

Discourses of nature in advertising

ANDERS HANSEN

Abstract

Studies focused on advertising conducted from the early to mid-1990s suggested a considerable surge in the inclusion of environmental appeals in advertising; i. e., they provided evidence for a 'greening' of marketing to match the increase in media news coverage and public concern about environmental issues that characterized the late 1980s and early 1990s. Drawing on a range of media studies, and on an analysis of British television advertisements, this study shows that, while explicit environmental appeals and green marketing as such are now comparatively rare, nature imagery and appeals to the 'natural' are prominently deployed. It is argued that advertising, in this respect, makes an important contribution to ongoing public definitions of the environment, consumption, and environmental categories. Tracing the discourses of nature uncovered in a number of studies, an attempt is made to 1) examine how these change over time and 2) to explore how television advertising articulates and reworks deep-seated cultural categories and understandings of nature, the natural, and the environment, and, in doing so, communicates important boundaries and public definitions of appropriate consumption and 'uses' of the natural environment.

Keywords: Advertising, television, nature, environment, content analysis, discourse

Introduction

In order to understand how advertising and other media output help shape public understanding of the environment and, by implication, policies on environmental issues, it is necessary to consider how constructions of the environment and environmental problems change over time and how they resonate with specific culturally, socially and historically

determined discourses on the environment. Media discourses help shape and set the parameters of discussion and understanding of environmental issues. By identifying, defining and framing environmental issues in particular ways, the media help set not only a general agenda (Ader, 1995) for the kinds of issues that can be discussed, but more specifically they help define the terms and boundaries of discussion, with implications for the kinds of understandings which become possible, and for the kinds of questions which can be (or are likely to be) asked about environmental problems and for the appropriate social and policy responses to these questions.

But media discourses pertaining to the environment and environmental issues take many different shapes and forms, and by no means all of these – in fact, only a very small proportion, although this also fluctuates significantly over time – are directly or explicitly ‘about’ environmental issues, environmental problems or environmental policy.

A fundamental assumption, and argument, of this study then is that if one wishes to begin to capture and understand how the media contribute to public understandings of environmental issues, one needs to look at media imagery and constructions of nature more generally, with ‘nature’ being a much broader, and, more importantly, a historically and culturally much deeper, older and more significant concept than the relatively recent concept of ‘the environment’.

The meaning of ‘nature’

Despite the often reiterated observation that ‘nature’ and social constructions of nature occupy an absolutely central position in social discourse in general and more specifically, in literature, film and media representation and discourse, relatively little attention has been paid to the changing uses, and by implication, to the ‘constructions’ of nature in advertising.

As Williams points out “Nature is perhaps the most complex word in the language” (1983: 219). He identifies three central areas of meaning:

1. the essential quality and character *of* something;
2. the inherent force which directs either the world or human beings or both;
3. the material world itself, taken as including or not including human beings.

Williams also points to the historically specific and changing predominant uses and interpretations of ‘nature’, from the Enlightenment’s emphasis on nature as a set of laws, something to be studied, understood, and controlled, to the Romantic movement’s emphasis on nature as

pure, pristine and original; "contrasted with what had been made by man, or what man had made of himself" (1983: 223). Perhaps most significantly, Williams points to the binary tensions which are consistently at work in interpretations of nature: "(...) nature was at once innocent, unprovided, sure, unsure, fruitful, destructive, a pure force and tainted and cursed" (222)

Of particular relevance to an analysis of nature images in advertising, is Williams's point that:

"(...) one of the most powerful uses of nature, since the late 18th century, has been in this selective sense of goodness and innocence. Nature has meant 'the countryside', the 'unspoiled places', plants and creatures other than man." (223)

It is the polysemy or semantic richness of 'nature'; i.e., the ability of the word and the concept to accommodate a multitude of contradictory meanings (see also Soper, 1995), that makes constructions of nature so important, because herein also lies the power of nature as a rhetorical device or a frame for investing partisan arguments and interests with moral or universal authority and legitimacy. Uses or constructions of Nature are thus invariably 'ideological' in the sense that they ultimately serve the purpose, as all public discourse, of presenting particular views, understandings, and interests as being 'for the common good', 'universal', and 'right'.

One of the reasons why advertising is particularly interesting to look at in terms of constructions of nature is because, so I would argue, appeals to the 'natural' qualities of the innate, the genuine, the eternal, the non-negotiable (Cronon, 1995) are given a much more seamless, effortless, and taken-for-granted articulation in advertisements than within the constraints which govern the genre, narrative and format conventions of, for example, news or the documentary.

Environment and 'nature' in advertising and other media

Despite the wealth of studies of advertising, including prominent studies examining changes over time in advertising images, messages, ideals and so forth (Leiss, Kline and Jhally, 1997; Nowak, 1992), there has been surprisingly little research on environmental images or images of nature in advertising.

Peterson (1991) examined the extent and type of environmental or ecological themes in American television advertisements, comparing a sample from 1979 with a sample from 1989. This study found that advertisements with an explicit environmental or ecological message ac-

counted for only a relatively small percentage of television advertisements, 5.8% in 1979 growing to a slightly higher 6.9% in 1989.

A number of studies from the early to mid-1990s noted the surge during the late 1980s and early 1990s in so-called 'green advertising' or 'green marketing' (Banerjee, Gulas and Iyer, 1995; Beder, 1997; Iyer and Banerjee, 1993; Kilbourne, 1995). This new style of advertising was identified broadly as advertising which exploited or resonated with the general increase in public concern, awareness and media coverage regarding environmental issues and problems, which was characteristic of many Western countries. 'Green advertising' varied in the extent to which it addressed environmental issues; from a simple stress on the eco-friendliness of products, to corporate image advertising stressing the environmental credentials of large companies, to government and local authority advertising campaigns designed to promote recycling initiatives or environmentally responsible behavior.

Although, with the exception of Peterson (1991), there have been no systematic studies to map the rise and fall of 'green advertising' claims or of environmental advertising images or claims more generally, it is likely that explicit environmental messages and themes in advertising have followed much the same trend as has been identified in other media; namely an increased prominence toward the late 1980s, peaking in the early 1990s and then declining (Einsiedel and Coughlan, 1993; Hansen, 1994; Mazur, 1998; Shanahan and McComas, 1999).

For indications of how the media uses and constructions of nature have changed over time, a particularly illuminating study is Wall's research into the changing ideas of science, nature and environment in the Canadian documentary-series *The Nature of Things* which ran from 1960 to 1994. Wall demonstrates that a bio-economic outlook dominated the 1960s; i. e., a perspective which can be described as a conception of nature as an exploitable source of resources and wealth, a domain to be studied and understood – and subsequently controlled and managed – by science, and a place “where one could go to renew oneself and escape the alienating effects of city life” (61). This view changed gradually, moving in the 1970s towards an increasing emphasis on nature “as vulnerable and fragile, with parts of it being under attack as a result of technological growth” (64)¹, and with an increasing focus on the complexity evident in nature. At the beginning of the 1990s, “the idea that nature will respond with a vengeance to the abuses piled upon it” (68) became more prominent.

Contrasting with Wall's argument that nature in the 1960s was portrayed principally as an exploitable resource, Elbro (1983), in his analysis of Danish and German advertising images of nature in the 1960s and 1970s, argues that not only was nature rarely used in advertisements in

the 1960s, but that landscapes, when they did appear, served predominantly as a flattering, aesthetically pleasing background for advertised goods; untouched nature was rarely stressed as the raw material of the advertised product. By the mid-1970s, Elbro argues, this had changed dramatically; the qualities of the raw materials of the product were foregrounded, and genuineness/authenticity was now the central feature of the commodity's 'natural-ness' and innate properties.

It is not difficult to see how, in a world of increasing alienation, mass-produced goods, artificiality and a wasteful throw-away production mentality, there was plenty of scope for advertisers to invoke or appeal to particular interpretations of nature as un-spoilt, genuine, authentic, spiritual, enchanted, and traditional. Traditional by extension often means rural as opposed to urban, a space, both geographically and historically; i. e., an idyllic, harmonious and tranquil 'past', separate from and removed from the stress, pollution and alienating lifestyle of modern urban life.

Many of the uses and representations of nature identified by Elbro correspond to those identified by Wall, as indicated above, and by Williamson (1978) in her exemplary Levi-Straussian/neo-Marxian analysis of the raw and cooked nature in advertising. In addition to those already mentioned above, these include:

- Nature as fresh (untouched, un-used, un-soiled, un-polluted, un-corrupted by the industrial polluting processes of modern production; un-cultured, and maybe also: un-stressed)
- Nature as vulnerable/threatened (consumption/purchase of the advertised product may 'help' reduce the threat to nature/animals)
- Nature as imperfect (corporate image advertising may stress how large companies (e. g., Shell) may help *improve* an imperfect nature).
- Nature as good and unspoilt raw material, brought directly to the consumer with minimal intervention from production companies or businesses (this again is, of course, a highly ideologically charged rendering, which glosses over the very un-natural processes of production, exploitation, and marketing).
- Nature as past idyll (harmony, community, tranquility)
- Nature as spectacle/wilderness/paradise/pastoral setting and a model through communion with which humans may achieve inner peace and balance

Elbro and others (Rutherford, 1994; Budd, Craig, and Steinman, 1999) also note another significant, but less frequently occurring, image in advertising: nature as a threat (or bad or vengeful; see also Wall's point on nature taking vengeance). Nature is cast as the lurking threat, against

which the advertised product will provide protection: e. g., improved tire technology against slippery roads; car-wax against paint damage and rust; fog-lights for treacherous driving conditions; sun-cream against ultra-violet radiation, and insect-repellant against mosquitoes. The image of nature as a threat is closely allied to, but slightly distinct from, a related image, namely 'nature as challenge', emphasizing the testing qualities of nature, and by extension, serving to demonstrate the manhood, stamina, or physical prowess of characters, or the reliability, sturdy quality, and durability of products.

Images of nature in UK television advertisements

Having outlined, in the preceding review and discussion, some of the changing uses and constructions of nature in advertising and other media, I wish, in the remainder of this article, to pursue the relatively limited goal of exploring the relative prominence of different uses of nature in current British television advertising. A wider objective of the underlying research, but one which is not pursued here, is to compare uses/constructions of nature and environment in the television advertising of several different European countries, and to examine how far, in a time of increasing globalization (not least in marketing and advertising), constructions of nature in television advertising resonate with, and draw on, nationally or culturally specific understandings.

This analysis focuses on a sample of television advertisements shown on the main independent commercial terrestrial television channel in the UK: *ITV*. While no commercial advertising is shown on the two public service channels, *BBC1* and *BBC2*, the terrestrial television scene in the UK additionally consists of three commercial advertising-carrying channels: *ITV* (comprising a network of regional television franchises with some degree of regional variation in programming), *Channel Four*, and *Channel 5*.

The sample used in this study consists of advertisements broadcast during prime-time (defined in this study as 7–10 pm, including advertisements shown both at the 7 o'clock and the 10 o'clock advertising break) over a one-week period composed as a 'rolling' week, i. e. Monday of one week, Tuesday of the next week, Wednesday of the third week etc. from 6 March to 23 April 2000.

All advertisements broadcast during the sample period were examined and classified by brand and product-category, and any advertisements with either an explicit environmental message and/or any visual or verbal reference to nature were further examined in terms of their uses/images/representation of nature.

The sampling period yielded a total of 467 advertisements, of which 132² (or 28%) contained some reference, explicit or implicit, to the envi-

ronment or nature. This in itself is an interesting finding, because it confirms that nature imagery is used extensively in television advertising. It is also, however, worth putting this figure into perspective by noting that the sample did not contain any advertisements with an explicit environmental message; i.e., there were no advertisements specifically encouraging consumers to 'save energy', 'recycle', 'use alternative modes of transport', 'purchase environmentally friendly products' or in other ways act in an environmentally protective or conscious manner.

The uses or images of nature in the advertisements were coded using a range of image-categories which were derived partly and principally from the images/uses visible in the adverts themselves (although, clearly, there is little point in pretending that these categories 'suggested' themselves) and partly by drawing on the categories suggested in the literature examined in the first section of this article.

As most advertisements which featured any reference to nature often suggest or appeal to more than just a single focused idea/concept/image of nature, advertisements were coded for both their principal image and secondary image of nature. Table 1 below shows the distribution of images by principal or main image deployed, while Table 2 shows the overall relative prominence of images when combining both primary and secondary images.

Table 1. *Primary images/uses of nature in television advertisements.*

Categories	Frequency	Percent
Nature as intrinsically good (e.g. healthy, fresh)	43	32.6
Human mastery/power over nature	28	21.2
Nature as a nice place to be	25	18.9
Recreational function of nature	11	8.3
Nature as distance/space traversed/the in-between/obstacle	9	6.8
Nature as a threat	5	3.8
Nature as metaphor for life's journey	4	3.0
Nature as symbol of freedom	2	1.5
Nature as spectacle, packaged (TV) spectacle	2	1.5
Nature as global, big, awesome, impressive	2	1.5
Nature as challenge/sport/manhood/endurance	1	.8
Total	132	100.0

The most conspicuous finding from this analysis is the virtually complete absence of images of nature as vulnerable, fragile or in need of protection. As indicated in the review above, the discourse which regarded nature as vulnerable and fragile became increasingly prominent in television documentaries, as well as in the news during the 1980s and

Table 2. *Primary and secondary images/uses of nature combined.*

Categories	Count	Pct of Cases (cases = 132)
Nature as a nice place to be	53	40.2
Nature as intrinsically good (e. g. healthy, fresh)	50	37.9
Human mastery/power over nature	34	25.8
Recreational function of Nature	27	20.5
Nature as distance/space traversed/the in-between/obstacle	15	11.4
Nature as symbol of freedom	12	9.1
Nature as resource (production/recreation)	12	9.1
'Like nature' – metaphor	6	4.5
Nature as a threat	5	3.8
Nature as genuine and authentic	5	3.8
Nature as metaphor for life's journey	5	3.8
Nature as challenge/sport/manhood/endurance	4	3.0
Nature as spectacle, packaged (TV) spectacle	4	3.0
Nature as global, big, awesome, impressive	2	1.5
Nature as something to protect	1	.8
Total responses	235	178.0

1990s, yet it appears that this discourse has little or no place in advertising. Indeed, the absence of this discourse also emphasizes the general finding that none of the advertisements in the sample period explicitly addressed or articulated an environmental problem or issue. It thus seems that the 'environment' is quite simply not present as a 'social problem' in British prime time television advertising.

Equally interesting is the relatively infrequent portrayal of 'Nature as threat', which confirms the arguments presented by, amongst others, Rutherford (1994). Advertisements deploying this imagery included adverts for outdoor paint, for *Pirelli* car tires (fighting off the lurking dangers of rain-soaked roads and non-road surfaces), and a hitchhiker taking cover from torrential rain whilst enjoying a hot cup of *Nescafé Original*.

Wall argued that the 1960s science/technology discourse of nature as something to be studied, understood and then controlled had gradually given way to other discourses, including a discourse of respect and reverence for nature. The notion of nature as something to be controlled and shaped according to human desires remains, however, very prominent in television advertising. It is discernible in both the category 'Human mastery/power over nature' (21.2% of advertisements) as well as, less explicitly, in the categories 'Nature as distance' (as an obstacle to be traversed) (6.8%), 'Nature as challenge' (0.8%) and 'Nature as resource' (to be managed and exploited for man's benefit) – although the latter only appeared as a secondary image in the sample.

The most prominent images of nature in television advertising are images which draw on and invoke the idea of nature as good, authentic, genuine ('Nature as intrinsically good': 32.6% of the sample), 'Nature as a nice place to be' (18.9%), and nature as a space for human recreation and with recreational powers ('Recreational function of nature': 8.3% of the sample). The category 'Nature as a symbol of freedom' (1.5%) points to the same positive valorization of nature.

The advertisements in these groups are adverts which, in classic advertising fashion, call on nature-imagery: as a means of invoking the idyll, tranquility and beauty for which the stressed city-dweller supposedly longs; as a means of underwriting the 'genuine', 'good', 'authentic' quality and properties of the advertised product; and as the embodiment of (or home of) values and traditions, which have been marginalized or eradicated in the urban centers or in the spheres of work and production. Nature – whether in the form of exotic holiday locations, trips to the seaside or trips to the countryside – thus also becomes, in many of these advertisements, the space/location for family intimacy, togetherness and enjoyment.

There is considerable variation in the kinds of images of nature used or the appeals to the qualities of nature made across different kinds of product categories (see Table 3). Not unexpectedly, appeals to the intrinsic goodness of nature, to notions of nature as the embodiment of health, purity and freshness, and to the restorative powers of nature, are particularly prominently deployed in advertisements for body products (lotions, moisturizers, shampoos, soaps), non-alcoholic drinks (including mineral water and tea), and food products.

A further category of products making prominent use of this particular image of nature was, quite unexpectedly, 'Household cleaning products', which included washing powders/conditioners, detergents, and air-fresheners. Here, promises of magical transformations ("taking you to the magical world of freshness"; advertisement for *Comfort KeepFresh* aromatic sachets) are visualized as shifts from gray-tone interiors to images of colorful meadows, yellow flowers, blue sky and white clouds; while other advertisements articulate the product's ability to harness nature's qualities and import these into the 'non-natural' environment of the home ("special blend of fragrant oils brings the outdoors indoors" – advertisement for *Glade Natural Breezers* air-fresheners).

The body products advertisements appeal to the hidden ("secret blend of herbs and minerals" – *Radox* shower gel), organic ("totally organic experience" – herbal essences shampoo from *Clairol*), fresh, pure and restorative powers of nature, harnessed for human consumption through the carefully 'formulated and controlled' (*Synergie C* from *Garnier*) processes of modern 'scientific' manufacturing. The 'natural' qualities are

Table 3. *Primary images of nature used in each product category (%)*.

Product Categories	Nature images as good, healthy, fresh (n = 43)	Human mastery, power over nature (n = 28)	Nature as a nice place to be (n = 25)	Recreational function of nature (n = 11)	Nature as distance, space to be traversed, obstacle (n = 9)	Nature as threat (n = 5)	Other (n = 11)
Finance/insurance	22.2	11.1	37.0	7.4			22.2
DIY and gardening		90.5				9.5	
Food products	82.4		11.8	5.9			
Cars (incl. maintenance, accessories, etc)		13.3	26.7		40.0	13.3	6.7
Body lotions, shampoo, moisturizers etc.	100.0						
Information technology				14.3	28.6		57.1
Magazines and newspapers		57.1	42.9				
Non-alcoholic drinks	83.3					16.7	
Household cleaning products	80.0			20.0			
Travel			100.0				
Other	30.8		15.4	46.2	7.7		

emphasized through product names (*Botanics* from *Boots*), verbal slogans ("nourish, flourish, thrive, revive, bloom, blossom, invigorate, radiate, rejuvenate but never vegetate, with pure plant extracts" – *Botanics* from *Boots*), and through the prominent visual use of lush nature scenery. In advertisements for mineral water a further link is made between the product and nature's embodiment of 'ancient' authenticity ("naturally filtered through ancient volcanic rock" – *Volvic Natural Mineral Water*).

The principal image of nature in advertisements for travel and holidays was, not surprisingly, that of 'Nature as a nice place to be', but this

was also an image prominently used in advertisements for magazines and newspapers (e.g., the advertising of a free road atlas, to help plan an “enjoyable” car journey “to the seaside”, with copies of the *Daily Mail* newspaper), finance/insurance (metaphorically linking the pleasure, independence and beauty of nature with the pleasure, independence and beauty of financial freedom/planning/provision/advice – e.g., *Scottish Widows*), and cars (emphasizing the green, sunny, golden warmth and beauty of the landscape surrounding the open non-urban road traveled by the cars advertised). The most prominently used image of nature in car advertisements was, however, that of ‘Nature as distance’; i.e., nature as the open in-between expanse, which has to be traversed in order to get to a destination, which itself may or may not be ‘nature’ in the form of ‘the seaside’, the holiday resort, the weekend retreat in the countryside. The open distance/expansiveness of nature is emphasized in these advertisements by the fact that the advertised car is generally the *only* vehicle to be seen on the roads or in the nature scenery shown. ‘Nature as distance’ was also relatively prominent in advertisements for Information technology, emphasizing the time/space-collapsing qualities of new computing/internet services.

‘Human mastery/power over nature’ was the image of nature most prominently deployed in the numerous DIY (Do-It-Yourself) and gardening advertisements in the sample (the second most prominent product category overall during the study’s sampling period of March–April), and in advertisements for magazines/newspapers (a Sunday newspaper, *The Sunday People*, being advertised through the offer of a free garden magazine: “learn his secrets and transform your garden”). The prominence overall of garden imagery of nature is particularly noteworthy; in just under a quarter (22.7%) of the advertisements, ‘nature’ was synonymous with domesticated/tamed/controlled nature in the form of the garden.

Conclusion

Raymond Williams argued that nature is perhaps the most complex word in the language, and the review of how nature has been used and appropriated in media discourse essentially confirms this. It testifies to the signifying flexibility of nature, and to the historically changing underlying views of nature. It is only by examining how discourses of nature change over time that one can begin to understand how they frame and circumscribe what kinds of questions can be asked about the environment and environmental issues. Wall (1999) has shown how discourses of nature in the television documentary have changed from a view of nature as a resource to be controlled and exploited, to a view of

nature as fragile, but also potentially vengeful, and as deserving of respect and protection.

Studies of advertising have shown that the same kinds of discourses outlined by Wall in relation to documentaries are also deployed widely in advertising, but as indicated by the study of British television advertising presented here, the relative prominence of discourses is very different in advertising compared with news and television documentaries. The study found no advertisements with a direct explicit 'environmental' message, and discourses of nature as threatened, fragile, and in need of protection were (in contrast to Wall's finding for documentaries) virtually absent.

The most prominent discourses of nature in British television advertising are the ones which celebrate nature as intrinsically good, fresh and pure; a guarantor of genuineness and authenticity; a place of beauty and a space for human relaxation and recreation, but also, albeit less frequently, simply a space to be traversed. Nature is seen as strong (i. e., *not* in need of protection) and is very predominantly positively valorized, with only occasional foregrounding of its threatening qualities. While nature is predominantly cast as the countryside or wild/un-cultivated nature, a substantial proportion of advertisements equate it with the domesticated/tamed/controlled nature of the garden. Further research should examine the extent to which the discourses of nature in advertising are culturally and nationally specific, or, given the increasingly global nature of advertising and product marketing, whether discourses of nature in advertising have increasingly become global.

Notes

1. Cottle (2000) makes a similar point in his analysis of television news in the 1980s and 1990s when he argues that "alongside images of nature visualised or consumed in 'terms' of spectacle and landscape, TV news also routinely visualises the environment as under threat"(39).
2. These numbers include multiple showings of individual advertisements, the range of unique advertisements is considerably smaller; the 132 'nature-imagery' adverts thus comprised only 71 unique advertisements. In the analysis it is however the full 132 adverts which are used as a basis, as an objective was to see the relative frequency with which various images of nature appear in television advertising discourse, rather than to map the range of unique individual images.

References

- Ader, C. R. (1995). A longitudinal-study of agenda-setting for the issue of environmental-pollution. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 72 (2), 300–311.
- Banerjee, S., Gulas, C. S. and Iyer, E. (1995). Shades Of green – A multidimensional-analysis of environmental advertising. *Journal Of Advertising*, 24 (2), 21–31.
- Beder, S. (1997). *Global spin: The corporate assault on environmentalism*. Totnes, Devon: Green Books.

- Budd, M., Craig, S. and Steinman, C. (1999). *Consuming environments: Television and commercial culture*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Cottle, S. (2000). TV news, lay voices and the visualisation of environmental risks. In S. Allan, B. Adam, and C. Carter (Eds.), *Environmental risks and the media* (pp. 29–44). London: Routledge.
- Cronon, W. (Ed.). (1995). *Uncommon ground: Toward reinventing nature*. New York: Norton.
- Einsiedel, E. and Coughlan, E. (1993). The Canadian press and the environment: Reconstructing a social reality. In A. Hansen (Ed.), *The mass media and environmental issues* (pp. 134–149). Leicester: Leicester University Press.
- Elbro, C. (1983). *Det overtalende landskab : ideer om menneske og samfund i digternes og annonceindustriens naturskildringer i 1970'erne*. [The persuasive landscape: concepts of man and society in the portrayal of nature in literature and advertising in the 1970s] København: C. A. Reitzel.
- Hansen, A. (1994). *Trends in environmental issues coverage in the British national press*. London: Centre for Mass Communication Research, University of Leicester, and WBMG (Environmental Communications).
- Iyer, E. and Banerjee, B. (1993). Anatomy of green advertising. *Advances In Consumer Research*, 20, 494–501.
- Kilbourne, W. E. (1995). Green advertising – Salvation or oxymoron. *Journal Of Advertising*, 24 (2), 7–19.
- Leiss, W., Kline, S. and Jhally, S. (1997). *Social communication in advertising : persons, products and images of well-being*. (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.
- Mazur, A. (1998). Global environmental change in the news – 1987–90 vs 1992–6. *International Sociology*, 13 (4), 457–472.
- Nowak, K. (1992). Magazine advertising content in Sweden and the United States: Stable patterns of change, variable levels of stability. In J. G. Blumler, J. M. McLeod and K. E. Rosengren (Eds.), *Comparatively speaking: Communication and culture across space and time*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Peterson, R. T. (1991). Physical-environment television advertisement themes – 1979 and 1989. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 10 (3), 221–228.
- Rutherford, P. (1994). *The new icons? The art of television advertising*. Toronto: Toronto University Press.
- Shanahan, J. and McComas, K. (1999). *Nature stories: Depictions of the environment and their effects*. Cresskill, N. J.: Hampton Press.
- Soper, K. (1995). *What is Nature?* Oxford: Blackwell.
- Wall, G. (1999). Science, nature, and the nature of things: An instance of Canadian environmental discourse, 1960–1994. *Canadian Journal of Sociology-Cahiers Canadiens De Sociologie*, 24 (1), 53–85.
- Williams, R. (1983). *Keywords: A vocabulary of culture and society*. London: Flamingo/Fontana.
- Williamson, J. (1978). *Decoding advertisements: Ideology and meaning in advertising*. London: Marion Boyars.