DESIRE FOR GOOD: THE MAC VIVA GLAM ADVERTISING CAMPAIGN

by

ANGELINE LUCINDA WEISS

(Under the Direction of James F. Hamilton)

ABSTRACT

This study examines the multi-stage advertising campaign produced by MAC Cosmetics for Viva Glam, a line of products whose entire selling price is donated to the MAC AIDS Fund. The advertisements appeared between 1994 and 2010, and featured celebrity endorsers RuPaul, k.d. lang, Li'l Kim, Mary J. Blige, Elton John, Shirley Manson, Pamela Anderson, Cyndi Lauper and Lady Gaga. Using textual analysis, the advertisements were analyzed for how desire is generated by the codes they employ. Results of this reading indicate that while the advertisements may appear subversive, they are still contained within the dominant.

INDEX WORDS: HIV/AIDS, Cause-Related Marketing, Advertising, MAC Cosmetics

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ANGELINE LUCINDA WEISS

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ANGELINE LUCINDA WEISS

Major Professor: James F. Hamilton

Committee: Peggy Kreshel

Elli Lester Roushanzamir

Electronic Version Approved:

Maureen Grasso Dean of the Graduate School The University of Georgia December 2010

DEDICATION

For my parents,

Peggy and Joel Weiss

whose patience and support never wavered, even when I could not see the escape from my own self doubt

My dear friends,

Rae, Christopher, Rand and Thom

I will never forget you and I know that there will be a cure one day

And to the memory of Dr. Warren Jacobs, who taught me the importance of the question,

"If not now, when?"

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Introduction

Why Viva Glam?

The first time I saw an advertisement for MAC Viva Glam lipstick I was a teenager, and three of my best friends were older gay men infected with HIV. Even at that age, when I did not wear makeup, I was drawn to the ad and the company it promoted because I felt it was doing something good for people I loved dearly. At the time, the fact that the spokesperson was an African-American drag queen in a blonde wig and dominatrix-style latex garb did not faze me at all. The ad was cool. The model was loud. "She" seemed to be yelling, "Yeah, I'm hot. And I know it." Not only was Viva Glam selling lipstick in order to further the fight against AIDS, they were also selling me an image I wanted to embody.

The ad is part of a sixteen-year long campaign that seems to promote the very causes of the disease it purports to want to eradicate. Conventional advertising for AIDS awareness uses fear appeals, showing the ugly and deadly side of the disease with metaphors such as diseased fruit and loaded guns. These ads, on the other hand, present images of sexual freedom if not promiscuity, wealth, opulence. The costumes, color, and facial expressions make the ads rather humorous, almost like cartoons for adults, completely opposite of the dire realities used in other campaigns.

If one were to simply deconstruct these ads and compare their elements, it seems they would not make any sense whatsoever because of the seemingly high level of contradiction between their imagery and the charitable cause they promote. However, as the length of the campaign and product sales show, these ads do make sense. They work. What I hope to study

here is the process by which these ads are made meaningful in our society, and how this meaning-making process produces desires that may be completely unexpected.

Chapter 1:

AIDS, Advertising, and Cause-Related Marketing

The subject of disease has received much scholarly attention. The representation of AIDS in particular has been the subject of many studies due to its prevalence in a variety of media; from widely disseminated news stories and national advertising to underground 'zines. Along with other research in advertising and cause-related marketing, this work has created space for the present study.

Historians have shown that current advertisements have a deeply rooted history and that promises of personal improvement—as well as the promise of cures for disease—are nothing new. However, the embrace of the counterculture and difference has only become popular within the last fifty years, thus potentially making previously hidden topics increasingly legitimate. Another key recent development is the emergence of what is known as cause-related marketing, which connects a commodity or service to a social issue.

One of the causes with which brands have aligned themselves in advertising campaigns is AIDS. While media narratives have shaped our understanding of the epidemic, this understanding exhibits key dichotomies and contradictions, which will be the focus of the present study.

This chapter will discuss key studies of AIDS in the media, advertising, and cause-related marketing. The goal is to provide a basis for the current study by laying a theoretical and historical foundation and rationale. While representations of AIDS has been addressed using different theoretical frameworks, this study will address the topic using a cultural/critical perspective. Such an approach allows for a more inclusive explanation for how these meanings

are generated and how they operate in society. Further reasons for rooting the study in this literature will be made clear later in the study.

Representation of AIDS in the Media from the Postpositivist Perspective

One perspective used to study representations of AIDS is postpositivist. While this approach contributes some useful findings, but it does not address the meaning-making process itself. Instead, it determines characteristics of representations of AIDS and speculates about effects of such messages. Its main intention is to help professionals create effective publichealth campaigns, with less attention paid to the multivalent way such messages work.

A number of studies assess the effects of various messages and media forms. One of the most comprehensive is the Kaiser Family Foundation's content analysis of AIDS/HIV related news stories from 1981-2002 (2004). After studying AIDS/HIV stories in four nation-wide and three regional newspapers, researchers found that the total number of AIDS/HIV stories steadily declined. This research sought to show a cause-and-effect relationship between events (the independent variables) and total number of stories (dependent variables). For instance, spikes in the number of stories correlated directly to major news events, such as the FDA approval of AZT or Magic Johnson announcing his HIV-positive status. Although admitting that it is difficult to conclude that there is a causal relationship between media coverage and public opinion, they state that "The old adage that the media doesn't tell the public what to think, but does tell them what to think *about*, suggests that declining coverage of HIV/AIDS in the news might have some relationship to the public's declining perception of the urgency of the problem." (p. 1).

Bardhan (2001) performs a similar study, but takes the research one step further by using framing theory to argue that the messages do, in fact, cause people to think a certain way.

Employing content analysis, Bardhan studies five transnational news wire services' coverage of AIDS/HIV between 1991 and 1997. A total of 635 stories were analyzed, with a focus on "dominant themes, dominant news makers (sources and actors), and the amount of emphasis (or deemphasis) given to various world regions." (p. 285). Bardhan finds that the wire services are "instrumental in bestowing and maintaining certain ideologically driven frames on AIDS-HIV representation at the global level." (p. 302). When it comes to AIDS-HIV stories, wire-service stories are very similar to each other in terms of dominant theme, voices, and geographic focus (p. 302). While the frames may shift over the years, Bardhan argues that the wire services have a powerful role in determining the way disease is represented and thus understood.

Some media-effects studies seek to show how the framing of the disease affects minority groups. For example, Pickle and Brown (2002) use framing theory to explore the way AIDS is represented in five African-American newspapers from 1991-1996, a time they note as when AIDS first became the leading killer of young blacks. A content analysis of 201 stories sought to reveal where coverage was most prominent and to explore dominant themes. Due to differences in race and class, some themes are very different from what one might observe in the mainstream press. For instance, Pickle and Brown find that many stories in these publications criticize the government and show distrust in the system. These and similar studies show that these African-American newspapers frame AIDS in a certain way, and they acknowledge the historical and political contexts that influence their messages.

While these and similar studies explore dominant frames and themes of AIDS narratives, Bush and Boller (1991) perform a rhetorical analysis of the 1987-1989 federal AIDS television campaign and find that, in addition to these frames, early AIDS advertisements and PSAs were formulaic. While the message itself changes over these three years, its structure does not. Bush

and Boller posit that each commercial typically starts with a purpose (for example, to educate or call to action), then focuses on how the message is situated (via what type of appeal), next, who is targeted, with what character portrayals, and finally ending with the emphasized message (pp. 32-34). The analysis revealed that "The 1987-1989 AIDS campaigns exhibited a focus on scene (the AIDS environment), act (risky behaviors), and agency (how to cope with the threat), respectively." (p. 36).

Entertainment also frames AIDS in particular ways. Gavin (2001) studies the way teen dramas frame AIDS and the role genre plays in constructing understandings of safe sex. The creators of the programs have a certain intent, but due to lack of control of the genre itself, the message may be altered during reception. Gavin states that this issue may account for "the frequently reported discrepancy between young people's knowledge of safe-sex messages and their engagement in practices thus advocated." (p. 94).

In addition to frames, themes, structure, and genre, research has shown that different forms of the disseminating media itself lead to different effects. Snyder and Rouse (1995) test the relationships between exposure to different channels of communication, different types of risk, and preventative behavior change in the context of AIDS communication. By conducting a random telephone survey, they find that exposure to entertainment programs that deal with AIDS is related to increased judgment of personal risk, and that "the data suggest (but not conclusively) that exposure to news programs covering AIDS may have decreased personal risk perceptions." (p. 125). Because of this, Snyder and Rouse suggest that AIDS communicators should "make great efforts to find vivid and dramatic formats in which to make their point." (p. 142).

Critical-Cultural Approaches to AIDS in the Media

By contrast to postpositivist studies of representations of AIDS, studies done from a critical-cultural perspective have sought to understand the specific nature of the portrayals themselves while acknowledging ways that the texts are more fully implicated in social inequalities.

Treichler's pivotal work regards AIDS as constructed through language, with meanings coming from both the medical discourse and the media, arguing that "the AIDS epidemic is simultaneously an epidemic of a transmissible lethal disease and an epidemic of meanings or signification" (1999, p.11). By this, she means that AIDS is a biological reality but one that has been socially constructed as well. Treichler acknowledges that the "social dimension [of AIDS] is far more pervasive and central than we are accustomed to believing." (p.15).

Unlike postpositivist studies seeking to somehow quantify media coverage and show it as a separate entity from AIDS the disease, Treichler acknowledges that the media plays an active role in producing the epidemic itself. "Media coverage cannot be simply taken as a record of the epidemic—although of course it serves this function—but must also be counted as a participant. In the case of AIDS, the U.S. media clearly played a significant role not only in reporting and interpreting biomedical accounts of the epidemic but also in constructing the reality that the public would perceive." (p.73).

Treichler observes that the meaning-making processes occurring within the AIDS epidemic are far from simple, and that "AIDS exists at a point where many entrenched narratives intersect [....] We inherit a series of discursive dichotomies; the discourse of AIDS attaches itself to these legacies of difference and reinvigorates them" (p.35). The study of AIDS meaning, for Treichler, is a study in contradictions and differences. Some of the dichotomies Treichler

presents are the homosexual vs. the heterosexual, the good sex vs. bad sex, and the self vs. the other (p. 35).

Using a similarly discursive approach, other scholars have identified structured relationships that typify discourse surrounding AIDS. For example, Erni emphasizes the centrality of the dichotomy of curability vs. incurability. He argues that "This underlying binary discourse [...] frames the way we conceptualize and struggle with the issues of medical treatment for AIDS" (1994, p. xi). The codes that generate the dichotomy come from many sources. He goes on to say, "From media journalism, including television and press coverage, news in the alternative press, popular magazines, special documentary programs, television talk shows, and community newsletters created by AIDS organizations, come the textual materials that shape the way we grasp and come to terms with the biomedical response to AIDS." Therefore, "curing AIDS' is an object of knowledge made possible on the one hand by the network of techniques and rational programmatic procedures of modern technomedicine, and on the other hand by representational codes, statements, narratives, and images appearing in medical journals and the media" (p. xii). Both Treichler and Erni demonstrate that the meaning of AIDS is constructed linguistically and discursively and that much of this meaning is proliferated by the media.

Other studies express the same notion but use a specific text to illustrate this point. For instance, Gillett (2003) uses underground AIDS 'zines as the subject of analysis. He observes that capitalist interests influence the way 'zines portray AIDS. He argues that grass-roots media efforts have been taken over by the "economic and intellectual elite," and that as AIDS organizations rely more heavily on the corporate sector for support, alternative 'zines are becoming institutionalized and are painting too glossy a portrait of the disease. Therefore, the

problem of increased professionalization, as Gillett states, is that "media projects, as constituting a public sphere for people with HIV/AIDS, are no longer as connected to localized forms of political organizing and activism among people with HIV/AIDS." (p. 613). Those infected are unable to represent themselves, and the disease rapidly spreads among the disenfranchised. The competing interests seen with social marketing within a capitalist society again create a contradiction between intent and result.

Lester (1992) discusses the way in which a professionally-produced media outlet in Europe constructs the meaning of AIDS. In a textual analysis of the magazine *New African*, Lester finds that "AIDS is conflated with other forms of political and economic oppression and neocolonialism..." (p. 232). Here it can be seen that the media not only construct meaning of AIDS, but can use AIDS narrative to enforce social, economic and political ideas and agendas.

In addition to focusing on specific codes in the text itself, meaning is further informed by the larger societal context within which a text is situated, a point made by other scholars. In an article consisting of three different case studies, Stadler (2004) illustrates ways in which the meaning of the message cannot be separated from its context. While Stadler attends to the specifics within advertisements (type of appeal, symbolic metaphors, and brand placement) she also shows that meaning is also made by how these ads fit in society. One case study is of Levi's AIDS awareness campaign. The model in the ad is HIV positive, and the ad copy says who she is, when she was infected, and which jeans she is wearing. Stadler says these ads may raise awareness of AIDS as a social issue, but they are also designed to draw attention to a product (see p. 603). "Vested interests can shift the emphasis to goals such as...selling a product" (p. 608) and that "While the public awareness campaigns launched by corporate citizens represent worthwhile social interventions, analysis reveals a range of competing interests, persuasion

strategies and communication objectives." (p. 591). When a corporation is trying to promote a brand while promoting the AIDS cause, the ads often lack clear-cut messages about what to do to fight or prevent the disease. Stadler argues that "the effective construction and dissemination of the public service message must be given precedence over corporate interests if the initiative is to inform, educate, empower, or offer solutions to the problems facing society." (p. 608). Only when taking the larger context (capitalism, e.g.) into account can one argue that these competing messages exist.

As these studies show, context of the media being studied is a key factor in the overall meaning. Studies that complement textual analysis focus on the conditions in which such portrayals have been generated. In her semiotic study of the United Colors of Benetton campaign, Tinic (1997) also argues that, "the decontextualization of placing issues within the framework of product promotion creates a tone of discordant meaning" (p. 3). Tinic states that within the context of Benetton's brand promotion, social issues became commodified and "lose their significance as problematic human conditions." (p. 3). Tinic argues that ads are polysemic, and that "meaning is dependent on a common pool of cultural signs and symbols." (p. 17). Therefore, meaning cannot exist solely in the advertisement itself. It is made through a process of interpretation through a lens of what we might term "common knowledge."

Cause-Related Marketing

Where the above studies focus on the ways AIDS is placed in the advertisements of forprofit manufacturers, another type of campaign promotes products that actually benefit causes when purchased, thereby (intentionally or not) also relating the disease to the realm of commodities. The phenomenon of cause-related marketing (CRM) came about when companies realized they could increase their bottom lines by appearing charitable or even altruistic. As Roy and Graeff (2003) note, "Consumers tend to have favorable attitudes toward businesses that support charities or causes." (p. 163). Donating a share of profit to a cause positively affects corporate reputation and generates favorable attitudes toward brands. Much work devoted to CRM) has found that an organization will experience higher sales and a more favorable reputation by appearing socially responsible. Thus, CRM is a way of enhancing brand image while also being a mode of differentiation between brands (Lafferty and Goldsmith, 2005, p. 428).

Some writers note key contradictions with CRM campaigns, in that corporate giving is hardly altruistic. Some causes are completely ignored as companies select "safe" causes to support. For example, Ehrenreich (2001) discusses the culture of pink products that have been created around breast cancer, and notes that breast cancer has become a trendy cause to support because it is innocent (p. 48). Taylor (1994) fears that because companies do not wish to align themselves with controversial causes, certain issues like AIDS will be bypassed. Ehrenreich and Taylor both note that CRM campaigns tend to try to hide the ugliness of reality and try to "tame and normalize disease." (Ehrenreich, p. 49).

Ehrenreich calls breast cancer CRM a "culture of pink kitsch." The disease has become intrinsically linked with the color pink, with the pink ribbon becoming a symbol of the disease and awareness. King (2006) makes a similar point by concluding that "corporate marketing strategies, government policies, and the agendas of large nonprofits serve to reinforce one another in the social production of the disease" (p. xxii). Therefore, the way that companies market breast cancer through charitable efforts creates a symbolic meaning of the disease itself

while it also creates one for their brands. While part of this meaning certainly comes about from codes that exist within CRM advertising, King shows that meaning is also generated from an organization's existing culture, reputation, and agenda.

The relationship between disease and brand that CRM creates is not generated in a random process. King notes that in the beginning, corporate philanthropy was a rather "unscientific activity." As companies came to realize the power CRM gave the brand, the practice became a "highly calculated and measured strategy that is integral to a business's profit—making function." (p.2). She goes on to say that "every dollar given must mesh with the company's markets or employees and work as part of their overall strategic plans." (p. 4). The cause a company decides to support must match its overall ideological system and appeal to its consumer audience.

Historical and Capitalist Context of Advertisements

As some of the aforementioned studies show, CRM can generate contradictions, such as the negative association of a fatal disease with a brand. Why would a company wish to align itself with something so distressing? The answer may lie in the notion of brand differentiation. Rather than highlight the positive attributes of a product, ads sell uniqueness instead. Differentiation in this sense lies in doing the opposite of what is expected, which is the basis of hip consumerism (Frank 1997). Hip consumerism came about in the 1960's, fueled by frustration with mass society and an embracing of counterculture. As hip consumerism evolved, companies started using the services of "cool hunters" who would "search out pockets of cuttingedge lifestyle." These hunters would then advise their corporate clients to "use irony in their ad

campaigns, to get surreal, to use 'viral communications'" (Klein, 2002, p.72). Being edgy and different immediately communicates "cool" to youth culture.

This idea of differentiation is prevalent in CRM campaigns. Product sales cannot depend on the promise of good works alone. CRM advertising must also appeal to the consumers' broader expectations of the company itself, its goods, and the image they have come to guarantee. King states that CRM "packages generosity as a lifestyle choice through which individuals can attain self-actualization..." (2006, p. 2). By also employing a hip factor, CRM ads can offer feelings of altruism and coolness all at once.

While some things have changed over the years, the promise of some sort of transformation of self through consumption has been around for centuries. Lears (1994) traces the context of modern advertisements back to the days when peddlers and snake oil salesmen promised cures for nearly every affliction with the purchase of a product. These early purveyors of goods "fed their audience's hopes for self transformation through magical intervention." (p.45). Lears also refers to the complex processes in which consumption became eroticized, noting that desire, longing, and fantasy—and therefore the excitement of purchase—became the subjects of attention rather than the satisfaction of actual possession (see p. 47-51). Goods and fashion acquired magical and erotic qualities. "The world of fashion was pervaded by *glamour*. That word, in its ancient Scottish context, had originally referred to a witch's spell...every woman had the chance to acquire her own quasimagical influence..." (p. 63-64). Through Lears' historical account, one may observe how current advertisements promising beauty, glamour, power, and other qualities have come to be.

To further contextualize the promises of coolness and glamour packaged in advertisements, and in this case, a CRM campaign in particular, one must also acknowledge the

economic and power structures that heavily influence society. Yet again, the ads themselves are not the only factors in creating a meaning of a product. An entire economic system, something that people may not be consciously aware of at all times, further adds to a product's "inherent" value. Jhally (1987) demonstrates how political economy affects the meaning of consumer goods and how advertising creates this meaning. What people see as innate features of goods are in fact qualities that people create. Jhally says that social processes are thus naturalized, and "Things appear to have value inherent in them. The *essence* however is that humans produce value." (p. 29). The actual mode of production and the labor system involved in such helps to define a product's meaning (p.26). It is advertising, though, that communicates these codes of meaning, and that therefore "plays a key role in the definition and satisfaction of needs in a consumer society." (p.64).

Summary

The topic of AIDS and representation has come to occupy a firm place in the research of mass communication. It crosses both media and genre lines, yet certain frames and themes persist. Media effects studies say that these frames have come to shape the way we understand the disease. Critical-cultural studies enhance this understanding by showing there are many more factors that come into play when we determine what AIDS *means* to us. As more and more corporations realize the importance of social responsibility, they further add to the AIDS discourse by linking the disease to the worlds of pop-culture and consumable goods.

Chapter 2: Theory, Research Questions and Method

Using a Structuralist Approach to Textual Analysis

to Read the MAC Viva Glam Campaign

To examine and investigate representations of advertising campaigns that use or refer to AIDS, it is important to establish a theoretical framework that enables a position from which such an interpretation can take place. To develop a theoretical perspective for this study, this chapter will propose a perspective based in structuralist thinking about representation as signification.

Structuralism

Structuralist thinking about language emerged with the early 20th-century work of Saussure. Saussure's revolutionary thinking established the basis for semiology, which is the structuralist study of language. According to Lacey, such a perspective views a sign as a system of communication, with language is the most fundamental system we use. Saussure's approach "defined signs structurally. He stated a sign is a sum of *signifier* and *signified*." (1998, p. 57). A signifier is anything that signifies, and the signified is the concept to which the signifier refers. For example, a red octagonal placard with the white block letters spelling "stop" signifies bringing a car or bicycle to a halt at that point. However, the relationship between the signfier and signified is not natural or organic, but arbitrary. There is nothing natural about an octagonal shape for the sign intrinsically associated with, in this case, the action. One can imagine a square, circle, or triangular sign, or a color yellow or blue working just as well, provided that these signifiers were acceptable. Signs are not only arbitrary, but polysemic, meaning that they have

multiple meanings dependent on language system and context. Signs are therefore social constructs, dependent on a dominant structural system to make meaning.

Signs are comprised of the signifier, any thing that signifies, and the signified, the concept to which the signifier refers. Signs only have meaning within a sign system, a prevailing structure of meaning, and they make meaning at two levels of interpretation. The first-order of signification occurs with denotation, where a signifier is attached to a literal signified. The second-order, connotation, is the Barthesian myth the sign is taken to mean. For example, the word "rose" can denote a fragrant flower with a thorny stem. But a rose connotes much more; it can be a symbol of love, passion and romance (see Barthes, 1972).

The semiotic study of popular culture emerged with Roland Barthes' pivotal work, *Mythologies* (1972), in which he developed an account of "certain signs that carry "particularly powerful connotations, [...which] are (Barthesian) myths." (Lacey, p. 59). The goal of semiotics for Barthes was to understand how seemingly neutral, common-sense understandings were actually implicated in maintaining dominant systems of inequality. The Barthesian approach to structuralist analysis of popular culture was broadened by the work of scholars at the University of Birmingham under the direction of Stuart Hall. The work of the "Birmingham School" of cultural studies in the 1980s provided numerous studies that use either in part or primarily structuralist theories of language to address a variety of forms of popular culture.

Cultural studies marks an intersection of ideas and disciplines. "Cultural studies is the intellectual space where the convergences between these [anthropology, literary criticism, and social history] displaced traditions occurred." (Hall et al, 1980, p. 21). It also represents a "break" in previous ways of thinking.

In serious, critical intellectual work, there are no absolute beginnings or unbroken continuities. There is an unevenness of development...It is because of this complex

articulation between thinking and historical reality, reflected in the social categories of thought, and the continuous dialectic between "knowledge" and "power" that the breaks are worth recording. Cultural studies, as a distinctive problematic, emerges from one such moment. (Hall, 1986, p. 33)

Stuart Hall's research at CCCS drew from past scholars who recognized the importance and possibility of a structuralist critique of expressivist theories of language. According to Hall (1980), "It was Levi-Strauss's structuralism which, in its appropriation of the linguistic paradigm...offered the promise to the 'human sciences of culture' of a paradigm capable of refereeing them scientific and rigorous in a thoroughly new way" (p. 40). Hall noted its distinctive conceptualization of culture not as a content, but as "the categories and frameworks in thought and language through which different societies classified out their conditions of existence" (p.41). As such, structuralism was seen to transcend difference and provide a scientific mode of study for culture, as noted by Lee (2003, p. 82). Lee adds that the linguistic structural paradigm is a model of how "both primitive bricoleur and the modern engineer engaged in the universal activity, with synchronic and transhistorical rules, of making things mean [which was] signification." (p. 82).

The structural and relational view of culture is then an antidote to individual, subjective theories of experience as a kind of content. As Hall argues, "Structuralism insisted that 'experience' could not, by definition, be the ground of anything, since one could only 'live' and experience one's conditions *in and through* categories, classifications and frameworks of the culture. These categories, however, did not arise from or in experience: rather, experience was their 'effect'" (Hall, 1986, p. 42). Structuralism insists that "thought does not reflect reality, but is articulated on and appropriates it." (Hall, 1986, p. 44).

Thus, as made through systems of signs, semiotics sees meaning as firmly rooted in structures of language and power. People habitually take meanings for granted as they become part of general commonsense. Semiotics is a means of reading these meanings. It provides a way to analyze both the "what" of the meaning and the "how." The goal is to reach beyond what is taken for granted, and see what relationships are occurring to create these meanings. In doing so, researchers may also observe the social implications of signs and how their meanings affect the dominant structure. Therefore, semiotics can also be a form of social criticism. It is only by studying the systems of meaning in the dominant structure that we can free ourselves from them.

In addition for providing a scientific mode of cultural studies, another strength of structuralism is its conception of a whole. Whereas culturalism "insists on particularities" (Hall, 1986, p. 44), specifics can be reduced to general types in structuralism; types which unify and allow for a totality that helps to simplify what may be first seen as a complex reality.

Structuralism allows for general claims about the operation of signs in society. Yet at the same time, this structuralist totality emphasizes "...the specificity, the irreducibility, of the cultural" (Hall et al, 1980, p.30), meaning that specific semiotic interpretations of specific artifacts are not only possible, but also necessary.

As an excellent, early example of the application of semiotic perspective to popular culture is Hall's work on denotative and connotative meanings (1973). "Connotative codes are the configurations of meaning which permit a sign to signify, in addition to its denotative reference, *other*, *implied meanings*." (p. 226). So, while meaning is drawn from the common sense of what society accepts certain codes to mean, one's cultural situation, as it were, adds to the meaning. Additionally, codes are observed in a specific context—that of the newspaper. To further inform meaning, the editor chooses a photograph based on its formal news values, while

at the same time "considers how these values will be treated or 'angled'—that is, interpretively coded." (p. 232).

Although structuralist thinking about meaning as signification has been critiqued, the value of textual analyses as applied to popular culture continues to be noted. Textual analysis does not intend to provide absolutes, but "only independent textual analysis can elucidate the narrative structure, symbolic arrangements and ideological potential of media content." (Fürsich, 2009, p. 239). As Fürsich continues, textual analysis allows for study of a text at a "distinctive discursive moment between encoding and decoding" (p. 238) that enables a reading independent of a producer's or audience's intent. It is "in these moments when the text takes on a life of its own (often in ambiguities, unresolved dichotomies or contradictions) where the textual critic finds crucial insights." (Fürsich, p. 245). By taking a structural approach to how meaning is made, scholars are able to posit how popular culture either challenges or reflects hegemonic structures.

Feminism

Feminist research often anchors critical, semiotic inquiry into popular culture. The concept of difference is an important component of this work. "...the notion (following Ferdinand de Saussure's structuralist linguistics) that meaning is made through implicit or explicit contrast, that a positive definition rests on the negation or repression of something represented as antithetical to it." (Scott, 1988 p. 448). When confronted with such dichotomies, people will perceive one dimension to be lesser than the other. "The leading terms are accorded primacy, and their partners are represented as weaker or derivative." (Scott, p. 448).

The dominant societal structure imprints meaning on these dichotomies. The meanings are disconnected from subject itself. "Sexual difference (the contrast masculine/feminine) serves to encode or establish meanings that are literally unrelated to gender or the body. In that way, the meanings of gender become tied to many kinds of cultural representations, and these in turn establish terms by which relations between women and men are organized and understood." (Scott, p. 448). Butler (1990) states that "This 'body' often appears to be a passive medium that is signified by an inscription from a cultural source figured as 'external' to that body: (p. 496) and that "...it seems that genders can be neither true nor false, but are only produced as the truth effects of a discourse of primary and stable identity." (p. 501). Both sex and gender acquire meanings from language, and signs constitute the meaning of what it is to be man or woman. According to McAfee (2005), "...our sociosymbolic world [is] a matrix through which we are constituted and positioned. We are not the holders of signs and symbols; they hold us." (p. 143). Such theories give the notion that there is no escape from the meanings predetermined by the dominant structure.

However, according to some feminist scholars, there are ways to work within the structure to change meaning. "Theorists who take signs at face value, as tools wielded by oppressors, fail to appreciate the ways that signs can be played with and turned on their head." (McAfee, p. 144). Just because signs may have firmly and deeply rooted meanings does not mean they cannot be repurposed. McAfee mentions the gay liberation movement co-opting the derogatory term "queer" (p. 144) as an example of using the existing language to gain power. "We refashion language and symbols by *using* language and symbols, by discursively highlighting and questioning the ways in which semiotic processes function." (McAfee, p. 145). The structures may be fixed, but by finding ways to redeploy codes, new meanings can be made.

Research Questions

In order to explore issues and contradictions involved in AIDS representations as part of CRM campaigns, this study will address one such CRM campaign to understand how apparent opposites can be (provisionally) reconciled, and what kind of structures enable their reconciliation.

As noted, a generally conceived structuralist theory of representation within a feminist framework lays the groundwork for the present study. In order to address the ways in which a cause-related marketing advertising campaign constructs the disease of AIDS and with what implications, the analysis can be guided by a number of general research questions.

- 1. In what ways do advertisements in a CRM campaign regarding AIDS normalize homosexuality?
- 2. In what ways and locations do advertisements in a CRM campaign locate the responsibility of AIDS infection?
- 3. In what ways do these advertisements reconcile the use of sexual appeals in association with a fatal, sexually-transmitted disease?
- 4. In what ways do structures in which the CRM campaign operates confront the dominant?

Methodology

The present study will address these research questions through a reading of the MAC Viva Glam campaign, a series of ads which were placed since 1994 for a lipstick. MAC contributes the entire selling price of Viva Glam lipstick to the MAC AIDS Fund (MAF). Founded in 1994, MAF partners with people and organizations who confront the AIDS crisis in

high-risk and underserved communities. MAF funds programs that "deal directly with the most marginalized, stigmatized and under-heard victims" (source: www.MACAIDSFund.org).

I have selected the Viva Glam campaign because it occupies a unique space. The contradictions between the fantastical images and the seriousness of the cause generate meanings and desires exclusive to this campaign alone. It resides within the context of brand advertising, fashion and cause-related marketing, both seemingly featuring if not highlighting gay pride while also employing explicit codes of heterosexual desire. I intend to analyze these codes and provide a reading of how they signify within these spaces.

Despite a multitude of different advertisements produced over the course of the campaign, the different ads are a part of six distinct "stages" as indicated by the company, each one with its own particular form. Thus, this study will focus on each of these separate stages, which span the entire duration of Viva Glam. Stages of the Viva Glam campaign include Viva Glam I (which features RuPaul (1994)); Viva Glam II (featuring k.d. lang (1997)); Viva Glam III phases I and II (featuring Li'l Kim and Mary J. Blige (2000)); Viva Glam IV (featuring Elton John, Mary J. Blige and Shirley Manson (2002)); Viva Glam V (featuring Pam Anderson (2005)); and Viva Glam VII (featuring Cyndi Lauper and Lady Gaga (2010)). I consulted the Viva Glam website for reproductions of these ads.

These advertisements will be read through a structuralist-semiotic perspective of image analysis, in which the first step is to note each of a variety of parts and their characteristics. As outlined by Lacey (1998), these parts include frame (including angle and height, distance, and tilt), mise-en-scene (subject, lighting and setting), "context, contact and the message," anchorage, image choice and cropping, juxtaposition and genre, all of which are potential key dimensions for studying how an advertisement signifies (see pp. 39-45). Each of these will be

taken into account, but I will use the commutation test and manipulate each dimension to see which one or ones are crucial in how meaning is constructed in these advertisements. According to Chandler, the commutation test "can be used in order to identify distinctive signifiers and to define their significance – determining whether a change on the level of the signifier leads to a change on the level of the signified." (2002, p. 99-100). Using such a technique will allow me to hone in on which key factors present determine how meaning is made.

Summary

A semiotic textual analysis is the selected way to read this text. The research questions focus on both the contradictions contained within the advertisements and external to them. The polysemic nature of the present signs will be explored, yet the research questions keep the focus on certain particularities and the reading will not be an exhaustive discussion of potential meanings. However, this theoretical framework partnered with these questions begins the exploration into how a unique cause-related marketing campaign works within the dominant.

Chapter 3: Analysis

Desire Is Good: Reading Viva Glam

When the MAC Viva Glam campaign launched in 1994, elements present in the advertisements that would be considered shocking in most contexts were normalized because of the way semiotic codes worked together and where the advertisements were placed. Always called a "rule-breaking" company in trade publications because of its hard-rock image, hip retail space and sleek black packaging, MAC continued to perpetuate this image within the Viva Glam ads while, ironically, following the basic rules of brand and fashion advertising.

This chapter will analyze select advertisements from the duration of the campaign, from that first image in 1994 to the most recent published in 2010. While an infinite number of readings are possible, my focus will be on how the advertisements elicit desire using heteronormative codes, even when the image subjects are far from heteronormative. This desire within the context of branded advertising in mainstream glossy magazines becomes, for lack of a better word, okay. Private desire becomes public and all shame is removed. The contradictions within the advertisement work well with the decoding process, and the outrageousness of the imagery rendered safe as the viewer makes meaning. The illicit becomes acceptable and taboos fall by the wayside within the context of the Viva Glam campaign.

I will explore the signification process that makes this all possible by focusing on key aspects of the advertisement and their relationships to each other. I assert that key sites of signification in this campaign are the setting, the body language and gaze of the models, and the

image framing, which together determine how the advertisements signify. The configuration of these elements deradicalize the sexual desires presented and the message of supporting the AIDS cause by being articulated in the context of fashion advertising. Although a first impression may say the Viva Glam images are subversive, the way in which they signify actually places them within the dominant without challenge.

Viva Glam I and II: RuPaul and kd lang:

A (Very) Practical Joke

This section will explore the earliest phases of the Viva Glam campaign. These first advertisements make meaning through contradiction, using body language, gaze and setting (or lack thereof in this case) to determine how the images signify. The images employ queer personalities to embody iconic codes of heterosexual desire, playing jokes on the (heterosexual) viewer. Yet despite the contradictions, the end result, desire, is still achieved with a degree of subversion.

RuPaul became the first spokesperson for MAC Viva Glam in 1994. This initial series of ads are the only ones that effectively call into question the dominant, and it does so by playing a trick on heterosexual desire. The trick is that the blonde-bombshell model shown in the ads and who so easily fits fantasies of heterosexual men is actually "herself" a man in drag.

The setting of the advertisements work clearly on the terrain of fantasy and desire.

RuPaul's body is situated on a blank white backdrop without any horizon line or sense of spatial depth or real-world location. There is no reference to where the body is—it could be anywhere, it could be nowhere, thus leaving it up to viewer fantasy to invent the setting. The body has been

manipulated in unnatural positions, almost like a doll, to form the intended image, furthering this feeling of inventiveness and artifice.

Body language and position further accentuate the fantasy. RuPaul's body is repeated, with different poses forming letters of the Viva Glam brand name. In this way, the body becomes the brand itself. She works as something men desire for their women, and for women to dream about becoming for their men. She is both the fantasy of what to buy and what to be. The way the body is duplicated suggests a degree of intentional theatricality, as no one can "realistically" be in more that one place at once.

The advertisements play with archetypal icons. RuPaul appears to be the quintessential bombshell. The blonde hair is like that of the jezebel screen sirens from classic film. The revealing outfit is reminiscent of a superhero, a sort of modern-day, bondage-esque Wonder Woman. The slender legs, accentuated breasts and cinched waist represent the archetypical focus of male desire. The poses are often highly sexual, as the legs are parted to form a "V" and the pelvis raised to form the "M." The facial expressions further this sexuality, with mouth open, smiling and eyes peering at the viewer. These elements signify sexuality and allure; sexualizing the brand and the desire of advertising.

However, by courting heterosexual desire so conventionally, a joke is played. RuPaul is a biological male who teasingly solicits heterosexual male desire. The images are meant to highlight the sexual zones of the female body, such as the leg, breast and long hair. For those who do not know RuPaul is a drag queen, there is nothing in this advertisement to suggest anything other than "normal" or "healthy" sexuality. All the advertisement actually signifies on its own, then, are fantasies of heterosexuality and the desire typically exercised in brand advertising. While the images are perhaps more flamboyant and explicitly sexual than others,

the advertisement can still be read through the codes of conventional brand and cosmetics advertising.

However, when read contextually with the knowledge of RuPaul's sexual orientation, it becomes a "behind-the-back" joke on the heterosexual dominant and all the desires contained therein. Imagine how a "red-blooded" American male viewing this ad without this contextual knowledge would feel once RuPaul's real orientation was revealed to him.

In its brassy, confrontational playfulness, the advertisement also subverts the AIDS discourse, removing the repression of homosexual desire and the taboo of AIDS, making it flamboyant and normal to talk about AIDS. It does this because the sexual, flamboyant image is anchored by the standard Viva Glam copy that states that every cent of the selling price of the lipstick is donated to the MAC AIDS Fund. The subject matter of the serious copy and the playful, sexual imagery are in opposition to each other, and the disjunction between the copy and the image produce dichotomies of normal/deviant, as well as one of flamboyant/repressed within the relationship of the image and the copy. And it is through this relationship and the working of these codes together, that the advertisement makes it flamboyant, but normal to talk about AIDS.

The ads work within the highly conventional codes of heterosexual fashion advertising. And as the desire of brand advertising works, she is also there as an aspirational desire for women. Women can fantasize through her about being desired by men the way that she is. But "she" is a "he," and it is this contextual signification that moves this ad into playful parody. In doing so, it unsettles the dominant and calls into question the very stability and unity of the dominant.

However, the advertisement is not a direct confrontation of the dominant. Instead, it is almost a game to be played with the viewer, challenging his or her very definitions of desire without ever actually confronting them head-on. Yet this is the only time in the history of the campaign that Viva Glam does this. The spokesperson of the next stage in the campaign, kd lang, also uses humor but in a very different way, and her advertisement represents a much more accommodating position within the dominant.

The next incarnation of the Viva Glam campaign, featuring lang, came in 1997. Like the RuPaul advertisement, lang's also operates within heterosexual codes of desire, but without ambiguity or deception. In the image, only the top half of lang's body is shown. She wears a simple black t-shirt with her hair styled into a pompadour and her shoulder armed with an anchor tattoo. She points to a pink lip print on her cheek, as though placed there by an admiring woman. A heart has been drawn around her image, with pink and red flowers strewn about beyond its edges.

On one hand, the advertisement again signifies sexuality and allure. Yet this time the desire is situated differently. The hair, tattoo and shirt all signify a James Dean-esque, 1950's heartthrob male archetype, and the kiss on the cheek is further indication that this person is desired by women. Furthermore, the image appears on a white, formless backdrop, a fantastical realm without referent to space, thus continuing the theatrical artifice first seen in the RuPaul stage of the campaign. The fantasy is elevated to cartoonish proportions by the heart and roses that surround lang. These touches signify a poster in a teenager's bedroom or a daydreaming doodle in a high-school notebook, suggesting an innocent and conventional schoolgirl crush

On the other hand, none of the subversive joke of the RuPaul ads is present. This advertisement blatantly tells the viewer that the spokesperson is not what "he" appears to be.

Whereas RuPaul's breasts were enhanced and the waist cinched to exaggerate a female form, kd's breasts are not compressed to make her appear male. And on an even more literal level, the copy tells us this person is a celebrity and a lesbian.

The way desire operates is more obviously and deliberately humorous. The image, using the codes of an archetype, elicits heterosexual female desire. It is a strong, masculine "bad boy" look that women stereotypically fall for. And yet, the image is definitely female. Thus there is a degree of ambiguity at play, without an attempt to pass the model as wholly male or female, straight or gay. For example, by pointing to the lip print on her cheek, lang is aware of her desirability by women. But she is desired by those who consume this particular product, thereby endorsing it without consuming it (and becoming woman) herself. She is not objectified as the product as RuPaul was. Rather, she is one to be admired by those who wear the product, and in turn is one who would maybe respect and desire those who wear the product.

Thus, albeit in a fun and fantastical way, kd lang invokes heterosexual (i.e. conventional and dominant) desire. The advertisement does not seek to appeal to lesbians who look like kd lang, whereas RuPaul could appeal to women wishing to look like her. Instead, the ad works for outsiders, those who are open to the possibility of fantasy, yet still live within the realm of the dominant as heterosexual women who wear makeup. It is taking a queer image and affirming it within the conventional codes of the dominant. It effectively removes the repression and taboo of homosexuality by using standard codes. And yet, the sexual ambiguity prevents it from fitting neatly within the patriarchal, heteronormative dominant. Rather, it offers an alternative to the "norm." It is not a direct critique of the dominant; it scrambles the dominant instead of trying to fool and subvert it.

As with RuPaul stage of ads, the image here is also anchored by copy at the bottom of the page that reads "Every cent of the retail selling price of MAC VIVA GLAM II lipstick is donated to the fight against AIDS." The celebratory image with its hearts and flowers is in complete contradiction to the "fight" against a fatal disease. Yet the contradiction is not as extreme as the flamboyant/repressed dichotomy seen before. By confronting the dominant and normalizing queer desires within those codes, the kd lang advertisement makes it conventional to talk about AIDS. It is not a subject to be hidden anymore—it is something that people, no matter what desires they have, can discuss. Not only does the advertisement bring the campaign into more of a conversation rather than confrontation with the dominant, but it also signals the start of how the campaign makes formerly taboo subject matter part of the overall dominant structure.

Viva Glam III: Lil Kim and Mary J. Blige:

Using the Surreal to Make Real Desire

The next series of MAC advertisements feature hip hop/R&B artists Lil Kim and Mary J. Blige. They mark a clear shift in the campaign, both in visual codes and in the meanings they render. While the images are fantastical, sometimes even surreal, they still bring the campaign from what was pure theatricality into a realm approaching reality. They are caught somewhere in-between, conveyed by the image setting and framing. This sort of limbo proves to be an effective place to employ the codes of heterosexual desire which are more easily accommodated within the dominant.

The setting of the ads signifies reality. The first advertisement is clean and white, but unlike in previous ads, one can infer the setting is a real space. There is a horizon and visual depth. At close observation, tile can be seen on the back wall. The two models are posed on a

duvet or stool with cushions. However, although it is a defined space, it is an impossible space in the real world. It is stark white as though it has never been touched. The tiled wall signifies a bathroom, but the furniture suggests a boudoir. It is an unlikely pairing, and together the elements signify a level of privacy, and a place in which intimate and bodily things are done.

The models themselves also represent a level of surrealism, one that is commonly seen in typical fashion advertising. The bodies, like the room, are without blemish. They are idealized and immaculate. Their smooth skin has been airbrushed, as evidenced by its perfect tone and uniform texture. The two faces gaze at the camera, engaging the viewer. Furthering the feeling of a fashion advertisement, their clothing is as clean and white as the setting itself, and the poses, accessories and shoes all draw the gaze to the outfits, even if they are not meant to be centerstage. The subject of the ad is not the product it is intended to sell, but rather these representations of ideal people. As with fashion brand advertising, these figures trigger an aspirational desire built on dominant codes.

These dominant codes also evoke heterosexual desire. There are two women together, but there is no apparent sexual relationship between the two. Each of them is posed in a sexually alluring way: Lil Kim with her legs apart, completely lacking self-consciousness over her anatomy. While Mary J. Blige keeps her legs together and is a bit more demure, her thigh is completely exposed. The outfits they wear are typically appealing to the heterosexual male gaze. Lil Kim wears a bikini while Mary J. Blige wears a short, casually opened trench coat and thighhigh boots. One is intentionally revealing and overtly sexual, while the other is more of a playful tease. In being represented as sexy straight women, they are straightforward significations of heterosexual desire.

Not only does this ad signify through codes of heterosexual desire, it also works through those of glamour. Jackson Lears defines glamour as the ability to invoke envy, and these two models do just that. Lil Kim's neck is covered in strands of pearls and she wears sparkly silver high-heeled shoes. Mary J. Blige wears large rings and hoop earrings. There is a level of wealth and opulence represented by their jewelry. Their clean outfits illustrate that these women never lift a finger. Lil Kim holds a mirror, signifying vanity and a pride in oneself. She is meant to be adored by others, as much as she adores herself. The irony is that the viewer envies an impossible scenario—no amount of consumption could bring this situation to life. This is common in brand advertisements: the image makes a promise that a purchase cannot deliver, yet the desire the codes trigger is so strong that it still works.

Here, too, there is a contradiction between the desirable image and the copy. The copy in this ad states "Mary J. Blige and Lil Kim for MAC Viva Glam/Every cent of the selling price of MAC Viva Glam lipstick is donated to the MAC AIDS Fund to support men, women and children living with HIV and AIDS." We are told exactly who the models are, people we know to be real and exist in another world (music) entirely, yet are represented as idealized versions of themselves. The plight as anchored in the copy has changed from the "fight against AIDS" to supporting those who live with the disease. Despite the softer verbiage, it still collides with the sexually-charged image. The image uses dominant codes of heterosexual desire in a more direct and typical way, and encourages the viewer to aspire towards a fantasy. However, the copy in which it is anchored brings back reality, both of who the models are and the nature of the disease. The advertisement makes no effort to reconcile the idealized image with the message of social responsibility—something that would not be needed in an ideal world.

This second stage of the Viva Glam campaign continues with another image of Lil Kim and Mary J. Blige, one that signifies through many of the same codes, yet is not so idealized.

The advertisement still has an element of fantasy, but this time it is not so unattainably clean. It also employs a woman's power in its use of heterosexual desire.

The setting is again some sort of space, yet a viewer cannot be entirely sure of what that space is. The models are posed in the corner of a room, and a floor can be seen. The walls and floor are a shabby, unclean brown. No fixtures or other telling marks suggest what this room may be, but the color and texture is reminiscent of a place like an old Elks' Lodge meeting hall. It is neither stylish nor swank, nor is it private. Instead, it feels almost seedy, and while public, not necessarily a place in which to desire to be seen.

The codes of heterosexual desire are very strong. The women are posed together, yet again there is no implication that they desire each other. They wear gold lamé outfits: Lil Kim's is a jumpsuit which is open down the front to expose her cleavage; Mary J.'s is a short minidress that reveals her thighs. They both have long hair. Perhaps the strongest visual, however, is the scene behind them. Nude, anonymous men are suspended in the air, mid-jump, seen from the jaw down, their bodies covered with lipstick prints. While we cannot see their full faces, we can see their smiles.

The leap with the two women in the foreground signifies an immense amount of power, driven by desire. The two women are in the foreground, but face away from the nude men behind them—perhaps they are above paying attention, or maybe they had the power to arrange the whole strange scene themselves and have turned to the viewer to display the power of their handiwork. The men are objects, merely props in a backdrop. Furthermore, the women demonstrate their power by exhibiting their wealth. Their worth is in their sexual desirability,

the ability to make men go to great lengths to humiliate themselves for their amusement. The gold outfits reinforce this wealth, shimmering as they do like precious metal in the middle of a common space. Their situation is still enviable, even in a dirty place.

The whole composite is surreal and impossible to achieve, yet in spite of the suspended naked men the scene moves further into the realm of reality. Not only is the space common and public, but models themselves are not immaculately clean. Mary J. Blige's tattoos are clearly visible, removing some of the purity of the previous advertisement.

The image is again discordant with the verbal message, yet perhaps not quite so much. The ugly reality of the space articulates with the ugly reality of the disease. However, a powerful scene signifying an abundance of wealth and power is placed within that setting. It implies an ability to rise above the ugliness of the world as long as one has the power to do so. This notion is somewhat contrary to the message, one that urges consumers to perform an act that individually holds little power: buying a lipstick whose purchase price is a small contribution to charity. The power in the act is not personal, as it is in the image.

The use of power within the message makes the desire for worldly things (sex, wealth, fame and power itself) acceptable, even in a seedy setting. Power is also present in the white advertisement, as connoted by the mirror and the pride it symbolizes. Consumers still have the power to do something good, even if the act (purchase) is safe and easy, and the contribution is minor. The power to be part of the cause means that any negative connotations attached to the desire are erased. The image works within the dominant because it exhibits the power to make change, as all typical cause-related marketing does, but it does so using strong heterosexual codes of desire.

Viva Glam IV: Elton John, Mary J. Blige and Shirley Manson:

Putting Desire Onstage

MAC Viva Glam IV continues the foray into a real, yet completely fantastical world with Elton John, Mary J. Blige and Shirley Manson as spokespeople. Setting and framing dictate how the image makes meaning, working together with who the celebrities are and their body language. The three are posed together in front of a microphone, with Elton in the middle, on a Vegas-style stage filled with pink and purple hues. Elton's open-mouth smile sets the fun and celebratory mood in this particular image.

Here, the setting is key to the meaning of the advertisement. The stage presents a bit of an interesting paradox. Finally the MAC creatives set a space where viewers can actually tell where they are. It is the first time we are presented with enough details to define the space with certainty, and yet this space is deliberately fabricated. It is over the top, dominated by colors that rarely appear in nature, with cartoonish-clouds rimmed with neon hanging in the backdrop. This is the setting of a show, which is the opposite of real life. Even when the setting is established, an intention still exists to keep the element of fantasy, and this time a very literal theatricality, in the forefront.

This advertisement also marks the first time that Viva Glam models have been fully integrated into their setting. The earliest advertisements had no setting at all, the next had models placed in front of something separate from what they were doing at the time, but now, the models are part of the scene. They have a prop, the microphone, which they surround. The microphone signifies who the models are and directly correlates to their real-life careers as musicians, while also giving them a purpose for being on stage. By being part of the scene, the models give the sense that this is something real to which one may aspire, but by being such an

unreal setting, there is the contradiction that yet again the viewer fantasizes after something that is unattainable.

The element of the unattainable seems to please Elton John, and establishes the joke in this image. Stripes of saturated and lighter pinky reds emanate on the floor and backdrop, with all converging on Elton John as the origin, signifying that this is his stage and show. His big smile suggests mocking laughing rather than self-centered enjoyment. With his arms wrapped around the waists of attractive, sexualized ladies, it is as though he is saying to the heteronormative male viewer thus constructed "I'm here, you're not. Jealous?" Restricted to the boundaries of the text, Elton John is positioned in a stereotypical heterosexual male fantasy—as the center of attention, both of the show and of the attention of two attractive women.

However, and similarly to the RuPaul ads, when read contextually, this fantasy emerges as a joke. It is known that Elton John is gay, with the stage's pinks and purples further signifying this detail. In a contextual reading, he plays a joke on the heterosexual male who would desire to be in his position between two lovely ladies in short dresses and high heels, the joke being that he should not be envied, because he'd prefer having two beefy guys to hold. His position of power is signified by signs of royalty—he is like a king holding court over his stage and audience. Even his suit, which is purple and made of an opulent brocade fabric, signifies royalty. The heterosexual fantasy is his dominion, and the irony is that he holds power over something he does not even need. By owning this stage, he has access to an embarrassment of riches and is meant to be envied. The women are merely props to signify his power and elicit desire.

This joke on the heterosexual male reaches further and plays a joke on the dominant by taking standard codes and placing them in this fabricated setting. This is not a typical fashion advertisement by any means, yet some of the signifiers are present. Both Mary J. Blige's and

Shirley Manson's dresses are very short. Mary J. pulls her hem even further up her thigh and looks at the camera with a smile and a "come-hither" gaze. Shirley takes the role of the rocker, with her bleached-blonde hair swept up on her head. She gazes down at the camera with her head tilted back, her arm outstretched and finger pointing, as though keeping a distance with her audience. While they each represent different forms of female icons, they each articulate with codes of desire—one says "come get me" while the other plays hard to get. Yet they both "belong" to a gay man in this scene, and therefore operate very differently than the women of typical fashion advertising. They become objects of desire, yet at the same time they make fun of the very desire they create by choosing to be with someone who would not even desire them.

The advertisement is full of contradiction in additional ways. A surreal setting is made real by being a stage, which by its very nature is artificial. Therefore, as an anchor for all other elements in the advertisement, the stage renders everything unreal. While the joke may be on the heterosexual viewer, there is no effort to undercut heterosexuality, nor is there an effort to normalize homosexuality, as the entire scenario is a fabrication. Placed textually and by the brand within this ad and its intentional associations, AIDS too becomes an invention and loses the weight of its seriousness. And yet, given their pose, there is still a feeling that the artists are collaborating for a cause (as seen in other ventures such as Live Aid, etc). MAC can reconcile the light tone that it attaches to the disease by sending the message that something can be done about it, and perhaps that is why these characters are there. The viewer's role is the heteronormative consumer, with the gateway whole fantastical world is consumption. The scene is impossible, just as a cure for AIDS may be.

Viva Glam V: Pamela Anderson:

High Art and High Gloss

The Viva Glam V stage marks a serious break in form and style from the previous stages. Viva Glam V conforms most clearly to conventional high-gloss fashion advertising; looking more like a serious piece of art photography and entirely lacking humor. The stage is composed of a series of celebrity portraits, with each advertisement featuring a solo figure posed in front of a simple gray backdrop, and wearing a MAC Viva Glam V t-shirt. Each celebrity wears the shirt in a different way, and according to quotes from MAC executives in a 2004 Ad Age profile, the shirts were personally tailored to match individual style. Although the portraits are personalized, each is similar in theme and composition. In this section, I will focus solely on the advertisement featuring Pamela Anderson.

A key aspect of typical fashion advertising is the way the model is removed from any social context and is completely objectified. Desire for the model is transferred to the commodity that she endorses. In this ad, Pamela Anderson becomes a work of art and a desirable commodity. The gray backdrop, suggesting a setting in a photography studio, ensures that the viewer's focus remains solely on her. Her body dominates the image, so there is no room for the meaning-making process between the body and space as seen in previous campaigns. She is not articulated with, within or without anything. Her image is instead total and complete in itself.

Pamela Anderson is an object of heterosexual desire. However, there is no referent in this portrait to who she actually is. Instead, she is an object of a different kind of desire, that which has codes deeply rooted in classical art (see Berger, 1972). She is posed as though she has been caught by the camera; turned so we see her naked back, with her head turned slightly in the

opposite direction so we can see her face. Her arm is raised to obstruct the view of her breast, and her fingers are raised to her slightly parted lips. It is a pose reminiscent of the classical image of the nude nymph, accidentally spotted bathing in a clear pool, and one reminiscent as well of modern pinup art. It is a flirtatious pose, where her soft eyes and slightly parted mouth belie any real surprise.

Anderson's impossible body also signifies artifice as well. Her skin is obviously airbrushed so as to eliminate any blemish. It is so smooth it appears to be fake, almost painted on the gray backdrop. Her own surgical enhancements, such as her breast which is clearly a construction, further signify the falseness and fantasy of a hyper-sexualized image. She has been created to be a sort of über-embodiment of heterosexual desire. Each part of her is an extreme version of a sexual code. Only through the fantasy of art can a body like this exist. Residing within the context of fashion advertising, it is not just the body that becomes the object of desire through this fantasy, but also the product it signifies.

Because codes of heterosexual desire are expected within such a context, the advertisement ensures an uncomplicated meaning-making process. The ultra-serious, "arty" image generates an entirely uncritical signification. It does not reflect upon reigning conceptions of sexuality or upon our desiring bodies as objects. The dominant remains stable as this advertisement fits entirely within the commodification of desire without challenge. Individual desires are safe within the context of this advertisement because they rest firmly within the security of the dominant.

The codes of fashion advertising are even more firmly rooted within this campaign because an article of clothing is part of the focus. Although Anderson does not actually wear the article of clothing, the same logo as seen on the shirt has been painted on her back. The logo,

and therefore the brand, becomes more important than the article of clothing itself. This too is common within fashion advertising, as the brand image takes precedence over the actual commodity. Branded fashion advertising induces desire for an entire lifestyle, not just desire for one item.

Luxury brands seek to make their products appealing and attainable to the masses, and the Viva Glam V logo unites opulence and glamour with street style. The words "MAC VIVA GLAM" are bedazzled in gold as the "V" is white and appears to be painted on with rough brushstrokes. Luxury becomes cool, and the desire for wealth, being hip and being sexy are all fulfilled with an image that lacks any contradiction. The codes are straightforward and without parody. The logo also literally reinforces the artistic element of the image, as an artist of some kind had to actually paint the design on Anderson. She is both a work of art and the canvas itself.

Because Anderson is objectified as art and not represented as the actual person, who she is does not have to be part of the meaning-making process. In real-life, it is known that Anderson has had affairs with famous, "bad boy" rock stars and has contracted a hepatitis C, a sexually-transmitted disease. However, as a fantasy image, this contradiction between the cause and her own situation does not affect desire for the brand. Instead, in this photograph she is a manufactured thing of beauty entirely severed from context, thus working much the same way as other fashion advertising and photography does.

AIDS is thus rendered uncontroversial and safe through the straightforward, unreflexive use of dominant codes. While the image is again anchored in the Viva Glam cause statement, it lies within the dominant without contradiction. The HIV/AIDS message is completely harmless in this context. There is no danger, nor is there any taboo. Sexual desire and HIV/AIDS both are

routinized because the advertisement is an exemplar of standard fashion advertising. Perhaps it is no coincidence that this campaign launched in a time when HIV/AIDS became discussed openly. The disease is acknowledged as a global problem, affecting all, and new medications make it possible to live with the disease for an extended period of time. As HIV/AIDS became more a part of the dominant culture, the Viva Glam advertisements became a reflection of this too and changed to better fit within the hetero-dominant.

Viva Glam VII, Cyndi Lauper and Lady Gaga:

Packaging Magic Just for "Us Girls"

In the current stage of the Viva Glam campaign, setting, body language and image framing work together and wholly dictate how the advertisement signifies and makes meaning. The codes within the advertisement, as well as its copy, work together to make the private public within the setting of the magical marketplace. This advertisement returns to the campy feel of past campaign stages, yet is significantly different from them as well. There is more of a level of self-awareness: for the very first time in its entire 16-year history, the actual Viva Glam lipstick tube is represented visually.

The setting is a key determinant in the signification process. The backdrop is clearly a manufactured set, constructed to connote a red-and-white striped circus tent. It is reminiscent of a carnival, suggesting Lears' discussion of the carnivalesque atmosphere of the marketplace, a place at which fantastic things can happen—particularly the transformation of self through consumption. As Lears mentions when discussing snake oil salesmen in days of yore, desire was rooted in the promise of becoming something else—of a metamorphosis promised with and through purchase (see Lears, 1994 p. 45).

However, the image framing reminds a viewer that this atmosphere is merely a construction. There is a slight bit of black on the very right edge of the image, as well as around the bottom. This is not a real circus, but a set that uses a circus motif. While this reminds the viewer that the scene is not real, such self-disclosure serves to further emphasize the fantasy that is occurring within the image. The magic of the marketplace was never truly "real," and savvy consumers rationally know that true transformation through consumption is all but impossible. And yet, the desire created by the fantasy is entirely real. The viewer is still swayed by the magic.

Image framing signifies intimacy and helps produce almost a voyeuristic involvement.

Just enough of the seat upon which the models rest is in view, showing a rich brocade fabric and gilt ornamental legs. It is reminiscent of furniture one might see in a boudoir. The frame remains tight on the models, so that even though the backdrop connotes a public carnival, the scene is focused on a private moment between two people. While the frame "cuts off" the models' feet, the legs are fully visible and thus sexualized. Exposed thighs lead to bodies covered only by lacy black lingerie on one model and a pale pink leotard on the other. The clothing also marks the crossing of the public and private spheres, with the lingerie adding to the codes of the boudoir, and the leotard to circus performance.

It is not just in what the models wear, but in how they wear and present it. In this way, body language is also a primary factor in the way this advertisement signifies. Like the circus background, the facial expressions and body positioning articulate a magical atmosphere and point to the transformation that the fantastical setting promises. While one model stands with her knee propped on a chair seat, the other sits on the same chair. The standing model holds the tube of lipstick in front of the other's face, as though she has just applied the color to the seated

model's lips. The seated model raises her hands to the sides of her face, her eyes wide and her lips puckered into an "ooh!" in a 1920s flapper-esque exclamation. Her expression signifies the pleasant surprise of one regarding herself after a makeover; she is changed for the better because of her new red lips. The standing model's smile reveals her pride in her ability as a magician, but the real power is contained in the product she holds, signifying in its status as a commodity that this magic is possible for anyone else who uses it. Through the code of the boudoir, the viewer has "caught" the two in a moment that was constructed to be between them only. The transformative powers of the product are known by a privileged few and shared in private, but in preparation for a public performance, with this moment publicized as well via its status as an advertisement.

The irony in all this comes from the models' identities. The magician is Lady Gaga, a young star. The person she has rejuvenated is Cyndi Lauper, an older, more experienced celebrity. Gaga transfers her youthfulness to the mother figure Lauper, a woman who paved the way for outrageous singers like Gaga with her own individual and loud style back in the 1980's who has inspired younger women with her anthem "Girls Just Want to Have Fun." And, yet, she is acquiring something from someone young enough to be her daughter. Eternal youth is one of the most desired fantasies of all time, and the virility and vigor of youth were often promised by the shyster salesmen of the carnival marketplace. Here, Lauper achieves this youthfulness both with her magical makeover from MAC, and by being posed with the most current and prominent star of the present day.

Who the models are and the various props they use in the image work together to connote a performance, yet one backstage. They are both performers by trade, musicians who make a living by being on stage. But both are famous for their crazy sense of fashion. Cyndi Lauper

created trends in the 1980's with her petticoats, lace gloves, bright colors and orange hair. The New York Times called Lady Gaga an avatar for high-fashion designers, wearing the most outrageous outfits they could imagine (Dec. 27, 2009, Sunday Styles p. 1). Lauper wears a giant string of pearls in the advertisement, with each pearl as big as a ping-pong ball and the strand reaching to the floor. It is a cartoonish accessory that would never be seen on the street, but is perfectly suitable for the stage. Lastly, Lauper holds a flower, a signifier for a successful performance, an item thrown on stage during applause. The carnival marketplace was almost cartoonish in its level of show, relying on great performances to make the sale.

The image is anchored in copy that is also unlike any in past campaigns, and furthers this notion of private information to be shared among an elite. The headline reads "From Our Lips." It alludes to a whisper, a secret, while also subtly referring to the lipstick. Then, in a script typeface, the rest of the copy reads, "You know you've got a (sexy) voice... Use it! Let's talk about how to keep your love life safe, seductive and satisfying. Just between us girls." The "between us" signifies the privacy of the conversation, and that it is safe to discuss secrets with "the girls." The mother/daughter S well as the idol/ingénue dichotomy of the image goes well with the copy that refers to one of the most private chats two girls could have: the "birds-and-the-bees" talk. The knowledge is not the only private privilege derived from this anchor. This privilege is transferred to the lipstick itself. It is a product for the elite, those "in the know."

The mention of a love life in the copy is also the first time that an element in the advertisement has ever connected to the Viva Glam cause. Never before has an advertisement in the campaigns connected its components to HIV/AIDS. The way it approaches disease is unlike other cause messages seen in other outlets. HIV/AIDS is not specifically named, nor are any statistics about who/how many it affects. Instead, it is a message giving women agency,

allowing them to speak up to protect themselves. The message is not one of abstinence, but one that acknowledges that women have sexual desires that should be fulfilled, albeit safely. The conversational tone removes any confrontation or fear messaging, but still tells heterosexual women they are at risk. Within the AIDS discourse, this is a group that was often excluded because they were considered to be "safe." This advertisement says they are not, but that they have the power to be.

One last piece of irony is that both models are gay icons, each celebrated for their music an image within the gay community. Both are outspoken on behalf of gay rights, with Lady Gaga recently taking a stance against "Don't Ask, Don't Tell." Because of this, "girls" in the copy is not exclusionary. "Girl" is part of the gay vernacular, with homosexual men referring to each other as "girls." Because both Lauper and Gaga are woven into the gay community, they are also free to use such slang, and on another level could be speaking to homosexual men without alienating heterosexual women.

While here too the potentially confrontational and challenging issues of HIV/AIDS and sexuality are broached, the advertisement remains firmly rooted in the dominant. Perhaps most importantly, it works directly in the mold of a common commodity ad, with the product clearly represented and its promise stated. What the models "mean" along with the desire they elicit is directly transferred to the product, uncomplicatedly so as the product is right there in their hands. And like all prominent cosmetics advertisements, the promise of a magical transformation takes center stage. Unlike past Viva Glam ads, and similar to other cause-related advertisements, an effort is made to explain what one can do about AIDS besides passively support the cause by purchasing the product.

The ad is also directed at heterosexual women (a conventional and thus dominantly defined majority), despite the gay joke with the use of the word "girls." Including Lady Gaga (currently a top popular-culture star) makes MAC and AIDS part of a hyper-commodified popular culture and a subject that should be discussed among intimates without alienating any particular group of people. In this way, HIV/AIDS becomes individualized and privatized, corresponding to values celebrated by the market, while it also becomes a campy, light-hearted topic of how to satisfy individual desire despite it.

Conclusion

While each advertisement read here combines different elements and appears structurally dissimilar at the initial viewing, they each make meaning in much the same ways. All the advertisements use framing, setting, body language, gaze and anchorage to determine how they signify. Standard codes of heterosexual desire rest within these determinants and work to elicit desire within the viewer. While some desires may be considered taboo, they are individualized and contained within the dominant capitalist structure. In spite of various jokes and contradictions located within the advertisements, the determinants used in the meaning making process make the advertisements rest well within the prevailing structure of brand advertising, thereby leaving the dominant stable and unchallenged.

Chapter 4: Conclusions

My reading of the MAC Viva Glam campaign seeks to explore how desire, as typically constructed in branded (particularly in fashion) advertising is used in a cause-related marketing campaign. In this case, desire is elicited by advertisements supporting the cause of HIV/AIDS. Desire as urge is an individual, intimately personal affair. But using desire as personal urge to accomplish desirable social change is a contradiction. Personal and social are typically regarded as opposites.

This contradiction maps structurally and easily onto capitalism, which shares the same contradiction. Individual greed (personal desire) is paramount, but this individual greed is supposed to do good for society as a whole. By replicating capitalism's claims that personal greed helps society, the potential subversion of the campaign as a whole is contained. Its potential for social change is contained due to its focus on personal desire as urge, and not confronting the social basis of discrimination based on AIDS and LGBT identities.

Sexual desire is contradictory to the cause, which is a sexually transmitted disease. However, the capitalist structure within which the advertisements are contained, as well as the hetero-dominant structure which I have studied to determine how the images signify, leave the dominant unchallenged. What could be seen as shocking or even incendiary becomes acceptable and even hip to the dominant culture. Desires considered taboo are normalized in this context and thus contained.

The MAC Viva Glam campaign was selected to explore this use of desire because it is an exemplar case of the use of dominant codes of brand advertising within the context of cause-

related marketing. It is almost an extreme case, taking certain codes to cartoonish proportions.

The various advertisements selected for study were chosen because they are the images the MAC AIDS Fund uses in its online archive, as well as because each image represents a different way of employing the dominant codes over time.

Semiology, as first posited by Saussure, is the basis of this study because it seeks to deconstruct constructed signs. Each sign within the text is composed of a signifier and a signified, which, when decoded by the viewer, make meaning. Textual analysis is the chosen method of study because the meaning is interpreted by relationships within the text as articulated by codes, regardless of the MAC creatives' intent. For this particular study, it is the best way to explore the possibilities of signification. Meaning is generated within each sign itself, how the signs are articulated with each other, and in how they are anchored by the copy—which in turn anchors the codes in the cause. In these ways, textual analysis allows for the full exploration of the research questions without clouding potential meaning-making processes with producer's intent. The meaning-making process resides within encoding-decoding, and textual analysis allows us to read the text within that transformative relationship.

I found that relationships between framing, subject, setting and textual anchorage are the means by which meaning is made in the Viva Glam campaign. Framing determines what is seen, and what the frame encloses or excludes determines how the image signifies. The subject is key, because even though the advertisement is for a cosmetic product, the subject is actually a person. How that model is posed, his or her gaze and how that model is articulated within the frame are all key determinants in the meaning-making process. The setting, as the element contained within the frame in which the subject is situated, sets the stage for the image. The background and props work with the subject in the signification process. All of these visual photographic

elements are anchored in branded copy, which further articulates by giving the images context. Together, these relationships are how Viva Glam creates a fantasy world full of desire, making the illicit acceptable and, in the end, instilling a desire for conspicuous consumption.

Contributions:

This study allows us to explore deeper meanings beyond the pragmatic altruism of cause-related marketing. Through textual analysis, we are able to decode advertisements and see what the implications are for the dominant. Through textual analyses such as this study, scholars can critically view images and discuss how the hegemonic structure is either challenged or reinforced. Readings open us to the possibilities of a text, and by studying how texts make meaning we can make significant discoveries about our popular culture as a whole.

The MAC Viva Glam is worthy of study because of the unique space it occupies. It is the epitome of hip brand advertising, using some of the most interesting personalities of the day posed in fantastical settings. Desire for purchase is generated without the product itself even being represented in most of the campaign. It is therefore a prime example of brand advertising that sells a promise, an image, and a benefit rather than an actual product. However, the point of the sale is not a simple capitalist venture. It is to support a cause, not to profit the company. Reading this campaign takes both the brand and the cause into account, and offers a unique point of study. It is only through reading a campaign like this that one can explore different ways dominant codes signify.

AIDS is represented in a new and different way in this campaign. The dire nature of the disease is essentially removed within these colorful advertisements. AIDS is normalized because of the way the advertisements are rooted in the dominant and employ dominant codes. The

responsibility of AIDS prevention is relegated to the purchase of a product. Although the MAC AIDS Fund is to benefit those living with AIDS, attaching the codes of brand advertising and consumerism to the cause implies that individual consumption is enough to combat the problem.

Queer sexuality and taboo desires are also normalized. Homosexuality is represented as glamorous, as is all overt sexuality. Sex is not only okay, it is something to be celebrated. However, because of the advertisements' placement within the dominant structure, the campaign does not champion gay rights or combat homophobia. Instead, private desires can be fantasized about in private, and the viewer remains detached from anything considered deviant. The only time homosexuality is represented in another way is in the early stages of the campaign with RuPaul, when her queerness was a form of trickery.

This study could have larger implications for cause-related marketing. It shows how making the cause an inextricable part of the brand can create new and different ways of marketing the cause. These advertisements fully embody a brand image and follow the codes of brand advertising more than traditional cause-marketing campaigns. Viva Glam relies more on the promises of the brand than the charitable appeal, strengthening its ability to instill desire.

Deepening the Present Study

This study could be furthered by providing an exhaustive reading of every advertisement in the campaign. Although each "look" of Viva Glam is represented, there are multiple advertisements in certain phases of the campaign that would benefit from a reading as well. For instance, Viva Glam V features many celebrity portraits. While each is similar in composition, does the spokesperson affect the way the images signify? Would the modes of desire change when reading the Missy Elliot advertisement, where a black, fully clothed, average-sized woman

is posing instead of a half-naked white woman with an impossible body? Would the decoding process be affected by the Boy George advertisement in the same campaign, where a homosexual man in full makeup gazes off in the distance with a forlorn expression on his face?

For this study, I also opted not to read the Viva Glam VI campaign, because it features solo portraits like Viva Glam V. However, these portraits are in black and white and washed in transparent red tones. The models are heavily costumed. This study could benefit from a reading of this phase as well, if only to explore the different codes it presents and how color, or lack thereof, affects the meaning-making process.

Opportunities for Further Research

There is an opportunity to extend research like this. What is known about AIDS has changed dramatically over time, and as such so too have the meanings that AIDS signifies. An analysis that engaged more fully with the contexts of production, circulation, and reception would for a broader scope as well.

While a reading of any text is just that, a reading and not a definitive answer, opening the reading to outside human input may further inform a study and provide interesting insights about the use of desire and its effects. This could be accomplished by having focus groups discuss the text or by holding in-depth interviews with individuals of various backgrounds. Meaningmaking processes are not universal, and through dialogue a researcher could take other points of view into account.

A study with a focus on the brand itself could also prove valuable. There is a host of information on the MAC AIDS Fund Web site, with press releases about the various

spokespeople, what the campaign is doing, and so on. Approaching the reading from the standpoint of production could alter how the desires in the advertisement are decoded.

Final Thoughts

This study investigates how various dimensions within an image work together in the signification process. The codes present in the advertisements at hand elicit desire within the viewer, playing on individual urges under the guise of charitable efforts and altruism. The illicit becomes acceptable and desires are rendered safe within the containment of the advertisement. Capitalism and heterosexuality retain their stability even though, when taken alone, some of the codes could have subversive connotations.

This study is not meant to impose any sort of value judgment or imply that using base desires is sacrilege in the context of a fatal disease. The end result, brand desire, is still good. So far the MAC Viva Glam campaign has raised more than \$150 million to combat AIDS, according to the latest Viva Glam press kit available on MacAIDSFund.org. And if selfish desires translate into that kind of success, then perhaps they are not all bad.

However, I cannot help but to be somewhat troubled in spite of the campaign's success. My primary concern with all cause-related marketing campaigns is the way in which they individualize social problems requiring over-arching community solutions. In this case, the drive to act is fulfilled with a purchase, and those who feel obligated to be involved may believe they are doing enough by consuming the lipstick. With this individualizing, the desires generated in the advertisements are intensely personal, but until the latest stage in the campaign, consumers were not told what they can do to help themselves. The individual is at once embraced and

forgotten, leading me to feel a bit jaded and that the whole point of this campaign is to draw customers in, in hopes they will buy more.

When I first encountered the advertisements, I found the images to be somewhat subversive, created in the image of a "rule-breaking" company. But through my process with this study, seeing that the dominant is only reinforced by the campaign is, quite honestly, disappointing. I wanted to believe that MAC was shaking the structure at its very core, but instead, as a profit-making company, its cause-related campaign is rooted in capitalism.

Covering the ugliness of HIV/AIDS with a veneer of desire marginalizes those affected and diminishes the seriousness of the disease. The fantasy world created in the advertisements separates a very real threat away from reality. MAC is certainly doing good work-better than most companies-both by the amount of money raised and by making the cause an integrated and essential part of the company. But giving these advertisements a closer look has made me aware of the problems with using these types of appeals, and the problems of selling a cause in general

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Appendix

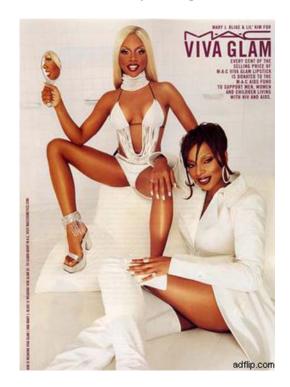
Viva Glam I: RuPaul



Viva Glam II: kd lang



Viva Glam III: Mary J. Blige and Lil Kim





Viva Glam IV: Elton John, Mary J. Blige and Shirley Manson



Viva Glam V: Pamela Anderson



Viva Glam VII: Cyndi Lauper and Lady Gaga

