Further focus on food to enhance the appetite appeal, strengthening the taste claim and building on nutritional aspects.
7. 1984	Soft Relaunch	Better taste Rama.	Leading taste brand.
8. 1986	Brick and Soft	Rugby/Soccer.	Rama rates 10/10 for taste.
9. 1986	Brick and Soft	Interim slipping and sliding.	Taste and multiple usage area of Rama, South Africa's Favourite Taste.
10. 1987	Brick and Soft	Housewife Campaign I	New Rama tastes better than old Rama.
11. 1989	Brick and Soft	Housewife Campaign II	Even people who usually disagree, do agree that Rama is South Africa's Favourite Taste.
12. 1991	Brick and Soft	Hurrah Ma - It's Rama	Mom congratulated for choosing the best - Rama South Africa's Favourite Taste - not only suitable for spreading but for cooking frying as well.
13. 1992	Brick and Soft	Everybody is loving it - the natural fresh taste of Rama.	Introduction of emotional/aspirational brand values. Moment of sharing the great taste of Rama.
14. 1994	Brick and Soft	Just one bite and you know you're right!	Introduction of Rama ladder showing TASTE → REACTION → SATISFACTION transformation



**APPENDIX 2B**

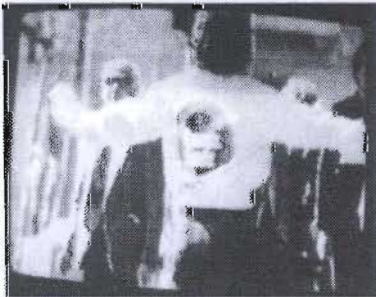
**TONGUE TIP TEST** (1977-1983)

(Running Time: 30.36 sec)

**Audio**

(woman sings jingle)

Everybody's trying  
 Yes, everybody's buying  
 That fresh new taste  
 That natural taste  
 Now you can tell new Rama Soft  
 Tastes the best  
 Do the tongue tip test  
 Get that new fresh taste  
 So come on let's buy it  
 Let everybody try it  
 The tongue tip test  
 Because New Rama Soft  
 Tastes the best  
 Natural Fresh

**MVO:** Now also in the one kilogram double tub.**Video**

Shot 1: Rama Man spinning round and round in the street in front of a crowd of onlookers. He has his arms outstretched and is holding a Rama tub in one hand. The 'Rama Man' is a white man in his late twenties or early thirties. He is dressed in dark blue denim jeans with a yellow long-sleeved cotton top. There is a Rama logo on the front of the yellow cotton top. (0.96 sec)

Shot 2: Cut to very short duration (almost subliminal) ECU pack shot of Rama Soft tub. The tub fills the whole frame, with its sides cut by the frame borders at left, right and top. Red and blue Rama Soft logo on tub lid is at about centre of frame. (0.08 sec)

Shot 3: Cut back to Shot 1 with Rama Man turning round and round in the street. (0.88 sec)

Shot 4: Cut to CU of Rama Soft tub again. Now the tub is being opened, from right hand of frame. (0.44 sec)



Shot 5: Cut to an Indian flower seller taking the 'tongue tip test'. He is positioned at centre of the frame. The Rama Man's face is just visible in the right of frame holding out the tub. The Indian man is standing in front of flowers laid out on a street pavement. He is wearing a long-sleeved tartan shirt and has a moustache, longish with broad sideburns. It cannot be said for certain that he is a flower seller. This is inferred from his general appearance and by the fact that he is standing in front of flowers on a street pavement. Some of these flowers also form a yellow pattern in centre of the frame, which suggests yellow margarine. The depiction of this man is not inconsistent with the Indian working class stereotype. But his casting somehow has an air of authenticity. One gets the feeling that this man might actually be a flower seller in real life, in which case he would most likely have been approached by producers of the commercial prior to filming. (1.52 sec)

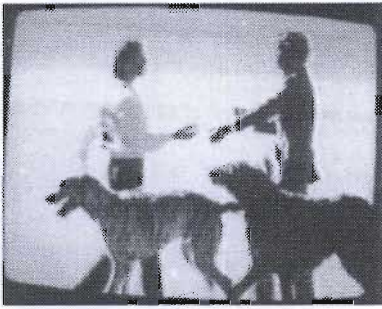
Shot 6: Cut to the Rama pack being opened again. (0.40 sec)



Shot 7: Cut to a well-dressed black woman who is being approached by the Rama man to take the tongue tip test. There is certainly no sign of pejorativeness in this woman's stereotyping. She is very well-groomed, very chic. Her hair is not straightened but quite bushy. Short of the possibility that her dress and hair might have been the latest styling for the 1970's, she would probably pass quite favourably as black middle class in a TV commercial for the 1990's. (1.80 sec)



Shot 8: Cut to the Rama man going down escalator with a young white woman he has 'approached' to test taste Rama from a tub he is holding in his hand. He is also holding a bunch of yellow flowers in his left arm. The yellow flowers suggest Rama but he also seems to be flirting with this woman, while holding the Rama tub in the opposite direction with his outstretched right arm. Another young woman coming up the opposite escalator helps herself to a fingertip full of Rama. The colour yellow is popular in the merchandising of margarines as it associates with the supposed colouring of the product and with sunflowers -- one of the main sources of oil used in the manufacture of margarine. There is also a suggestion that the yellow flowers may have been obtained from one of the previous people approached, the Indian flower seller. (1.40 sec)

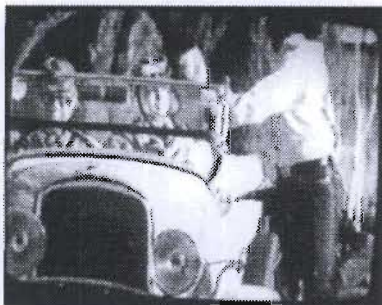


Shot 9: Cut to the Rama man approaching a man walking two rather large dogs. This man helps himself to a fingertip full of Rama (before he can even be offered any), and runs off in the opposite direction, towards the left of the frame. The Rama man then runs after him, presumably to find out the response to the taste. Cuts to next shot as Rama man is about to disappear out of the frame. (2.52 sec)

Shot 10: Cut to an elderly white lady dressed in pink and holding an SPCA collection tin fixed to poster depicting the head of a race horse. She also tries the 'tongue tip test'. (2.04 sec)



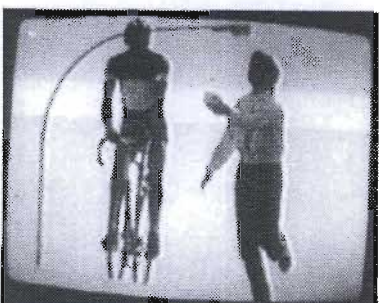
Shot 11: Cut to two very elegantly dressed young white women who are walking in the street. The Rama man walks between them and is trying to persuade them to take the Rama 'tongue tip test'. (1.84 sec)



Shot 12: Cut to the Rama man running after a vintage car driven by an elderly gentleman. A young woman wearing racing goggles is in the passenger seat. The Rama man jumps on the car to offer them the 'tongue tip test'. (1.28 sec)

Shot 13: Cut to the Rama man framed from waist up. He is holding a tub of Rama Soft in right hand. Shot in telephoto with background of red traffic lights in soft focus. (0.36 sec)

Shot 14: Cut to CU of Rama Soft tub which very quickly flashes on and off screen eight times. The colour yellow comes up on screen in between the flashes of the product pack. (0.92 sec)



Shot 15: Cut to the Rama man running after a black cyclist to get him to take the 'tongue tip test'. This cyclist is not a 'delivery boy' -- he is riding a racing bike and is very athletic and suitably dressed in cycle racing attire. The use of a black athlete stereotype (who has somehow been able to progress beyond the ordinary humdrum of menial work and its poor rate of remuneration) was probably supposed to be aspirational to blacks, espe-

cially in the 1970's. The bicycle is a cultural implement which has played an important role in the lives of Third World urban communities. In its symbolic meaning the racing bike could possibly be interpreted as a rather refined version of the ordinary bicycle utilised for essential transport. The racing bike differs symbolically from the ordinary bicycle which provides essential transport, and even more so from the crude delivery bike. Humble as it may seem, the racing bike signifies arrival at a more spiritual level of existence, beyond basic needs. This stereotype of an athletically inclined black man is not completely improbable. During the 1960's and 1970's black males riding racing bicycles for sport already could occasionally already be seen on South African streets. (1.64 sec)



Shot 16: The Rama man approaches an elderly gentleman who is standing on a ladder trimming a hedge. The Rama man reaches up to offer the 'tongue tip test' to this gentleman. (2.00 sec)

After this cross-section of South African urban society has been featured taking the 'tongue tip test', the commercial shows brief close up shots in quick succession of most of the people depicted. Their facial reactions and gesticulations over the taste of Rama are emphasised in these close ups. They are shown in the following order:



Shot 17: Cut to head and shoulders CU of Indian seller taking 'tongue tip test'. (0.48 sec)

Shot 18: Cut to head and shoulders CU of spectacled SPCA old lady in pink outfit taking the 'tongue tip test'. (0.48 sec)

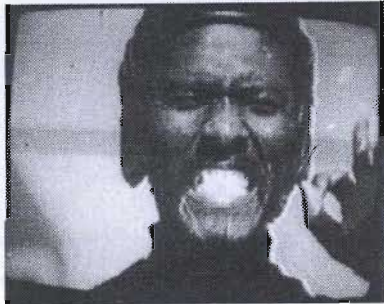
Shot 19: Cut to head and shoulders CU of elderly man on ladder trimming hedge. He is taking the 'tongue tip test'. (0.44 sec)

Shot 20: Cut to the young woman on the escalator. This is the woman at right of frame with whom the Rama Man was travelling down in Shot 8. She is now shown taking the 'tongue tip test' in this shot. (0.68 sec)

Shot 21: Cut to the Rama tub with its lid on. As frames continue the lid is opened. (0.44 sec)



Shot 22: Cut to man who was walking the two large dogs in Shot 9. He is taking the 'tongue tip test' as camera zooms in closer on his face to show his positive reaction. (0.68 sec)



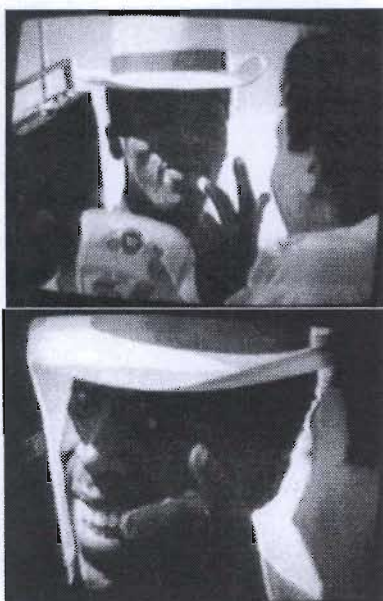
Shot 23: Cut CU to black cyclist. Both the smile on his face and his raised hand with thumb and forefinger meeting to form a circle, denote strong approval. (0.52 sec)

Shot 24: Cut to CU of the Rama tub. At first the lid is on but as frames continue it is opened. (As in Shot 21.) (0.16 sec)

Shot 25: Cut to head and shoulders of one of the two women in the street who were featured in Shot 11. (0.56 sec)

Shot 26: Cut to a white business man who had not been featured before. Camera zooms in as he opens his mouth, presumably to exclaim about the taste. (0.68 sec)

Shot 27: Cut to Rama tub again, as in Shot 21 and Shot 24. (0.20 sec)



Shot 28: Cut to black playboy. This black 'playboy' had not been featured before. He is wearing a light coloured suit and a white straw basher with a red band and carrying a large transistor radio over his shoulder. Camera zooms in as he is taking the tongue tip test. His stereotyping is reminiscent of the Sophiatown genre, 'Sunday well-dressed' Johannesburg black. An urban black subculture underpinning this black stereotype was once in existence. This urban black subculture was current in the PWV area in the 1950's, 60's and 70's and possible sprung up from intuitive but frustrated middle class aspirations. By the 1980's adherents may have tended to recede or redefine themselves in the face of black radicalism or overt black middle class ideology from the business sector. (1.36 sec)

Shot 29: Cut to Rama tub again, as in Shots 21, 24 and 26. (0.24 sec)



Shot 30: Cut to CU of the girl with racing goggles in a vintage car. The Rama logo is superimposed on the right of the frame with the copyline 'Fresh New Taste' superimposed at the bottom of the frame. (2.44 sec)

**JUST ONE BITE AND YOU KNOW IT'S RIGHT**

(1979-80/ English version/ Running time: 30.08 sec)

**Audio**

(Man and woman sing jingle)

Just one bite (Woman singing)  
 Just one bite (Man singing)  
 Of new Rama (woman singing)  
 and you know you're right

**MVO:** New Rama's natural fresh taste is now even better. For more enjoyment bite after bite.

Right in the morning,  
 Right everyday,  
 Right in the evening,  
 Anytime, anywhere

Just one bite, just one bite  
 And you know  
 Yes, you know you're right  
 Yes, you know you're right

**Video**

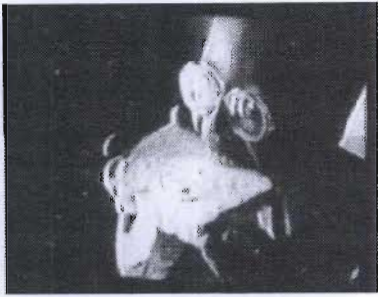
Shot 1: The TV1 version of 'Just one Bite and you know you're right' opens with zoom-out from a Provita biscuit with varied toppings to a close-up of a white woman slipping the biscuit into her mouth. (2.80 sec)

Shot 2: Cut to a white man biting a roll sumptuously filled with tomatoes, lettuce, etc. (2.08 sec)



Shot 3: Cut to a dynamic pack shot of a brick of Rama suspended mid-air and rotating against a black background. (1.36 sec)





Shot 4: Cut to a bespectacled black schoolgirl dressed in dark blue school uniform. She is eating a square slice of white bread covered with Rama. Side light to the left of frame and back light, therefore the right of her face is in shadow. (0.84 sec)



Shot 5: Cut to a bespectacled young white boy, of similar age to black schoolgirl in Shot 4. He is also eating a square slice of white bread covered with Rama. (The fact that there are shots of both the white boy and of the black girl eating a slice of plain white bread seems to work on two levels. It dispels the suggestion (in the context of the opening shots of sumptuous toppings) that the black girl might be impoverished. Also, it tends to democratise consumption -- both these children are similarly stereotyped as young and smart. The spectacles denote poor eyesight but can also connote habitual reading and studiousness.) (0.88 sec)

Next follow a series of appetite appeal/various food applications shots:

Shot 6 : Cut to CU shot of pack (brick) being opened. (1.52 sec; dissolve - 0.40 sec)

Shot 7: **dissolves** from Shot 6 into shot of butter knife scooping up a turn of Rama from the brick. (1.36 sec; dissolve - 0.60 sec)

Shot 8: dissolves from Shot 7 into shot of waffle in a red plate. (1.60 sec)

Shot 9: Cut to croissants dropping into a straw basket. (0.72 sec)

Shot 10: Cut to CU of frying pan with Rama melting. (0.60 sec)

Shot 11: Cut to CU of frying pan with egg being fried. (0.64 sec)

Shot 12: Cut to croissants dropping into straw basket as in Shot 9. (1.24 sec)

Shot 13: Cut to piece of steak on griller with dab of Rama on it. (1.16 sec)

Shot 14: Cut to squash with cube of Rama melting in it. (0.80 sec)



Shot 15: Cut to slice of whole-wheat bread on a plate. As frames continue deck upon deck of salad vegetables, cold meat and bread are piled upon the original slice of bread. Once the sandwich fills the entire frame the plate is tilted. Cut to next shot as sandwich starts to fall off plate. (2.40 sec)



Shot 16: Cut to a chubby, friendly looking, black woman with a boiled carrot at the end of a fork, which she is about to put into her mouth. Hard side lighting from her right, left of her face in shadow, with harsh backlight left of frame. (0.52 sec)

Shot 17: Cut to a white woman in her early forties who is dressed in a thin pink top. She is eating a slice of white bread, presumably spread with Rama. (0.60 sec)

Shot 18: Cut back to original opening Shot 1 of young white woman putting Provita biscuit with toppings into her mouth. (1.72 sec)



Shot 19: Cut to young bespectacled white boy that was featured in Shot 5. In this shot he is eating a mealie. Harsh backlight to the left, hard light front right of frame. (0.60 sec)

Shot 20: Cut back to woman with Provita biscuit and toppings from Shot 18. (0.68 sec)



Shot 21: Cut to fair-haired white middle aged man braaiing. (This shot corresponds to Shot 21 in the ethnic version of 'Just One Bite ...', which depicts a black middle-aged chef.) (0.36 sec)

Shot 22: This final shot cuts back again to the woman putting



Provita with toppings into her mouth from shots 1, 19 and 21. The image is freeze framed as she starts to bite into the snack, and the Rama pack (brick) is superimposed on the lower left hand corner. (4.96 sec)

**JUST ONE BITE AND YOU KNOW IT'S RIGHT (1981-82)**

Running Time: 30.12 sec

**Audio****(In Zulu)**

Man and woman sing jingle./ Zulu Male Voice Over.

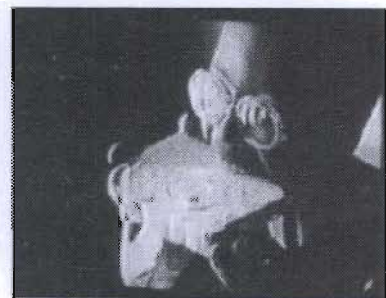
**Video**

Shot 1: The Zulu version opens with a zoom-out from a Provita biscuit with toppings to a young black woman who slowly slips the Provita biscuit into her mouth. She is similar looking and about same age group to the white woman in the English language version. She is photographed in a similar style as the white woman in the English version, in profile and looking to the right of frame with a harsh spotlight on her face from the right. (2.72 sec)



Shot 2: Cut to the same shot which occupies this position in the editing of English TV1 version: a white man who eats a roll with fillings. Harsh light from left of frame. (2.12 sec)

Shot 3: Cut to the same shot of rotating pack (brick) as in the TV1 version. (1.40 sec)



Shot 4: Cut to the black school girl in uniform eating a slice of white bread. (As in TV1 version.) (0.84 sec)



Shot 5: Cut to young white boy with glasses eating slice of white bread. (As in TV1 version.) (0.84 sec)

Shot 6: Cut to CU of Rama pack being opened. (As in TV1 version.) (1.52 sec; dissolve - 0.40 sec)

Shot 7: Dissolves to a scoop picking up a turn of Rama from brick which unravelled in Shot 6. (As in TV1 version.) (1.32 sec; dissolve - 0.60 sec)

Shot 8: Dissolves into a shot of waffle (As in TV1 version.) (1.64 sec)

Shot 9: Cut to shot of croissants falling into straw basket. (As in TV1 version.) (0.68 sec)

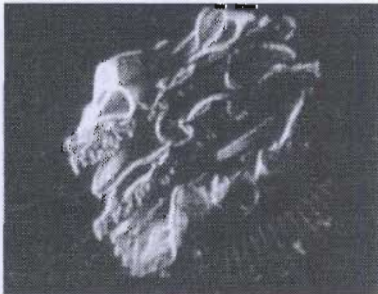
Shot 10: Cut to some Rama melting in a frying pan. (As in TV1 version.) (0.60 sec)

Shot 11: Cut to egg frying in pan, slow zoom to more CU. (As in TV1 version.) (0.64 sec)

Shot 12: Cut to croissants falling into straw basket again. (As in TV1 version.) (1.24 sec)

Shot 13: Cut to piece of steak on grill with Rama melting on it. (As in TV1 version.) (1.08 sec)

Shot 14: Cut to squash with cube of Rama being dropped into it. (As in TV1 version.) (0.84 sec)



Shot 15: Cut to slice of wholewheat bread on a plate with deck upon deck of salad vegetables, cold meat and bread being piled upon it. (As in TV1 version.) (2.40 sec)



Shot 16: Cut to the friendly looking, chubby black woman as in the TV1 version. (0.48 sec)

Shot 17: Cut to a white woman in her early forties who is wearing a flimsy pink top. She is eating a slice of white bread, pre-

sumably spread with Rama. There a harsh light from front of frame, background right of frame is in darkness, while left background has light directed on to it. (As in TV1 version.) (0.52 sec)

Shot 18: Cut back to opening shot of chic black woman eating a Provita with toppings. (1.88 sec)



Shot 19: Cut to the same young bespectacled black school-girl featured in Shot 4 above (as well as Shot 4 in the TV1 version of this commercial). This time round she is eating a mealie. (This is basically the reverse of the TV 1 version, where the young bespectacled white boy was featured eating the mealie in Shot 19.) (0.52 sec)

Shot 20: Cut back to opening shot again -- of chic black woman putting Provita with toppings into her mouth. (0.68 sec)



Shot 21: Cut to a black male chef with blue and white striped apron who juggles a potato and gives thumbs up. Bearded and middle aged, he seems to fall into the ethnic middle class stereotype (Chapter 4). This is in place of Shot 21 of a white man braaiing in the TV1 version. (Compare stereotypes.) (0.32 sec)



Shot 22: Cut to a repeat of the opening shot of a black woman inserting Provita into her mouth. This shot is now freeze framed and a pack of Rama (brick) dissolves in and becomes superimposed on left hand side. (4.84 sec)

**BETTER TASTE RAMA (1984)**

(Running time: 30.76 seconds)

**Audio**

You'd better, better, better  
 Better taste, better taste Rama  
 Yes, you'd better taste  
 Better taste Rama Soft  
 Rama's got that natural fresh taste  
 Better taste Rama Soft

**MVO:** You can't beat Rama's soft natural fresh taste  
 So you'd better taste it

Better, better, better  
 You'd better taste, better taste Rama  
 Yes, you'd better taste better taste Rama Soft  
 Rama's got that natural fresh taste  
 Better, better, better  
 Best taste Rama Soft

**Video**

Shot 1: Rama Soft tub CU on a table with various snacks. There are some olives at left of frame, a crayfish tail at right of frame. As frames continue, the lid of the Rama tub flips open by itself. (1.16 sec)

Shot 2: Cut to further shot of Rama Soft tub. This time more CU and from a slightly higher angle. Various snacks including some dark grapes surround the tub. The tub flips open by itself, as in Shot 1. (0.60 sec)

Shot 3: Cut to CU of large 1 KG circular tub of Rama. It fills most of the frame with some free space above and at the side. There are also various snacks surrounding the tub in this shot, including a slice of watermelon at left of frame. As frames continue, tub lid flips open by itself. The background of the frame is out of focus. (0.92 sec)



Shot 4: Cut to MCU of fair-haired young woman on a swing. She is framed head and shoulders facing from left of frame to right. She is holding the swing chains which are painted white. Bottom of frame cuts below her right shoulder. Her swinging action is moving her from left of frame to right of frame. The top of her head is situated at just above mid-frame. In the background, at right of frame, there is a brown-coloured garden house which seems to be made of wood. Three people, a woman in a blue dress and a man with his arm over a young blond woman's shoulder are walking towards the young woman on the swing. There is also a young woman playing with a ball directly behind (and initially obscured) by the woman on the swing. As swing traverses to the right of frame, this young woman is revealed throwing the ball. (0.60 sec)



Shot 5: Cut to head and shoulders shot of another young woman. She has straight blond hair and is dancing closely with a young man who is wearing a yellow shirt with horizontal black stripes. As frames continue this couple spin around. In the background there are large trees, some with tall trunks. The setting seems to be a park or the grounds of some large mansion. (0.64 sec)

Shot 6: Cut to a waiter holding a large tray towards camera. The waiter is white and in his late twenties. He is wearing a long sleeved white shirt, a black waist coat, and a red bowtie. The large tray he is holding runs horizontally across the whole frame foreground. The tray is decoratively arranged with green lettuce leaves surrounding many tasty looking snacks. In the centre of the tray is a tub of Rama which flips open (somewhat disturbingly) as the waiter turns with tray towards camera. The background suggests that the context is some park or grounds, as noted in Shot 5. There are many more people milling around in the out-of-focus background. (0.56 sec)



Shot 7: Cut to group consisting, from left to right, of a young girl in her early teens, a bespectacled young man in his early twenties, and a young woman in her early twenties coming in from right of frame. As frames continue, camera pans right to frame the young man and woman alone together (the girl in her early teens goes out of frame). The man in his early twenties has fine features with his long straight fringe combed across his forehead and over his right ear (at left of frame). He is wearing thin steel-rimmed spectacles. In terms of clothing, he is wearing a patterned grey jersey over a white shirt with a black spotted bowtie. The young woman has her head close to his and is looking in profile from right to left. She has honey blond hair.



Her mouth is open as she is smiling broadly. She has a large white button-like earring on her left ear. She is holding a tray with sliced watermelon to the young man. The young man also turns his head to the right to face her with their noses almost touching. As she pulls away camera cuts to next frame. (1.24 sec)



Shot 8: Cut back to girl on the white swing, featured in Shot 4. This time she is swinging towards camera and is holding a snack in her left hand. In the background at left of frame is a man with light blue trousers and yellow top who is talking to a shapely blond woman who has her hands at her sides. There are tables covered with white table cloths at left and at right sides of the frame. In the mid background there seems to be a willow tree growing. (0.72 sec)

Shot 9: Cut to old man with brown felt hat. He comes in from left of frame and is framed head and shoulders with his hat cut by top of left frame. A young waitress with brown curly hair and yellow top comes into frame from right of frame and offers him snacks from a white tray. There is probably an elderly woman in the right foreground but she is out of frame and only her hands can be made out as she reaches for a snack from the tray. This is a dynamic shot and camera follows the action settling on the old man as the waitress goes out of frame. Camera cuts to next shot as old man turns his head to thank her. (1.24 sec)



Shot 10: Cut to middle aged woman wearing a low cut lavender dress and a long pearl necklace wrapped twice around her neck. Her slightly greying hair is done up in the suggestion of a bun. There is a dark-haired latin looking waiter to her right. He is wearing a long-sleeved white shirt, a pink bowtie and a black waistcoat. His hair is black and curly and he has a black moustache. He is offering her something from his tray. But he then turns his back to her and playfully comes round from behind her to her right (to left of frame) while she also turns to look behind her at left of frame. As frames continue, waiter comes fully to the left of frame and formally holds tray in front of her, as cut to the next shot. (1.56 sec)

Shot 11: Cut to table with snacks. A little boy wearing a red cap is looking in from right of frame. He has his hands on the white table cloth of the snack table, at lower right of frame. His neck comes just above table level. There is a tub of Rama on the table at left foreground. Behind the tub there seem to be some grilled sausages and various other snacks. In the upper part of the frame background are some out-of-focus green leaves

of a tree which must be sheltering the snack table. (0.52 sec)



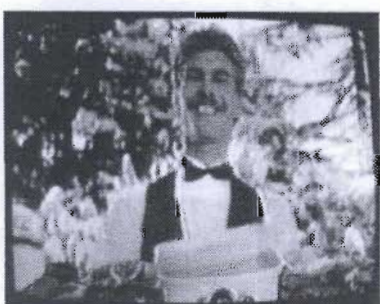
Shot 12: Cut to medium shot of same little boy described in Shot 11. This time the camera is positioned from the back of the little boy. The table runs across the frame horizontally from about the first lower 1/5 of the frame. Behind the snack table is a middle aged chef wearing white overalls and chef's white hat. He is also wearing a red scarf around his neck. On the table, at left of frame, about 5 apples are strewn. And there are some bread rolls surrounding a pot with flowers tilted to the right. In front of the little boy, who has his back to the camera, is a wooden board upon which is the tub of Rama. There seem to be more bread rolls to the right of frame. As frames continue to run, the chef is using a knife to spread what seems to be a bread roll, presumably with margarine. (0.72 sec)

Shot 13: Cut CU to slice of wholewheat bread being spread with what presumably seems to be margarine. Slice is placed in frame vertically and lighting is directed from the background. Fingertips holding the knife come in from top right frame corner, and the knife applying the margarine moves towards camera from about top 1/3 of frame. In the background, surrounding the slice of bread are various chopped vegetables. (1.04 sec)

Shot 14: Cut back to framing of little boy as in Shot 11. As frames continue, the little boy looks up and smiles at someone -- presumably at the chef who is probably preparing a sandwich out of frame. (0.92 sec)

Shot 15: Cut back to CU of slice of bread which was being 'battered' in Shot 13. In this framing, the camera has now been moved to the left so that slice runs towards bottom right hand frame corner instead of mid-frame. A hand comes in from top of frame and is pouring some crushed walnuts onto the slice of bread. (0.92 sec)

Shot 16: Cut to head and shoulders shot of the chef filling whole frame. He is looking down smiling at the little boy who is out of frame and saying something to him. (1.88 sec)



Shot 17: Cut to shot of a waiter facing camera with a tray filling frame foreground horizontally. On the tray are various snacks and green leaves of lettuce. A tub of Rama is in the middle at centre near lower frame border. The waiter has light brown hair and moustache. He is dressed in long sleeved white shirt with black waist coat and black bowtie. He is smiling. In the background, at left of frame, is an out-of-focus group of people. In the further background are trees, including a tall pine tree at



right of frame. As frames continue, the lid of the Rama tub flips open. (This flipping open of the Rama tubs, especially when the trays are held provocatively, begins to seem somewhat obscene. All in all rather kitsch.) (0.68 sec)

Shot 18: Cut to a shot similar to Shot 17 above. In this repeat the waiter has been changed to one with black curly hair and a red bowtie. The tub flips open again as he holds the tray forward. This flipping open of the margarine tubs (Shots 17, 18 and 19), on trays being held out by waiters, synchronises with the words of the jingle: better, better, best. (The repeated use of the word better might possibly be to suggest butter, circumventing the prohibition of direct mention or comparison.) (0.44 sec)



Shot 19: Cut to further shot of yet another waiter holding out a tray with a tub of Rama towards camera. This is the young Latin looking waiter with curly hair and thin black moustache. He is wearing long white sleeves, black waist coat and a lavender pink bowtie. On his tray is the circular large-sized Rama tub (the others in Shots 17 and 18 were oval shaped tubs). As this tub flips open, the back of the hand of a young child can be seen coming into the immediate foreground. Cuts to the next shot as the hand closes the lid of the tub. (0.76 sec)



Shot 20: Cut to head and shoulders shot of the little girl who is holding down the lid of the large round Rama tub. The camera is now positioned on the opposite side (when compared with Shot 19) so that the little girl is facing the camera. The tub of margarine is now situated at right of frame foreground while the waiter holding the tray is out of the frame. The little girl lets go of the lid and it flips open again. She smiles with delight. (0.52 sec)



Shot 21: Cut to head and shoulders shot of a grey haired old man and the attractive young woman who featured in Shot 7. (In Shot 7 she was with the young man with steel-rimmed spectacles.) In this shot she is moving across frame from right to left. She turns her head towards camera, winks with her left eye, and smiles broadly with a seductive look in her eyes. Camera pans after her as she moves across. (1.20 sec)

Shot 22: Cut to the young man with steel-rimmed glasses featured in Shot 7. He is framed head and shoulders with his head at right of frame. The heads of some other people are surrounding him in the foreground. In the immediate foreground, out of

focus, the girl from Shot 21 can be seen at a glimpse leaving the left border of the frame. The young man is obviously trying to make eye contact and is smiling at someone. As frames continue, he moves through the crowd towards the left of the frame seemingly in pursuit of the girl. (0.88 sec)

Shot 23: Cut to head and shoulders shot of a little girl with long blond hair, wearing a pink dress and holding in her hand a rag doll with long dark hair. She is moving from left to right of frame. At the top right of the frame is the out-of-focus hand of a waiter. This waiter is holding out a tray of which only the underneath is visible as camera is looking from a low angle in order to frame the little girl. As frames continue he lowers the tray and the little girl helps herself to some snack. (0.68 sec)



Shot 24: Cut to little boy who featured in Shots 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 in the scenes with chef character. The chef is also framed within this shot. The little boy is at right of frame facing left and holding a plate with a sandwich on it at mid-frame, by the chef's shoulder. The chef suddenly turns around in surprise to look at what the little boy has on the plate, as cut to next shot. (0.72 sec)



Shot 25: Cut to panning shot of the little girl with long blond hair featured in Shot 23. The little girl is running through a crowd of adults. She comes to a middle aged woman with spectacles and offers her a snack she is holding in her hand. (1.84 sec)

Shot 26: Cut back to grey haired old man also featured in Shot 21. This is a head and shoulders shot and he has the whole frame to himself. He is chewing some food and by the expressions on his face he seems to be enjoying the taste. (0.64)



Shot 27: Cut back to chef character and the little boy with the red cap and yellow tee-shirt. The chef is seated just left of centre frame with the little boy standing on his left at right of frame. There is a young girl in her early teens to his right, looking in from left of frame. The chef is putting a snack into his mouth. The little boy is licking his fingers while still holding the plate (Shot 24) with his right hand. (1.20 sec)

Shot 28: Cut CU to little girl featured in shots 23 and 25 with long blond hair and carrying a rag doll. She is framed head and shoulders filling almost whole frame. There is a young woman in a white sleeveless dress standing in the background at left of frame. She has shoulder length blond hair but her head is mostly out of frame. As frames continue, the little girl can be seen to be eating a snack (and enjoying it by the expression on her face). (0.60 sec)



Shot 29: Cut to the young man with the steel-rimmed glasses. He is framed head and shoulders from left of frame. The beautiful young woman he has been pursuing has come up behind him, at right of frame, and has her hands on his shoulders. She kneels down and brings her head near to his and smiles into his eyes. (1.04 sec)



Shot 30: Cut to a high angle shot of the wooden surface of a table. This table has a clear surface area in the foreground, till just above mid-frame. A few stalks of wheat can be seen coming in to frame from lower left of frame, and also some bread rolls at about mid-left frame border. Near the lower right border of the frame there are several slices of apple. In the upper part of the frame there are stalks of celery coming across from right of frame to left. There are yellow flowers in the further background. As frames continue to run, tubs of Rama appear on the clear area of the wooden table. After the first tub appears it is followed by the word 'BEST' superimposed on the lower part of the frame. This is followed by the appearance of a larger tub of Rama at mid-left of frame, behind the first tub. The word 'TASTE' now appears next to the word 'BEST'. Next, the very large round tub of Rama appears at mid-right of frame and the word 'RAMA' appears after the words 'BEST' and 'TASTE'. The lid of the large round tub flips up and the word 'SOFT' now also appears, completing the slogan : BEST TASTE RAMA SOFT. This final shot cuts to black. (3.44 sec)

**RUGBY** (1986)**Audio**

Sound of TV Rugby commentary:

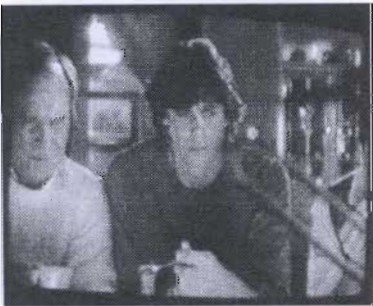
... He puts a foot into touch with only minutes remaining -- a line out on the 20 metre line and nicely tapped and down the line it goes. But they'll have to come back -- it's a penalty for obstruction. They take a short one and the scrum half breaks down on the blind side. He passes it, its an interception -- and he's off, it's a clear run with only the full back to beat. He's tackled and the ball ... (Rugby commentator sound fades softer)

**MVO:** People! Just can't stop doing the tongue tip test.

... And it's difficult to see who touched it down. What a try!

**MVO:** Because the natural fresh taste of Rama always rates 10/10.

... It must be the try of the season..

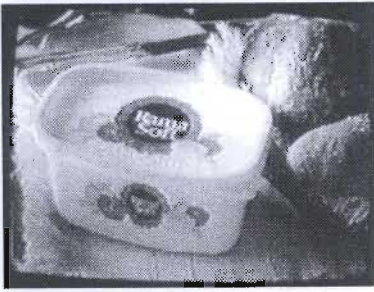
**Video**

Shot 1: A father figure and what appear to be his sons are drinking tea or coffee while seated in rapt attention behind a TV screen. In this version (TV I in English) there are three sons and they are watching rugby. (In the Zulu version below, there are four sons and they are watching soccer.) (4.28 sec)

Shot 2: Cut to the lady of the house looking smilingly at her family who are so involved watching the rugby on the TV set. In this, the English version, one of the distracted young men has just poured a teaspoonful of sugar onto the floor instead of into his cup. (1.04 sec)



Shot 3: Cut to the woman walking past the group watching the TV set. She is carrying a tub of Rama and some wholewheat rolls on a silver tray. (The guys watching the rugby seem oblivious until the tub of Rama is opened in Shot 5 below.) (3.60 sec)



Shot 4: Cut CU as tray is being placed down. Camera shows a close up of whole wheat rolls and tub of Rama Soft. (1.68 sec)



Shot 5: Cut to ECU of Rama Soft tub being opened by woman's hand. (1.56 sec)

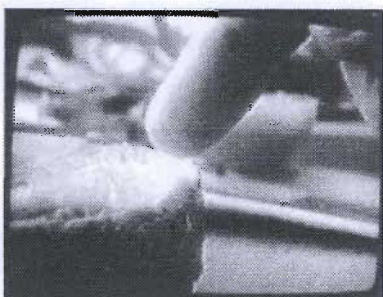


Shot 6: Cut back to the four men (father and sons?) -- they all look together at the camera at the same time. (1.24 sec)

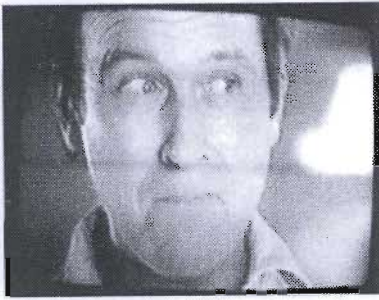
Shot 7: Cut back to the whole wheat rolls being spread with Rama. Camera lingers, with slice filling whole frame for appetite appeal. (2.08 sec)

Shot 8: Cut to woman/lady of the house smiling. (0.92 sec)

Shot 9: Cut to her husband with white jersey smiling back. (1.40sec)



Shot 10: Cut to husband picking up some Rama with his fingertip from the 'buttered' slice. (1.12 sec)



Shot 11: Cut to him tasting the margarine after which he winks and gives a nod of approval. (3.40sec)

Shot 12: Cut to matching close-up of the lady of the house who is evidently pleased at her husbands reaction. (0.72 sec)



Shot 13: Cut to son taking tongue tip test as well. (1.48sec)



Shot 14: Cut to pack shot of tub and brick with superimposed copy line '10/10' for taste. (2.64sec)



Shot 15: Cut to shot of empty couch in front of the TV set with its bunny aerals sticking up, the '10/10 for taste' logo is superimposed. One of the sons can just barely be glimpsed walking out of the frame through the right frame border. (Camera is positioned behind the TV set.) The empty couch visually suggests that the rolls spread with Rama have been able to take them away from the TV set, but then the rugby they were watching was almost over according to the commentary. (4.56sec)



**SOCCER** (1986)**Audio**

Soccer commentary in **S.Sothu** (TV2/3)

**Video**

Shot 1: The frame shows a black father and four sons seated behind a TV set (similar to TV1 version). We can hear the soccer commentary in Zulu. The camera is positioned from behind the TV set. (The front of the screen of the depicted TV set is never visible in any of the shots in this commercial.) The bunny aerials pass through the frame as the camera pans across. From their changing facial expressions the group watching the TV set seem very involved in the game. (4.76 sec)

Shot 2: Cut to head and shoulders CU of black woman of the house. There is a spotlight directed at her face from left of frame. She is wearing a light coloured piece of cloth wrapped around her head, a pearl earring is visible on her right ear (left of frame) and she has pale lipstick on her lips. She is looking to right of frame, affectionately at her family who are so engrossed in the soccer match being relayed on the TV set. As frames continue, camera pans left of frame, cutting to next shot at the point she is about to disappear out of right frame border. (0.84 sec)



Shot 3: Cut to the guys seated in front of the TV as in Shot 1. Two NSL flags are visible against the wall in the background. The woman of the house walks past in front of them from left of frame to right carrying a plastic tray with bread rolls and a brick pack of Rama. They all seem a little agonised, as their view of the TV set is obscured for a few exciting seconds. The father figure lifts his right hand out in front of his face, as if to motion away the distraction. As frames continue, the woman turns with tray to face camera. She is framed from above the knees up with head and shoulders out of upper frame border. As she carries the tray out of right of frame, the father brings his right hand (left of frame) back again to clasp his tea or coffee mug firmly with both hands. (3.68 sec)





Shot 4: Cut CU with camera panning from right to left over the plastic white tray. On the tray are some wholewheat rolls, an unopened brick pack of Rama in its gold wrapper with red and blue logo. There are also three knives for spreading the Rama, and a large knife for cutting the breadrolls. Camera settles Rama brick pack in its gold foil wrapper. (1.60 sec)



Shot 5: Cut more CU on the brick of Rama in its gold wrapper. Pack fills virtually whole frame and is at a slight angle. A segment of a beige plate the Rama brick is on is visible on the frame foreground. A brown-skinned hand coming in from left of frame places a silver knife on the plate next to the Rama pack. The gold emblem of the Rama logo is mirrored on the silver knife blade. (1.56 sec)

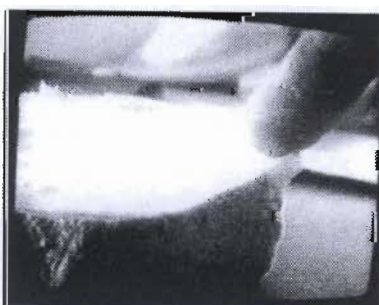


Shot 6: Cut to the group of males at the TV set who turn in unison. (Presumably in response to the clatter of the knife against the plate in Shot 5) (1.12 sec)

Shot 7: Cut to a whole wheat brown slice of bread being spread with Rama, as in TV1 version. (2.00sec)

Shot 8: Cut to the woman smiling and turning towards the man of the house. (0.64 sec)

Shot 9: Cut to man (father) smiling back and gesticulating as he looks down on the 'battered' slice. (1.20 sec)



Shot 10: Cut CU to some margarine being picked from the edge of a sliced bread roll. Bread roll is placed left of frame, filling about 3/4 of frame. Brown-skinned finger comes in from top right hand frame corner. (1.04 sec)



Shot 11: Cut to the man putting his fingertip of Rama to his tongue. He looks sideways and nods in approval as he closes his eyes in savouring appreciation of the taste. (3.40 sec)

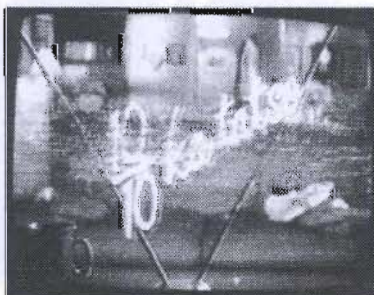
Shot 12: Cut to the woman of the house smiling. Man's hand is visible on her shoulder at left of frame. (0.92 sec)



Shot 13: Cut to son in checkered shirt trying a fingertipful of Rama. 1.32 sec)



Shot 14: Cut to a brick pack of Rama and a slightly opened tub of Rama on a white tray. There are also some whole wheat breadrolls and a slice of tomato on the tray (at left frame corner). The '10/10 Ka Tatso' slogan is superimposed. (3.16 sec)



Shot 15: Cut to empty couch shot from behind bunny aerials (as in TV1 version) with '10/10 Ka Tatso' copy line superimposed. The bunny aerials are of a different type from those in Shot 15 in the TV1 version. Also, the couch is different. The lighting and the pictures on the background walls are different, as are the furnishings. However, the layout of the premises and the arrangement of objects is similar to the TV1 version. (3.76 sec)

**SLIPPING AND SLIDING** (1986, TV 1 version, English)

Audio (jingle sang by a male voice):

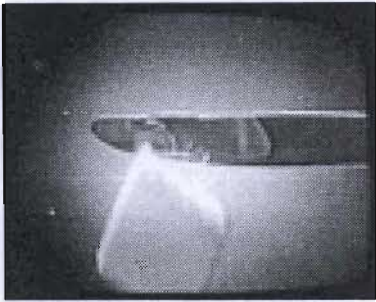
Whether it's slipping, sliding  
 Caring, daring  
 Preparing, sharing  
 Popping, popping  
 Topping, mopping  
 Dripping, dripping  
 Whipping, dripping  
 Drying  
 Frying, sighing  
 Making, baking  
 Glowing, blowing

MVO: Or just spreading. Everyone agrees Rama rates 10/10 for taste.

Chorus: R-a-m-a

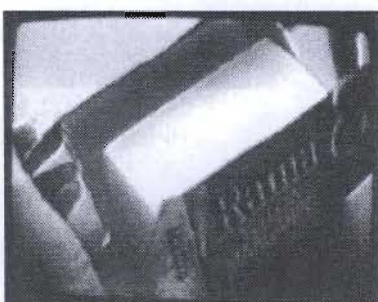
MVO: South Africa's favourite taste

Video



Shot 1: Cut CU to a dab of Rama on a knife tip. Knife comes in from about mid-right of frame and fills about 4/5 of frame. As frames continue knife rotates towards camera and dab of Rama slides off and falls out of bottom frame border. (3.20 sec)

Shot 2: Cut to the now melting blob of Rama 'slipping and sliding' down the surface of a freshly boiled mealie. The mealie fills the bottom half of the frame and is shot against black background. This is a close-up shot which is meant to have lots of 'appetite appeal'. (1.00 sec)



Shot 3: Cut to a pack of Rama (brick) being opened by a fair skinned person's hands. Wrapper is unfolded to reveal whole brick. (0.92 sec)

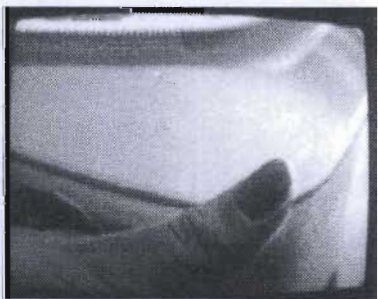


Shot 4: Cut to a young white boy taking some things out of an open a fridge. As frames continue, little boy turns around to look towards camera. In his right hand is a tub of Rama and in his left hand a jar of chocolate spread. Lighting for this shot comes from inside the open fridge. (0.68)

Shot 5: Cut to the same little white boy sitting at the kitchen table. The impressiom is created (from the type of lighting) that it is late and that the boy is helping himself to a late night bed time snack. He is spreading Rama from a tub onto a slice of white bread. He is seated just right of mid-frame, facing camera but looking down at what he is doing at the table. There is a large wooden bread board upon which is half a loaf of white bread, the tub of Rama, and the slice of bread. There is a jar of chocolate spread or jam on the white table cloth just to the right of the breadboard. Soft lighting is directed from upper left foreground. In the background the kitchen is in shadows but can be made out to have modern appliances and be neatly designed. (0.92)



Shot 6: Cut to waist up CU of the same little boy at the kitchen table now with his father. Both appear to be wearing pyjamas. Father is left of frame with the little boy to his right. Little boy is passing a sandwich to his dad. As frames continue to run, his dad takes a bite from the sandwich. Lighting is soft as in Shot 5. (0.92)



Shot 7: Cut CU to a tub of Rama being opened by a white woman's hand (we can make out the carefully manicured fingernails on a fair-skinned hand). The tub is positioned from left of frame with half of the tub filling almost the whole frame. (0.64)

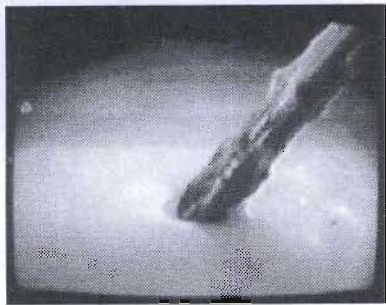
Shot 8: Cut to a dab of Rama being dropped onto a heap of flower. Shot against a neutral grey background. (0.76)

Shot 9: Cut to a cube of Rama being placed upon boiled green beans. The cube of Rama is held by thumb and forefinger of hand coming in from top right of the frame. (0.72)



Shot 10: Cut CU to a black child eating some sweet off a plate with his hands. The context seems to be a pleasant middle class setting, although the shot is too CU to see much of the kitchen background. The black child is wearing yellow tee-shirt which is clean and new. (0.68)

Shot 11: Cut to an 'appetite appeal' CU of some type of cake with a dab of Rama. Golden syrup being poured over the melting cube of Rama. (0.64)



Shot 12: Cut to a stalk of asparagus being dipped into a bowl of sauce. Bowl fills almost whole frame. (0.72)

Shot 13: Cut CU to cake mixture being beaten with the blades of a blender. Yellow cake mixture fills whole frame, blades of blender come in from top right of frame. (1.00)

Shot 14: Cut to a pancake being flipped. Shot against a neutral grey background. (0.48)

Shot 15: Cut to when the pancake hits back into the frying pan. Shot against neutral grey background. (0.52)



Shot 16: Cut to a brightly laid out kitchen where a young white girl dressed in a yellow dress is standing on her toes in order to open a jar of biscuits on a kitchen work surface. Camera tilts up slowly. It is a real homely scene and there is a labrador retriever by her side. (1.64)

Shot 17: Cut to CU of frying mushrooms with pattern-cut dabs of Rama on them. Camera zooms back to show more mushrooms in pan. (1.04)



Shot 18: Cut to an elderly black woman with spectacles. She has her hair tied with a blue scarf and is wearing a fine blue dress with a pattern of small white circles. She is holding a bowl of yellow custard or soup near to her face, but she does not eat from it. The context is similar to the kitchen of the white home shown in the earlier vignettes. It is ambiguous as to whether the action depicted in this commercial is taking place in one home or in several different homes. No attempt has been made in the making of this commercial to establish whether or not the elderly black lady is in the same home as some of the earlier shots which featured whites. A suggestion arises that she is a domestic servant. Though one is not quite clear exactly how to accommodate the shot of the black schoolgirl in such a scenario.

(0.82)



Shot 19: Cut to white a lady greasing a cake tin in a nicely laid out kitchen. (0.80)



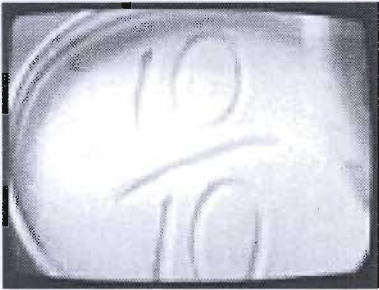
Shot 20: Cut to the same woman featured in Shot 19. She is now removing the cooked cake from the oven. It is shot dramatically with the camera seemingly placed inside the oven with a very wide angle lens. In actual fact this type shot must be achieved by placing the camera at the back of an oven which has had the back cut away. (0.76)



Shot 21: Cut to a little white girl dressed in pink. She is blowing out the candles of her birthday cake. Her head and shoulders fill whole frame. Less than a hemisphere of the peach-pink birthday cake comes into frame from the foreground. There are four candles which are alight and it seems there are two which have been blown out. (1.44)

Shot 22: Cut to an appetite appeal CU of a slice of brown bread being spread (presumably with Rama). (1.92)

Shot 23: Cut to a young white boy dressed in blue shirt and licking something obviously tasty off his finger tips. Camera zooms in closer to show him closing his eyes, smacking his lips, and then opening his eyes again. (Compare to similar Shot in TV2/3 version.) (2.20)

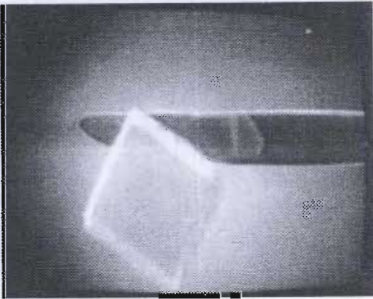


Shot 24: Cut to a CU of an open tub of Rama with '10/10' carved on the surface of the margarine. The lid is replaced to show a close up of the Rama Soft label design as camera zooms in. (1.64)



Shot 25: Cut to a pack shot of the tub and brick versions with the copy line superimposed above: 'South Africa's favourite taste'. It is illuminated with a central spot of hard lighting. Shot against a grey background. (4.56)



**SLIPPING AND SLIDING (1986)****Audio****(In Zulu)****Video**

Shot 1: Cut to CU of table knife coming in from mid-right frame with cube of margarine on it. The background is neutral grey with a light yellow-green cast. As frames continue cube of Rama drops off the knife.

Shot 2: Cut to CU of mealie filling bottom half of frame with cube of margarine melting on it. (Shot against a black background.)



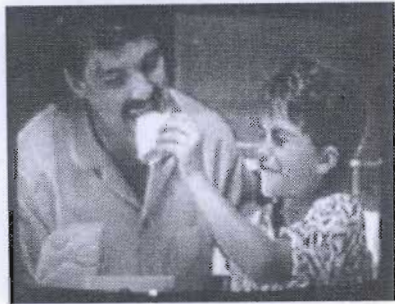
Shot 3: Cut to CU of pack of Rama brick being unwrapped by what appears to be a brown-skinned person's hands.



Shot 4: Cut to fridge door open with young white boy in his pyjamas coming in from right of frame. He has his right hand on a tub of Rama which is inside the fridge. His left hand is on some other food item inside the fridge (which is not easy to identify from the frame resolution on the TV screen). Lighting is coming from inside the rear of the fridge. (Probably a special cut away fridge, for photographing advertising commercials.) As frames continue to run, the little boy turns around while taking out tub of margarine and the other food item.

Shot 5: Cut to the same little white boy sitting at kitchen table spreading Rama from a tub onto a slice of white bread. He is seated just right of mid-frame facing camera but looking down on table where he is spreading the slice of bread with Rama.

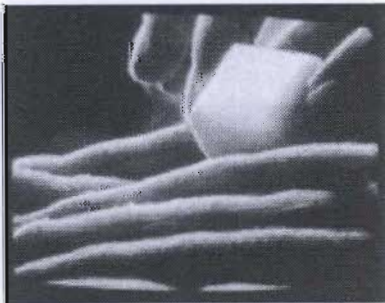
There is a large wooden bread board upon which is half a loaf of white bread, the tub of Rama, and the slice of bread. There is a jar of jam or chocolate spread on the white table cloth just to the right of the bread board. Soft lighting is directed from upper left foreground.



Shot 6: Cut to waist up shot of the same little boy, now at the kitchen table with his father. Father is at left of frame with the little boy to his right. Little boy is passing a sandwich to his dad. As frames continue, his dad takes a bite from the sandwich which is being passed. Lighting is soft as in Shot 5.

Shot 7: Cut to CU of tub of Rama. The lid is being flipped open by the thumb of a brown skinned hand coming in from bottom left of frame. Half of the tub fills about whole frame, from left of frame. Lighting comes from above right background.

Shot 8: Cut to cube of Rama being dropped upon a heap of baking flour. Shot against neutral grey background. (As in TV1 version.)

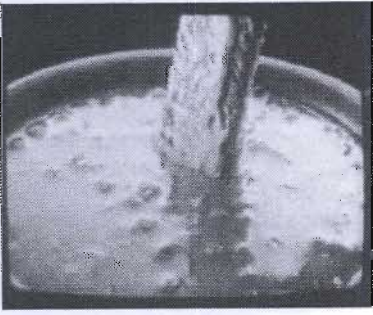


Shot 9: Cut to cube of Rama being placed upon boiled green beans. Green beans fill just over bottom half of frame. Cube of Rama is placed on beans by the thumb and forefinger of hand coming in from top right of frame. Bright spotlight from Fore-ground with black background. In can be seen that finger tips are those of a brown-skinned person.



Shot 10: Cut to the white boy dressed in blue shirt who had been featured at a later stage (Shot 23) in the TV1 version. This time the commercial has been edited with the earlier part of the same take, and we actually see the boy scooping up some syrup off a plate with a piece of pancake. A nicely laid out and equipped kitchen can be made out in the background.

Shot 11: Cut to some crispy sweet with cube of Rama on it. Syrup is being poured onto the Rama cube. Shot against neutral grey background.

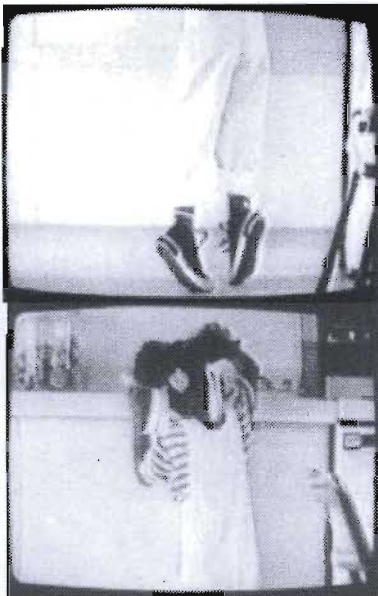


Shot 12: Cut to a narrow strip of brown bread covered with Rama being dipped into a bowl of pea soup. In Shot 12 of TV1 version- a stalk of asparagus was being dipped into sauce.

Shot 13: Cut to cake mixture being beaten with a blender, as in Shot 13 in the TV1 version.

Shot 14: Cut to pancake in the air, shot against a neutral grey background. This is the same pancake flipping sequence as in TV1 version.

Shot 15: Cut to pancake falling back into red Teflon-coated frying pan. Shot against neutral grey background.



Shot 16: Cut to a shot quite similar to the TV1 shot of a little girl reaching up to a kitchen work surface. In this shot the child is brown-skinned. The camera slowly tilts up from girl's feet. She is just tall enough for her head to reach the level of the work surface. The black girl is dressed differently. Instead of a yellow dress she is wearing yellow dungarees. Instead of sandals she has blue canvas takkies on her feet. It is a medium shot which allows for some representation of context. It is the same brightly lit kitchen used in the white TV1 version. But in this version we never quite see what the black girl is reaching up for. She is not reaching for the jar of biscuits featured in the TV1 version because the same biscuit jar is also in this shot, at upper left frame corner. Also, there is no labrador retriever.

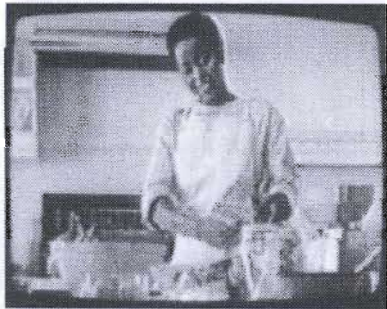


Shot 17: Cut ECU to two pieces of battered fish being fried. This shot was not on the TV1 version. As frames continue camera zooms out to show edge of frying pan.

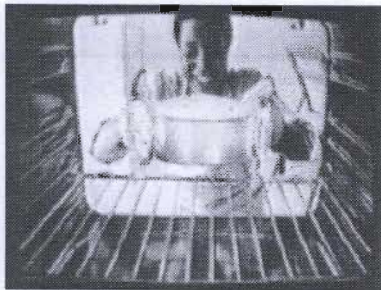
Shot 18: Cut to the same elderly black woman in blue dress who



was featured in the TV1 commercial in Shot 16. In this TV2/3 version the elderly black lady actually takes a spoonful from the bowl she is holding and eats it. (A cube of Rama can be made out on the surface of the food inside the bowl.) This suggests she has more authority in the household, while in the TV1 version her sighing actions and body language suggested inhibition. (Nevertheless, there is some ambiguity about this conclusion. Her actions in the TV1 version also harmonised with the words of the jingle: '...frying, sighing'. In the TV2/3 version one is left with a strong suggestion that she may be a grandparent. While in the TV1 version it seemed that she may have been a domestic. But due to the editing procedure, which had already established the principle of shots of whites being followed by blacks, this cannot be stated for certain. Also, obviously, no blacks were ever actually shown together in the same frame with whites in the TV1 version.)



Shot 19: Cut to a young black woman (the lady of this house) preparing a cake in the same kitchen which was shown being used by the white woman in the TV1 commercial. In this version there is a red and white table cloth over the table surface in the frame foreground. In the TV1 version it was a white table cloth. The same Defy stove can be made out in the background.



Shot 20: Cut to the cake being taken out of the oven. Photographed as in the TV1 version, only this time it is the black woman removing the cake.



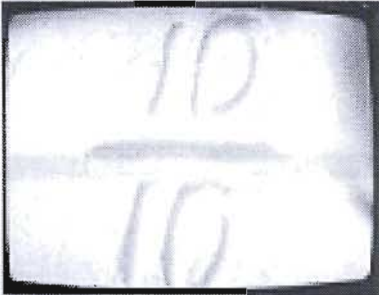
Shot 21: Cut to little black girl blowing out the candles of her birthday cake. She is dressed in pink and is blowing out five candles (though she looks younger).

Shot 22: Cut to same slice of dark brown bread being spread presumably with Rama, as in Shot 20 in the TV1 version.

Shot 23: Cut to a black boy of about four years wearing a yellow



and white striped shirt who is licking his fingers, no doubt after having eaten something sweet. Lighting is directed from left of frame.



Shot 24: Cut to CU of a tub of Rama with 10/10 carved on the surface. (The 10/10 seems rougher and more scraggly than in the TV1 version of this shot.) As frames continue to run, the lid with Rama soft logo is replaced onto the tub so that logo becomes dominant in frame.



Shot 25: Cut to closing pack shot of both tub and brick versions of Rama. As in TV1, but with: 'Ukunambitheka okuyintandokazi kuleli' Zulu copyline superimposed above. Shot against a neutral grey background.

**HOUSEWIFE CAMPAIGN Ia** (1987, first English version)**Audio**

**MVO:** We're asking housewives if South Africa's favourite taste can be bettered.

Interviewer: What sort of margarine have you just bought?

Housewife: Rama.

Interviewer: You always buy Rama?

Housewife: Always.

Interviewer: Wonder if you'd like to test your taste?

Housewife: Tastes like Rama.

Inter: Try plate number 2 and see what your reaction is to that.

H/wife: This is even better.

Inter: You turn the plate over and see what the product is.

H/wife: New Rama. It's much creamier, smooth...(tries to describe the smoothness with her hands).

Inter. as MVO: New Rama. Now South Africa's favourite taste tastes even better.

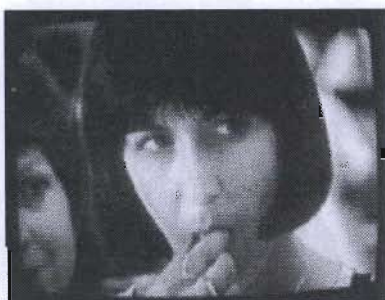
**Video**

Shot 1: The commercial opens with a white male interviewer asking a white housewife in a supermarket about her margarine purchase. The frame of the opening shot is subtitled: 'Ormonde Shopping Centre, Johannesburg', suggesting documentary authenticity.



Shot 2: Cut to head and shoulders MCU of housewife and interviewer. She fills most of the frame from left. Interviewer comes in from right of frame, holding a microphone in his right hand. In the partly out-of-focus background are the supermarket tills with mostly black shoppers and store personnel visible.

Shot 3: Cut back to similar framing as in Shot 1. Profile of interviewer is now more visible. Background is still out of focus and only dark-skinned people are visible.

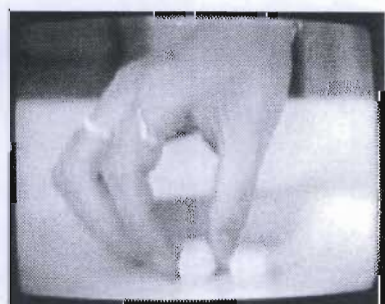


Shot 4: Cut to head and shoulders CU of housewife putting little piece of bread with Rama sample into her mouth. She is quite pretty with dark brown hair to just above her shoulders. She is wearing a white frock and has lots of rings on the fingers of her right hand. She has a gullible expression on her face as she answers the interviewer's questions about her margarine preferences. (Perhaps this woman is an example of the stereotypical depiction David Ogilvy (1986) warns advertisers against when he says 'the consumer is not a moron, she is your wife'.) In the background of this shot there are faces of other white women shoppers looking in left and right of frame, close behind the protagonist.



Shot 5: Cut CU to onlookers with their anticipating smiles waiting for the protagonist housewife's reaction. They are all white women. Camera frames a white housewife onlooker with large-framed spectacles, she is about same age as protagonist housewife.

Shot 6: CU of protagonist housewife with her head filling about whole frame. She says to the interviewer who is out of frame: 'tastes like Rama'. Face of another young woman onlooker comes in behind her at left of frame.



Shot 7: Cut to CU of plate with hand of protagonist housewife picking up second sample while interviewer says: 'Well let's move to plate number 2 and see what your reaction is to that one'. Camera pans to keep housewife's hand in frame as she is about to lift second sample from plate. Cut to next shot before she quite does so.



Shot 8: Cut to protagonist housewife putting second sample into her mouth. Background onlookers are still all white women, coming in from left of frame. There might be an out-of-focus black man with his back to the camera in the background at right of frame. As frames continue to run she smiles and says: "this is even better".

Shot 9: Cut to face of giggling white woman onlooker. She is framed CU in semi-profile looking to left of frame. This woman is somewhat too much the modelling agency conception of an advertising stereotype. Inadvertently, it seems, she is almost

bordering a caricature. Her lips are pulled back in a plastic smile which reveals her teeth. She has a smile which suggests that it might be residual from some previous assignment ... possibly a toothpaste commercial. She is wearing a large oval earring with a hole in it (her other ear is not visible).



Shot 10: Cut back to housewife and interviewer framed from above the waist up. Housewife is still standing at left of frame. Interviewer says to her: "You turn the plate over and see what it is".

Shot 11: CU of housewife's hand lifting the plate up and turning it over.

Shot 12: Cut to CU of housewife's head looking down at the plate which is out of the frame. She says: "New Rama".

Shot 13: Cut to ECU of white plate with 'NEW Rama' printed at the back in blue. The housewife's voice can be heard saying: "It's much creamier, ..."



Shot 14: Cut to CU head and shoulders of housewife looking to right foreground while completing her words (from Shot 13) to out of frame interviewer: "... smooth ..", as she lifts her hands up to visually describe the 'smoothness'.

Shot 15: Cuts to CU of slice of brown bread being spread with Rama (presumably) -- a very similar shot to the one used in 'Slipping and Sliding', 1986.



Shot 16: Finally, there is a shot of several loaves of bread with a tub pack and a brick pack of Rama in the foreground. Interviewers VO (who is out of frame in this shot) says: "Now South Africa's favourite taste tastes even better". This claim is reinforced by the copy line superimposed below the packs: 'South Africa's Favourite Taste'.



**HOUSEWIFE CAMPAIGN Ib** (1987, TV1 2nd English version)

**Audio**

Interviewer: Can South Africa's favourite taste be bettered?

Interviewer: Anything special?

Housewife: Not bad.

Interviewer: Let's go to plate number 2.

Woman: Second plate definitely.

Interviewer: Let's turn this plate over and have a look.

Interviewer (in chorus with onlookers): New Rama!

Housewife: It's got a lovely creamy taste.

**MVO** (same voice as interviewer): Now South Africa's favourite taste tastes even better.

**Video**



Shot 1: Camera opens with interviewer walking together with interviewee (white housewife No. 2) towards the sample. He is holding microphone in his hand. He asks housewife (and) the camera: "Can South Africa's favourite taste be bettered?". Cut to next shot. (This a further version of the comparison test between 'new' Rama and old Rama. It is being carried out in the same supermarket by the same interviewer as in the first 'housewife' commercial. The opening shots are subtitled 'Ormonde Shopping centre Johannesburg'. The 'look' of this commercial is slightly different as a warm tone filter has been placed over the camera lens. The second housewife is also white. She has light brown hair, whereas the housewife in the first commercial had black hair. The interview/test which follows has been honed down and made more succinct.)



Shot 2: Cut to first sample being picked up off one of the two plates. Housewife takes this sample from the plate on right of frame with her right hand. It is mid-shot from waist up, with her head out of the frame. Two small white children, a boy and a girl, are also framed in this shot standing by the table. They are in front of the housewife, the interviewer, and onlookers. The heads and most of the bodies of the grown up people are out of frame in this shot. The interviewer's arm is also coming into frame from top left hand corner. He is wearing a blue jacket and his hand seems to be adjusting the plate on the right or trying to ensure that housewife takes first sample from that plate. The two children just reach head and shoulders above table top level. They are staring intensely at the two plates with the little squares of bread with margarine. The little boy is wearing a top with

broad white and blue stripes and the little girl is wearing a pink top.



Shot 3: Cut to CU head shot of housewife. Her head comes in from left of frame, looking slightly downwards towards right of frame foreground as she chews the piece of bread with Rama. In the extreme right of frame the face of a middle aged black woman can be made out close behind the white housewife's head. A diffuse spot is directed onto the housewife's face from right foreground. Out of frame interviewer asks housewife: "Anything special?" Housewife: "Not bad". Interviewer: "Now lets go to plate number 2".



Shot 4: Cut to very short duration shot of an elderly woman onlooker in pink blouse. She seems somewhat the local casting agency's conception of the stereotypical supermarket junkie -- a caricature. She seems to be made up for the part with carefully applied lipstick and mascara to her brows and lashes. Next to her is a young black woman onlooker with a turquoise blouse, she is not sophisticated but rather ethnic looking, her hair is bushed but not straightened and she is wearing purple lipstick. This shot is carefully framed -- the elderly white woman is on the left of the frame but looking to the right in profile, her lighter coloured face thus leads the eye to the black woman's darker face which is slightly to the right of centre frame. The black woman's face thus grounds the composition. Neither face is unequivocally the dominant.

Shot 5: Cut to head shot of housewife. This time she is looking up towards left of frame as she says: "Second plate, definitely". Her head and neck fill virtually whole frame with top of frame border cutting across her forehead. Out of frame interviewer says: "Let's turn the plate over and have a look".

Shot 6: Cut to CU shot which shows the second plate turned over with 'New Rama' printed in blue on it. In the frame are also the two young children in front of the table who seem very intrigued with what is going on.



Shot 7: Cut back to the housewife. She is looking down, presumably at the back of the plate. At very right hand of the frame there is an elderly black woman with lightly gold framed spectacles. Her location in the frame and the subdued colour contrast on her face and clothing makes this black woman present without in any way competing for dominance.



Shot 8: Cut to the turned over plate and the housewife with other onlookers all in the frame say in unison: 'New Rama!'

Shot 9: Cut to housewife again, who adds: "It's got a lovely, creamy taste".

Shot 10: Cut to CU of a slice of dark brown bread being spread with what presumably must be Rama. We hear interviewer's voice over saying: 'South Africa's favourite taste now tastes even better.'



Shot 11: Cut to final shot of a tub and a brick of Rama set on a table with loaves of various types of bread in the background. There is a red table cloth and superimposed on the foreground in front of the packs is: 'South Africa's Favourite Taste'.

**HOUSEWIFE CAMPAIGN Ic (1st Zulu version)****Audio**

MVO:..... (in Zulu)

Interviewer:..... “

Young Housewife:..... “

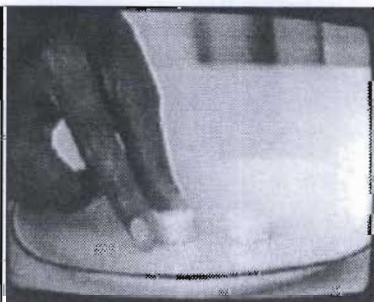
**Video**

Shot 1: The camera is directed toward the supermarket checkout tills and the lens is at about normal focal length. Most of the shoppers in the frame are black, only one or two whites can be made out. (The young white ‘housewife’ with black hair who, was interviewed in the first of this series, now seems to be filling in for this crowd shot. This suggests that she was probably a hired model and that both commercials may have been filmed on the same day.) A male voice over introduces what the commercial is all about, the black interviewer (different voice) asking his question also in Zulu.



Shot 2: In the next shot we see the respondent -- she is a young black housewife. She is charmingly innocent and naive, in many ways much like the first (white) housewife interviewed in this series (who seems to be filling in as a bystander for the opening shot). This suggests that the two might have been matched. She is wearing a very neat white frock and has simple gold wire earrings, we can see the black strap of her hand bag slung over her left shoulder in manner which indicates a natural style. The camera shows her facing the interviewer who is on the right hand of the frame. He is holding microphone in his hand. He presumably asks her in Zulu what margarine she has just bought. She says ‘i-Rama’.

Shot 3: Cut to a close up portrait shot of young black housewife as she is talking, she nods.



Shot 4: Cut to CU of a glass plate with two small cubes of bread covered with Rama. The frame only shows the plate and her hand picking up one of the samples.



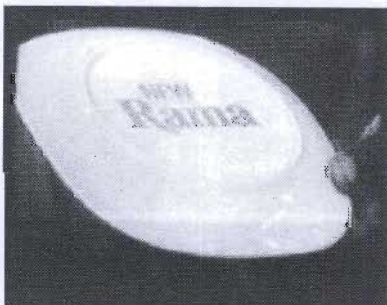
Shot 5: Cut to her putting the sample into her mouth and chewing it. In this head and shoulders shot we also see two white women, one on either side of her.



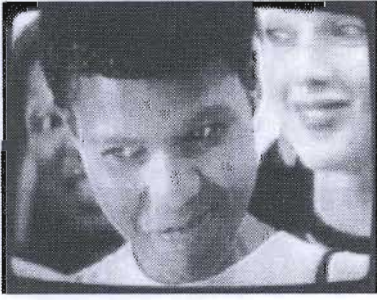
Shot 6: Cut to a medium long shot of the black housewife (left of frame) and the interviewer (right of frame), there are also several white women onlookers in the frame. She nods and her facial body language is to the effect that the sample tastes quite nice.



Shot 7: Cut to her looking down, about to try a sample from the second plate. We don't actually see the plate, just her putting the second sample into her mouth. Still with the same shot we see her facial expression developing, beaming, and smiling. This communicates her unreserved approval of the second sample. She says in Zulu the equivalent of 'Tastes even Better' and the interviewer repeats the results of the experiment -- that it tastes even better.



Shot 8: Cut to the plate being turned over to show printed in blue underneath -- 'New Rama'.



Shot 9: Cut to a further shot of the black housewife gesticulating over the taste of new Rama. Note the presence of an empathising white housewife looking from close behind, at upper upper right.

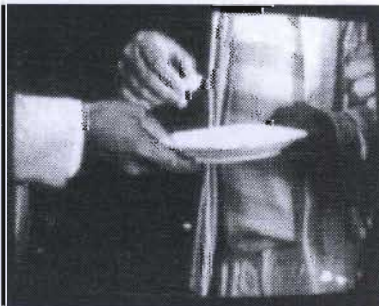
Shot 10: Cut to a CU of a dark slice of brown bread being spread with what presumably is Rama, at same time we can hear the voice- over of the interviewer continuing about new Rama.



Shot 11: Cut to (final) pack shot of the tub and brick versions of the product. (The interviewer's VO from Shot 10 continues over into this shot.) This is the same final shot used in all of the 'Housewife' series. There are various types of bread loaves in the background, there is a red table cloth, and superimposed on the foreground at the bottom of frame: UKUNAMBITHEKA OKUYINTANDOKAZI KULELI.

**HOUSEWIFE CAMPAIGN Id (2nd TV2/3 Zulu Version)****Audio** (In Zulu)**Video**

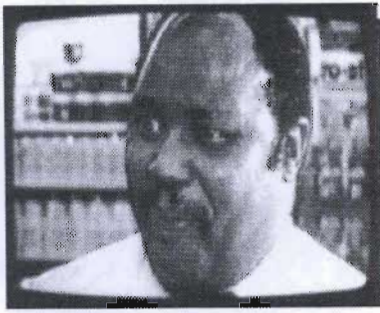
Shot 1: Cut to the same black interviewer as in the previous commercial approaching a family consisting of mother, father and their two sons. The children are spartanly dressed -- i.e. their clothes are clean and neat, not expensive looking, nor particularly new or very stylish. The man has an amiable face and is considerably bald. He is adorned to look above ordinary working class level but not too middle class. He is wearing a dark brown tie with his white long sleeved shirt with gold cufflinks. His light coloured trousers are supported with a black leather belt. He could be a supervisor on a factory floor as he appears to be someone who has made management level through years of honest sweat and patient angst. His wife is simple looking, honest and humble but very much a lady. The interviewer is walking with this group towards the camera and the table with the samples.



Shot 2: Cut to CU of plate with samples being held by interviewer's hand. His arm comes into frame from mid-left frame border. The hands of the various members of the family group are visible at the plate. They are taking the little square pieces of bread spread with the margarine sample. They are standing against a table covered with a red table cloth. This table obscures their bodies from about below the waist down. The upper border cuts at just below their shoulders, so no faces are visible in this shot.



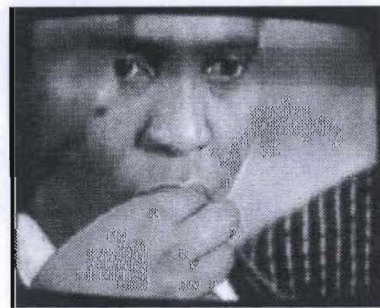
Shot 3: Cut to lady putting sample into her mouth and chewing it. The face of the interviewer is just visible, coming into frame from the left foreground and slightly out of focus. There is another black person at right of frame probably a woman, but most of her face is outside the top right of the frame.



Shot 4: Cut to husband for his reaction to the first sample. It is a portrait shot with his head filling about the whole frame. He gives a fairly affirmative verbal response to the taste.



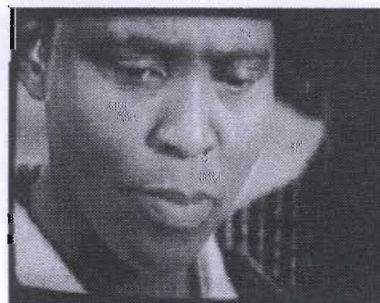
Shot 5: Cut to the second plate of margarine samples being held out. This shot is similar to Shot 2. Only the younger of the two sons is more within the frame -- his face is visible at top right as he picks his square of bread from the plate.



Shot 6: Cut to a shot similar to Shot 3. The woman is putting the second sample into her mouth and chewing it, as her eyes turn to left of frame cut to next shot.

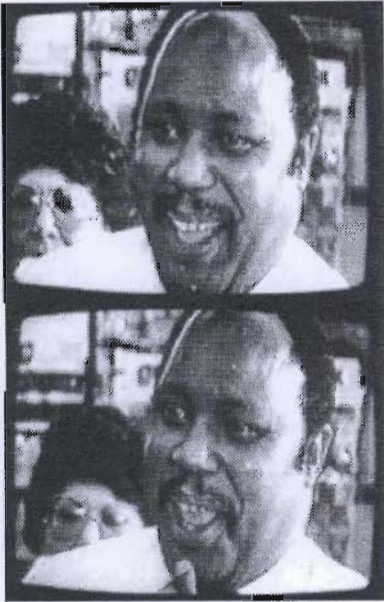


Shot 7: Cut to the younger of the two sons, wearing a light beige anorak. He also puts the second sample into his mouth.



Shot 8: Cut back to woman chewing. Her face is framed CU filling 3/4 of the frame from left of frame. The same person as in Shot 3 is at the right of frame, still with her face mostly out of frame. As frames continue to run, woman chews her sample and gives a positive response to its taste.





Shot 9: Cut back man chewing his second sample. He is framed head and shoulders. As frames continue to run his positive response becomes more visible. He also licks his lips.



Shot 10: Long shot of interviewer at left of frame, the family group is to his right and there are also some black onlookers behind them. They are standing by the table with red table cloth. On the table are the two empty plates and various loaves of bread at each end. All four members of the family point to the second plate on the left.

Shot 11: Cut to CU of the two empty plates on the table. The interviewer's hand coming in from mid-left is about to turn over the plate on the left. As frames continue to run the plate is turned over, not towards camera but towards the family group.

Shot 12: Cut to portrait shot of the woman looking down at the plate which is out of frame.

Shot 13: Cut to portrait shot of the man.



Shot 14: Cut to CU of plate turned over. This time the back of the plate is facing the camera. It fills the whole frame. The interviewer's hand coming in from bottom left of frame is holding plate. On the back of the plate is printed 'NEW Rama' in a blue typeface.

Shot 15: Cut back to man framed in portrait shot and smiling warmly.



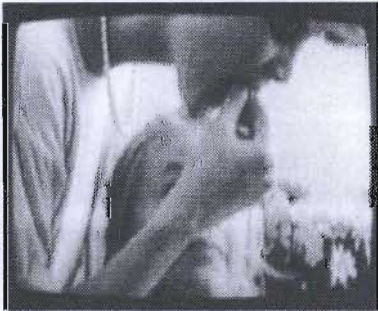
Shot 16: Cut to final shot. This is a still life shot featuring the two types of Rama pack, the tub version and the brick version. These are placed upon a red table cloth, similar to the red table cloth used on the samples table in the supermarket interview. There is some red of the table cloth in the frame foreground. The background is filled by various types of bread loaves. There is a butter knife at left of frame. The copyline: UKUNAMBITHEKA OKUYINTANDOKAZI KULELI becomes superimposed at the bottom of the frame.

**HURRAH MA - IT'S RAMA (1991)**

(TV1: Video for both English and Afrikaans)

**Audio**

It's the latest spread, delicious on bread  
 Give them good and plenty  
 Watch their plates get empty  
 Hurrah ma, it's Rama  
 South Africa's favourite taste  
 We'll melt it on their veges  
 It's so smooth and creamy  
 Wait until they taste it  
 Everybody's favourite  
 Hurrah ma, it's Rama  
 South Africa's favourite taste  
 Wait until they taste it  
 South Africa's favourite taste

**Video**

Shot 1: Opens with MCU of mother leaning over her young daughter. She is coming in from left of frame and is cropped by left and upper frame borders. Her daughter is close to her body with her back to her. They are both looking in the same direction (downwards to right) at some things on the table. Mother picks up a little helping of something tasty and puts it into her mouth with her right hand. Camera tilts to follow this action as young daughter looks up smilingly.



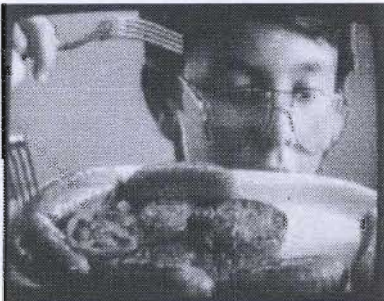
Shot 2: Cut to CU of Rama tub on a tray. On top left hand corner of frame there is segment of a brown plate with several pancakes. There is a floral lace type tray cloth. The Rama tub is a new updated version with new logo design. (The Rama tub package design/labelling has undergone considerable change -- without much fanfare about it. First updating seems to come at the time of the first 'Housewife' commercial, and the second updating comes in the present commercial.)

Shot 3: Cut to CU of a bread roll being spread with Rama. Held in what appears to be the woman's hand and coming in from left of frame. Butter knife is coming in from right of frame.



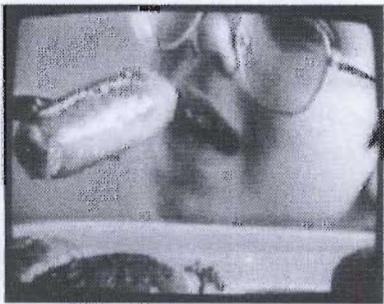
Shot 4: Cut to mother (just above the waist up) walking towards camera -- she is holding tray with a Rama tub and disk with bread rolls on it. Like virtually all the shots in the TV1 version of this commercial, this shot is very closely and precisely framed. Her left shoulder is cropped by the right hand frame. Mother lifts tray up higher as camera continues to hold her in frame.

Shot 5: Cut to CU appetite appeal/diverse food application shot of potato with cube of Rama melting in it.



Shot 6: Cut to CU of young boy with gold framed glasses. There is a white plate in the foreground which uses up the lower half of the frame space. There is a ring of sausages in this plate with a circle of tomato halves in the middle of the ring. The boy is about to pick up a sausage with his fork.

Shot 7: Cut to a further shot of the boy and the plate of sausages, composed similarly as in the frames of the shot discussed above. But now only two sausages, one tomato and a piece of parsley remain. We see there is also another hand with fork (besides that of the boy) busy at the plate.



Shot 8: Cut to even more CU of plate with sausages. Top of frame very tightly composed with just the boy's nose, and bespectacled eyes. This composition is held in frame for the duration of the shot while the boy picks up a sausage with his fork and puts it into his mouth.



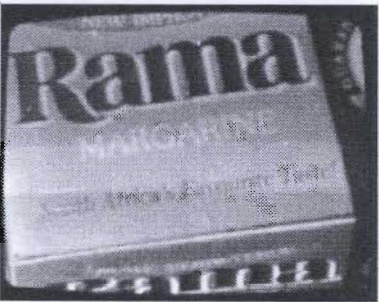
Shot 9: Cut to boy kissing his mother thanks. He is standing left of frame and holding her by the shoulders. Mother turns towards left of frame smiling with joy as her son recedes out of the frame.

Shot 10: Cut to ECU of part of a Rama brick with corner of wrapper being ripped off at right of frame. Wrapper continues to rip across top of brick as cut to next shot.

Shot 11: Cut to CU of mother coming in from left of frame. Only her mid-torso is visible in this further example of very precise, tight and yet stylish composition. She is wearing grey trousers and a pink top. She is carrying a Rama tub and toast rack with slices of toast on a tray. She places the tray on the table.



Shot 12: Cut to CU of father (portrait shot). Mother comes up from behind him and passes some dish by his face, tantalisingly. She glides it round as she also comes into the frame. A difficult shot to fully describe verbally and difficult to identify exact nature of the dish -- seems to be a shallow straw basket, possibly with some form of dessert on it.



Shot 13: Cut to CU of Rama brick with all copy on wrapper clearly readable on the TV screen. New Improved - Rama Margarine - South Africa's favourite taste.



Shot 14: Cut to father and Mom together. Father occupies 3/4 of frame from left hand side, mother occupies only about 1/4 of right of frame. Father's left shoulder above level of mother's left shoulder, mother being 'sheltered' by father's shoulder. This shot is brightly lit from right of frame, but there are fill in lights which provide full detail in shadow areas.

Shot 15: Cut to CU of pumpkin or squash segments with dab of Rama melting on them.

Shot 16: Cut to CU of green beans with dab of Rama melting on them.

Shot 17: Cut to CU of boiled carrots with dab of Rama melting on them.

Rama melting on top.



Shot 18: Cut to CU of pancakes covered with syrup and dab of  
 Shot 19: Cut to shot of the father and his two children. The father's head comes in from left of frame, in semi-profile. His hand is on the little daughter's shoulder and her face is below his. He is looking towards his son at right of frame, who is looking back towards his father. They are quite animated and moving -- camera fluidly and unobtrusively follows movement, keeping them in frame.

Shot 20: Cut to mom framed in a head and shoulders shot. White kitchen shelving in background. Camera tilts down to show mother's hands lifting toast rack with slices of toast in it.



Shot 21: Cut to CU of objects on table with segment of son's face coming in from right hand side of frame. Objects in frame include: a glass jar of honey or syrup and a pile of pancakes. Son lifts top pancake to his mouth (it has a dab of Rama melting on it). Camera follows his action as he bites into pancake ... a drop of syrup is visible running down from this pancake on to pile of pancakes below.



Shot 22: Cut to dad framed head and shoulders. His collar is open, with his neck and chin visible. In this composition he is coming into the frame from left top corner of frame. Mother is in centre of this frame, looking downwards. Father brings round a red flower to her face and comes more into the frame. Mother smiles in delight and turns towards father.



Shot 23: Cut to CU of circular 1 KG Rama tub. It is filling whole frame with its circumference first cut by the left frame border and the also at the right frame border as camera pans to the left in a very fluid motion. The lid is off the tub and a knife (coming in from right of frame) is scooping up Rama and moving in very close, progressively filling more of the frame space as cut to next shot.



Shot 24: Cut to portrait shot of little girl at the table. She is placing some food into her mouth. She is brightly lit from left of frame but once again there is ample fill-in light giving good detail in shadow areas. We see her chewing the bread roll as she looks up smilingly with her eyes towards someone out of frame.



Shot 25: Cut to mother smiling back (referred to by eyes of little girl at end of last shot) into her daughter's eyes and then looking down at the table, demurely.

Shot 26: Cut to table with loaves of bread -- Rye bread, kitke, and scones in straw basket in foreground.



Shot 27: Cut to shot of mom with dad. Mom is in profile from left of frame with dad looking down from right hand corner. Mom is holding the little red flower she has been given, and is perhaps about to kiss with dad ... who kisses on the left cheek.



Shot 28: Cut to final shot of 1 kg tub with loaf of kitke bread to left of frame, bread rolls right of frame etc. Superimposed

**HURRAH MA, IT'S RAMA (TV2/3)**

(TV2/3: same video for Zulu and South Sotho)

**Audio** (Zulu and S. Sotho versions)**Video**

Shot 1: Opens with CU of brown person's hand reaching out to take a finger full of some food. Camera follows movement and the person comes into the frame. She is wearing a yellow top. There is someone next to her wearing a similar top in pink, but camera is still too CU to frame their heads so that they can be identified. As frames continue to run, camera pans to frame black mother and daughter. Mother licks whatever food she has picked up with her finger (similar to TVI version). Daughter is looking up smilingly.

Shot 2: Cut to CU of the corner of a tray. There is a plate of pancakes coming in from top left hand corner of the frame. A Rama tub pack is on the tray, running diagonally across the frame. A brown hand, coming in from about top right hand corner of frame, is holding the pack. Camera rotates while framing pack closer.

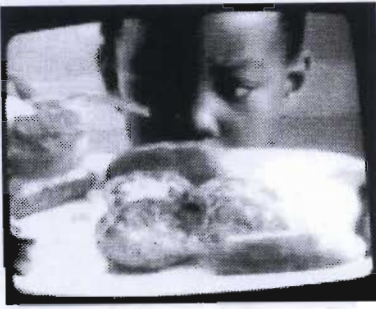
Shot 3: Cut to CU of open bread roll being spread with Rama. Bread roll is held by brown hand coming in from lower left frame corner. Butter knife is coming in from about mid-right hand of frame.



Shot 4: Cut to a dynamic shot where the people are in movement with the camera probing these movements to bring them into frame. Initially the young daughter is framed, on the left, and mother holding tray is on the right. Father is partly visible -- his shoulder coming in from right hand of frame. They all move and camera maintains them in frame until cut to next shot.

Shot 5: Cut to CU of potato with pinch of parsley and cube of Rama melting in it.





Shot 6: Cut to frame composition very similar to TV1 version of Shot 6. Low angle shot across table top. White plate fills lower half of frame. Black child (boy) is looking at this plate. He is very tightly framed -- the top of the frame cuts his head from above lower forehead, the edge of the table cuts his face from just below the nose. He is holding a fork with his right hand, coming in from left of frame. There are sausages in the plate, forming a ring. In the centre of this ring there is a circle of fried cut tomatoes with a pinch of parsley in the middle. As the frames continue to run, we see several forks attacking the sausages on the plate, depleting them. The little boy looks somewhat bemused, waiting for his chance to pick up a sausage with his fork.



Shot 7: Cut to even more CU of above shot, little boy is picking up sausage with his fork and placing it into his mouth.



Shot 8: Cut to the little boy is kissing his mother thanks. He is coming in from left of frame. Mother, who is still wearing her yellow top and a gold necklace, fills whole frame head and shoulders. In this TV2/3 version, the little boy is holding only her right shoulder, left of frame. Mother turns left of frame towards her son, smiling in delight as little boy retreats.

Shot 9: Cut to CU of Rama pack (brick) with corner being ripped open from right of frame.



Shot 10: Cut to dad filling whole frame head and shoulders. We can make out mother's shoulder which is just visible at bottom right frame. Father has pink shirt, moustache and slight beard. He is very refined black middle class. Slightly conservative ethnic, but ethnic in an almost European Latin sense! As shot continues to run, a straw plate with what appears to be some sort of dessert is brought into frame by mother and father helps himself to some.

Shot 11: Cut to CU of Rama pack (brick). Same shot as Shot 13 in TV1 version. We can clearly read on the TV screen the copy on the wrapper.



Shot 12: Cut to CU of mother and father with their heads close together. Father's head is coming in from upper left hand corner of frame. Thus framing is tight to the left of frame, there is some vacant space with out-of-focus background to the right of mother's head. Mother is holding the straw plate close to their faces and father is looking down on to it with his eyes almost shut. He picks up a roll and is about to put it to his mouth.

Shot 13: Cut to CU of portions of pumpkin with Rama melting on a pinch of parsley.

Shot 14: Cut to CU of steamed green beans with Rama melting on them.

Shot 15: Cut to CU of pile of pancakes covered with running syrup and a cube of Rama melting on them.

Shot 16: Cut to father and son together. Son's face partly cut by bottom left hand corner of frame, father is leaning down towards right of frame. He turns left towards son as son moves right and more into frame.

Shot 17: Cut to CU of Rama brick -- copy on wrapper is clearly readable on the TV screen. Camera pans around pack clock-wise.



Shot 18: Cut to low angle shot of son's face from across table top. There are various objects on the table: glass jar of honey/golden syrup, etc. Son is very tightly framed with top right of frame border cutting across the bridge of his nose and his right eye, left eye is fully within frame. He is lifting a pancake from the rest of the pile with both of his hands and taking a bite from it, syrup is running down onto the pile of pancakes below.



Shot 19: Cut to mother, tightly framed -- top of frame just above her eyes. She is wearing her yellow top, gold necklace and gold earrings. Father is wearing pink shirt and is standing behind her. His face is mostly obscured by her face and the shadow of her head. She is smiling with delight as the father has just given her a small red flower (just like the one used in the TV1 version). Father comes around from behind her to the right of frame, takes hold of both of her shoulders, and puts his head against hers as camera cuts to next shot.

Shot 20: Cut to CU of Rama 1KG tub. In this shot the left hand vertical of the frame border dissects the circumference of the tub. Remainder of tub is tightly framed but fully within frame. There is some vacant space between right of pack and right frame border. At top right hand corner, fingers holding a knife are visible (hand out of frame). Knife is scooping up Rama. Cut to next shot as knife lifts up wave of Rama towards camera.



Shot 21: Cut to a family portrait shot. Very tightly framed, but mother is not initially in frame. We see standing father with his children left of frame, his head is mostly out of the frame. He has his right hand on his daughter's shoulder and 2nd daughter with pink top is to his left (right of frame). 3rd Daughter (youngest) is in centre of frame in front of the one with the pink top, the little girl is looking up and clapping happily. Camera pans across to right to frame mother in her yellow top who is looking back, down at her youngest daughter. Mother has both her hands folded towards herself pointing to just above her breasts. Camera continues to pan until it frames her alone while she brings down her hands smiling animatedly at the camera.

Shot 22: Cut to CU of various baked items: at top of frame there is a loaf of rye bread with three cut slices, in the foreground a straw plate with about six baked scones. Camera pans across to right to bring into frame loaf of kitke bread.

Shot 23: Cut to CU of mother's face leaning towards left of frame and partly obscured at bottom corner of this side of the frame by father's out of focus shoulder. Mother is looking up and smiling broadly and moves more centrally into the frame.



Shot 24: Cut to shot of various baked items. Kitke bread is framed centrally in upper half of frame. Scones in straw plate are entering the frame from left hand side. Rye bread is visible at upper left corner of frame. Rama 1 KG tub is partly visible coming in from right hand of frame. Camera pans across to right to bring tub fully into frame as copy line in South Sotho becomes superimposed letter by letter at bottom of frame: THATOHATSI YA TATSO NAHENG ENA. Several bread rolls are also visible in foreground. Tub is finally framed off centre to right of frame, but dominant due to its light colouring and direction of lighting.

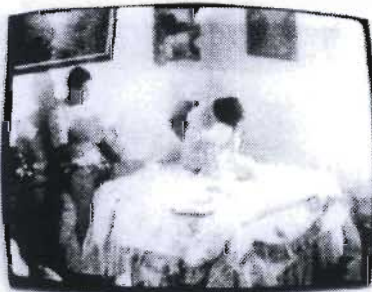


Zulu version of this commercial is visually the same as above, except for the last shot which has the Zulu copy line: INTANDOKAZI YOKUNAMBITHEKA KULELI, superimposed.

**EVERYBODY IS LOVING IT** (1992)

**Audio** (Jingle sang in a slow, lyrical style):

Everybody's loving it  
 Everybody's sharing it  
 Great new taste of new Rama  
 The natural fresh taste  
 Favourite taste  
 Tastes so great  
 Anytime  
 Anywhere  
 It's the taste of today  
 The natural fresh taste  
 The great taste of Rama  
 It's the taste you can share  
 It says that you care  
 Great taste of Rama  
 Great taste of new Rama

**Video**

Shot 1: Opens with wide shot of bedroom. A young couple -- father, mother and baby are on a bed together (white nuclear family). Father is on the right hand side of the bed (near the left frame border), leaning against the walls with his back on a pillow. Mother is on the opposite end, also near the wall, but leaning forward over the baby (possibly she has just changed a nappy). She is kissing the baby's feet. The walls of the bedroom seem to be painted in a pink tone. There is a large rectangular, horizontally composed painting over the bed, possibly a river or lake scene. There are two further paintings on each corner of the wall, also large and rectangular but vertical compositions with more ornate frames. The bedspread tends towards cottage style with a frilly pleated border. A curtained window partly comes into frame at right frame border with soft light streaming in over the light cream coloured curtain. A soft focus filter has been used. Camera slowly zooms in to medium shot framing bed as fade to next shot.



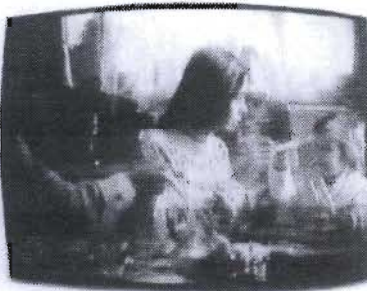
Shot 2: Fade to CU of mother holding up baby's feet and playing with them near her face. Shot is closely framed - mother coming in from left of frame, her head looking down from upper frame border with her chin at centre of frame. Baby's legs come into frame from lower frame border with little feet reaching almost to mother's chin. Mother is wearing a cream polo neck jersey. She has brown hair, is wearing lipstick and has gold rings on index fingers of both hands. Fades to next shot.



Shot 3: Fade to CU (head portrait shot) of mother looking into baby's eyes. Mother's head comes into frame from left of frame, her face reaching to about middle of frame and is a little less than 3/4 profile. She is holding the baby up with its head coming in from bottom right hand corner. Baby's face looks towards mother, thus looking away from camera. Background is out of focus but filled with a warm grey tone. Mother has her mouth open and is smiling at baby. As frames continue, mother lifts up baby closer and kisses it as fade to next shot.



Shot 4: Fades from last shot to CU of Rama tub (round pack) shot from above the lid and coming in from right frame border. As frames continue, camera pans right bringing Rama tub fully into frame. Camera continues to pan right until tub begins to go out of left frame border. It is the new Rama pack with "NEW IMPROVED" printed in small red upper case, above the large "R" of Rama (NEW IMPROVED/RAMA/SOFT MARGARINE). As camera continues to pan to the right, next shot begins to fade in.



Shot 5: Fade in from last shot to a medium shot of what appears to be a nuclear family morning breakfast scene. Again a young white family is featured, in what appears to be their kitchen. Father seems to be the person coming in from left frame border (he seems to be rather dark skinned so there is a suggestion that this could be an interracial family, but this could be the lighting). Mother is sitting at the table at about mid right frame, with child just inside of mid right frame border. Mother has long straight light brown hair and is wearing what seems to be a knitted white jersey with a black pattern. The child is wearing a white towel robe and is fair haired. This is a soft focus shot taken against the light which is coming in from a window which fills upper 1/3 of the frame horizontally. The colours are warm toned and muted. As frames continue, camera pans slightly right as fade to next shot.



Shot 6: Fade to MCU of mother and child (about 2 to 3 years old). Mother's head comes into frame from upper left corner. Child comes in from right of frame. Mother has her mouth open to eat a slice of food that the child is holding up to her with his right hand. Child is wearing a towel robe as in previous shot and looking in profile. He has light brown to blond hair and red cheeks. Mother is facing camera and looking downwards in this shot. It is a CU shot so there is little background (light brown and indistinguishable). As frames continue, mother takes a bite from slice which she is offered and begins to chew as fade to next shot.



Shot 7: Fade to CU of child alone, looking from right of frame and with animated expression with mouth wide open - excited at the fact that mother has eaten the slice he offered her. He is still holding the remaining piece with his hand coming in from right of lower mid frame. As frames continue, he turns right to face camera as fade to next shot.



Shot 8: Fade to CU of young black child sitting at the breakfast table while mother is packing his/her lunch box. In the frame composition the child is situated with head in upper half of mid frame. A brown CNA-type school case comes in from lower half of left frame border. Mother's two hands come in from mid left frame border, holding white plastic lid of a yellow lunch box. The child has a happy smile and is looking to left of frame towards the lunch box. She is wearing gold-rimmed glasses and a school uniform. In the background still in sharp focus, behind her head, is the wooden back of the kitchen chair she is sitting on. The further background is an indistinguishable neutral grey to brown. This shot is also warm toned but sharper focus and brighter than the way breakfast scene in Shot 5 was filmed. As frames continue, child turns right of frame as she places a clear plastic bottle, containing what appears to be orange juice, into school case. Fades to next shot.



Shot 9: Cut to medium CU of mother leaving her child at the school. Child fills just under 2/3 of frame from left of frame from waist up with head reaching upper frame border. She is facing camera, looking down towards whatever her mother giving her. Mother comes in left frame border with her head leaning in from upper frame. She has her hand touching the school case handle which comes in from lower frame. She seems to be giving child some pocket money. She is looking downwards in profile. In the out of focus background there are more school children with their backs to the camera, walking towards school. These children are white: the one on the left has brown hair, while the one on the right has light blond hair. It appears that this may be a private school. As frames continue, black child smiles taking whatever is being given and turning to walk away into the background in the direction of the other children. Mother is still leaning into frame, now from right frame border. She is wearing an expensive-looking long-sleeved blue dress with a small white pattern. She also has gold earrings on, a gold wristwatch, and a pearl necklace. As frames continue, mother straightens up going out of left frame border as fade to next shot. Shot 10: Fade to CU head and shoulders shot of child at first facing camera, then turning while waving goodbye (apparently to mother who is out of frame). The shot is backlit but there is fill in light on the child's face (probably from a reflector).



Shot 10: Fade to head and a shoulders shot of child, at first facing camera, then turning while waving goodbye (apparently to her mother, who is outside of the frame). The shot is backlit but there is fill-in light on the child's face (probably from a reflector). The child's face can be accurately described in this shot: has a broad smile; is wearing finely gold-rimmed spectacles (fashionably styled and yet appropriate for a school child); is wearing a blue blazer with blue and white checkered dress or shirt underneath. The shot is taken with lens at telephoto at wide aperture therefore background is quite out of focus. As frames continue, shot fades to next.



Shot 11: Fade to CU of round Rama tub on wooden table. Tub is positioned at about centre of the frame with its lid sliding off towards bottom right frame corner. In the background behind the tub is a plate with a bowl of cereal on it. There seem to be two or three slices of brown wholewheat bread coming in from upper half of left frame border. The shot is warm yellow toned. As frames continue, camera pans to right as fade to reveal next shot.



Shot 12: Fade to medium to long shot of young white couple sitting on a blanket by a tree near a lake with an open picnic basket. There is also a straw bowl of apples on the ground near the picnic basket (two red apples and three green ones). Camera is slowly zooming in while the young woman is serving up a plate of food from the picnic basket. She hands this plate of food to her boyfriend. She is wearing a short-sleeved brown tee-shirt top, tight faded blue shorts and is sitting cross-legged next to her boyfriend. As she hands him the plate of food she places her right hand on his knee, then runs her left hand down the lower part of his leg to his foot. She has dark blond hair. The guy is very fair-skinned with a reddish complexion and brown to reddish hair. He is wearing a light blue shirt over faded denim jeans. The background is filled with green vegetation which is also reflected in the water of the lake in the right of the frame. Fades to next shot.



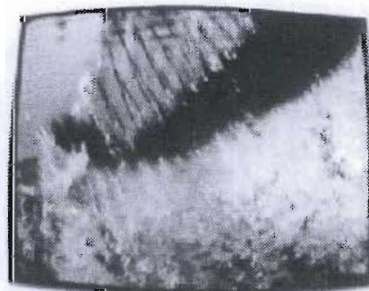
Shot 13: Fade to head and shoulders CU of young woman featured in Shot 12. She is looking just off profile from right of frame to left. Her face is at the middle of the frame, with her right shoulder coming in from left frame border. As frames continue, she leans to left of frame with camera panning left to follow her movement and frame her kissing her boyfriend on the mouth, at about centre of frame: his head now comes in from upper left of frame, while her head comes in from upper right of frame. (Well-balanced symmetrical frame composition.) Fades to next shot.



Shot 14: Fade to medium shot of girl and her boyfriend walking together towards camera. She is at left of frame and he at right with his right hand on her shoulder. She has her right hand on his chest. The background is out-of-focus green leaves. The shot is backlit with light coming in from left background, highlighting the right hand side of their faces (at left of frame). As they continue walking she relaxes her hand and lets it slide down from his chest as fade to next shot.



Shot 15: Fade to father and son (whites) fishing together by a lake or river bed. Father comes in from right of frame with son next to him at about mid frame. They are both facing camera, looking to the left at 3/4 angle, and their fishing rods are going out of left frame border. The boy is wearing a flannel shirt with blue tartan pattern. He has a knitted balaclava type cap on his head but with sides rolled up so that his flaxen blond hair is visible. The father has brown hair and a moustache and is wearing a flannel shirt with red tartan pattern. The background is mostly made up of the shimmering water surface, except for a green vertical strip of vegetation (river bank or side of lake) at upper right of frame, behind the father's back. As frames continue, it seems that the boy has hooked a fish: he winds in vigorously on his coffee grinder type reel with an excited smile on his face. Father also clenches his right fist in excitement. Fades to next shot.

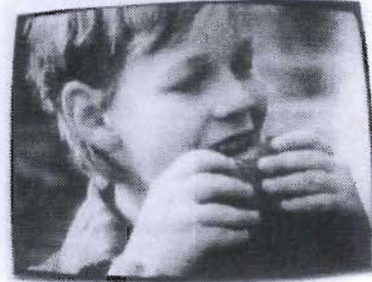
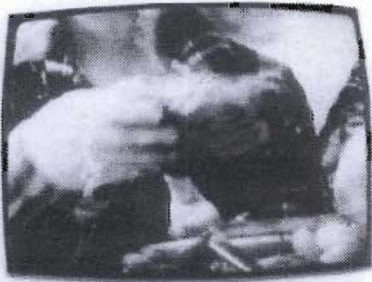


Shot 16: Fade to CU very fast action shot of fish being netted out of the water. The first part of the shot (as the net is breaking out of the surface of the water at lower part of the frame) is of almost subliminal duration, thus one only becomes aware of the dark form of the fish inside the lower part of the net as it is about to go horizontally out of upper frame border. The lower 2/3 of the frame are filled with water turbulence created by the swish of the net, and by water still running out of the net. The shot is slightly blurred due to the speed of the action. As splashing water clears from the screen, next shot is revealed.



Shot 17: Fade in shot of father clasping his right hand over his son's right shoulder and holding him tightly near his chest, with his face close to his. This is apparently in affection for his son's achievement in catching the fish landed in the previous shot. In this frame composition father comes in from right of frame, with his head looking down from right upper frame border. Son's face is at about middle of the frame, looking towards camera and smiling with his eyes closed. Father's face is looking downwards in profile, partly obscuring son's face. The background is made up of muted out of focus colours, indicating that this is a tele shot at wide aperture. Part of a fishing rod runs across lower right half of frame. Fade to next shot.





Shot 18: Fade to CU of son taking a brown wholewheat sandwich out of a painted metal lunch box (biscuit tin). Son's chest fills almost whole frame from upper left frame border. Lunch tin comes in from lower right frame corner. Some green grapes are also visible in the lunch tin. As frames continue, son lifts up sandwich, holding it with both hands, while looking up right towards father who is out of frame. Camera tilts up to frame son's head as he brings up sandwich to his mouth and takes a bite. Dissolves to next shot.



Shot 19: CU head and shoulders slow motion shot of young black man floating from left of frame to right. He is dressed in graduation gown and has apparently just graduated. He is wearing spectacles and has his mouth wide open in an elated/ heady expression. He is running down stairs through a crowd of people: there is a woman with straight blond hair with her back to the camera at right of frame, and there is someone's out of focus shoulder at lower left frame corner. As frames continue he moves to right of frame, passing these people as more expressions of elation run through his face - he seems to be talking to someone who is ahead out of frame. He is wearing a white or light blue shirt and a dark tie under his graduation gown, and has a red ribbon with a black stripe across his neck. He is still framed head and shoulders. He seems to be running towards someone special... Dissolve to next shot.



Shot 20: Dissolve to young black woman framed head and shoulders facing camera but looking to just left of frame. She is wearing a broad-rimmed black hat and white blouse under a shiny black jacket top. She has bright red lipstick on her lips and large silver earrings on her ears. She has a wide open-mouthed smile. As frames continue, the young black graduate from Shot 19 comes into frame from left frame and she embraces him. She places both her hands on his back over the red graduation ribbon which hangs down his back in a vee. Her eyes are looking towards camera above his left shoulder. Dissolve to next shot.



Shot 21: Dissolve to shot of the two different versions of Rama pack on a wooden table top. First, from lower left of frame, comes the large round tub, then the large gold foil-wrapped brick version, at lower right of frame. In the background, coming in from upper left of frame is a round straw basket containing fruit (two red apples are prominent, and possibly there are some oranges). Next to this basket are some whole-wheat rolls on a tray, at just right of frame. There is also some lettuce on this tray, and some red tomatoes, at upper right frame border. As frames continue, camera zooms in slightly closer. Copy line then fades in: NEW RAMA./ SOUTH AFRICA'S FAVOURITE TASTE. Cut to balck.

**JUST ONE BITE AND YOU KNOW ITS RIGHT (!994)**

**Audio** (Jingle sang in a male South “Afro-American” accent):

Just one bite  
 just one bite  
 And you know you’re right  
 Rama (chorus)  
 Right on your mealies  
 Right on your peas  
 Right on your peas (female chorus)  
 Right on your potatoes  
 Wherever you please

Wherever you please (female chorus)

**MVO:** The sunflower goodness of Rama with vitamins A and D brings out the best in your food.

Rama, Rama

Just one bite  
 just one bite  
 And you know you’re right  
 Rama  
 Just one bite  
 just one bite  
 And you know you’re right

**MVO:** Yes, you know you’re right with Rama

**Video**

## Scene One



Shot 1: Opens with close-up of young black kid dressed with the latest fashion in street gear -- knitted red cap and yellow jersey with red decal. He is street dancing a hybrid rhythm -- something between American rap and township gumboot. Male voice over in American/West Indian/ South African black accent: ‘Just one bite, just one bite ....’.



Shot 2: Camera cuts very quickly from above shot to mid-shot of same boy dancing, behind him is a predominantly blue street mural painted upon a wall. Camera pans down a little to show the boy's leg movements.



Shot 3: Camera now cuts to a second boy also street dancing, with same wall mural behind him. This boy is about the same age but is wearing a blue sweater and a grey knitted woolen cap with a buckle on it, he is eating a slice of bread presumably with Rama.



Shot 4: We now see a full length body shot of both of the black boys dancing together. This long shot allows us to take in more of the context. We can see the blue background mural with various slightly abstract but still iconic designs on it. Both boys are wearing high-tech style white running shoes. We can now also make out their clothing more clearly -- they are both dressed in the very latest gear.

#### Scene Two



Shot 5: Cuts to a CU of two men, one white and one black, both wearing office shirts. The former light purple coloured, the latter light blue. The white man is on the left of the frame but is mostly obscuring his face with his hand, so the black man is more dominant. The black man is using a plastic knife to apply Rama (from a tub) onto a cooked mealie.

Shot 6: Camera now cuts to a shot of a circular Rama tub on red background. This is very close up -- the top and bottom sides of the frame cut the edges of the circumference of the round tub.

Shot 7: Cut to a big close up of boiled mealie with piece of melting Rama rolling down the seeds, almost like a rock avalanche down a cliff face.



Shot 8: Cut to a close up of a black man with dark jacket/white shirt who is also eating a mealie. We see his eyes looking downwards from the upper part of the frame. The mealie runs horizontally along the lower part of the frame, just above bottom frame border. Camera continues to hold him in frame while he moves mealie away from his mouth and is shown chewing and relishing the taste.



Shot 9: Cut to a long shot of this black man dancing with the two men depicted earlier (the black man is wearing a light blue shirt and the white man is wearing a light purple shirt). These three office workers are dancing the gumboot rap together. The context is a business district city scene, probably Johannesburg. On the left of the frame is a stall selling cooked mealies. (This denotes informal business sector.) The stall has a curved yellow corrugated plastic roof (in mealie shapes) and this same curved corrugated material is on the sides of the stall. (The design concept of this stall suggests that informal trading can potentially develop from the rudimentary stage to a higher tier of sophistication which uses package design strategy to communicate to its customers.) There seems to be a post-modern office block behind them. A black woman leans out of the mealie stall and waves to them as they are dancing.

Shot 10: Cut to a big close up of peas with a spoon in them and a dab of melting Rama. The spoon is lifted out filled with peas and melting Rama.

### Scene 3

Shot 11: Cut to a steadycam shot which begins in a telephoto CU of a black woman in what appears might be a playground. She is quite glamorous with plaited hair. She is wearing a yellow jersey beneath an open waist coat. Camera pans out from right of frame to left to show in succession two more black women next to her and zooms to wider angle -- the surrounding context is now encompassed within the frame. We now have confirmation that the scene is of a playground -- there is a slide and there are also some white children in the more soft focus background. In the group of three black women, the one in the centre who is dressed in bright blue coat with red scarf/lapel is a very fat. The woman at the left of frame is wearing a navy blue dress with a small white oval-like pattern. She has some type of head gear on.



Shot 12: Cut to a close up of a brick of Rama. Knife coming in from upper right of frame is cutting off the top right hand corner of brick.



Shot 13: Cut to CU of the middle-aged woman from Shot 11 who is very fat with puffy face. She is eating a mealie, and making extreme but quite jolly facial expressions.

Shot 14: Cut to CU of cut baked potato with dab of Rama melting in it.



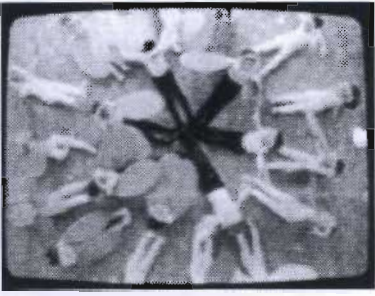
Shot 15: Cut to mid shot of fat black woman with bright blue coat and red lapel/scarf. She is holding a mealie with red plastic plate underneath it, next to her right of frame is the first woman (Shot 11) with plaited hair. She is also holding a plastic plate and eating something at the end of a fork. We can see the playground slide in the background. The women are also dancing the gumboot rap.

Shot 16: Cut CU of a brown bread roll being broken in half.

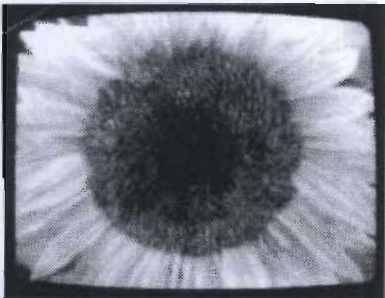
Shot 17: Cut CU of this roll being spread with Rama by knife held by a brown person's hand.



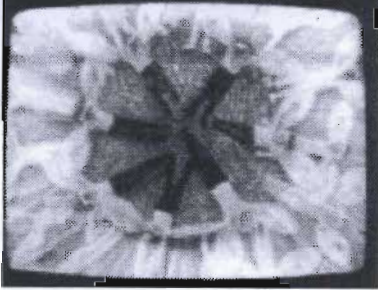
Shot 18: Cut ECU of this brown bread roll being eaten by black boy. We never see his whole face as the shot is very CU. The frame dissolves to the next shot.



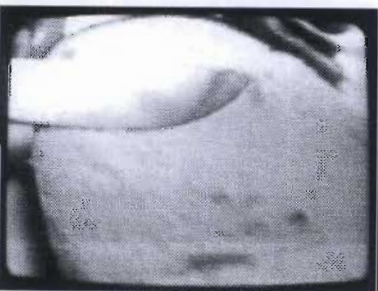
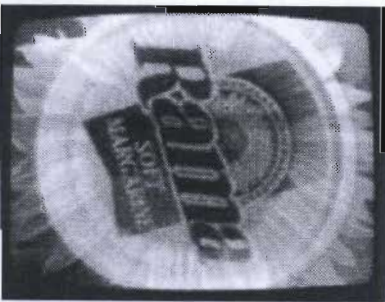
Shot 19: Dissolves from previous shot into a rosette of Rama men in yellow track suits with large green leaves for each arm. The six men in the middle of rosette have black trousers. As they stretch out to form full rosette they turn their green arm leaves over to show reverse side which is yellow -- forming one large sunflower of about 20 people. This shot dissolves again.



Shot 20: Dissolves from previous shot of human sunflower to a real sunflower.

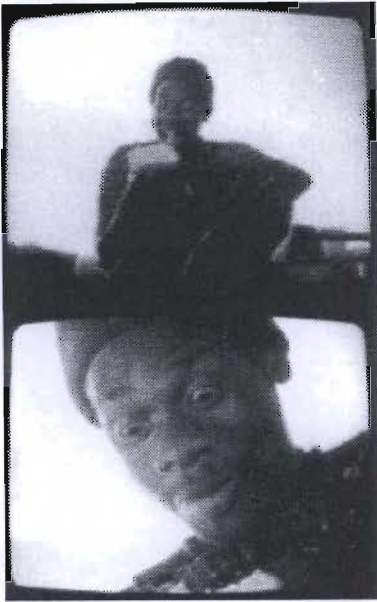


Shot 21: Sunflower dissolves again into a circular tub of Rama, with its label design on lid. This circular tub rotates inside the frame.



Shot 22: The previous shot now dissolves to CU shot of slice of white bread being spread with Rama. It is very close up so that slice fills whole frame, but we can just make out the thumb and forefinger of a black person's hand holding the slice at the left of frame.

## Scene 4



Shot 23: Camera now cuts to a waist up shot of a black man (worker) eating the white slice of bread spread with Rama. He is seated somewhere high up above, which the next shot confirms to be an advertising billboard. It seems that the evening sky is the background to this shot. This is steadycam shot -- camera zooms in to a CU of his face which it holds in frame to show the transformed expression on his face, brought about by the consumption of Rama (the fact that it contains vitamins A and D has now become part of the advertising claim). His face literally lights up and his eyes open wide with the whites showing. After having zoomed in the manner described above camera cuts (almost imperceptibly) to next shot.



Shot 24: Cut from last shot which had zoomed in onto the workman's face to a zooming out shot of him standing and dancing atop of the billboard. He has his arms out in the air in front of himself, as if he is balancing on a surfboard, while at the same time keeping the rhythm of the music with his hands. He is wearing work dungarees over a dark red tee shirt. There is a jacket lying on top of the billboard to his right (left of frame) and his wooden tool box to his left (right of frame). As camera zooms out further it is revealed that the huge billboard he is standing on is actually built in the form of a bread slice and painted yellow.



The 'Just one bite and you know its right' claim is written on the yellow actuality billboard/bread slice, and there also is a Rama pack (brick) at the right. On the top right hand corner of this huge actuality billboard is a missing chunk denoting a bite. There is a ladder leaning against the slice on left of frame. The worker is standing on top of the slice. We now see the Johannesburg cityscape in the background behind the slice: it is evening. The worker has become transformed (from his bite of Rama) and is dancing on top of the billboard.

## Scene 5



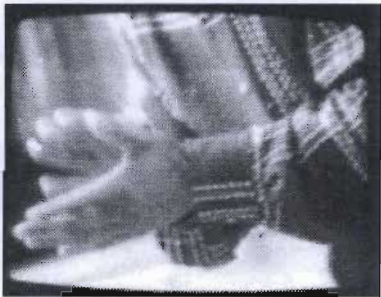
Shot 25: Cut to a man who is framed head and shoulders inside a kitchen/dining place. He is relaxed and post black liberation SA middle class in stereotyping -- sort of SA Cosby level. He is wearing a casual shirt with red and white lines. He is biting a mouthful from a slice of white bread spread with Rama. Steadycam zooms in to CU of his face and the slice. We see



transformation effect of Rama as he turns his head to the left.



Shot 26: Cut to head and shoulders shot of black child. Very well lit. He is sitting on a wooden chair, wearing a yellow sweater and eating a slice of bread with Rama with both hands. He turns his head to right of frame and we see the transforming effect of a bite of Rama.



Shot 27: Cut to a CU of the same man with blue shirt with red and white stripes. Only part of his chest and arms and hands are visible, (they fill the whole frame) as he claps the gumboot rap.



Shot 28: Cut to wide angle shot which shows more of the kitchen. We now also see the lady of the house present, on left of frame. The kitchen table is laid out with plates, bread etc. It is quite an upmarket kitchen -- connoting wealth. We can see the lady of the house -- beautiful young black woman with plaited hair and very fashionably dressed. Next to her is their young son dressed in yellow. All three are dancing the gumboot rap. Camera pans to the right and we now see young daughter dressed in blue also clapping.



Shot 29: Camera cuts to CU of mother biting a slice of bread with Rama. Zooms back slowly and we see her expression being transformed.



Shot 30: Cut to CU of Rama tub on a red background. Camera slowly pans upward till tub fills whole frame.



Shot 31: Camera cuts to CU of young child, about two and a half years, sitting on a high red painted wooden chair. He also has a slice of bread with Rama in his hand.



Shot 32: Cut back to shot of mother and son dressed in yellow. Camera pans to show son clapping joyously.



Shot 33: Camera now cuts to CU of young daughter eating slice of bread with Rama.



Shot 34: Cut back to father standing by the kitchen table and dancing. Mother and young son are at left of frame, camera pans right to also capture father and daughter in frame.



Shot 35: Final shot. Cuts back to young child in high red chair. Mid-shot showing him sticking his tongue out and clapping the rap. A shot of tub and brick packs of Rama is superimposed on the right hand of the frame -- they seem to be floating and rather 3D. Below, in hand written white script is the copy line (advertising concept): Just one bite and you know you're right! The little boy continues to clap and is very healthy looking.