

# Discourse & Society

<http://das.sagepub.com>

---

## **The Discourse of Western Marketing Professionals in Central and Eastern Europe: Their Role in the Creation of a Context for Marketing and Advertising Messages**

Helen Kelly-Holmes

*Discourse Society* 1998; 9; 339

DOI: 10.1177/0957926598009003003

The online version of this article can be found at:  
<http://das.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/9/3/339>

---

Published by:



<http://www.sagepublications.com>

**Additional services and information for *Discourse & Society* can be found at:**

**Email Alerts:** <http://das.sagepub.com/cgi/alerts>

**Subscriptions:** <http://das.sagepub.com/subscriptions>

**Reprints:** <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsReprints.nav>

**Permissions:** <http://www.sagepub.co.uk/journalsPermissions.nav>

**Citations** <http://das.sagepub.com/cgi/content/refs/9/3/339>

# The discourse of western marketing professionals in central and eastern Europe: their role in the creation of a context for marketing and advertising messages

**Helen Kelly-Holmes**

ASTON UNIVERSITY

---

**ABSTRACT.** It is principally through western media and marketing professionals that new, 'capitalist' and market discourses have been brought to the former centrally planned economies of central and eastern Europe. Such discourses have not only come to play a ubiquitous role in these countries, but have also acted as media of social and economic change. The producers of such market discourses teach citizens the language of the market, its processes and rituals, how to interpret its advertising, the symbolism of consumption and how to participate in the process of consumption. A major feature of this process has been the proselytizing attitude of many media companies, who see their role as that of bringing the new ideology of consumption to the countries of the former eastern bloc. The objective of the study is to examine what these marketers and advertisers are saying about the necessity for an ideologically compatible context and intertextual sphere within which their texts can be received; what their discourse tells us implicitly and what they themselves tell us explicitly about the operation of a dominating, hegemonic discourse on an everyday basis.

**KEY WORDS:** advertising discourse, hegemonic discourse, market discourses, media discourse

---

## INTRODUCTION

There is today in the world a dominant discourse, or rather one that is on the way to becoming dominant . . . This dominating discourse often has the manic, jubilatory, and incantatory form that Freud assigned to the so-called triumphant phase of mourning work. The incantation repeats and ritualizes itself, it holds forth and holds to formulas, like any animistic magic. To the rhythm of a cadenced march, it proclaims: Marx is dead, communism is dead, very dead, and along with it its hopes, its discourse, its theories and its practices. It says: long live capitalism, long live the

market, here's to the survival of economic and political liberalism. (Derrida, 1994: 38)

One of the inevitable consequences of the collapse of the planned economies of central and eastern Europe has been the banishing of a rival, alternative discourse to the sidelines in many spheres of economic, cultural and political thought. In its place, the dominant or dominating discourse has indeed proclaimed the triumph and legitimacy of the market. It seemed that a turning point, a fundamental break with the past dichotomy of Left and Right had been reached in the discourse of the market; for some—most prominent among these Fukuyama (1992)—it was more of a dead-end, the end of a search for alternative forms of socio-economic order and the accompanying grand narrative. The ideology of consumption and self-actualization through lifestyle purchase seemed to have been vindicated, and consumers and the producers of market discourses could now be comforted by the fact that the alternative had been disproven in what was now seen as a brief and ultimately flawed exercise. As Jameson states,

Everyone is now willing to mumble, as though it were an inconsequential concession in passing to public opinion and current received wisdom (or shared communicational presuppositions) that no society can function efficiently without the market. (Jameson, 1991: 263)

The rush to fill the vacuum left behind by 'socialism' and 'communism' has been led by marketers and entrepreneurs, and, as Cook (1992: 16) predicted, advertising and other 'capitalist' discourses have become more widespread in the countries of the former 'Soviet Bloc'.

However, the discourse has not been entirely one-way. It may have taken marketing and advertising agencies some time to discover that it was in fact an ideological vacuum that they were inhabiting, but the realization gradually dawned that in order for their messages to be successful, the correct context would have to be created for them.

While carrying out a study in Leipzig in 1994 investigating the new ubiquity of advertising and market discourses in the former East Germany,<sup>1</sup> what was most striking was the awareness among advertising, marketing and media professionals of what can be described as the macro task; in other words, the creation of a context and intertextual sphere within which their advertising texts could function. Advertising is always carefully planned in minute detail with an above-average awareness of the extra-lingual task. But advertisers and marketers operating in East Germany were not only very aware of the micro strategy, in terms of a particular campaign, but also of the macro task, in terms of restructuring the economy as a whole and implementing the process of consumerization. As one West German banking executive put it, 'Our task is to turn those brought up under communism into fully-functioning capitalists' (Waller, 1992). In addition, the advertisements examined in the study not only treated the advertisees in the former East Germany in a patronizing and superior way and undermined their pre-reform experience, they also assumed the given of the market and the consumer society. Based on these

observations, a more in-depth investigation promised valuable insights into this phenomenon.

The aim in this paper is to examine the discourse of marketing, advertising and media professionals and commentators operating in central and eastern Europe to find evidence of their awareness of the triumphal discourse of 'capitalism' and of their role in constructing an intertextual sphere and ideologically compatible context based on the texts of this discourse within which their advertising and marketing messages could function, thus demonstrating that the adoption of western-style advertising practices depended on the prior active construction and dissemination of market ideology (the macro task) through the micro level of the marketing practitioner.

#### SOCIALIZATION, CONSUMERISATION, INTERTEXTUALITY AND CONTEXT

In the market society, the social conditions for the production and consumption (Fairclough, 1989) of marketing and advertising texts are present due to the existence of the institutions of the market and its discourses which not only assume but also reinforce the status quo of the consumer society. As Fairclough states, 'discourse and practice in general . . . are both the products of structures and the producers of structures' (1989: 39).

The notion of 'market discourse' is particularly complex and multi-layered. It relies for its success on not only highly sophisticated intertextuality, but also on a multi-dimensional and reflexive relationship between texts, commodities, individuals and societies. The whole relationship and the constituent parts are all market discourses. If we confine our objects of study to obvious genres such as advertising and public relations, we miss out on much of today's market discourses and their functioning. Thus, not just advertising and public relations, but also shop fronts and windows, packaging and labelling, information leaflets and mailshots, direct mail and telesales communicate their message by intentionally and unintentionally appealing to a variety of both practical and obscure culture-based needs and by relying on consumer familiarity with the discourse of marketing and knowledge of the market system. These everyday marketing and advertising texts function on the basis of intertextual links with not only other market discourses but also with the texts which underpin the market economy of a particular society. Foundation texts which lay down the explicit politico-economic ideology (such as constitutions) form the textual basis which feeds official texts of the government and institutions which in turn provide the given, the context for unofficial texts of which marketing texts are part. As Cook states, 'in contemporary capitalist society, advertising is everywhere' (1992: 13) and the fundamental inter-relationship between 'capitalism' and advertising is universally acknowledged. Advertising and market discourses teach individuals not just about individual products but also about how to live and participate in the consumer society—thus ensuring its survival. There are obvious parallels here

between the role of advertising in contemporary 'capitalist' society and that of propaganda in 'totalitarian' societies. Both phenomena fulfil—the former in a subtle, the latter in a more conspicuous and deliberate way—the function of socialization. Although we may find the motivation behind consumer socialization disturbing, it is clear that the socializing role has changed over the centuries and has accommodated to the society of the time. Thus, in 'free market' societies, commercial advertising takes over much of the socialization undertaken by the education system and propaganda in another type of economic and political society. As Gerbner states, advertising and other public discourses constitute 'a major area of institutionalised public acculturation' (Gerbner, 1967: 431). Jhally likens consumption and its discourses to 'the new religion of modern life' (Jhally 1990: 220), and if, as Davidson suggests (1992: 174), ideology is both a way of describing what makes us tick and something that allows us to participate meaningfully in a culture, then it is clear that consumption has become a dominant ideology into which we are naturally and subtly socialized and that market discourses help us to feel and be part of the consumer culture.

For the producer of market discourses in the existing market society, the social conditions of production and consumption are taken for granted; they are part of the framework of that society and therefore much of this socialization is actually undertaken unintentionally. For most members of the consumer society who now participate in the market, there is no sense of consumerization, of the deliberate construction or imposition of a consumer identity or discourse. Since their earliest memories, market discourses—i.e. discourses which not only originate from but also assume the market society—have permeated all aspects of their lives. They are, therefore, socialized consumers, and producers of market discourses thus focus on the micro advertising task in terms of presenting a new product, lifestyle, service etc.; their preoccupation is with the 'new' (Halliday, 1985) or 'entropic' (Shannon and Weaver, 1949) component of the advertising text, taking consumer understanding of the framework of the market, its vocabulary, its rituals, its truths and common-sense assumptions, as 'given' (Halliday, 1985) or 'redundant' (Shannon and Weaver, 1949). Market discourses are read within the 'pattern of "preferred" meanings' (Hall, 1993: 207), supported by the frameworks of knowledge, relations of production and the technical infrastructure (Hall, 1993: 207) of the consumer society.

In the former planned economies of central and eastern Europe, the case is reversed. Here, the process of consumerisation could be observed. Rather than simply communicating with the socialized consumer, advertising, marketing and media agencies were faced with 'unconsumerised' citizens. As Ferguson (1990) states, public discourse in today's society constitutes and is constituted by processes of informational and cultural exchange 'which are socially shared, widely available and communal in character' (1990: ix). This was clearly not the case when western advertisers and marketers brought their discourses East. Simpson's notion of 'staggered discourse' takes on particular significance in the light of the ideological, technical and socialized distance between the participants in the

discourse. What has occurred since the implementation of the process of economic 'reform' has involved a transformation in the order of discourse (Fairclough, 1992), as well as the construction of a new context to support the triumphal discourse of capitalism and an intertextual sphere that would give meaning to the messages of advertisers and marketers. The macro task, the construction of this context, therefore became key and marketing organizations took on the teaching of the 'given', the 'redundant', the taken for granted truths, rituals and vocabulary in order to consumerise citizens. Thus, advertising and media companies saw themselves not only as producing marketing texts but also as constructing the framework for the production and consumption of such texts.

#### THE STUDY

Fifty texts were selected for study through the 'Textline' database (published by Reuters), using the key words 'advertising' and 'eastern Europe'. The selection contains a variety of text types, principally interviews, reports and speeches. The database comprises a very comprehensive source of texts dealing with economics, marketing, advertising and finance from the British, European, American and international business press and also specialist journals for marketing and advertising professionals. On the surface, the discourse community appears relatively homogeneous in terms of occupation and education and also in terms of assumptions about the market, since the texts are being produced and consumed within the context of the international business community. The members of the discourse community could be said to operate within a 'professional code' (Hall, 1993: 209). However, the cultural diversity in the ethos, interpretation and operation of market systems would lead to caution in assigning producers and users to a uniform category—with one exception: these are all people talking about the formerly planned economies of central and eastern Europe to others who are interested in these economies for a variety of reasons, many in terms of marketing objectives. The discourse objects—the citizens of these countries—are thus not generally part of the discourse community.

The objective of the study was not a detailed analysis of the discourse of these marketers, an in-depth study of the 'how' of what they are saying; instead the emphasis was on the 'what'—specifically what they are saying about the necessity for an ideologically compatible context and intertextual sphere within which their texts can be received; what their discourse tells us implicitly and what they themselves tell us explicitly about the operation of a dominating, hegemonic discourse on an everyday basis.

The selected texts were examined with the objective of answering the following questions:

- What intertextual relations exist? Can we hear echoes of the triumphal incantation of capitalism? Are the status quo of the market

economy and the consumer society and the common-sense assumptions and truths of consumerism given and uncontested? To what extent does the discourse of marketers and advertisers feed on the narratives and myths of triumph and conquer?

- Does the discourse display an awareness of the macro function, the need to construct an ideologically compatible context and intertextual sphere? How do the producers of these texts see their role in the process?
- Do marketing and advertising professionals construct themselves triumphalistically in relation to the pre-existing context? Do the agents construct themselves as economically, educationally, culturally superior? How do they refer to the objects of the discourse? What role do the citizens of these countries play in the discourse?

#### INTERTEXTUAL RELATIONS—ECHOES OF THE TRIUMPHAL INCANTATION OF CAPITALISM

*'Capitalism' = democracy*

The assumption underlying many of the textual features of the discourse is the common-sense truth among economists and politicians of the Right and centre that the 'free' market equals democracy and that the market has brought democracy and freedom. The market is presented as a fundamental part of the democratic process and so are its discourses. This is at odds with the many critics of advertising and other market discourses who see these instead as inherently anti-democratic (see, for example, Williamson, 1978; Packard, 1981; Vestergaard and Schroder, 1985; Mattelart, 1991).

However, this has long been a basic truth of the now triumphal discourse of the market, as expressed by Hayek, Friedman and others, who see economic freedom (in the form of the free market) and political freedom as inherently linked:

... economic freedom is an indispensable means toward the achievement of political freedom. (Friedman, 1962: 8)

and

Political freedom ... clearly came along with the free market and the development of capitalist institutions. (Friedman, 1962: 9)

It is of course true that 'collectivist economic planning has indeed interfered with individual freedom' (Friedman, 1962: 11) and the undisputed restrictions placed on the individual in the former centrally planned economies clearly give credence to the argument that 'capitalism' equals democracy. Thus Friedman and like-minded economists feel justified in contending that those who argue for the restriction or regulation of the market are displaying 'a lack of belief in freedom itself' (Friedman, 1962: 15). However, the discourse assumes that the market is truly 'free'—once



an ideologically contested attribute—and that there is equality in the distribution of resources and these assumptions are also reflected in the marketers' discourse.

This academic discourse on freedom and 'capitalism' feeds the discourse of privatization in the West and now in the East; as Albert (1993) argues, in the third and current age of 'capitalism', the pervasive mode of thinking is that the state is bad, the market good:

By removing the organization of economic activity from the control of political authority, the market eliminates this source of coercive power. It enables economic strength to be a check to political power rather than a reinforcement. (Friedman, 1962: 15)

The assumption of the market as guarantor of freedom and democracy permeates all aspects of the discourse of western marketers and advertisers in central and eastern Europe. They see themselves as bringers of free choice and democracy, the context having been created by the discourse of market-oriented institutions such as the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, which have presented consumption and privatization as natural states to which countries in central and eastern Europe should aspire. The Mission Statement of the EBRD defines its role thus:

... to foster the transition towards open market-oriented economics and to promote private and entrepreneurial initiative in the central and eastern European countries. (quoted in Lukes and Abbot, 1996: INT5)

Everywhere we see the assumed normalcy of private ownership, competition and the market and their relationship with democracy and freedom:

In most countries in Eastern Europe—and to a lesser extent in the Union of Soviet and Socialist Republics—a broad consensus has emerged on the need to move toward market-based economic systems. (International Monetary Fund [IMF], 1991: 2)

As their centrally planned economies evolve into market-oriented economies, the statistical and accounting systems based on Marxist methodology are also in need of reform ... To accelerate transition to a market-based economy, the former USSR countries need to adjust their data collection methodologies. (World Bank, 1992: v)

The texts of international organizations with explicit ideological aims form an (unconscious) intertextual sphere for advertisers and marketers in central and eastern Europe and their texts are echoed in the discourse of these individuals. For example, this perceived equation of the market with freedom is especially pronounced in the media, where advocates express the conviction that 'only free markets can guarantee diversity of expression' (Murdock, 1992: 21). Thus, private media are assumed to be democratic and incorruptible, unlike their state-owned counterparts. Murdock's use of the limiter 'only' and the modality of 'can' are indicative



of this widespread belief in private media as guarantors of democracy and incorruptibility, unlike their state-owned counterparts:

Boguslaw Chrabota, programming director of Poland's national commercial channel Polsat, cited recent national elections in the country as proof that private stations were less subject to political pressures than their public counterparts. (TEXT 46)

An ad firm executive who declined to be named said foreign agencies are often kept out of bidding for governmental advertising contracts. One thing that is likely to **help**<sup>2</sup> the growth of advertising is the end of the state monopoly over airwaves which **has allowed** the establishment of private television stations. (TEXT 46)

Advertising and private television are described in positive 'growth' terms in contrast to the state monopoly which must be ended. The given assumption, inferred by the use of the subordinate clause, is that this negative situation had to be overcome in order to enable private media to be established. The term 'monopoly' has come to be negatively connotated in the ideological classification system of the market. Just as the market has become a hyponym for freedom, democracy, growth and choice, monopoly is hyponymous with undemocratic, illiberal, outmoded, lack of choice, restricting. Positive, enabling verbs such as 'help' and 'allow' are used to confirm the assumption that the introduction of advertising and private media is something positive, something to be encouraged.

### *Westernizing = Normalizing*

The triumphalism of the pro-market commentators and the self-satisfaction of western 'capitalism' echo Fukuyama's contention that we have now reached the end of History in terms of the end of a search for the ideal economy and society (Fukuyama, 1992). Such intellectual discourse forms part of the intertextual sphere within which the texts of the advertising and marketing agencies—not in a direct, explicit way, but rather in a subconscious way through the infiltration of the discourse into all aspects of public life in western economies and societies. As Barthes (1981) puts it, they are 'unconscious or automatic quotations, given without the quotation marks' (p. 39).

Excluded from their considerations is any counter discourse;<sup>3</sup> no alternative is heard, although, as Keegan points out, 'Communism has failed, but capitalism has not succeeded' (1992: vii).

It is not only in the use of the pejorative generic 'communism' that there is crudity, but also in the use of 'capitalism', which is intended to refer to the free market model, ignoring the many varieties and versions. As Albert points out, the free market model is the one which has been espoused and disseminated in the formerly centrally planned economies, and 'no one [in these countries] has ever heard of the social market economy or the Rhine model' (1993: 255).

Thus, underlying the discourse of marketing and advertising agencies are

the texts of the western market society and the intertextual relationships and assumptions upon which they are based. The period of 'actually existing socialism' or 'communism' in its varieties is seen as something transient—a temporary deviation from the norm, as illustrated by the following extract:

Shell had its first links with Eastern Europe last century, **links which were interrupted by the arrival of Communism**, but which gradually resumed during the 50s. It was not until the last few years that **trade has blossomed again**. (TEXT 28)

Here, too, we see the penetration of positive, growth metaphors in the discourse and their association with trade, the market and 'capitalism'. The process of economic reform and the introduction of the consumer society is viewed by media and advertising professionals as something normalizing, stabilizing; the economy and society are being returned—with the aid of these new market discourses—to an assumed norm of 'capitalism', the ideal of the market which allows things to 'blossom'. In these texts, the problems—economic and otherwise—being experienced by these countries are presented as being inherently linked to the system of the planned economy. The market system, on the other hand, is presented as providing the solution:

... when will Western investment penetrate other parts of Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States, where advertising conditions are **chaotic** and **problems** of political **instability** and geographical **barriers** to distribution recall Gogol. (TEXT 23)

There is still a great deal of **disorganisation** on some of the channels and advertising practices have a long way to develop. (TEXT 23)

Conditions are 'chaotic' because they do not conform to the western model; western investment in the media is presented as the great white hope, the civilizing, stabilizing and normalizing influence, as evidenced by the use of the rhetorical question, which gives the question experiential value.

The descriptions of conditions in these countries are invariably phrased negatively, using the prefix 'dis-' and the suffix '-less' and negatively connoted adjectives, adverbs and nominalizations are used; for example 'chaotic', 'barriers', 'instability'. In the choice of vocabulary, the author is choosing to classify the events using the western market ideological framework and is thus assuming that this is held in common with the readership.

One of the messages coming from the likes of Turner and the BBC is that they are keen for the Eastern European market to develop '**in the right way**'. (TEXT 20)

The 'right way' is of course the 'Western' way and it is a given that it is desirable for advertising to 'develop' further and in the way that it has developed and become part of the normality of the market economy in the West.

*Go East to the Wild West—Dominant myths and narratives*

A key characteristic of the discourse of marketing, advertising and media professionals in the sample selected is the use of symbolic language which invokes the imagery of the Wild West and colonization—two grand narratives of triumph and conquer in western culture. The economies and societies of central and eastern Europe are presented as wild and lawless frontiers, the advertisers and media professionals as the civilizing, pioneering spirits. They are invariably ‘pushing forward’, settling ‘new territories’. Investigating the use of metaphor in the discourse is particularly revealing, since ‘different metaphors imply different ways of dealing with things’ (Fairclough, 1989: 120) and evidence ‘different ideological attachments’ (p. 119).

Central and Eastern European commercial television **pioneer**, Central European Media. (TEXT 41)

I really enjoyed the **pioneering spirit** of the place. (TEXT 24—young advertising executive talking about his work in Budapest)

Hungary offered us **the chance to go where no ad men had gone before**. (TEXT 24)

Sony Broadcast and Professional Europe has **furthered its push** into Eastern Europe by opening a branch in Warsaw, Poland. (TEXT 19)

The countries themselves are referred to in terms of frontier imagery:

[The former Soviet Bloc] is probably **the last underdeveloped market**. (TEXT 29)

Over the next couple of years, I see a tremendous amount of **new territory**. (TEXT 13)

Others ... have already established a strong foothold in other East and Central European **territories**. (TEXT 18)

In fact, much of the language used is reminiscent of the colonial discourse of the last century:

Poland is perceived as the **jewel in the crown**. (TEXT 18)

An image of lawlessness, implicitly linked to the Wild West mentality, also pervades the discourse. The cowboy tactics which advertising agencies get away with tend to be blamed on the perceived lawlessness of these states:

‘The rules change so fast, and often nobody takes notice of new rules; it’s like the **Wild West**,’ said Bernd Ahlbrecht, Hamburg-based marketing manager for Central and Eastern Europe at German cigarette marketer H.F. and Ph.F. Reemtsma. ‘**We have to do whatever we can**.’ As a result, cigarette marketers ignore the law and advertise everywhere except broadcast media. (TEXT 15)

The speaker’s choice of the pronoun ‘we’ not only refers to the actions of his agency; ‘we’ is extended to encompass all ‘right-minded’ people. The pious intention contained in the statement ‘We have to do whatever we

can', is reminiscent of the discourse of aid workers in reports brought back from the sight of a human tragedy.

It is ironic that this lawlessness in the area of advertising regulations is linked inherently with the legacy of the centrally planned economy, rather than being blamed on unfettered 'capitalism'—the 'pure market' or the 'extreme free market' (Keegan, 1992: 99)—which exists in many of these countries and regions.

In fact, the countries of central and eastern Europe are rarely presented as being superior, except, interestingly enough, in their criminality and general lawlessness:

LATVIAN MEDIA BUYERS CAN TEACH WEST TRICKS IN BUSINESS THUGGERY. (TEXT 26)

CRIME DOESN'T PAY FOR LATVIAN THUGS SEEKING FREE SPACE.

As Western businesses in Eastern Europe face increasing pressure from organized crime, the underworld here is shifting its strongarm tactics to a new venue—by demanding free ad space.' (TEXT 12)

These quotes show two rare examples of 'them' being active agents of a sentence. They 'can teach tricks', 'seek', 'demand' through negative processes or in the pursuit of negative objects or at the expense of positive indirect objects/patients (the western agencies and businesses). Again, in the use of the hyponymic descriptors 'West' and 'East', the opposition between 'them' and 'us' is taken for granted and thus reinforced.

Continuing with the metaphor of the Wild West, it is the western businesses who are the 'good guys', the clean-living and high-minded pioneers; the 'Latvian Thugs' are the 'outlaws' and the population as a whole are the 'Indians' in need of civilizing through the market.

In contrast, the battle for dominance of these economies and societies through the dissemination of market discourses is presented as legitimate, desirable and, above all, normal:

So the streets of Warsaw are plastered with Coke and Pepsi hoardings as the two American rivals fight for hegemony in one of the largest remaining growth markets. (TEXT 43)

Here, Pepsi and Coke seem like honourable gunfighters facing each other on some dustswept street in the West.

Even when acknowledging the new consumer awareness and the rapidly developing indigenous consumption styles in these countries—which, in fact, owe much to the pre-reform experience—the language is tinged with nostalgia for colonial and pioneering times:

The golden days are over. (TEXT 38)

### *Dealing with dissent and deviation*

The assumption of the common-sense truths and givens of the market is also revealed in the reaction of the producers of market discourses to the

negative or neutral response by consumers to these discourses. The rapprochement with the 'communist' past which has been occurring as the distance from the pre-reform experience has become greater has also caused marketers and advertisers much confusion and bewilderment. The idea that the consumer may in fact be rejecting the triumphal discourse through the advertising text by not buying or desiring brands is not entertained, as the following example shows:

Although Coca-Cola and Mars are popular brand names in Moscow, it's a different story in Siberia. With less exposure to international brands outside the big cities, Russian consumers overwhelmingly named Russian products for the ranking by stature, or current success. (TEXT 9)

The causal relationship constructed in the second sentence shows the common-sense assumption that the fact that these Russians chose to name local brands could only be due to the fact that they have not yet had exposure to the western (superior) product. Thus, this conflict with the prevailing truth is explained within the ideological framework of the market. The fact that consumers do not rank or rate western brands is explained by the fact that the market discourse of the particular brands—in the form of labels, slogans, packaging, ads, shopfronts—has not yet reached these areas. Again, the underlying assumption is that once these individuals have exposure to the discourse, a normal state of affairs will commence and they will prefer the western brand. Where this is not the case, the dissenting consumers are constructed in terms of obstinacy and backwardness:

Belarus has been moving **backwards** in terms of reforms, and Ukraine was going **downhill** until recently: these republics are at an early stage of development, so there is a very direct connection between political instability and the business environment. (TEXT 44)

The emergence of **stubborn** attitudes formed in the pre-liberalised period. (TEXT 25)

... some local brands proved to be more **entrenched** in consumers' repertoires than had been supposed. (TEXT 25)

Observers of the Eastern European markets give an uncanny impression of a quick-slow development: of an exterior force and a **resistant** substrata. (TEXT 23)

Not only do metaphors such as 'downhill', 'backward', 'entrenched' and adjectives such as 'resistant' and 'stubborn' act as antonyms of 'growth', 'development' and all the other synonyms used to describe the desirable state of the market, they are also negatively connotated within the classification system of market ideology, implying old-fashioned, infantile behaviour.

Many Hungarians cannot afford the expensive imports and will **stick with the familiar, cheaper local brands even if they are a little worse**. (TEXT 38)

The logical connector 'even if' implies that, within the assumed common-sense framework of the market, the educated or socialized consumer would not prefer or choose these cheaper brands. The collocation of 'cheaper'

with 'local brands' in opposition to the collocation of 'expensive' with 'imports' relies on another tenet of western market discourse—that price is an indicator of quality, that something which is described and presented as 'expensive' is by implication based on received wisdom 'superior'. These products are 'worse' in western terms. 'Cheap' and 'familiar' are not seen as valid criteria for consumer purchase decisions in the intertextual sphere of western consumerism, where as a result of a whole chronology of textual relations and received wisdom, 'cheap' is not equated with 'quality'. Unlike consumer decision making in the west, such criteria are presented as lacking 'sophistication'.

The expression of growing consumer awareness and renewed confidence and pride in the shared experience through the disavowal of western products and their discourses is even seen as something violent and malignant:

The potential for a **backlash** in Central Europe remains great. (TEXT 25)

Advertisers and marketers are able to rationalize the preference for local brands—which clashes with the common-sense assumptions of the classification system to which writer and reader adhere—with the conclusion that it is the westernization of these products, the western 'value-added' in terms of packaging and other discourses which is the reason for this:

... consumers are showing a preference for lower priced **local** brands that have been **improved** and **repackaged**. (TEXT 8)

Much of their appeal is due to major **reintroductions** with **new** packaging, **catchy** advertising and **improved** fragrance, flavour or formulation. (TEXT 8)

... **local** brands are **benefiting from Western** marketing experience. (TEXT 9)

A relationship of synonymy has been constructed, both at the macro and the micro level, between 'western' and 'superior', 'good', 'positive', 'forward-looking', 'up-to-date' and we could imagine any of these terms being substituted for 'western' in the last quote without changing the meaning within the classification system of market ideology. Similarly, the adjective 'sophisticated' in the following quote could be replaced without any alteration of meaning by 'western':

**Local** companies are also **adopting** more **sophisticated** marketing techniques. (TEXT 9)

#### AWARENESS OF THE MACRO TASK—THE CONSTRUCTION OF AN IDEOLOGICALLY COMPATIBLE INTERTEXTUAL SPHERE

##### *The zeal of the missionary*

The discourse between and about 'capitalism' and 'communism' has always been framed in competitive terms, these dichotomies were deemed rival systems and fought out the battle for the survival of the fittest.



Inevitably, perhaps, the demise of the centrally planned economies has been viewed as a victory for 'capitalism' and the discourse of the proponents of the market has been that of the victor:

The collapse of communism was seized upon in the West as heralding the final victory of capitalism. (Keegan, 1992: 1)

In the 100 years of rivalry between communism and capitalism, the last 50 have seen the bitter contest between the USA and the USSR dominate every aspect of international relations. But on 9 November 1989, everything changed. The young East Germans who dared to breach the Berlin Wall were to herald the revolt of 300 million disillusioned souls trapped within the communist bloc and starved of freedom—but starved, too, of consumer goods and supermarkets. In other words, hungry for capitalism. (Albert, 1993: 2)

This dominating discourse of capitalism forms both the pretext for and the substance of the micro process which media and marketing executives are now carrying out. Not only do they feel justified in promoting the market—given its victory—they also see themselves as part of that victory, as enforcing a necessary element of it by bringing market discourses to these societies.

The awareness of this function is clearly evident in the discourse of advertising and media professionals operating in central and eastern Europe. Theirs is the language of the missionaries, convinced of the superiority, the supremacy even of their message. These individuals and companies see themselves as proselytizers, bringing the ideology of consumption and the discourse of the market to the previously planned economies and, by implication, improving or civilizing them. Take, for example, the following quotes, which are typical of this proselytizing fervour:

We in this country [the USA] are too wont to think of this only as the introduction of more new product [sic] to a consumptive society [sic]. Most people don't understand this as **part of the defeat of communism and the efflorescence of the ideal of democratic capitalism and the spirit of enterprise.** (TEXT 42)

For most people the revolutions of 1989 and the **crumbling** of the Stalinist regimes of Eastern Europe represented a **flowering of freedom**, the **unleashing of the creative energies** of millions and the chance for the populations of the old Soviet bloc to shape their own futures. For some, however, the **crumbling** of the wall marked something which is altogether more prosaic: the announcement of the largest **redevelopment** contract in history. In all sectors of industry, and in virtually every institution, there was a perceived demand for wholesale **renovation** and the **replacement** of what was worn out or outmoded. Broadcasting was no different to any other industry. (TEXT 22)

In the first extract, through the pronoun 'we', the speaker claims to speak for the entire US population, thus implying the underlying assumption that the collective ideology of the US is that of the free market. 'Most people' is used to differentiate the speaker and presumably the addressees from the

rest of the 'we', who presumably are not privy to the knowledge, that something far more momentous is in fact occurring, i.e. the installation of a new ideological context within which advertising and marketing texts will be received. In both extracts—and in the discourse as a whole—'communism' co-occurs with negative, 'loser' metaphors, such as 'defeat' and 'crumbling', whereas 'capitalism' occurs with very positive metaphors of growth, such as 'flowering', 'efflorescence' and the once ideologically contested adjective 'democratic', which has now been claimed by the ideology of the 'free market'. The term 'market' has become a hyponym implying not only the correct economic system, but also signifying freedom, democracy, creativity, development. The 'redevelopment' is unquestioned—it is natural and democratic—inherently linked to the 'flowering of freedom' as another positive consequence of the 'crumbling of the Stalinist regimes'. The pre-reform experience, its results, processes and institutions are predicated with the negative vocabulary of defeat and obsolescence. They, like their ideological framework, are 'outmoded' and 'worn out'. Again, in the second text, we see the differentiation between the lay population—'most people', who accept that this ideology is the norm—and the specialist knowledge and interest of the *Fachperson*, whose task it is to disseminate the ideology and profit from it.

The spread of brand and advertising literacy is also presented as something intrinsically positive in the discourse:

Consumers in Eastern Europe have spent most of their lives in a **brandless world** where products came from factories with numbers rather than names. (TEXT 9)

Through the use of the suffix '-less', the speaker shows the commonality of values which is assumed with the reader, i.e. that a 'brandless world' is abnormal and inferior, the branded world being the norm. This is further reinforced by the information in the relative clause, which is presented as a given or redundant assumption. Further, presenting this opinion as fact, as a categorical modality (Fairclough, 1989), gives the speaker authority in relation to the truth of the assumption and to the representation of this particular aspect of reality (Fairclough, 1989), regardless of the fact that it is an incorrect assertion, as anyone who had contact with the countries of central and eastern Europe in the post-economic reform era can testify. However, in the eyes of the speaker, this may in fact represent the 'truth', since a 'brand' and a 'branded world' correspond to the western ideal and manifestation and s/he would not countenance the existence of a 'brand' outside that cultural/ideological framework. This quote in particular presents the individuals in these countries, whose identity is that of 'consumers', as having been deprived, through the use of a 'them and us' (Van Dijk, 1996) discourse. In fact, this quote and much of the discourse borrows from the texts of documentaries dealing with people who live without water, food or some other basic necessity. The 'branded world' is not just the ideal, it is the norm to which these societies must now conform.

## THE DISCOURSE OF SUPERIORITY

*Ted Turner to the rescue*

Linked to the pioneering and missionary image, advertising and media executives also construct themselves in philanthropic terms, as primarily coming to the aid of society in the former Soviet bloc, rescuing people from what they see as the political, economic, ideological and cultural vacuum of 'communism'. The profit goal is downplayed as a secondary motivation. Western advertising and media agencies have come to teach 'western', 'sophisticated' techniques; this shows the importance of Stuart Hall's third factor 'technical infrastructure' (1993) for the establishment of a framework that will support the 'pattern of preferred meanings'. The choice of positive, enabling verbs such as 'supporting', 'helping', which show the agent in a positive, giving way evidences this aspect of the discourse:

What has happened since the fall of Communism is that broadcasters are looking for ways of **supporting** the society as a whole. (TEXT 20)

Many Western broadcasting and advertising professionals . . . have regarded Eastern Europe almost as a **charity case**. (TEXT 20)

This notion of a philanthropic and educational mission is not only the subject of explicit public relations discourse, as shown by the following examples:

CIRCOM **HELPS** EASTERN BLOC SHED COMMUNIST LEGACY. (TEXT 21)

Ted Turner is a man who believes in doing well and **doing good** at the same time . . . He has **great affinity for the suffering of the former Soviet people** and he wants to do what he can in his area of expertise to **help** the former Soviets to **improve their lot**. (TEXT 20)

The connection of 'doing well', something which the classification system would expect of Ted Turner, with 'doing good', something which is not necessarily associated with him or with the ideology of the market highlights how the discourse has attempted to reword (Fairclough, 1989) or reconstruct the discourse of philanthropy, usually the preserve of 'do-gooders', in terms of the market. The ideology of the market is no longer incompatible with 'doing good'; in fact, in the newly constructed world order, the market is assumed to be on the side of good in the world. The construction of media mogul, Ted Turner, is also revealing: he is idealistic—'Ted Turner is a man who believes'; he is humane—'he has great affinity for the suffering of the former Soviet people'; yet he is modest—'he wants to do what he can'. Again, here, we hear echoes of 'aid' discourse. Such a discourse reinforces the idea that the market is on the side of good in the world, that the ideology of multinational media capitalism is intrinsically positive. This philanthropy is also implied by the discourse of western companies operating in the region, even when talking about marketing aims:

Pepsi-Cola and two US partners said Thursday they would invest \$550

million in the former Soviet Union, **bringing** the soft drink **within reach** of 90 percent of Russians by the year 2000. (TEXT 45)

Although the text deals directly with Pepsi's distribution and marketing strategy in the former Soviet Union, it reads like the announcement of an aid package. The use of the enabling (even empowering) verb 'bringing within reach' in the statement 'bringing the soft drink within the reach of 90 percent of Russians' implies that this is something worthy, decent and desirable—that Pepsi is helping these people by giving them access to western consumer goods.

This example also illustrates another aspect of the discourse—the passivity of citizens and institutions in the formerly centrally planned economies:

'We are going one step further too, organising bond issues for local authorities, such as Gdansk, **bringing sophisticated instruments to them.** (TEXT 44)

As in the two preceding examples, agency is the preserve of the westerners, unless of course where the statement is negative.

This philanthropy also ties into the discourse of international 'capitalist' organizations such as the IMF, the World Bank and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, whose discourse is couched in terms of 'cruel to be kind' superiority in the use of such euphemisms as 'stabilization', 'sequencing', 'adjustment', 'restructuring', all of which imply something minor—a quick, easy and painless readjustment to the norm, as in the following example:

The speed with which the new Germany achieves a true economic merger is crucial. A rapid infusion of Western German money, talent and know-how into Eastern Germany is essential. (Euromonitor, 1991: 1)

*These are not third world countries' (TEXT 30)*

The superior attitude towards the citizens in these countries, their culture and institutions is revealed in the way in which they are referred to by advertising and media companies. There is no attempt to hide the power relations here or to 'simulate egalitarianism' (Fairclough, 1992: 37):

It's easy to think of them as third-world peoples, but they are very bright, very intelligent and—particularly in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary—educated to easily the same level as we in the West. (TEXT 29)

The assumption of 'first world' superiority in all things cultural, economic and educational underlying these comments is obvious. Again, in education, training and practice, western Europe and the US are seen as the norm against which the countries of central and eastern Europe are measured and inevitably found wanting:

When Reader's Digest came here it was amazing how their sales skills showed up the Hungarians. (TEXT 24)

Even where the comments and opinions are stated in positive terms, the underlying assumption is clear in the use of the western yardstick:

Education was crucial to the communist system and—despite the country's isolation until recently—the average agency junior is **easily as able and inquisitive as you would find in London**. (TEXT 24)

From certain points of view, the quality of the advertisements [in Hungary] has reached West European standards. (TEXT 5)

The descriptors 'local' and 'eastern', the nationalities of these countries or pronouns referring to them or their citizens invariably appear with negative attributes, actions or opinions:

Local publishers are naive and think they can get rich quick. (TEXT 25)

Poland's strategic and creative thinkers leave something to be desired. (TEXT 26)

Polish politicians are **unable to present themselves to the electorate as effectively as their Western European colleagues**. (TEXT 4)

Russian entrepreneurs do not have the skill, or perhaps the long-term view, that we have. (TEXT 45)

The preference for straightforward, informative advertising is also treated in patronizing terms:

The state of the market means that you have to go for the simple over the subtle. The Dave Trott maxim 'if my mum doesn't understand it, no-one will' applies very strongly. (TEXT 24)

### *Undermining the pre-reform experience*

Within the framework of such common-sense assumptions and truths there is little room for acknowledging or respecting the shared experience of the citizens in these countries. This is particularly apparent when media and advertising executives are discussing the hiring and training of personnel in their agencies:

How can someone claim to have been an advertising manager for a company for 10 years under the Communist system when there was no advertising. (TEXT 16)

Advertising is being defined here as the advertising practice and culture of the western market economy. There was advertising in the centrally planned economies before 1989, but it is seen as having no validity when viewed in terms of western advertising culture. Thus, the experience which people working in these advertising agencies accumulated is seen as invalid—even in the context of the disavowal of western-style advertising in the eastern part of Germany and other former centrally planned economies following an initial phase of euphoria (cf. Böhmer and Werb, 1993; Kelly, 1995). Where knowledge of the language is valued, it is simply in terms of a code, not as a way of accessing the shared culture and experience. This is borne out by the fact that many of the people who do speak

Polish, Hungarian or Czech, and have been employed by these agencies have grown up in the West. The 'ideal agent'—the counterpart to Fairclough's (1989) 'ideal subject' is described thus:

WANTED: Managing director, 10 years Western advertising experience; fluent in Polish, Hungarian, Czech; entrepreneur, international client handler, new-business dynamo. This is the dream person international agencies want to develop their business in Eastern Europe, but it's mission impossible for them and their headhunters. (TEXT 16)

Only 'western' experience is valid, since, we are told,

There are plenty of local Eastern Europeans who want to run agencies. But many of them don't understand the needs of the multinational clients that spurred the agencies to open in Budapest, Prague and Warsaw in the first place. (TEXT 16)

and

Local managers who worked in the ad industry under a Communist regime often were too authoritarian or couldn't deal with multinational clients. (TEXT 16)

Talent and skill must be westernized, otherwise they have no validity or relevance:

We're beginning to learn how much talent there is in Poland, but it's incredibly raw. We have to get standards up to the level multinational clients expect. (TEXT 16)

Thus, we are told that:

Most agencies therefore prefer setting up shops from scratch, exporting skilled staff merely to train up local talent. (TEXT 28)

The invalidating of the pre-reform experience, what Habermas terms the 'devalorization of the life-historical capital' (1993: 63) of the citizens of these countries, is also reflected in the advertisers' attitude to any attempt to regulate their activities:

Why are world media companies prepared to wait on a dithering Hungarian parliament and brave an interfering Polish president? (TEXT 18)

Such a statement clearly illustrates the assumption that world/western multinational media companies should command respect in these countries since they know best. Legitimate local interest in influencing the economic structures and regulatory processes is seen as invalid, inefficient; it is 'dithering' and 'interfering'.

#### CONCLUSION

Examining the discourse of western marketing and advertising professionals in former centrally planned economies of central and eastern Europe not only provides key insights into how these 'reconstituted' soci-



eties are evolving and being directed to evolve, it also shows how the triumphal discourse of capitalism both feeds and is fed by the texts and context-building activities of these individuals. There is a fundamental textual interrelationship between them—both are the expression of the other, both rely on each other for legitimacy. The hegemonic discourse can too easily be seen as something unattached, something different which hovers and provides a nebulous framework, but does not exist or operate on a micro, everyday basis. As Jameson states ‘the ideology of the market is unfortunately not some supplementary ideational or representational luxury or embellishment that can be removed from the economic problem ... it is somehow generated by the thing itself, as its objectively necessary afterimage’ (1991: 260).

A good example is the interrelationship between ideology, the media and the market in central and eastern Europe. The producers of market discourses have had to create the co-texts to accompany their market discourse messages; this is why the work of the media and advertising agencies has been so interlinked in these countries. Again, the interlinkage between the media and advertising is well established and widely accepted in today’s market society. However, it is not just the financial interdependence which is vital. By studying the dissemination of market discourses in central and eastern Europe, we see how necessary the media are for sustaining advertising messages, for creating sophisticated intertextuality and providing the co-texts which occur along a continuum into which such messages are easily and unquestioningly incorporated, thus constructing the intertextual sphere. They are a key feature of the newspaper product, the television product, the corporate streetscape. This point is emphasized by Hannan (1990) who comments ‘it is difficult to wean readers [in East Germany] off their non-advertising mix’ (Hannan, 1990: 134).

The discourse of consumerization in central and eastern Europe also highlights the key role which the producers of market discourses often unwittingly play in socialization. Again, they are usually highly aware of the immediate micro educational/socialization task of the particular market discourse; however, the role they play in constructing and reaffirming the status quo of the market and in imparting its rituals and discourses to socialized consumers takes place at a far more ‘passive’ level—passive being understood here as non-deliberate or not conscious rather than non-active or non-participatory. On the part of consumers, the socialization is also far more ‘passive’ than, for instance, deliberate socialization through pedagogy or religious instruction. By observing the awareness among advertising and marketing professionals operating in central and eastern Europe of this pedagogical/socialization function and its more direct, less subtle manifestation in these countries, we also gain an insight into how much of socialization in the market society takes place at a non-deliberate, non-conscious level through media and market discourses.

The way in which the producers of the market texts and the texts themselves construct the context shows in technicolour the interdependence of text and context in the functioning of any discourse. Here we see the impos-

sibility of text functioning in a contextless vacuum, where its common-sense assumptions and truths are simply unknown. These must first be constructed and this occurs through the establishment of the institutions and structures of the dominating discourse and also through the texts themselves. By examining the process from the construction upwards—as is the case in the reform context—we can gain extremely valuable insights which confirm what we already believe about the reflexive role between the producers of discourse and the ideology as expressed through the dominating discourse of a society. The awareness among producers and importers of their macro function as agents of the dominating discourse and their role in creating the structures within which it can be produced and function is unique to the situation of importing a new discourse type, since in the society where that discourse already functions, it evolves effortlessly and unquestioningly—there is no need for its agents to construct the context for it. Thus, where a new discourse type is to be produced, the social conditions necessary for its functioning must be imported or existing conditions altered.

Finally, the process and the discourse about the process offer us the opportunity to examine the construction of the ‘skeleton’ of ‘capitalist’ society—to borrow Lenin’s metaphor. Just as Lenin saw the establishment of certain institutions (such as socialist banks, accounting systems, the media) as key in constructing the skeleton of socialist society, so too have these marketers and media agencies seen the establishment of the institutions and discourses of the market as the building blocks upon which to propagate and establish the consumer society. This is not to say that these societies are simply prototypes, early models which will inevitably conform to the western model which the producers of market discourses understand. The culture of consumer resistance and the development of indigenous vocabularies and styles of consumption and advertising cultures (Atkinson, 1993; *Wirtschaftswoche*, 1993; Kelly, 1995) all undermine such a conclusion. But the fact that the producers of market discourses have had to disentangle their discourse from the institutions and ideologies upon which it rests and which it in turn supports offers a unique insight into the functioning of such discourses in the market society. We see how ideology functions at the micro level and how this supports and is supported by the intertextual relations. There is no formal ideology to which these marketers and advertisers adhere; they would not consider themselves to be ideologues and in fact the term ‘ideology’ does not occur in their discourse, except, significantly, in reference to the former Soviet bloc. They do not see themselves as part of some grand conspiracy, but rather as doing their job. This is, perhaps, the true triumph of market ideology and its discourses: its assumed normalcy, its status as the given way of life from which there may be minor deviations but not serious alternatives. It is at the ordinary, everyday level that the discourse has truly come to dominate and that its triumphal incantation—by virtue of its very mundanity—is most audible.

---

HELEN KELLY-HOLMES is a lecturer in German in the Department of Languages and European Studies, Aston University, Birmingham. Her current research interests are intercultural advertising communication, advertising and identity and the discourse of the market. She is a member of the editorial board of *Current Issues in Language and Society*. Department of Languages and European Studies, Aston University, Aston Triangle, Birmingham B4 7ET, UK. [email: h.j.kellyholmes@aston.ac.uk]

---

## NOTES

1. Unpublished PhD thesis. Incidentally, attitudes of individuals surveyed were on the whole negative towards the new advertising discourses.
2. Bold text in extracts indicate author's emphasis.
3. See, for instance, Derrida (1994) and Albert (1993).

## REFERENCES

- Albert, M. (1993) *Capitalism against Capitalism*. London: Whurr Publishers.
- Atkinson, R. (1993) 'Ads Cater to Wary East Germans: Just the Facts, Please, In a World without Yuppies', *International Herald Tribune* (28–29 Aug.).
- Barthes, R. (1981) 'Theory of the Text', in R. Young (ed.) *Untying the Text—a Post-Structuralist Reader*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Böhmer, R. and A. Werb (1993) 'Naive Erwartung', *Wirtschaftswoche* 22 (28 May): 110–14.
- Cook, G. (1992) *The Discourse of Advertising*. London: Routledge.
- Davidson, M. (1992) *The Consumerist Manifesto: Advertising in Postmodern Times*. London: Routledge.
- Derrida, J. (1994) 'The Spectre of Marx', *New Left Review* 205 (May/June): 31–58.
- Euromonitor (1991) *The New Germany: Business Prospects for the 1990s*. London: Euromonitor.
- Fairclough, N. (1989) *Language and Power*. Harlow: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (1992) *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Ferguson, M. (1990) *Public Communication: The New Imperatives*. London: Sage.
- Friedman, M. (1962) *Capitalism and Freedom*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Fukuyama, F. (1992) *The End of History and the Last Man*. London: Hamish Hamilton.
- Gerbner, G. (1967) 'An Institutional Approach to Mass Communications Research', in Lee Thayer (ed.) *Communication Theory and Research: Proceedings of the First International Symposium*. Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas.
- Habermas, J. (1993) 'The Second Life Fiction of the Federal Republic: We Have Become "Normal" Again', *New Left Review* 197 (Jan/Feb): 58–66.
- Hall, S. (1993) 'Encoding/Decoding', in D. Graddol and O. Boyd-Barrett (eds) *Media Texts: Authors and Readers*, pp. 200–11. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Halliday, M.A.K. (1985) *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.

- Hannan, B. (1990) 'Making the Most of East Germany's Media Changes', *Business Marketing Digest* 15(2): 131–7.
- International Monetary Fund (1991) *Annual Report*. Washington, DC: International Monetary Fund.
- Jamson, F. (1991) *Postmodernism or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. London: Verso.
- Jhally, S. (1990) *The Codes of Advertising: Fetishism and the Political Economy of Meaning in the Consumer Society*. New York: Routledge.
- Keegan, W. (1992) *The Spectre of Capitalism*. London: Radius.
- Kelly, H. (1995) 'The Discourse of Post-Unification Advertising', in O. Durrani, C. Good and K. Hilliard (eds) *The New Germany: Literature and Society after Unification*. Sheffield: Sheffield University Press.
- Lukes, E. and T. Abbot (1996) *EBRD Directory of Business Information Sources on Central and Eastern Europe and the CIS*. Grimsby: EBRD and Effective Technology.
- Mattelart, A. (1992) *Advertising International: The Privatization of Public Space*. London: Comedia/Routledge.
- Murdock, G. (1992) 'Citizens, Consumers and Public Culture', in M. Skovmand and K.C. Schroder (eds) *Media Cultures—Reappraising Transnational Media*, pp. 17–41. London: Routledge.
- Packard, V. (1981) *The Hidden Persuaders*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Shannon, C. and W. Weaver (1949) *The Mathematical Theory of Communication*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Simpson, P. (1993) *Language, Ideology and Point of View*. London: Routledge.
- Van Dijk, T. (1996) 'Discourse, Opinions and Ideologies', in C. Schäffner and H. Kelly-Holmes (eds) *Discourse and Ideologies*, pp. 7–37. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Vestergaard, T. and K.C. Schroder (1985) *The Language of Advertising*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Waller, D. (1992) 'Germany: European Finance and Investment, Germany 2—Spearheading the Transition', *Financial Times* (1 July): 2.
- Williamson, J. (1978) *Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertisements*. London: Marion Boyars.
- World Bank (1992) *Statistical Handbook—States of the Former USSR—Country Development III, Europe and Central Asia Region* [Studies of Economies in Transformation (3)]. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

## TEXTS FROM TEXTLINE CORPUS

- Text 4: POLAND: 'Commercial Party Political Broadcasts to be shown on TV before Elections', BBC Monitoring Service, Eastern Europe; 28 July 1993.
- Text 5: HUNGARY: 'National Expenditure on Advertising in 1992', BBC Monitoring Service, Eastern Europe, 24 May 1993.
- Text 8: EASTERN EUROPE: Mussey, Dagmar (1995) 'Buyers Want Better Value in E. Europe Consumers Favor Local Products over Expensive Western Goods', *Advertising Age* (17 Apr.): 118.
- Text 9: EASTERN EUROPE: 'A Brand New World Awaits Eastern Bloc Marketers', *Advertising Age* (19 Sep. 1994): 1–20.
- Text 12: LATVIA: Bartal, David and Bowes, Elena (1994) 'Crime Doesn't Pay for Latvian Thugs Seeking Free Space', *Advertising Age* (6 June): 118.

Text 15: EASTERN EUROPE: Mussey, Dagmar and Kasriel, Ken (1993) 'Reemtsma Takes West Cigarettes East', *Advertising Age* (Apr.).

Text 16: EASTERN EUROPE: Wentz, Laurel (1993) 'Hiring the Right Exec Tough in E Europe—Few Advertisers Have Language and Experience', *Advertising Age* (March).

Text 18: EASTERN EUROPE: Bateman, Louise (1995) 'Rising in the East', *Broadcast* (7 Apr.).

Text 19: POLAND: Sony Eastern Push. *Broadcast* (11 Nov. 1994): 11.

Text 20: EASTERN EUROPE: Lamerton, Jacey (1994) 'Building Blocs—Broadcasting Market', *Broadcast* (10 June): 18.

Text 21: ROMANIA: 'CIRCOM Helps Eastern Bloc Shed Communist Legacy', *Broadcast* (1 Apr. 1994): 12.

Text 22: EASTERN EUROPE: Brown, Charles (1992) 'The Collapse of the Eastern Bloc Calls for Renovation of the Broadcast Industries', *Broadcast* (3 July 1992): 43.

Text 23: EASTERN EUROPE: Syfret, Toby (1992) 'Advertising Budgets are Growing at a Rate of 700 Per Cent a Year and Selling Out Fast', *Broadcast* (9 Apr. 1992): 42.

Text 24: HUNGARY: Marshall, Caroline (1995) 'Postcard from Budapest', *Campaign* (9 June): 28.

Text 25: EUROPE: Reed, David (1995) 'The Campaign Report on Worldwide Advertising—Targeting the New Europe', *Campaign* (12 May): 29.

Text 26: UK: Watkins, Simon (1994) Campaign Diary—Latvian Media Thugs can Teach West Tricks in Business Thuggery', *Campaign* (2 Dec).

Text 28: EASTERN EUROPE: 'Campaign Report on International Advertising—Shell and OGILVY and MATHER Tread with Care', *Campaign* (25 Sep.): 34.

Text 29: EASTERN EUROPE: 'Campaign Report on International Advertising—Soho meets Warsaw', *Campaign* (25 Sep. 1992): 31.

Text 30: EUROPE: 'Consumers in Central Europe Think, Respond Differently to Advertising', *Euromarketing* (23 May 1995).

Text 38: HUNGARY: 'Hungary Ad Market goes Back to Basics', *Reuter News Service USSR and East Europe* 17 June 1996.

Text 41: SLOVAKIA: 'CME Losses Rise. BIPCIT', *CBSEXP* (May 1996): 16.

Text 42: USA: 'Fundamental Changes are Needed in Order for Advertising Professionals to do their Jobs', *Pf-NewsWire, PRNW* (15 May 1996) (remarks by Richard A. Segal Jr, FutureFocus '96, Cincinnati).

Text 43: EUROPE: 'It's a Licence to Print Currencies—Soft Drinks', *The Grocer* (4 May 1996): 58.

Text 44: EUROPE: 'Central European Awards 1996', *The Central European* (30 Apr. 1995): 22.

Text 45: RUSSIA: 'Pepsi Invests Heavily in Former Soviet Union', *Reuter News Service USSR and East Europe*, 25 April 1996.

Text 46: UKRAINE: 'Polish Media Focus', *CBSEXP* (Apr. 1996): 16.