Advertising as Epideictic Rhetoric and Its Implications for Ethical Communication

Cem Zeytinoglu

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Advertising as Epideictic Rhetoric and Its Implications for Ethical Communication

A Dissertation
Presented to the Faculty
of the Communication and Rhetorical Studies
McAnulty College and Graduate School of Liberal Arts

Duquesne University

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

By
Cem Zeytinoglu

September 2007
Advertising as Epideictic Rhetoric and Its Implications for Ethical Communication

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Abstract
Advertising as Epideictic Rhetoric and Its Implications for Ethical Communication

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September 2007

Dissertation Supervised by Richard Thames, Ph.D.

In the ancient sense, epideictic rhetoric was considered as a simple opposition to pragmatic discourse, which predominantly was involved with public business. Public business refers to the matters of the polis and the political setting. On the other hand, epideictic does not address to the political or deliberative situations. It addresses the celebrative situations of a community or a society in which values are created and commemorated. Deliberative rhetoric asks audience to decide to take a course of action in a public/political business, whereas epideictic asks audience to observe about what is commendable in the speaker’s logos—that is speculation or contemplation (theoria). Therefore, audience is to form ideas in response to the discourse presented, not to make a ruling. Epideictic, in Ciceronian sense, also is a form of rhetoric that molds and encourages certain values, beliefs and presuppositions by which that society or culture lives and exists. It creates some fundamental grounds on which other forms of rhetoric may function. In this cultivation process, as a reinforcement discourse, it is possible to relate epideictic rhetoric to the ethical formation of one’s communicative action in a community. In understanding of one’s moral character and its relation to habituation and development of habits, epideictic appears to have a significant effect.

Therefore, one may argue that advertising appears to have a similar function as epideictic rhetoric in democratic and capitalistic societies when investigated as the totality of the marketplace practices of commercial communication and its ethical implications.
To My Lovely Wife and Beautiful Daughter
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Contents

Abstract ................................................................................................................................. iv

Dedication ............................................................................................................................ v

Acknowledgments ................................................................................................................... vi

Chapter 1 The Dilemma of Genre: Advertising as Epideictic Rhetoric? ......................... 1
  Introduction: The Embedded Nature of Advertising 1
  Problem: The Epideictic Discourse in Advertising 3
  Discourses on Epideictic Rhetoric and Advertising 7
  Interpreting Advertising as Epideictic Rhetoric 43

Chapter 2 Epideictic Nature of Advertising ..................................................................... 46
  Configuration of Epideictic Characteristics 46
  Epideictic Characteristics of Advertising 48
  Conclusion 105

Chapter 3 Advertising as Epideictic Rhetoric and Society .............................................. 107
  Capitalism and Advertising: Container and Thing Contained 107
  Theories on Advertising (As the Thing Contained) 114
  The Discourse on Capitalism (As the Container) 153
  The Discourse on Advertising (As the Scene-Agency Ratio) 185
  Conclusion 228

Chapter 4 Marketplace Applications of Epideictic Rhetoric in Advertisements ............. 232
  When Does a Car Become More Than a Car? 234
  The Rhetoric of Perseverance and Environmentalism around Chemicals 240
  The Return of Agriculture with a Vengeance: New Bio-Energy Sources 247
  A Fresh Look at the Beauty Market 250
  Conclusion 254

Chapter 5 The Ethical Implications of Advertising as Epideictic Rhetoric ...................... 256

Appendix: Commercials ...................................................................................................... 263

Appendix: Advertising Spending ....................................................................................... 268

Works Cited .......................................................................................................................... 272
ἐχεὶ δὲ κοινὸν εἶδος ὁ ἐπαινοῦ καὶ αἱ συμβουλαί. ἀ γὰρ ἐν τῷ
συμβουλεύειν ὑπόθοιο ἄν, ταῦτα μετατεθέντα τῇ λέξῃ ἑγκώμια
gίγνεται. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἔχομεν ᾧ δεῖ πράττειν καὶ ποίον τινα εἶναι δεῖ,
tαῦτα ὡς ὑποθήκας λέγοντας τῇ λέξῃ μετατιθέναι δεῖ καὶ στρέφειν,
οίον ὅτι οὗ δεῖ μέγα φρονεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς διὰ τύχην ἄλλα τοῖς δι' αὐτὸν.
οὕτω μὲν οὖν λεχθὲν ὑποθήκην δύναται, ὡδὶ δ' ἐπαινοῦ μέγα φρονῶν
οὐκ τοῖς διὰ τύχην ὑπάρχουσιν ἄλλα τοῖς δι' αὐτὸν. ὡστε ὅταν
ἐπαίνειν βούλη, ὅρα τί ἂν ὑπόθοιο· καὶ ὅταν ὑποθέσθαι, ὅρα τί ὁ
ἐπαίνεσθαι. ἢ δὲ λέξις ἐσται ἀντικειμένη ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὅταν τὸ μὲν
κωλὺς τὸ δὲ μὴ κωλὺς μετατεθῇ.

-Aristotle, Rhetoric I.ix.35-37

Admonum; et earum quidem forma duplex est, quarum altera
delectionem sectatur audientium, alterius ut obtineat, probet et efficiat
quod agit, omnis est suscepta contentio. Itaque illud superius exornatio
dicitur, quod cum latum genus esse potest saneque varium, unum ex eo
degemimus, quod ad laudandos claros viros suscipimus et ad improbos
vituperandos. Genus enim nullum est orationis quod aut uberius ad
dicendum aut utilius civitatibus esse possit aut in quo magis orator in
cognitione virtutum vitiorumque versetur.

-Cicero, De Partitione Oratio XX.69

All advertising advertises advertising.

-Marshall McLuhan
Chapter 1 The Dilemma of Genre: Advertising as Epideictic Rhetoric?

Introduction: The Embedded Nature of Advertising

The idea was originally formed when I was attending to Richard Thames’ doctoral seminars at Duquesne University. Using Aristotle and Kenneth Burke’s arguments, Thames explains the possibility of describing contemporary advertising as a type of epideictic rhetoric since, as a genre, epideictic seems to match well with the artistic and propagandistic forms usually used in advertising (Persuasion’s 27). Even though this idea is briefly explained previously in McKenna’s 1998 article “Advertising as Epideictic Rhetoric,” still many aspects of the subject were left unexamined in depth. In ancient rhetorical theory, epideictic rhetoric was considered as an opposition to pragmatic discourse, which predominantly was involved with public business. In this understanding, public business refers to the matters of the polis and the political setting. On the other hand, epideictic rhetoric does not address to the political or deliberative rhetorical situations directly. *It addresses the celebrative situations of a community or a society in which values are created and commemorated* (Walker 9).

Advertising is probably the most obvious rhetorical persuasive device in today’s marketplace (Corbett and Connors 2-5). The society that we live in today is full with advertising messages everywhere. Regardless of where one lives and what one does in life, in an ordinary day there will be many occasions that he is going to be exposed to a

\[1\] Author of this work does not aim to have a sexist language but in order to use a clear language and to have an easier reading, the third person statements will be given in the author’s own gender.
persuasive marketing communication bit, and interestingly at some of these times, he will not be even aware of it.

If we look at a day of an individual in American society who is in pursuit of happiness (Bellah 26), it would be possible to visualize these effects of advertising messages more clearly. In order to get a better picture let us exemplify this with certain daily experiences of an individual.

When our individual starts his day, he will be woken up by his radio that he set up as his alarm the night before. This is his favorite station. It usually plays “good” music but the first thing he hears this time is a radio commercial spot that tells him to get a credit card. As he rises up from his bed, he hears another one saying that he should apply for a loan to get a new house, which is followed by another message that informs him to go to a specific local restaurant to have a “good” meal. He goes to bathroom and he sees a lot of brand names and persuasive package texts there. The soap has a brand name on it, and the text on the toothpaste tells how it will help him to have clean and healthy teeth. The same thing will happen when he prepares his breakfast –at this time he may be watching TV or still listening to radio; from his coffee mug to his favorite bread spread everything has a message that tells him why it is good to have that particular product.

He watches the TV to get news of the day and the weather conditions, but every five or six minutes he sees commercial spots, which tries to persuade him to use certain services and goods. Moreover, this will continue even when he commutes from his home to his job, whether he uses public transportation or his own vehicle. He will read a magazine or a newspaper or he will be continuing to listen to the radio. He will see commercial posters, billboards, signs and messages on the road, on buildings and even on
vehicles. Therefore, advertising is everywhere. This morning is only a portion of his life in which he did not even arrive at his job and it will go like this until he goes to bed that night.

This short story demonstrates the pervasive nature of the persuasive messages that surround us everyday. Here, the emphasis should not be on the issue that if he needs or wants all these products and services that advertising messages try to market. It is something that needs to be discussed later. However, the emphasis should be on the fact that these messages are there and they constitute a significant amount of communication. In addition, the characteristics of those messages hint at society’s economical, sociological, political, psychological, physiological and ethical attitudes toward life itself. For every individual who lives in a capitalist democracy, advertising is an embedded story, which celebrates the values of that society.

**Problem: The Epideictic Discourse in Advertising**

Democracies today are inseparable from the economical aspects of their existence. Free market economy and capitalism are the accompaniment of democracy and self-government. To relate this to Aristotle’s analogy of *antistrophos* (ἀντίστροφος) then one can argue that capitalism has become the counterpart of democracy. Therefore, capitalism (free market of goods) and democracy (the free market of ideas) coexist in a positive tension in which one complements each other to create a meaningful whole. The reciprocal accompaniment of capitalism and democracy as coexistence is much more

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2 This is a qualitatively positive meaning, not as many would assume as negative as opposition but in support. According to Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon, *antistrophos* means correlative, co-ordinate, and counterpart. [http://www.perseus.tufts.edu](http://www.perseus.tufts.edu)
evident especially in recent political and social discourse following the events of September 11. What happened that day and how America has reacted to the attacks, might demonstrate this relationship. Since the attacks seemed to be targeting the nation’s financial, military and political centers, the initial response appeared as an embrace of the values incorporated in American democracy and, because of its relations to it, in capitalism.

One significant example of this appeared in the press conferences in which President Bush provided his rallying presidential epideictic rhetoric to the American public (Dow 297). President Bush said, “We cannot let the terrorists achieve the objective of frightening our nation to the point where we don’t conduct business, or people don’t shop.” The nation’s leaders called on Americans to return to the rhythms of their regular lives (Blair 7).

In this ceremonial address, the call of the president to his citizens was to continue to conduct business and shop, because it is the way of life in this particular capitalistic democracy (Bostdorff 309). He also emphasized that U.S. will only overcome the difficulties that were faced, if the nation adheres to its own core values,3 the right way of being (dike-δίκη), and to its correct character (éthos-ήθος) and customs (ethos-ἐθος).

Interestingly retailers responded to the attacks by changing sales activities by ads expressing sympathy and fortitude and led the way back to business as usual. After all, if shopping is normal, so are all manner of selling and the way of life in a capitalistic democracy (Blair 7). It is stated with solemn but encouraging messages. Corporate

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America responded with respectful words of condolence and sorrow in newspapers and television ads. Donations were made without press releases or hooks. Flags were handed out or sold with the promise that proceeds would go to charity (Tevlin 1E). In this period, many companies and advertisers started to contain patriotic messages in their commercial spots and relate their products to national values (Matthews 6).

In the Seattle Times article dated October 1, 2001, Kay McFadden states “for a nation founded on the theory of democratic capitalism, there’s something oddly appropriate about General Motors’ new post-disaster commercial”. The commercial goes like this:

“The American dream...” intones a voice-over while the inevitable SUV materializes onscreen. “We refuse to let anyone take it away.” And that, the voice goes on to tell us, is why GM is offering interest-free financing on new-vehicle purchases until Oct. 31. The ad concludes, “Keep America rolling.” (E1)

Another article from San Antonio Express News on November 2, 2001 says:

The new TV advertisements for United Airlines—the company’s first since losing two passenger jets in the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks—still chime with the familiar chords of George Gershwin’s “Rhapsody in Blue.” But the sales pitch is decidedly different. Instead of shimmering cityscapes and competitive airfares, the commercials show United pilots and other employees sharing thoughts on their camaraderie and their love of flying. The TV spots swell with the message that those inalienable rights won’t be lost, no matter what.
“We’re not going to let anyone take that away from us,” pilot Edward McCaughan says to the camera, modest but steely eyed. Carol Bertacchi, an in-flight supervisor, adds, “We’re Americans, and this is not going to beat us down. (Guzman 1F)

These examples in a way demonstrate the epideictic characteristic of the persuasive commercial messages in a time of such crisis. Advertising, in this sense, is not just for selling goods, services and ideas for the only purpose of making profit but also for a commemorating rhetorical action, which celebrates the core values of a society that is founded upon the narrative of democracy and capitalism (McKenna 108).

My purpose is to demonstrate (epideixis- ἐπίδειξη) that advertising in democratic and capitalistic societies appears to have the same or similar functions as epideictic rhetoric, especially on the issues stressed above, and my intention is to investigate the subject in a meta-ideological manner. This study aims to establish itself around the thesis above by investigating the marketplace practices of commercial communication and its relation to ethical communication, both in macro and micro sense. With the macro sense, I mean the overall effect of advertising as an institution in a capitalistic democracy; whereas with the micro sense, I mean the specific commercial impact of an advertisement to its assumed target markets.

In this chapter, two important aspects of the present study are to be discussed. Firstly, as a general analysis of a literature review, the epideictic discourse and the advertising’s role in society—both from ancient and contemporary discourse respectively—

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4 This means that my purpose is not specifically to critique or support the function of advertising according to a certain ideological structure. Rather I want to look at advertising as a genre of modern discourse purely within the rhetorical perspectives.
will be discussed particularly in means of rhetoric. Secondly, the research approach that encompasses the entirety of the present study will be explained comprehensively in concordance with a rhetorical and interpretive method that is deeply rooted in humanities tradition.

**Discourses on Epideictic Rhetoric and Advertising**

**Ancient Ideas on Epideictic Discourse**

Many times the worth of implementing ancient and classical rhetorical theories to today’s discourse has been brought into discussion. Even though there are some critical opinions against it, many scholars in the field of contemporary rhetoric argue that the ideas stemming from the millennia old questions are still relevant today. Theorists such as Kenneth Burke, Richard McKeon, Chaim Perelman, and Walter Ong strongly emphasized the significance of thinking and implementing the ancient rhetorical thought into the contemporary communicative situations. Following their example many humanities scholars expand the classical ideas in the realm of the contemporary discourse. Michael Hyde’s work on the relationship of ethics and rhetoric, Thomas Farrell’s work focusing on the rhetorical characteristics of democratic societies, Gerard Hauser’s work on the relationship between rhetoric and public communication, have significant implications and importance. Some other good examples are Takis Poulakos and Ekaterina Haskins’s respective works on Isocrates and the importance of the implications of his ideas to contemporary democratic discourse and education. Morris’s work *If Aristotle Ran General Motors* is another significant volume that carries the ancient ideas to modern contexts. Nahser, in his book *Learning to Read the Signs*, similarly proposes an understanding of commercial pragmatism that is closely related and
depends on a methodology of interpretation—or inquiry (9)—that also has its origins in the ancients (46-47).

In addition, there are many praiseworthy studies that directly advocate or support using classical rhetorical ideas in the contemporary discourse such as Kathleen Welch’s *The Contemporary Reception of Classical Rhetoric*. Bizzell and Herzberg’s *Rhetorical Tradition*, and Corbett and Connors’s *Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student* are important sources that significantly connect the old ideas to the new contexts.

Even though these are not the whole corpus of the studies, the merit of these works and the attention they receive in the field of humanities make a good argument against the opinions which may regard implementing the ancient or classical rhetorical ideas into modern discourse as anachronistic or ahistorical and trivial (McKenna 104-05).

If epideictic rhetoric and today’s advertising are to be linked, it is imperative to look at their common characteristics as persuasive communicative platforms. The present study argues that advertising and epideictic discourse share the following rhetorical aspects:

The aim of epideictic discourse is not to cause an action on audience’s side directly but let a course of action appear for audience from the foundations of what has been commended (Sullivan 45). *Therefore, audience is to form ideas in response to the discourse presented for future reference, not to make a ruling in a specific case*. By this way, therefore, one can argue that epideictic discourse might function in advertising on a micro level, which I defined earlier.

Furthermore, epideictic in rhetorical theory functions as a form of rhetoric that *molds and encourages certain values, beliefs and presuppositions by which that society*
or culture lives and exists (Walker 9). It also creates some fundamental grounds on which other forms of rhetoric may function. In this cultivation process, as a reinforcement discourse, it is possible to relate epideictic rhetoric to the ethical formation of one’s communicative action in a community (Marsh 79). In understanding of one’s moral character and its relation to habituation and development of habits, epideictic rhetoric appear to have a significant influence (White 130). Consequently, by this way, one can say that epideictic discourse may function on a macro level a society.

Since I want to associate epideictic discourse with the modern persuasive commercial communication activities, it would be prudent to examine the characteristics of epideictic discourse in relation to advertising within the theoretical platforms of classical rhetoricians and philosophers of communication as well as the contemporary ones who follow them (Maciejewski 111-12). Now let us briefly look at the treatments of epideictic rhetoric in the writings of ancient masters such as Isocrates, Aristotle and Cicero.

Isocrates’s Epideictic Discourse and Deliberative Moral Action

Many of Isocrates’s surviving works are speeches allegedly or actually written for delivery in certain ancient social contexts. Except for “Antidosis,” most of his famous works have a certain characteristic of epideictic discourse. His very well known orations such as “Panatenaicus” and “Panegyricus” are definitely designed for epideictic situations. “Evagoras” has also a special place because in this speech Isocrates explicitly merges his epideictic style and means with his deliberative purpose of inducing moral action (Poulakos, “Isocrates’s Use of Narrative” 321). In his earlier discourse “Against the Sophists,” he explains his own approach to rhetorical education (logon paideia –


Since none of his surviving works are characteristically theoretical treatises, his views on rhetorical education and its importance for democratic civil action and political participation can only be drawn from the contents of these speeches (Poulakos, Speaking 9). Isocrates gives a strong emphasis on rhetorical education as a significant requirement for moral and political action (Haskins 80-81). He argues that an individual who is not involved with practical and pragmatic necessities of political life cannot serve the well-being of polis (and also himself since the happiness of an individual is inseparable from the society in which he lives in). The best way to participate in this political aspect of life is to be educated in rhetorical studies (Poulakos, “Isocrates’s Civic Education” 56).

Isocrates explains in “Antidosis” that this λόγον παιδεία is not solely based on learning persuasive rhetorical devices to influence others but also learning to live and act morally right (δίκη and ἐθος).  

In the process of rhetorical invention, Isocrates believes, an individual also gains the capability to act according to practical wisdom (phrōnesis- φρόνησις) (Poulakos, “Isocrates’s Civic Education” 57). He also calls this education of speaking effectively and learning the right way of action philosophia (φιλοσοφία). Isocrates’s philosophy is deeply rooted in practical wisdom and praxis in which an individual learns to act rhetorically and morally right in political and social aspects of his own polis (Haskins 130). Even though today’s democratic society is not exactly like the Greek polis, the

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5 See page 4.
dynamics of democratic civil action still renders it theoretically relevant to current practices.

As it can be interpreted from Isocrates’s works, especially the ones that have epideictic characteristics, epideictic discourse is not only a display platform, in which the speaker demonstrates his own verbal ability to persuade (Chase 294), but also a political platform in which he presents a moral disposition (Poulakos, “Isocrates’s Use of Narrative” 319). Therefore, epideictic discourse is not only a commonplace exercise of showing off by verbally pleasing and mesmerizing an audience (Schiappa 311), but it is also a civic discourse of deliberative rhetorical action (symbouleutikos-συμβουλευτικός), that inspires, advises and encourages audiences for moral and righteous action in general as well as pleasing and entertaining them through verbal aesthetics (Poulakos, “Isocrates’s Use of Narrative” 322-25).

In this understanding, epideictic rhetoric functions along with the deliberative political discourse but diverges in the context of specific decision-making or judgment. In the case of political discourse, audiences as judges have to decide on the applicability of a specific action on an issue such as “should we make peace with Lacedaemonians or should we go to war with them.” However, in Isocrates’s understanding, epideictic discourse with deliberative effect aims to induce morally and ethically right (or acceptable) actions (which are naturally the subject matter of praise) in society for any given time as it teaches phrônesis in civic life (Poulakos Speaking 39).

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6 Again, we can consider this as an example of epideictic discourse’s micro level effect on society.
Isocrates’s ideas and practice which combine powers of epideictic and deliberative rhetorical devices are very significant for considering advertising as the modern equivalence of the same function in public communication and rhetoric. In “Nicocles” Isocrates uses epideictic discourse to enforce specific desired actions in given circumstances for responsible citizens or public figures. In a sense, this may be the link where the connection between the ancient understanding of rhetoric and modern advertising can begin since advertising also directly or indirectly tells stories for citizens to obtain a specific way of life or actions which are assumed to be desirable in capitalistic democracies (Foss 86).

Before moving on to Aristotle, an interesting point that needs to be emphasized is the mention of Isocrates’s name in Plato’s *Phaedrus*. Toward to end of the dialogue Socrates praises Isocrates as being a very significant young thinker who unites style with wisdom. In many modern contexts from philological studies to rhetorical analysis, this praise mainly was found as ironic or sarcastic in meaning because of the overt competition between Plato and Isocrates’s schools (Haskins 38). However, I find this praise very genuine, because I believe that the similarities between these two schools are more significant than the claimed differences. Furthermore, against the opinion that prioritizes stylistic strength over coherent content in rhetoric, Cicero says that he prefers to err with Socrates in favor of Isocrates. Therefore I will repeat the same proposition here again in a sense and will say that I much more prefer to err with Cicero in respect to see Plato’s praise as genuine and appreciative (*Orator* 337). Besides, because of the timeline it is known that Isocrates’s school must have started and already been well established when Plato started to teach. Therefore, it can be argued that these schools...
more or less followed each other, especially in terms of rhetoric against sophistry, and opposed each other not necessarily based on ideas but mainly competed as institutions in teaching. I tend to see this competition much more like the rivalry between two prominent schools that we have between Harvard and Yale.

**Aristotle’s Ideas on Epideictic: *Theoria as the Basis of Krisis***

From Aristotle’s treatment of the epideictic rhetoric, it is evident that this kind of discourse is regarded as different from deliberative public discourse in means of approach toward to audience (Chase 295). Deliberative rhetoric asks audience to decide to take a course of action—that is judgment (*krisis*-κρίσις)—in public or political business (*Rhetoric* 1358b8-1358b20), whereas epideictic asks audience to make observations about what is commendable in the speaker’s *logos* (λόγος)—that is *speculation* or contemplation (*theoria*-θεωρία)—for certain societal settings (*Rhetoric* 1358b21-1358b28).

In this sense, Aristotle’s view does not seem to be so different than Isocrates’s however; Aristotle makes a significant distinction on the place of audience in rhetorical action. Since rhetoric is defined as “discovering the available means of persuasion in any given case,” it is apparent that, for Aristotle, it was important to consider the position of audience as an integral part of the rhetorical invention process (*Rhetoric* 1355b27).

In *Phaedrus* Socrates argues that it would be easy to talk to Athenians about Athenian war heroes (or deaths in battle) in a funeral oration, a default epideictic occasion. On the other hand, he argues that it would be very hard to do the same in front of a Spartan audience. Aristotle also refers to the same saying in *Rhetoric* arguing that a rhetor’s undertaking of the subject at hand not only changes in matters of occasion but also changes with matters related to audience’s position and identity (*Rhetoric* 1358a36).
At this moment, it is not certain whom Plato was thinking about when he gives this example in *Phaedrus*, but it can be suggested from the similarities of the context that this speech was Pericles’s *Funeral Oration*. This speech of Pericles, according to Thucydides was a perfect epideictic occasion. Pericles not only praises the brave Athenians who died in the war, but by exemplifying the characters and conduct of the dead, he praised Athens itself with its whole political, social and cultural values and morals (Hauser 16). Pericles encourages the Athenian audience to live up to the standards of the citizens who perished courageously defending Athens—and therefore defending the Athenian principles.

On this occasion, the audience is not to make a judgment about a specific course of action in the war or in any matter as such. Instead, the audience observes the Pericles’s *logos* as a guidance to form up a certain impression, a *speculation* or consideration (*theoria*) about what it means to be an Athenian and what the core Athenian values are (Hauser 17). In this sense, Isocrates and Aristotle’s views on the epideictic discourse seem to be concordant.

The example of the Pericles’s *Funeral Oration* is significant for seeing how the position of audience differs from the other occasions of political and juridical settings in Aristotle’s rhetorical genres. In political settings, audience is the judge to decide which course of political action should be taken. Therefore, the process is very practical and pragmatic. The question in this occasion becomes hypothetically something such as this: “Mellians are very defiant about joining our democratic empire, what should we do, annihilate them or let them be?”—or as a more recent one, “should we invade Iraq or not?” The rhetor in this situation needs to appeal to the audience’s judgment in order to bring about the desired decision using rhetorical devices of both the artistic and inartistic
proofs—\textit{pistis} (\textit{πίστις}) (Rhetoric 1356a2-1356a21). This kind of political or deliberative decisions is based upon an action related to the future (Rhetoric 1358b8).

In a similar way, in a juridical case, audience becomes the judge to decide on a legal issue. This occasion is also pragmatic and practical in nature. According to the decision, a specific course of action will be taken to enforce punishment or provide exculpation to individual(s) under trial. So question becomes something like: “Did Socrates misguide Athenian youth with his teachings?” or—not in the same level of gravity but—“did Michael Jackson abuse children?” So in such situations the rhetor needs to appeal to audience’s judgment for decision on the guilt or the innocence of individual(s) under trial in concordance with the desired outcome by rhetor himself, using \textit{pistis} again. Such judicial discourse is based upon the action that happened in the past (Rhetoric 1358b20).

Epideictic discourse, on the other hand, commends an action that is primarily engaged in present time. The nature of this genre is not directly practical or pragmatic. There are no specific political or legal questions at hand. Rhetors do not facilitate inartistic or artistic proofs to convince audience to decide upon a specific course of action directly or immediately. Through the language of praise and blame, rhetors seek to influence audience to establish an \textit{observation} of significant values and morals in the light of a story that is narrated to demonstrate—\textit{epideixis}—the significance of those values and morals in that society (Rhetoric 1367b37-1368a10). Like Pericles’s oration commemorating Athenian values in a funeral, or like, two millennia later, Martin Luther King, Jr.’s speech appealing to values of “the American Dream” and Christianity in a rally, a rhetor in epideictic occasion does not tell an audience what to do in exact terms
but encourages them to hold certain values, and beliefs. Moreover, he wants them to own the morality of their communities. By owning and holding these values, the audience is heartened to develop necessary *attitudes* to integrate themselves into the whole of that society with more assurance. At this point it is necessary to reiterate that commended values in epideictic discourse are about the perceived (*aesthetics*—αἰσθήσεις) right ways of living (*δίκη*) attitudinize the correct character (*éthos*—ἔθος) and implementing customs (*ethos*—ἐθος) of that historical moment.

Aristotle also mentions certain commonplaces for arguments—*topoi* (τοποί)—for each occasion to have the desirable effect over audience (Rhetoric 1355a22-1355b7). These commonplaces can show differences according to each genre, however Aristotle suggests that there is a connection especially between deliberative and epideictic topics due to their common appeal to the common values (Rhetoric 1363a24). This relation is based on the fact that what is recommended as honorable and good for action in the future (deliberative persuasive argument) in a given case also should be congruent with the values and morals celebrated at the core of the society in present (epideictic persuasive argument). The relationship is based on the truncated syllogistic assumption that if something “is” now then it “will” be in the future too.

This connection brings a very significant argument toward understanding epideictic discourse as not only a pretension of a rhetor solely exercising a stylistic excellence in linguistic performance but also as that his moral and ethical performance through symbolic action. Aristotle’s own argument here works as an *enthymeme*. Since the rhetoric is discovery of means of speech to a persuasive end in a specific discourse, in the case of the epideictic occasion, addressing to an audience’s *theoria*, a rhetor has to
perform linguistically to persuade them to celebrate what is praised in his message

(Rhetoric 1359a11-1359a25). The important distinction here is that the emphasis should
be on the values celebrated not on the oral quality or capability of the speaker who
performs (Ong 73). However, in epideictic persuasive discourse a rhetor might perfect
himself, as much as he can, by incorporating the values celebrated in his speech with
verbal beauty of his speech. Therefore, a rhetor demonstrates not only the morally right
actions in a speech (Farrell 72-73) but also persuades through the forms of beauty in his
language as he presents his own rhetorical eloquence (Perelman 6). As he praises values,
in the eyes of the audience he becomes a part of the praised himself at the end. From this
point of view then, it can be suggested that for Aristotle epideictic discourse is the
occasion where wisdom merges with style the most.

It can be argued that this merger between wisdom and eloquence shows itself
mostly in Aristotle’s inartistic pistics of éthos where the rhetor has to demonstrate a good
moral character through his speech. Of course, an audience does not know if the speaker
really has got these qualities of the disposed moral character that only appear to be
existent in the speech. However, the assumption is that even if the speaker himself falls
short of the moral standards of his message, the fact that he is speaking to a moral motive
can also enthymemically rally an audience to gather around the recommended values
(Perelman 15). In this sense, the other pistics of reasonable argumentation (logos) and
references to audience’s feelings (pathos) in the speech go along with éthos since
Aristotle clearly states that the moral character alone can be the most persuasive part of a
speech. This issue later becomes a central point also in Cicero’s ideas on eloquence.
Cicero’s Merger of Moral Philosophy with Eloquence in Civic Duties

Cicero is a fervent advocate of civic education in eloquence and oratory. He believes that in order to educate each generation as responsible and morally good citizens these arts are essential as long as they build their foundations on the core values of society, which guides them into practical wisdom (McKeon 7). In Cicero’s understanding educating citizens to be good is the duty of epideictic rhetoric (or panegyric) in discourse.⁷

In this sense, one can draw a connection to Isocrates’s ideas easily, and this would be a true and justified reference since Cicero himself pays homage to Isocrates in his writings. However omitting Cicero’s philosophical ideas, which are fundamentally rooted in moral philosophy that is in the veins of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle as well as Stoic thought, would be misguiding and incomplete.

As Aristotle did before him, Cicero also invites anybody who wants to engage politics, public service and rhetoric into philosophy. This invitation is not a mere call for abstraction of the matters in life. Cicero in fact was a devoted pragmatist, so he could not actually mean a non-practical life. On the contrary, Cicero’s invitation into philosophy is an attempt to base practice on wisdom, a wisdom that would guide and teach citizens the principles of argumentation, dialectics, invention and eloquence (De Oratore 89-91).

When Cicero defines the breadth of his study in the book of Orator, which is his last on the subject of rhetoric and also his opposition to the school of Attici, he identifies the base of his discussions not on the subject of oratory, but, as he articulates, on the

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⁷ It is important to emphasize here that in Latin the word officium means service and duty at the same time. In particular, this can also mean a ceremonial observance and/or ceremony. See Charlton T. Lewis, Charles Short, A Latin Dictionary at http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/.
“heart of philosophy” (303). Later he confesses that “whatever ability” he has “as an orator comes, not from the workshops of the rhetoricians, but from the spacious grounds of the Academy” (313). Of course, “the Academy,” which he refers here, is the New Academy of Carneades who considered his approach as the true continuation of Plato’s Academy. Nevertheless, Cicero makes a very clear statement that a philosophically informed rhetorical education is essential in the background of the presumed good orator. However, this does not mean that the philosophy is everything for Cicero but it is significant as he puts, “it helps the orator as physical training helps the actor” (315). Cicero especially reiterates that no one can mention a copious and eloquent oratory and style that was not influenced by philosophy. Two years after completing *Orator*, in one of his treatise on moral conduct, *Discussion in Tusculum*, Cicero renews his commitment to philosophy in his *De Inventione*: “Philosophy! The guide of our lives, the explorer of all that is good in us, exterminator of evil” (54). He argues that without the study of philosophy, the human race could not establish a sense of order in life. Cicero accounts philosophy as the creator of the human civilization. It is important to note the relationship he assigns to rhetoric; he argues that philosophy enabled people “to communicate with one another by language and writing.” He calls philosophy the “inventor of laws, teacher of morals, creator of order” (54).

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9 “Therefore, if anyone neglects the study of oratory and moral conduct, which is the highest and most honorable of pursuits, and devotes his whole energy to the practice of oratory, his civic life is nurtured into something useless to himself and harmful to his country.” (Book I.1)
As expressed before in discussion about the relation between Isocrates and Aristotle, Cicero did not see a fundamental difference in between Isocrates and Aristotle’s emphases in philosophy. Cicero assumes that his philosophical position springs from the Academy, which was grounded in Socrates and Plato’s ideas, utilizes the methods of Isocrates and Aristotle, and tries to reconcile Stoic and Peripatetic-Socratic approaches, which, he argues, only can be distinguishable through their verbal expression but not in their essence (Sattler 169).

Cicero believed that these Stoic and Peripatetic schools taught essentially the same things, and that the difference between them was whether virtue was the only thing human beings should pursue or whether it was merely the best thing to be pursued. According to the first view, things like money and health have no value; according to the second, they have value but nowhere near enough to justify turning away from virtue to attain them. The difference was little in the practical consequences, so as far as Cicero was concerned, and there is no need to push this further (Discussions 114).

In Laws, for example, he explicitly says that he is setting aside his skepticism, for it is dangerous if people do not believe unhesitatingly in the sacredness of the laws and of justice. Thus, he will rely on Stoicism instead. He puts forth Stoic doctrines compromisingly, not as absolutely and always true, but as the best set of beliefs so far developed. He thinks that one ought to adhere to them because our lives, both individually and cooperatively, will be better. It is essentially Stoic ethical teachings that Cicero urges the Roman elite to adopt.

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10 Cicero explains this in Orator on pages 313-14.
Stoicism, as Cicero understood it, held that the gods existed and loved human beings. Both during and after a person’s life, the gods rewarded or punished human beings according to their conduct in life. The gods had also provided human beings with the gift of reason. Cicero obviously did not mean that humans had to shun pleasure, only that it must be enjoyed in the right way. For example, it was fine to enjoy sex, but not with another man’s wife. It was fine to enjoy wine, but not to the point of shameful drunkenness. Finally, the Stoics believed that human beings were all meant to follow natural law, which arises from reason. The natural law is also the source of all properly made human laws and communities. Because human beings share reason and the natural law, humanity as a whole can be thought of as a kind of community, and because each of us is part of a group with shared laws, we are part of a political community too. This being the case, we have duties to each of these communities, and the Stoics recognized an obligation to take part in politics in order to realize those duties.

The Stoic enters politics not for public approval, wealth, or power (which would be meaningless for him) but in order to improve the community of which he is a part. If politics were painful—as it would often prove to be for Cicero—that was not important. What matters is that the virtuous life requires it. For Cicero, as for the Stoics, practical, and not speculative, virtue is higher (On Duties 158).

In this sense, Cicero argues that epideictic discourse should serve to counsel virtues that are beneficial not only for their own possessor but also advantageous for the whole of humanity (Chase 297). In epideictic rhetoric then a rhetor has to provide values “useful to others” which should grant a foundation in character formation of citizens to embrace the right way of life and morals (Burke, Rhetoric 70-71).
In addition to equating eloquence with philosophy, somewhat following the Aristotle’s genre definitions Cicero specifies also three significant means of service (officium) for an orator in a society: docere, delectare, movere (flectare)—teach, delight and move (or bend). In his book, The Best Kind of Orator, Cicero argues that the supreme orator is the one who can, by his speech, instruct, delight and move the minds of his audience (357). Cicero says that it is an orator’s duty (officium) to instruct, and it is a complimentary gift to his audience that he should also give pleasure to them in his discourse. Lastly, moving audience is indispensable. Therefore, Cicero wants to address firstly his audience’s reason, and then he wants to delight their minds and move them. The distinction here is that Cicero’s eloquence is never only based on style and ornate language that pleases the senses of his audience, he strives to have a type of eloquence which not only pleases senses but minds too. In this sense, Cicero aims to invite people to philosophy, and intends to base rhetoric and eloquence on moral philosophy.

Furthermore, for Cicero, the values and principles of this moral philosophy should reside in epideictic rhetoric. One can identify the main beliefs of a society’s moral system by investigating its epideictic discourse.

**Contemporary Ideas on Epideictic Discourse and Advertising**

There is no doubt that the juxtaposition of rhetoric and advertising constitutes volumes of literature. Every significant scholar writing in philosophy of communication and rhetoric at least has touched the idea in general terms. This project does not claim to cover all of the discourse in such depth. However, for the purpose of the project at hand, like the central figures from the ancient times I mentioned above, it is also possible to
define the contemporary key thinkers. The first and the most significantly defining contemporary figure for this study will be Kenneth Burke.

Burke’s idea on seven offices\textsuperscript{11} of rhetoric (inspired by Cicero’s three \textit{officiis} and Aristotle’s \textit{Politics}, which he mentions at the end of his \textit{Attitudes Toward History}) creates a significant starting point for establishing the relationship between rhetoric and advertising (or any kind of persuasive communication activity for that matter). His thorough analysis of traditional rhetorical genres and principles in application to modern situations in \textit{Rhetoric of Motives} also points out some crucial ideas for discussion.

A second key figure is Jacques Ellul, who, in his critical works on technology, communication and society, provides an examination of economical, social and political issues related to communication in general and rhetoric in specific (and advertising as a part of the analysis). In his book, \textit{Technological Bluff}, Ellul especially assigns a section on advertising where he argues that the pervasiveness of advertising in modern life resembles social propaganda (Janack 301-03). In this aspect probably he gets close to Burke, who mentions in \textit{Rhetoric} that epideictic rhetoric perhaps shows itself best in modern times as a form of propaganda. From the perspective of this argument, Ellul’s \textit{Propaganda} requires some careful review in understanding the relationship between social propaganda and rhetoric. Although this work is similar to Bernays’ \textit{Propaganda} in its approach to mass communication, Ellul’s interpretation is much more critical.

\textsuperscript{11} Burke’s seven offices are: govern, defend, provide, teach, entertain, cure, and pontificate. These terms will be explained in detail later in this study. These seven offices will be also used to establish a structure to investigate advertising’s influence in society.
Fisher is another key thinker whose work on the narrative paradigm is noteworthy especially for epideictic discourse. Fisher’s work *Human Communication as Narration* brings a perspective that perceives human beings as essentially storytellers.

The last modern key figures in the present study are Stuart Ewen, Michael Schudson, and James Twitchell. Even though these authors have ideologically different stances, their ideas are relevant to my thesis given their descriptions of the role of advertising in society. In his work, *Captains of Consciousness*, Ewen argues that advertising is more than commercial publicity (32). Schudson also should be included in relation to Ewen here because he appears to be defining similar aspects and affect of advertising in modern society from a different—almost opposite—ideological standing than Ewen, even though his analysis at the end comes very close Ewen’s conclusions in reference to communication and rhetoric. In this sense, Twitchell’s argument is more interesting because he posits himself essentially against the scholars who negatively and harshly criticize advertising as an institution. He argues that as a part of capitalistic democracy consumption actually can be seen as a type of salvation stemming from the Protestant roots. Moreover, he continues to say that advertising induces consumption to contribute that.

After this brief introduction to the contemporary ideas, it is useful to return to the defining categorization from Burke, and examine it more thoroughly for establishing a concrete structure for the analysis of the relationship between advertising as a modern rhetorical phenomenon and epideictic discourse. Burke’s ideas regarding the offices of modern rhetoric have significant consequences for theorizing on any modern means of persuasion.
Burke’s Seven Offices and Persuasion “Counsel with a Heart”

Burke perceives all the persuasive discourse that takes place in society as fundamentally rhetorical. When he analyzes the traditional rhetorical structures and ideas, Burke carefully defines them in relation to the modern situations and conditions. Starting from Aristotle’s definition of rhetorical genres, Burke identifies advertising as complex and problematic (Attitudes 360) since this kind of persuasive activity clearly separates itself from the conventional understanding of deliberative rhetoric (Rhetoric 70). It is definitely obvious that advertising as modern persuasive action in the marketplace has strong deliberative components. Therefore, any advertising practitioner has critical objectives to persuade his target audience to buy the products or services that he advertises (which in this project I call as advertising’s influence on a micro level); however, this fact does not set advertising’s place exactly in deliberative discourse. Since all genres of rhetoric have the purpose of convincing its audience for some kind of action, the notion of having a persuasive point is not enough for considering a specific genre. “Observing the possible means of persuasion” is a general definitive rule in Aristotle’s theory, not a specific categorizing point or an exclusive characteristic only for deliberative rhetoric.

Moreover, since Aristotle defines deliberative discourse as a kind of rhetoric which takes place in a political environment for resolving policy making issues toward the future, advertising seems to be moving outside of the realm of this genre. The only connection then may be drawn due his definition that deliberative genre aims toward a specific critical decision which will be implemented and have an impact in future. In this sense, advertising then becomes deliberative only for practitioner who carefully plans and
calculates his communication strategy in the marketplace in order to find the most
desirable end for his business. However, in its entirety, as a whole advertising escapes
from this limited continuum because it does have a more complex *ethos* than only an
economical one (which I call as the macro affect). It would be also useful to note here
that Burke identifies the modern use of propaganda as a contemporary equivalent to
ancient epideictic in which the stories and images of heroes and the values they are
representing in their actions are portrayed in a form of rhetoric. This idea could be seen in
relation to Cicero’s understanding of bringing up good citizens around the norms of
*officiis* (services or duties). According to Burke, Cicero links this argument to *laudatio* in
panegyric contexts (*Rhetoric* 70-71).

Burke, following Cicero’s project of incorporating of Stoic and Peripatetic
philosophical schools in the definition of three offices of an orator, attempts to
formulate a structure of rhetorical offices for the modern orator by which he can address
all the aspects of human life. By integrating Cicero’s classical offices with Aristotle’s
categories in *Politics* Burke identifies seven modern offices to modern orator. These are
in order, govern, serve, defend, teach, entertain, cure, and pontificate (*Attitudes* 358-62).

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12 Teach, delight and move. To teach is the rhetorical purpose of a philosopher-orator who believes that
virtue is the only thing to be pursued (Stoic) whereas to move seems to be the rhetorical purpose of a
rhetorician-philosopher who believes that virtue is the best thing to be pursued (Peripatetic). To delight is
the function where two thoughts meet in reference to formal (poetic) aspect of the language used in
discourse (for Stoic it is pleasing because it is the only good and for Peripatetic it is pleasing because it is
the best in available goods).
Govern is the function in which an orator serves in a political context through language and symbolic systems consecutively to establish a sense of order. I can also tie the defend function in this office since an orator tries to protect the very order he tries to establish by use of language and symbolic action. Burke defines the serve function as providing the means of sustenance; this office can be related to the economical aspect of the human condition.

As a continuation of Cicero’s office, teach has sociological connotations that signify the rhetorical realm in which citizens learn the ways and norms of living. The orator teaches as he provides the necessary means of habituation for members of a specific society.

Entertain is also a continuation of Cicero’s offices. This function is related to pleasing aspects of language and symbolic action (Burke, Language 295-97). The notion of poetics and dramatic structures of story telling with the expansion of philosophy toward the idea of form in human symbolic action can be considered under this function (Burke, Literary Form 11-13). Since Burke assumes that the appetite for form is a physio-psychological aspect of the human condition, this modern office can be related to the whole psychological component of human symbolic action (Counter-Statement 31).

The office of cure has two connotations related to the human condition. The first one is the obvious one, which aims to create a discourse around physical healing; i.e. the whole of language around the medical field and business can be connected to this realm of rhetoric. For example, the language and rhetoric of the American Heart Association or American Medical Association are institutional in nature to authoritatively build a discourse on human health and physical healing. On the other hand, Burke also
understands this office in terms of catharsis (Burke, *Literary Form* 311). Burke believes that through the operations of language and symbolic action it is possible to cure humans (Thames, “Mystical Ontology” 155). He argues that dramatic and poetic creative imagination affects humans both physiologically and psychologically since Burke follows Aristotle’s notion of catharsis (160) and Spinoza’s idea of mind and body unity (100-02), and connects them in his idea of psychology of form in the literal sense (Counter-Statement 32).

*Pontificate* is the most complex of the offices. According to Burke, this office is where temporal man in is treated in terms of the eternal or natural man in nature in terms of the supernatural. This office looks at human beings in terms of a “beyond” which signifies the location or the origin where humans desire to reach or return (according to what you believe). For Burke there is no necessity to believe in such “beyond” or “metaphysics” in order to experience it. Regardless of faith, this office also approaches another human condition in which human beings always think about a timeless realm (Burke, *Rhetoric of Religion* 28) or “yearning for the other shore” (Burke, *Language* 200). The implications of this approach provide the *pontificate* office with ethical and moral connotations. According to how humans understand and realize symbolic action in this realm defines the moral and ethical platforms in which each person acts (Burke, *Grammar* 227).

This hierarchy of offices is not completely mutually exclusive. They work in a system more like a metabiological sphere of existence almost in organismic connotations (Burke, *Permanence* 297). For example, *govern* intrinsically has to comply with *serve* or *defend* or vice versa. They operate as a whole. The direction of this hierarchy of offices,
which starts with *govern* and ends with *pontificate*, also points out what Burke had in mind when he wanted to call his project in *Attitudes Toward History* “Public Relations Counsel with a Heart.” It is important to realize that Burke’s project described briefly above is very different, maybe almost reactionary, in terms of its assumptions and perspectives upon human nature from Bernays’ *Public Relations* published in 1952.

As far as advertising is considered, it falls under the *serve* office with other business and financial institutions and their communicative efforts (Fullerton 64), since it informs people about how to use sources for their *needs* for *sustenance*. However, even though these overtly serve, they covertly *govern* because the conditions defined in the process of serving also define the political and hierarchical systems. Moreover, advertising also assists in part the *teach* office since it *instructs* people about the ways and forms of what is necessary to do for a comfortable life in a given time and society. In this sense it can be considered as a kind of socialization or habituation instrument, again in the service of *govern*.

Also norms and values of a society, with accepted or desirable ways of being (*ethos*) are taught peripherally in advertising by stories and simulated symbolic action in forms of commercial drama (Smudde 425-26). From this point it can be argued that advertising moves into realm of *entertain* under which the *emphasis* for the rhetorical function points toward language and creative imagery or symbolic action (McQuarrie and Mick, “Reflections” 309), and therefore becomes a part of poetics (McQuarrie and Mick, “On Resonance” 191). In this sense the narratives and stories told by advertising also aims to *please* people who watch (*theoria*) commercial drama as a demonstration (*epideixis*) of aesthetics via language (Smudde 430; Myers, *Words in Ads* 98).
Additionally, if the emphasis shifts toward to the rhetorical content of the norms and values presented in stories and symbolic action in commercial drama, this signifies the pontificate office in which advertising advocates for capitalism [in its perfect form] as a path to salvation in temporal life in terms of the “eternal” in relation to pursuit of wealth and happiness.\(^\text{13}\)

Advertising can also be considered as a part of the cure process again in two ways, one overt and one covert. Advertising, explicitly functioning in relation to the serve and teach offices, informs us with medical commercials or through medical institutional publicities in which we are told what product or service is there to heal our physical ailments in specific. Furthermore, in general it cleanses our psychological tensions and stress covertly through the linguistic operations of drama and aesthetics in relation to entertain (Deighton et al, “Using Drama” 335).

Through this analysis, it would be possible to examine advertising as a form of epideictic rhetoric in terms of Burke’s seven offices. This approach also makes advertising more accessible to study in contexts of separate but associated human experiences. In Persuasion’s Domain Thames discusses these human experiences as psychological, physiological, sociological, rational and religious aspects of human life (vii). Inspired by these categorizations, it can be argued that advertising, following the structures that appear in Burke’s seven offices, can be studied in terms of six aspects of human condition:

\(^{13}\) This is related to Weber’s thesis on capitalism. However, this also brings the problem of corruption because, as Burke considers “war” as a corruption of cooperation of “peace,” pursuit of wealth can turn to Marx’s “fetishism of commodities” [in its corrupted form]. Therefore, capitalism as salvation or corruption might be the two opposites of a pendulum.
**Economical:** This relates to Burke’s *serve* office where humans try to adapt to the conditions of physical resources in order to obtain sustenance for now and future and more.

**Sociological:** This is connected to the *teach* office by which necessary habituation takes place in order to structure and maintain roles and institutions in a society in relation to accepted and desired values and morals.

**Political:** This category has relations for two offices. Political aspect stands for both *govern* and *defend* offices depending on which is more active in a given situation (i.e. war or peace; a time for cooperation and a time for competition).

**Psychological:** Since Burke closely relates *entertain* and *please* linguistically to the psychology of form, one can suggest that this aspect of human condition may be considered under the office of *entertain.* Since “the form is an appetite” (Burke, *Counter-Statement* 31) then one can even consider it *physiological* too.

**Physiological:** Since economical covers the sustenance needs of human beings, this category includes the rest of the bodily needs and healing of physical ailments. Therefore, the office of *cure* is related to physiological realm.

**Ethical:** This category is complex as the pontificate office has a complicated place in Burke’s system. It appears that the ethical should be related to *pontificate* for many reasons. Humans by nature try to reason in order to make choices for the best possible actions in all situations that are explained in the categories above. These actions later become the demonstrations of norms and values that are celebrated in a society because they benefit the members of that society as a whole. Ethicizing each aspect of human condition mentioned above (Burke, *Permanence* 259-63) and mystification of these
reasoned choices through the lenses of metaphysical terminology and faith grant this ethical category with the characteristics of *pontification* (283-85).

The scheme explained above in relation to Burke’s seven offices makes the main platform and the foundation of the present study, on which the epideictic nature of advertising will be discussed in detail. After this examination of defining terms of Burke’s seven offices it would be beneficial to move on to the second key figure on my list, Ellul. As much as Burke’s suggestions are directed toward a sense of cooperation, Ellul’s analysis is that much more critical in nature, not because he is a pessimist but because he believes that it is important to emphasize the inherited danger in modern society in the form of technological systems and the idea of “technique.”

**Ellul’s Technological Society and the Fascinated People**

Ellul identifies the idea of “technique” as a collective trend or tendency to focus increasingly toward efficiency in process of human relations. As humans become increasingly fascinated with the quantitative rather than the qualitative (the “goodness”) results of their actions, they also become increasingly separated from their defining human condition of freedom (*Technological Society* 79-80). Technique or technology itself is not intrinsically “evil.” What makes it dangerous is the human use of technique that misplaced it as an *end* to human means, rather then *means* to a humanistic end (136). This approach toward technique created a condition in which technology started to move independently and became increasingly pervasive. Therefore, humans lost their control over the technology itself and then “technique” itself has become the critical fundamental criterion of the characteristics of human condition (98).
Ellul’s approach as “the critic of technique” is useful for the present study because it complements Burke’s system built around seven offices and expands it with its strong stress on technology. This critique can be applied to all the categories that were composed from Burke’s system. The technique’s effect upon economical, sociological, political, sociological, physiological and psychological realms of the human condition can illuminate the overall phenomena of ethical dimensions of human life.

What emerges in this technological society is an allure toward the sense of progress. It seems that if technology points toward a direction, people should automatically decide it is “good” because of the technique’s essential presuppositions of efficiency and materially quantifiable results appear to be more important and more useful than traditional human rationality (Technological Society 72-74). Therefore, this mindset of “more is good” actually does not free human being but in fact enslaves him to the consequences of the advancement that is dictated by this “progress” (Technological System 256-58).

One important aspect of this technological mindset is the prominent place of “image” in society in which a replica or a copy as a technological reflection of a real thing is more valuable than its original (Humiliation 112-13). It is possible that Ellul’s analysis is a result of Walter Benjamin’s influence on his ideas. In “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction” Benjamin argues that the uniqueness of a human artifact stems from its original time and space where it is a perfect fit and meaningful in its authenticity. Ellul seems to expand this idea around his critique of “image” that reduces everything in human experience to an illusion where appearance reigns supreme with the technological capacities of mass production and reproduction (Humiliation 128).
Another significant notion in Ellul’s work on technology is about the idea of fascination that is caused by the technological reign in human experience and relations. The original charm of technology’s materially quantifiable efficiency in results, transformed itself into a system of fascination with the technology itself and its products (Technological Bluff 262). Ellul demonstrates this as he argues that technological process created a new human condition: fascinated people (323-25). This notion describes the transformation of human motives purely into technological consumerism. Individuals practice this technological consumption to be a more integral part of the technological society, and as they participate more and more in the act of using technological artifacts, the reign of technology strengthens its foundations deeper and deeper. Everything in human life becomes identifiable with the technological consumption; news, information, sports, ceremonies, art and politics (327-330).

Most significantly, Ellul thinks of advertising as the major component of the technological consumption. Advertising serves as a story that propagandizes the norms and values of technological society as it encourages the consumption of image and technological artifacts; thus, it praises the technique (347-350). Understanding advertising in this line of thought is most definitely useful to articulate this study’s main thesis around epideictic rhetoric.

Since the observation above about advertising’s service in technological society in Ellul’s terms points toward the story telling characteristic of advertising, at this point it would be useful to briefly mention Walter Fisher’s ideas on narrative as human communication.
Fisher’s Idea of Narrative as Human Communication

Fisher argues that *Homo narrans* as a metaphor is a continuation and extension of Burke’s idea that humans are symbol using animals (18). By using symbols through language, humans can create stories that have probability to occur in real life and they can make (*poiesis*) these stories believable or “true” by relating them to the other stories, which are held to be “true” by people in that specific society (62-63). By telling these stories, humans also create a platform in language where reason, values and action can be realized in public. In this sense, Fisher’s narrative paradigm has two important connections to epideictic discourse. First, storytelling is itself intrinsically ceremonial (19). In stories humans create a dramatic realism in which the heroes and villains of a society (in their perfect or exaggerated forms) act in certain situations where ethical decisions are made, and social norms and values are reflected in order to demonstrate the desired way of life and character of disposition for the people (113-114). Secondly, stories are not documentary and factual in the perfect sense. In fact, they are fictional in form, by which the maker of the story also demonstrates the ability to use language in an attractive and a beautiful way (159).

Advertising in its modern form also uses stories and offers dramatic actions in the marketplace in conjunction with social, economical and ethical aspects of the modern society (Stern 7; Padgett and Allen 52). Therefore Fisher’s ideas can be articulated that human communication as narration also assumes advertising as narration. Since storytelling is epideictic through the metaphors of coherence and fidelity, advertising can be examined in the same way by applying Fisher’s ideas to the stories told by commercial storytellers (Johar et al 1-3).
Ewen, Schudson & Twitchell

*Stuart Ewen’s All Consuming Images*

By examining the roots and role of advertising in American society from a historical perspective Ewen suggests that advertising had become a tool at the hands of the social, economical and political “elites” who shaped the conditions in which ordinary citizens make decisions in the marketplace as well as public life (PRI 377). The sources of Ewen’s critique can be found in Lippmann’s *The Phantom Public* and *Public Opinion*. In this sense, related to Ewen’s terms, advertising may be examined as an epideictic discourse, by which the norms and values of the capitalistic democracy are instated, commended and counseled (Captains 87). Ewen’s other works such as *Channels of Desire* and *All Consuming Images* also argue for the same assumption. However, his perspective is not only based on a historical but also an ideological criticism. Ewen’s interpretation seems to be influenced by Frankfurt School, especially Marcuse, and Neo-Marxist Critical studies (Captains 193). In his critique, Ewen also uses many examples and references from Bernays’s *The Engineering of Consent* and *Crystallizing Public Opinion* even though he is fundamentally against Bernays in terms of prescriptions regarding the uses of propaganda. It would be very important to note that as far as one is aware of the ideological background of Ewen’s thought, his analysis brings a very detailed and elaborated examination for anyone who wants to study the implications and effects of advertising in society.

*Michael Schudson’s Capitalist Realism*

In *Advertising: Uneasy Persuasion* Schudson argues that advertising as a public discourse powerfully works for institutionalizing the norms and the values of the
capitalist vision of social and economical life in the liberal and democratic world view. Therefore, Schudson emphasizes that in order to understand advertising’s role in society, one should also look closely at the institution of democracy and narratives of capitalism. In the chapter named “Advertising as Capitalist Realism,” Schudson formulizes a different perspective toward advertising. From this perspective, Schudson moves toward the idea that advertising functions as an outward demonstration of the characteristics of capitalist realism in society (75). By this demonstration, advertising aims to establish and strengthen the foundations of capitalism in democratic societies. Moreover, with this conclusion Schudson appears to describe the same social phenomenon as Ewen, even though his ideological language stems from a different origin.

**James Twitchell’s Rhetoric of Salvation**

Another significant work worth mentioning is *Lead Us to Temptation*. Twitchell’s argument separates itself from the rest in his own acknowledgement of the fact that advertising sells finely packaged goods with a storytelling of dreams (283) and has a liberating role in capitalistic democracies (272). He rather enjoys the whole process (275). He argues that advertising as an integral part of capitalism, which has its roots in Protestant understanding of worldly salvation (30), simply provides a type of rhetoric for that salvation (50-89).

Twitchell’s perspective is definitely an opposite view of Ewen’s critique; even one might call it an enthusiastic defense of advertising against the bashing, which he calls as “narcissistic iatrogenic academic obfuscation” (273). However, his eager case of advertising does not change the fact that advertising has a strong role in the society.
Twitchell actually provides many good points to support my thesis. Thus, the role of advertising is innately epideictic in terms of the “rhetoric of salvation.”

**Other Important Theorists**

It is also important to notice some other thinkers whose works also come to close quarters with the main key figures of mine, and whose ideas can expand the speculations on an epideictic analysis of advertising.

The first theorist in this sense is Roland Barthes who in his *Mythologies* very briefly examines the “New Citröen” as a modern art object, which is consumed in forms of image and compares the modern cars to Gothic cathedrals (88). In another work, Barthes also uses advertising artifacts to identify and define “a rhetoric of image” (Barthes, *Responsibility* 22-26) related to the idea that there is a need for a theory of visual rhetoric (Scott, “Images” 252-53). In a sense, Barthes also follows Walter Benjamin’s critique and his ideas can be juxtaposed to Ellul’s analysis of “image” even though Barthes is not as stern as Ellul in his final evaluation.

A second theorist is Leo Spitzer whose main contributions are in field of English and Literature but his article “American Advertising Explained as Art” has a significant approach in analyzing advertising in its form (in Burkean sense) and its symbolic effect as a type of rhetoric for display (248). In this sense, advertising can be seen as a literary genre (Scott, “Bridge from Text to Mind” 464).

**Modern Advertising Theories and Rhetoric**

The majority of advertising theories used by practitioners and professionals in the marketplace are behavioristic in nature. Most of their data is collected by the “scientific” method, which is absorbed by social sciences studies from natural sciences. Because of
this methodological approach, most of these theories see humans as “subjects” which is not a very proper name for a humanistic view (Dyer 114-116). However, these theories are also designed to serve to reach pragmatic objectives in having efficient communication toward consumers (Weilbacher 230) rather than holistically investigating human communication, so this difference is understandable and even meaningful. It is meaningful because this approach helps us to discover the differences and oppositions in fundamental presuppositions and worldviews.

It is useful to state here that many modern advertising theories rooted in social scientific and behavioristic studies are actually very much rhetorical (Deighton, “Rhetorical Strategies” 432) and the phenomena that they are trying to identify has been studied by humanities for centuries (McQuarrie and Mick, “Figures of Rhetoric” 425; Leigh 18). Therefore, one side of the present study aspires to claim that these modern theories of advertising are busy in “reinvention of the wheel.” However, one point has necessarily to be made here is that while rhetorical theory emphasizes invention of arguments, modern advertising theories emphasize audience’s reception of persuasive arguments (Myers, Ad Worlds 153). Both seem to be looking at the same phenomenon from different lenses, because rhetorical theory approaches persuasion holistically whereas modern theories approach with a linear and directional mindset.

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14 UC Berkeley Rhetoric department actually offers a seminar course on this subject. http://rhetoric.berkeley.edu/course_archive_under.html#24,%20sec%2004
However, it is necessary to mention these theories briefly before elaborating on the assumption above. If one needs to generalize the question of how advertising works in an overall view, the scholarly publications on consumer research, marketing and advertising are very useful references to start. Vakratsas and Ambler’s study is such article. According to their frame of study, advertising has four basic sections to investigate. The first part is on advertising input (i.e. message content), the second section filters (motivation and involvement), the third consumer’s experience of advertising’s persuasive appeals (cognition, affect and experience), and fourth consumer behavior (i.e. choice, consumption and habit) (26).

Vakratsas and Ambler also define a taxonomy of advertising models in their reviewing study (27). According to this, models can fall into cognitive information, pure affect, persuasive hierarchy, low-involvement hierarchy, integrative models, and hierarchy-free categories. Cognitive models argue that consumer behavior is solely based on thinking and they rely on economics (Nelson, “Advertising” 743-45; Stigler 213-25; & Telser 555-58). On the other hand, pure affect models argue that consumer reaction to commercials is purely emotional (Zajonc 151-73).

Persuasive hierarchy models assume that there is a hierarchy of response in consumer behavior. They mostly argue that this process follows a cognition-affection-behavior sequence (Lavidge and Steiner 59-62). Low-involvement models are assumed to work in a similar way, too. This time the hierarchy changes into cognition-experience-affect-behavior scheme (Jones 233-43). These models are thought to be similar in effect,

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15 A fundamental advertising concept: This notion is defined as the amount of time people spend before making a purchasing decision, so if the involvement is high the consumer has a longer and deeper thinking process, and vice versa.
as learning follows experience just like the conditioning studies mentioned in Thorndike’s *Animal Intelligence* and Skinner’s *The Behavior of Organisms*.

The other models either do not have any specific hierarchy of affects or they are considered as completely free of any hierarchy in consumer response. Even though these theories are not going to be examined in detail, it would be useful to look at some of the significant ones here:

- Selective Perception (Maloney)
- Cognitive Response Theory (Greenwald)
- Emotional Theory (Zajonc)
- Attribution Theory (Heider)
- Learning Theory (Skinner)
- Reference Group Theory (Hyman)
- Cultivation Theory (Gerbner)
- Attitude-Behavior Relationship Theory (Ajzen and Fishbein)
- Information Processing Theory (McGuire)
- Elaboration Likelihood Model (Cacioppo and Petty)
- Mere Exposure Theory (Zajonc)
- Personality Theory (Freud)
- Source Credibility (Hovland and Weiss)
- Low Involvement Theory (Krugman)
- Social Judgment Theory (Sherif & Hovland)
- Subliminal Perception (Freud)
- Expectancy-Value Model of Attitude Theory (Fishbein and Ajzen)
Cognitive Consistency (Heider, Newcomb)

Theory of Cognitive Dissonance (Festinger)

Theory of Reasoned Action (Fishbein)

If one looks at the relation between these theories and rhetorical theory, a couple examples would be useful to illustrate the connections in an introductory level. Let us start with Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM). This model assumes that a highly involved and information seeking consumer would approach a commercial critically and evaluate the content of the message as a criterion for his decision that is the “central” route to persuasion (Petty, Cacioppo, and Schumann 135-38). On the other hand, if a lowly involved and emotionally motivated audience sees the same commercial he tends to follow the “peripheral” route to persuasion in which the style and form of the messages in that commercial is more important–the formal and pleasing aspect of the message i.e. music (Scott, “Understanding” 224). In rhetorical theory, this model may find its corresponding part in Aristotle’s basic inartistic and artistic proofs. As facts and concrete evidence behind commercial message with *logos* can constitute “central” route to persuasion, *pathos* and *ethos* in the commercial message (Root 52) may be considered as the “peripheral” route. Furthermore, if one looks at the Cicero’s offices, *teach* may relate to content as *please* to style and *move* may correspond to *eloquence* as a whole of that commercial. Alternatively, from a contemporary perspective, Burke’s ideas on persuasion and seven offices can answer the issues in a greater breadth than ELM was ever designed for.

Another brief example could be about cognitive response theory. This model looks at the audience of a persuasive communication activity in three levels in temporal
and three levels in cognitive attributions under the cognition-affect-behavior continuum. The temporal attributes cover (1) audience’s pre-existing attitudes before the persuasive communication activity, (2) exposure to persuasive communication and (3) post-communication attitudes. Cognitive attributions cover audience’s conduct at the time of exposure. In this point, the audience either cognitively supports the message or develops counter-arguments against it. As a part of this process, the audience also evaluates the source credibility of the message (Smith and Swinyard 3-10). This theory can also be explained easily by the terms of rhetorical tradition in Aristotelian and Ciceronian analyses of argumentation and counter-argumentation. Use of syllogisms, enthymemes, and examples and the concepts of *eloquence* and *ethos* may explain the elements of the cognitive response theory that are essentially rhetorical in nature.

**Interpreting Advertising as Epideictic Rhetoric**

The present study aims to investigate and examine advertising and commercial persuasive communication as a form of modern rhetorical discourse. In order to study this idea an interpretive method that is in concordance with humanities tradition has to be employed by bringing the ideas of the ancient, classical and modern rhetorical theories in a synthetic fusion to engage the modern practices of advertising and integrated marketing communication.

There are many starting points in rhetorical theory for the purposes of this method. Isocrates’s ideas on epideictic discourse’s capacity to induce moral action broadens the understanding of ceremonial communication platforms, whereas Aristotle’s analysis of epideictic discourse’s definition as a genre helps the descriptive problems involved in persuasion. Also Aristotle’s ideas on epideictic rhetoric’s function (1) of
pointing toward societal values for celebration, (2) of praise of the language used by speaker in discourse, and (3) as a platform for persuasive speaker to demonstrate his talents are very significant. Moreover, Cicero’s three offices of orator and his description of epideictic rhetoric’s function to raising good citizens are very relevant to the present study’s main thesis.

From the contemporary theories, Burke’s rhetorical analyses in Rhetoric and Grammar of Motives, and his invention of seven offices are also remarkable ideas to examine advertising’s effect on society. Similarly, Ellul’s critique on technological society and his metaphor of “fascinated people” are noteworthy thoughts for investigation. Ewen and Schudson respectively analyze advertising, as ideological propaganda and capitalist realism. Furthermore, Twitchell argues that advertising liberates people as a part of democratic experience. These ideas definitely will broaden the horizon of my investigation.

In this chapter, I discussed the rhetorical foundations of advertising and its relation to epideictic genre of discourse. In the second chapter, I will discuss the characteristics of advertising as epideictic discourse in detail with comparison to deliberative discourse. I will do this by investigating the importance of the metaphors of form and function; examining the significance and association of poetics and praise with linguistic display (or demonstration); and exploring the implication of theoria in terms of action-persuasion relationship, and using mostly Aristotle’s configurations with a combination of Isocratean and Ciceronian ideas.

In the third, I will argue that advertising functions as a modern form of epideictic discourse around Kenneth Burke’s idea of the seven offices. Each office’s connection to
advertising as a social phenomenon will be discussed here in terms of symbolic social action. In this chapter, connecting Burke’s analysis, I will also examine Ellul’s metaphor “fascinated people” to demonstrate that advertising operates as an epideictic discourse to facilitate a social enthrallment with the help of Fischer’s narrative paradigm. I will also present ideas from Ewen, Schudson, and Twitchell on advertising’s social influence as well as insights from Barthes and Spitzer to illustrate advertising’s aesthetic effect epideictically.

The fourth chapter will look into the practical examples and cases studies to illustrate the epideictic nature of advertising in capitalistic societies by analyzing the contemporary discussions and deliberations expressed in the previous chapter.

Lastly, the ethical implications of advertising will be discussed under the light of the analyses made in the preceding chapters: the impact of advertising as epideictic rhetoric on the economical, social, political, psychological and physiological aspects of human life will be discussed as a whole to understand the potential ethical consequences.
Chapter 2 Epideictic Nature of Advertising

Configuration of Epideictic Characteristics

As described in Aristotle’s *Rhetoric*, epideictic rhetoric has certain characteristics, which distinguish it from the other genres of discourse. Aristotle reconfigured epideictic genre on the bases of already existent styles in discourse and established a new name for speeches of praise and blame by combining discourses of encomium, eulogy and panegyrics. According to Schiappa, before Aristotle’s reconfiguration, epideictic was not mentioned in any theoretical writings of rhetorical studies as a separate genre. Rather, epideictic was considered much more as a characteristic of general style and speech, and the each context of praise and blame was individually approached (Rhetorical Theory 198).

Aristotle’s reconfiguration of three rhetorical genres is quite revolutionary in his perspective on audience’s position and function, discourse’s temporal orientation, and the persuasive end in each genre (Aristotle, Rhetoric 1358b1). The very well known definition of these genres provides us our own conception of rhetorical contexts today. In deliberative and judicial genres, the audience has a role of decision-making on specific questions about future and past respectively. The question at hand in deliberative genre is usually political and about a course of action in future which an orator either counsels for or advices against. The question at hand in judicial genre is usually bonded to a court of law and it is about a person (or institution) whose guilt or innocence is counseled by an orator based on the evidence in past events.

Epideictic genre has a special place in this configuration. This is the only discourse in which the audience does not need to make a decision on a specific question.
but rather watch, observe and speculate on (theoria) a speech that usually praises or
censures someone or something according to (civic or private) virtues and vices which
were identified and commonly accepted in that society. Aristotle mentions in Rhetoric
that epideictic genre is actually similar to deliberative discourse in means of purpose.
According to Aristotle “To praise a man is in one respect akin to urging a course of
action” and he argues that “whenever you want to praise anyone, think what you would
urge people to do; and when you want to urge the doing of anything, think what you
would praise a man for having done” (1367b35-a10). Therefore, one may argue that
theoretically there is also a relationship between the temporal orientations of these two
genres. The basis of the argument would be that what is commendable and praised now
should be also credible and praiseworthy in the future. Furthermore, Aristotle claims that
by changing the temporal orientation from now to future in a sentence of praise; we
would obtain a deliberative discourse and vice versa.

Epideictic genre is also special because Aristotle places its temporal orientation to
present time (i.e. right here and right now). This is very significant because of two main
reasons. First, the emphasis on “now” brings an ontological sense of immediacy to the
context and content of a discourse. Second, it provides a sense of phenomenological
direction of attention\textsuperscript{16} to the object of praise or blame. Therefore, because of the place
and the function of audience (theoria) and the temporal orientation (present-\τα)

\textsuperscript{16} It is interesting to see the connection to Kenneth Burke’s idea of “terministic screens” here in its ability
to direct attention. The idea is introduced in “Terministic Screens” in Language as Symbolic Action on
p.45
Advertising as Epidectic Rhetoric

\(\text{υπάρχοντα}\)^17 in epideictic genre, an orator can simply advert to the object of praise or blame, as well as to himself as the speaker since, in epideictic discourse, an orator not only should demonstrate his ability of eloquence as a verbal show but he is also expected to provide an entertaining aspect of discourse for his audience. Cicero considers this duty of orator almost like a complimentary gift to listeners (The Best Kind of Orator 357).

**Epidectic Characteristics of Advertising**

As mentioned in the first chapter, a modern media phenomenon like advertising is parallel to epideictic discourse for several reasons. The most obvious reason is that advertising is a commercial discourse, which praises specific goods, services, corporations, institutions and people (i.e. political candidates) for marketing, commercial and political purposes. Aristotle clearly explains in *Rhetoric* that the praise in epideictic discourse could be for anything, human or divine, living or inanimate (1366a23-32). Therefore advertising seems to be fitting to be an epideictic discourse in terms of content.

Second, advertising does not directly treat its target audience as the primary decision makers (i.e. judges–κριτές) but approaches publics as a body of spectators who watch and observe media events (as modern broadcasted ceremonies) (McKenzie 192). The commercial decision making process is much more linked to advertising’s influence on attitudes and motivations of audience, and it develops over time (Schudson 238). In this sense, commercial decision-making is not like a “pure” political or deliberative

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^17 Aristotle uses the term τα υπάρχοντα (ta huparchonta) in *Rhetoric* which is a derivative form of υπάρχω (huparcho) that means “to begin” and is usually used to signify to present time in Ancient Greek understanding that is almost a union of present tense and present continuous tense in English language.
procedure in which a question at hand requires a definite decision at the end of a discursive process.

As Aristotle explains, deliberative rhetoric aims to exhort a specific course of action in future. Any rhetorical discourse attempting to persuade others to decide on a political, economical and cultural action in the future would be considered as part of the deliberative genre. For example “Should we take military precautions against Iran?” or “Should we establish political relationships with Hamas?” are political questions on the national scope. Some political questions can be modified at state level (“Should we allow gay marriage?”) or regional level (“What should be the number one priority in fiscal spending in the city of Pittsburgh?”). Such deliberations can be seen in any corporations, institutions of political, cultural and educational establishments, in non-profit or special interest organizations, social clubs, even in families. The important thing to realize here is that not every member of the aforementioned public and private institutions and groups has the direct authority, duty or responsibility to make decisions as Walter Lippmann suggests in *Public Opinion*. Publics moreover have an indirect role in a mostly representative democratic political (or economic and cultural) structure as explained in Hauser’s *Vernacular Voices*. Publics can make their opinions and decisions heard through their representatives in the courts of decision-making assemblies (senate, house, parliament or any administrative boards (32-34). In this sense, it is hard to mention a

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18 Lippmann investigates the idea of appeal to the public in Chapter 27 sections 1-3. “The purpose, then, is not to burden every citizen with expert opinions on all questions, but to push that burden away from him toward the responsible administrator. An intelligence system has value, of course, as a source of general information, and as a check on the daily press. That is secondary. Its real use is as an aid to representative government and administration both in politics and industry.”
“pure” deliberative discourse that can be directed to publics and audiences even in modern democratic election campaigns unless a direct referendum is implemented.

Most rhetoric directed to general or specific publics usually are as epideictic as deliberative. A clear-cut difference between these two discourses is not always possible and they mostly are demonstrated in practical life with a balanced combination in the manner of Isocratic and Ciceronian traditions. In this approach, audience is primarily exposed to certain praises or censures of ideas, actions, actors, and things that are fundamentally connected with core values of a given society. Then an orator urges audience to comply with the presented praise or censure, and maintain them as the standards or criteria for their future actions (Rosenfield). Therefore, a deliberative-epideictic continuum emerges in a public discourse. The discourse itself comes close to being deliberative in nature when an audience attains more of a role as decision-maker on a course of action regarding particular question(s) at hand (kritēs). It nears to being epideictic when the same audience retains a position of being an observer of communally praised values (and censured vices) as the guiding principles for public and private action in general at that moment in history (Hauser, “Aristotle on Epideictic” 19). In this sense then, Aristotle’s argument that “praise is akin to counseling for action” (Rhetoric 1367b26-39) has a significant validity.

Then one can argue that the commercial decision making process is linked to advertising in an epideictic sense. Consumers observe (theoria) messages of praise about commercial goods and services that are an integral part of a media culture, which

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19 Especially in Isocrates’s panegyric and epideictic speeches, such as Panegyricus and Panathenaicus; also as mentioned in Cicero’s De Partione Oratoria the approach of laudatio and panegyric.
entertains publics via tributes to “celebrities” (politicians included). The deliberative aspect in advertising discourse works, as mentioned above, similar to how Aristotle explains the relationship between epideictic and deliberative discourses. Advertising praises or censures people and things at the present because of their “virtuous” acts or characteristics. By observing this discourse an audience would have certain impressions and perceptions about a praised (or censured) thing or person, and through these, they may (or may not) decide to have an attitude to act in concordance with the original praise (or censure)—i.e. purchase and/or continue commercial interaction—in the future. Therefore the purpose of advertising as epideictic rhetoric is a kind of, what Burke might say, attitudinizing\textsuperscript{20} or incipient action.

Third, the temporal orientation in commercial communication is largely connected to the present time. As in epideictic discourse, advertising makes a case for the commendable traits of people and things, as they are now. It is of course not so exceptional that advertising refers to the past and the future, but these references are made only to let an audience observe and contemplate on their implications to the present moment (Berman 128). There are some examples of this in advertisements where the object of praise is emotionally or rationally identified and related with a past event or segment in the lives of the targeted addressees: “Just like the taste from your childhood” or “like your grandma’s kitchen” can be a stereotypical example of commercial appeals toward past experiences. Additionally, some other examples can be given for future references. “When you become a mom…” or “when your retirement comes…” would be

\textsuperscript{20} Kenneth Burke mentions this term to express the idea of “symbolically acting” or “symbolically motivating” human communication. See \textit{LSA} p.57, & p.118.
situational and consequential (kairotic) appeals to certain envisioned future experiences (Leiss, Kline, and Jhally 111).

However, the significance of these past and future references is only valid if the audience agrees that the excellence (virtue) and the goodness of “the praised” are available at the present. Therefore, praise is usually constructed as “someone is virtuous now” or “something is good now.” Because of the idea behind Aristotle’s reconfiguration of epideictic and deliberative discourse, it is enthymematically implied that if something is good now, it is probable that it will be so in the future too. On the other hand, because the past is considered as a remembrance of what was once present, events and experiences in the past are envisioned as references to previous perceptions (Aristotle, Metaphysics 1071b7). Therefore, the assumption is that the subject of praise primarily should be observed chronologically present as well as being present ontologically and phenomenologically. Advertising uses this rhetorical construction to direct attention (advert) toward the praised things (goods, services, or people) by exemplifying how they currently possess some characteristics which audience commonly identifies as virtuous and good in their society at that moment.

Fourth, advertising has become the rhetoric of capitalism in which publics are continually being addressed to adopt a certain style of living. Correspondingly, in epideictic discourse the overall purpose is to celebrate what is held common in our

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21 The rhetoric of capitalism is a significant issue once it is considered next to the idea of democracy. As I mentioned briefly in the first chapter, there is a close relationship between capitalism and democracy in the current human affairs in the world and this relationship is an integration or combination of politics and economics as counterparts without reducing one to another, not as architectonic principles. The reason behind the integration is the existence of economical influences on political contexts as well as the political influences on economic consequences.
communities, reaffirm the values of these communities, and recommit us to live according to those values. Epideictic discourse tries to accomplish this purpose by utilizing rhetorical devices of identification, magnification and configuration as well as amplification (Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1368a10-32; Cicero, *De Partitio*ne 351-53).

In capitalistic democracies, individuals and publics are encouraged to recognize and live according to the principles of the free market economics as well as the free market of ideas.22 Publics and their embedded individuals participate in the democratic system by practicing freedom of speech and expression, as well as by contributing to the capitalistic economy via working/producing and consuming goods, services, ideas (and supporting political figures). Advertising, as the rhetoric of capitalism, works for enhancing publics’ participation into this system by providing a high praise for the desired actions in the economic and political contexts (Schudson 238; Twitchell 284; Ewen, *Captains* 42). Therefore advertising identifies, magnifies and configures these actions as fundamental in the way of life that is directly linked to the common values and virtues of the capitalistic democracies (Carey 23). Therefore the idea of being a good consumer (and producer in that matter) is linked to the idea of being a good citizen, and advertising as epideictic discourse amplifies this relation by demonstrating it as “the habitual good life” (ethos-εθος).

22 John Stuart Mill’s ideas on freedom as the guiding principle that would influence every aspect of human life, about material resources, level of enlightenment, or the opportunity for political participation as articulated in *On Liberty* and *Utilitarianism*, are relevant here. As well as Mill’s ideas his mentor Bentham’s perspectives on utilitarianism as “the greatest happiness available for the greatest number of people” are significant. In addition, Adam Smith’s ideas in *The Wealth of the Nations* defining the market dynamics and their effects on political regimes are very influential to the understanding of current system of capitalistic democracies.
Up to this point, I have briefly discussed the four reasons why one should consider advertising as epideictic discourse. Now I attempt to emphasize the end and/or the purpose of a discourse. For part of my thesis is that, at this level, advertising and epideictic rhetoric share similar ends, namely commendation and observance of virtues and values in a society, it is helpful to investigate the reasons which I mentioned earlier, under the umbrella of two major metaphors, in order to elucidate the epideictic nature of advertising more clearly. In parallel to the ideas of commendation and observance, one can identify these metaphors as praise and theoria.

Beneath the metaphor of praise, it is appropriate to discuss several significant characteristics of advertising that it shares exclusively with epideictic rhetoric—on a micro level. First, the types of excellence (virtus-ἀρετή) that are proliferated in advertising can be investigated by looking at the general topics (τόποις) that are covered in persuasion in relation to epideictic discourse. Then one can look at the types of praise (encomium, eulogy and panegyrics) and traits of “the praised subjects” in epideictic discourse in relation to advertising. Thirdly, the functionality of epideictic discourse in advertising and transforming attention into attitudes can be examined by investigating eulogistic and dyslogistic language that is used in advertising (Burke, Permanence 189; Language 45-47). Lastly, advertising can be defined as a modern rhetoric of commercial amplification of ideas, goods, services and people as it emerges as an epideictic heightening effect.

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23 An argument that Bentham uses repeatedly in his “Table of the Springs of Action.”
Beneath the second metaphor; the notion of theory, it is essential to examine
the role of consumers as spectators in commercial discourse—that is the macro level
aspect of advertising as epideictic rhetoric. Then the context of ceremony and its relation
to advertising can be discussed. Conclusively, an explanation regarding to the purpose
(telos-τέλος) of persuasion in advertising can be made with a discussion of attitudes
(mainly related to Burke’s idea of attitudinizing) and aesthetic motivation.

**Praise in Epideictic Rhetoric**

What is praised in epideictic discourse is excellence (virtue). Excellence as a
metaphor is the central piece in praise and blame (Aristotle, Rhetoric 1366a24). One can
praise or censure anything according to the criteria of what is considered commonly as
titious and good in a given time and place. The understanding of excellence is rooted in
being good, and therefore it is about what is considered good by common approval of a
society in an historical moment. In epideictic discourse, there are several levels of being
good or virtuous but it should not be forgotten that all these levels are interwoven and in
one way or another related to each other as they create an organic whole.

**Virtue**

If one has to categorize the different levels of being virtuous, he should look at the
foundations of the idea of virtue. What is praised in epideictic discourse depends on the
understanding of each level of virtue definitions in its own terms. Coming from the
definition of virtue, I can identify these levels as follows:

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24 It is inevitable to use the words “excellence” and “virtue” interchangeably since their etymological and
historical foundations are related, and their connotations call for each other. For that reason I am but have
to use them together interchangeably in this text.
Virtue of Purpose: living up to one’s full potential and function (*têlos*).\(^{25}\)

Virtue of Aesthetics: being beautiful (or handsome) and pleasant (*kâlos or bellus*).

Virtue of Ethics: being able to make “right” decisions at critical moments (*phronêsis*). Since ethics is understood as the “the habitual good life” (*ethos-\(\zetêôs\)), following Aristotle, one can relate this virtue to politics (*Rhetoric* 1358a26)

Virtue of Tradition: being loyal to one’s own customs, beliefs and faith (*fidelity*).

**Virtue of Purpose**

In ancient Greece, excellence (*\(\alpha\rho\varepsilon\tau\eta\)) was originally connected with the idea of fulfillment of purpose and function. In human terms, it was conceived as the act of living up to one’s full potential (Aristotle, *Ethics* 1098a1-17). In Roman society, the idea of excellence (*virtus*) was considered similarly, however, in its origin, it had a more direct connection to manhood and manly functions\(^{26}\) such as courage and warlike attitudes, which was linked to the idea of power or faculty of accomplishing something (an action). Of course, that is not so much different from the Greek conceptualization of excellence since they also assigned the notions of having courage and being brave to the idea of virtue. Interestingly enough the idea of being courageous was directly linked to being a man (*\(\alpha\nu\delta\rho\varepsilon\iota\sigma\)\).

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\(^{25}\) Virtue of purpose might be considered as virtue of function as well since the integration of metaphors of function and purpose is apparent in the idea of arête (*\(\alpha\rho\varepsilon\tau\eta\)*).

\(^{26}\) Even though *vir* is usually considered as manly, there are enough Latin words to suggest that this word originally meant power of doing things or accomplishing deeds, which can be attributed to any natural event or act, so that many feminine ideas or objects and womanly actions can be also related to the root of *vir*.
In this understanding of virtue, then, what is brought to attention is the idea of *purpose* or faculty of a thing. One famous example given by Aristotle (which has an important place in Heidegger’s philosophy of Being) is that the virtue of a knife is to cut and the perfection of its cutting function would lead to the perfection of its excellence—that is virtue based on *ergon* (Aristotle, *Ethics* 1097b25-32). From this example, many other instances of virtue related to function can be derived. A virtuous horse, for instance, is the one that runs fast and rides well. If you translate this to a car you would get a very similar notion.

In human terms as defined above, too, accomplishment of manly and womanly functions well is related to virtue. One of the foundations of this idea is, as for all the living beings, *fecundity* or the ability to produce offspring (and *parenthood*, of course, caring for one’s own progeny) (Levinas, *Totality and Infinity* 267). This naturally involves the human sexual experience but since human psyche and physiology is a very complex whole, the sexual function should not be considered as the *archê* but rather as a base part of the whole, which is human being. The *archê* here is the notion of productiveness or fruitfulness. As human beings, we have the most complex idea related to the *purpose* of productivity. There are some other living beings that produce apparent goods in nature (bees and honey for example or the bacteria that decompose and compose the necessary matters in water, air and soil) however, none of them have purposes as complex as the human *labor, work, play* and *contemplation*.

27 *Labor* is the human effort for sustenance and bodily nourishment. *Work* is the human endeavor for the betterment of

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27 This is based upon Hannah Arendt’s ideas in *Human Condition* however she names action as the last part which, following Gadamer’s example, I separated into two metaphors of play and contemplation.
one’s own family, community and society and intellectual nourishment. *Play* is another
significant human notion that involves all the activities of engagement and cooperation
for creation and recreation (*leisure*).\(^{28}\) *Contemplation* seems to be the highest level of
humanly functions; it is an attempt to finding the meaning behind the whole existence.
This involves the human intellectual direction\(^{29}\) that creates, analyzes and critiques the
whole human symbolic action (Arendt 14-17). Because of the complexity behind the idea
of whole human functionality, the idea of human virtue is, of course, very much textured.
The act of living up to one’s full potential has many layers of significance in human
terms. As a whole, it is bigger than the ordinary duality of action/motion in human
physiological and psychological realms. The human virtue as *functionality* or *purpose*
should be considered as a whole of human action and motion (a cooperation of mind and
body) that combines all the performances of human *fecundity, labor, work, play* and
*contemplation*.

**Virtue of Aesthetics**

Beauty is the basis of the aesthetic praise. The essence of beauty is its ability to
give us pleasure (Burke, *Literary Form* 60-66). Even though this ability can be
considered separately both in physical (body) and intellectual (mind) realms, the

\(^{28}\) The idea of recreation is an important notion and characteristic of human beings. This includes the
ancient idea of entertainment and leisure as well as sports and games. The ancient idea of entertainment is
much more an observance of the celebratory activities, which commemorate the familial, communal and
societal values and virtues. This could be a bodily or mental activity but usually it is composed of an
integration of the both. See Holba’s *Questioning the Rhetorical Eclipse of Philosophical Leisure: Ad
Colloquium Conferendum*.

\(^{29}\) *Or method* as in Greek (*met-hodos*), which can be understood as *act of being*. Burke suggests that
words like *yoga, tao and hodos* are “act” words and they represent a system, an act of being. However this
notion represents not only an act of being but also the “right” act of being. (See the discussion in *A
Grammar of Motives* p.15). If we can relate this idea to the definition of virtue as the act of living up to
one’s own full potential, we reach the notion of direction (*hodos*) as virtue, which stands for the faculty of
self-reflection or, act of contemplating on one’s own symbolic actions.
emphasis here should not be only on the intellectual side just because pleasure is generally considered materialistically as a part of the virtue of purpose.\textsuperscript{30} To the contrary, pleasure ought to be approached as a whole in integration, or cooperation, of both physiological and psychological aspects (Burke, \textit{Language} 308-11).

The etymological foundation of aesthetics suggests that it is related to the human perception of things.\textsuperscript{31} A beautiful thing comes in contact with our senses, and through our sense perception, we recognize that it has \textit{beauty} (or an aesthetic form). Then, in the course of our perception of the beautiful thing (\textit{bellus}), through our senses, we experience \textit{pleasure}. Therefore, it is significant to know which (combination) of our senses are involved in the process.

From the notion of perception, one reaches the idea of \textit{form} as the center of aesthetics. However, the idea of \textit{form} is not only limited to the physical realm; we also call things beautiful which please us intellectually (Burke, \textit{Counter-Statement} 31). There are beautiful ideas, metaphors, and thoughts. We talk of beautiful stories, poetry and speeches. On the other hand, there is an inescapable ambiguity here since these examples also have physically defined formal attributes. Therefore, it would be most fitting to mention that the idea of \textit{form} has simultaneously two dimensions: there is a physical \textit{form}, which we perceive through sensation, and secondly, there is an intellectual \textit{form}, which we perceive through our mind.

\textsuperscript{30} Let us remember that metaphorically many things or acts can be called as “beautiful” because they simply accomplish their own functions close to the expected ideal or “perfection.” As a part of the virtue of function we can talk about a musical instrument as beautiful because regardless of human element, it produces sounds perfectly (which it is built to do) as separately from its appearance (that is its form). From this example, we can conceive different scenarios in which it plays well but looks ugly or it plays terribly but looks great. But ideally we would like to see an instrument, which can produce perfect sounds and looks appealing in its appearance as well.

\textsuperscript{31} The ancient Greek word for \textit{perception}…
For example if one is to speak of a beautiful speech, then he needs to focus on the two aspects of its form. The physical aspect of its form consists of *sounds* and it is related to performance of a physical deed as in the *act* of speaking. The actual utterances, gestures and mimics used in the speech together with its appearance (*doxa*) through the performance of a human actor (agent), compose the physical aspect of that speech (Barthes, *Responsibility* 269). This could be an everyday chatter, a poetical or a musical form; it could be a theatrical or a dramatic performance. The important point here is that we physically perceive it. We hear it; we see it.\(^{32}\) This gives us pleasure (or not) depending on the *meaning*, which we assign to it.

On the other hand, its intellectual form affects our mind with its logical composition, clarity, and fluency along with the commonsensical definitions and arguments. Moreover, the very act of following this process gives us pleasure too. A perfect example of this should be Cicero’s treatment of the cannons of speech in *De Inventione*, namely invention, arrangement, expression, memory and delivery\(^ {33}\) (I.vii). It seems that invention and memory mainly emphasize the realm of the intellectual form, whereas expression and delivery do so the realm of the physical form, however arrangement can fit in the both realms. As a whole, Cicero’s parts of speech, signifies the togetherness (cooperation) of the physical and intellectual *forms*. For him how one says something was as important as what that person says in a speech.

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\(^{32}\) Alternatively, if it is a written speech, we read it being exposed to the shape of signs and letters; we see the design of the page and the paragraphs, the color and texture of the book etc. Even the smell of it?

\(^{33}\) Invention, arrangement, expression, memory and delivery constitute an approach of analysis so perfectly that it can be applied to any artistic activity.
Forms, be physical or intellectual, are beautiful because they are pleasant. We praise beauty because it gives us pleasure. Again remembering Cicero’s argument in The Best Kind of Orator, the supreme orator is the one whose speech instructs, delights, and moves the minds of his audience. Cicero continues: “giving pleasure is a free gift to [the] audience” (delectare honorarium); in comparison with instructing which is a duty (docere debitum) (I.iii-iv). Balancing the offices of teaching and pleasing defines Cicero’s whole approach to rhetoric; he was always an ardent defender of eloquence, and argued against the claims that most intellectual and philosophical ideas should be expressed in a plain language (especially in his Brutus and Orator).

The aesthetic form, or beauty, both in physical and intellectual kinds, carries meaning (Burke, Literary Form 36-38). Because humans are animals with logos, and the performers of symbolic action, every form and even formlessness can have a meaning in any context. Human mind can associate, dissociate, construct and deconstruct any aesthetic form as it can do so to any linguistic structure and system of meaning. In addition to this, aesthetic perceptions can be trained, refined and educated. As any human faculty, habituation of certain aesthetic approaches may lead to a particular character (hodos) of perceiving things in a specific way (hodos-ωδος). Lately many try to explain this with cultural and social particularity of aesthetic beauty. What is perceived as beautiful in one culture can be seen as not as beautiful for another; even it can be unintelligible. Reason behind that is not that one lacks the essence of aesthetic beauty but
because each culture or society develops their own maps of perception depending on the symbolic and physical resources available to that culture.\(^{34}\)

There is another aspect of aesthetic form related to the idea of pleasure, which is its ability to relieve stress, anxiety and strain in human beings. Following Aristotle’s treatment of the ancient understanding toward poetics and drama, Burkean system approaches human symbolic action as a linguistic way of *cooperation* by means of identification that is expressed in *forms* of mimesis. Through identification within symbolic action, human beings not only cooperate but also soothe their physiological and psychological tensions in terms of catharsis (Burke, *Language* 308). The idea of catharsis is not only a mental configuration but also a real human phenomenon. The sheer effect of using human *forms* of speech is calming because of the fact that the “pure” act of speaking is a *real* human function; it precedes any symbolic action, and execution of this act is by itself pleasurable (Burke, *Counter-Statement* 48).

It is a primary human motive to speak (or communicate in linguistic and symbolic *forms*) in any context, especially in which a human need in life is frustrated for some reason by limitations in physical and mental environments or resources. Principally many political, economical and artistic imaginations find their foundations in these limitations when human beings respond to them by means of symbolic mimesis to cope with the

\(^{34}\) One example of this would be a comparison of musical forms interculturally. For instance, the traditions of European Classical music and Classical music in the Far East (Japan, China, and Korea) demonstrate a critical difference. The structure and notation of sounds, foundations of rhythm, harmony and melody are almost contradictorily different. Mathematical formulae behind notes, configurations of tunes and materials of instruments are so dissimilar that the musical forms are almost alien to each other. In order to enjoy Japanese Classical music we need to train our senses to it. However, there is something universal in all forms of music—that is the kind of instruments. Most cultures have simultaneously have instruments of breath, strings and percussion which tells us that there is a common human experience behind the creation of instruments.
changes around them (Burke, *Attitudes* 340). This mimesis is not a basic imitation that is separated or severed from the life itself; to the contrary, it is a part of the “being” in the human *being*. However, humans do not only communicate when there are means of restriction in our abode (ἐθῶσ). We also need to cooperate in order to fulfill our human virtue of purpose (*têlos*) (Burke, *Grammar* 30-31).

As Aristotle stated more than two millennia ago, it is hard to call any man without a community a human being. Cicero many times repeats, expressing his Roman Stoicism, the fact that human beings became civilized, when they founded communities by speech, by communicating with each other, in search of wisdom. It is an imperative of our humanness to cooperate (and identify) with each other and with our environment (Cicero, *De Inventione* I.ii.2-3). Therefore, one can mention about a dual human motive of cooperation and coping with others and nature. The thing that should be emphasized here is that the source of cooperation is communication. Thus, the tools that help humans to communicate are the genuine *forms* of symbolic action and mimesis (Burke, *Rhetoric* 21).

In this human endeavor of cooperation, [identification] and coping, tools of mimesis, and the *forms* of physical and intellectual expressions should expectedly be pleasant to us. Even the corrupted kinds of these—competition (war), alienation (loathing) and crumbling (destruction of the earth’s habitat)—contradict the original human motive
toward cooperation; in their limited scopes they also surprisingly may give us joy!\textsuperscript{35} If it is so, then one can only stop in awe and think how enjoyable the realization of the authentic motives should be. The enjoyment that comes with this accomplishment ought to be the one that signifies the idea of \textit{happiness}, which has been adored and yearned by mankind for ages.

The \textit{forms} of human expression are the criteria for the virtue of aesthetics (Burke, \textit{Literary Form} 150). For its indisputable bond to the idea of \textit{happiness}, the praise of this virtue has always been part of the philosophical trends that articulate the metaphors of \textit{beauty}, \textit{pleasure} and \textit{happiness}. What virtue of aesthetics emphasizes is the beauty and joy of a very human motive to communicate through the symbols of cooperation and identification toward the fulfillment of the purpose (\textit{τέλος}) of the human physiological and intellectual being:

As sparrows enjoy their wings flying fast and agile on a fresh spring day,

Dolphins rejoice their fins racing the mistral wind in a pale ocean bay,

Mustangs relish their sprint galloping in a vast plateau of free and brave,

And I speak my mind in tears of joy and grief with my heart made of clay.\textsuperscript{36}

To sum it up, the virtue of aesthetics is based on the human perceptions. We

\textsuperscript{35} War is one of the highest kinds of human cooperation. Especially Burke emphasizes this in every opportunity. Unfortunately, what divides us unites some of us against the others so powerfully that we feel as if the others are the whole reason behind our sufferings and they constitute a threat to all human existence. Therefore, we need to kill them. Both sides usually use a classical human scapegoating to clear themselves. We team up with our cause and demonize the others in loathing. This gives a strong impetus to a very high level identification. I am not going to deny that it can be argued that there is a just war; sometimes it can become necessary. But I will insist that considering a war as \textit{casus belli} should not be a child’s game since it is not so difficult to see that we can easily turn into the demons that we loath in our enemies. To what extent did firebombing of Hamburg, Dresden, and Tokyo make Allies as brutal as Nazis and Japanese? To what extent did the atrocities of Nazis compensate for their national suffering after WWI? In what extent were the imperialistic policies of Britain, France, Russia and Italy worth the destruction of the Great War? The list can go back like this endlessly.

\textsuperscript{36} Please enjoy my amateur poetry 😊.
perceive things in terms of *forms*. The perception of these forms, both in the physical and intellectual realms, depends on the different expressions of human symbolic performance and the human faculty of assigning them meaning as *beautiful* (of course the alien and unfamiliar forms initially labeled as ugly even though this label may change in time). Through this symbolic action, aesthetic forms become *pleasant* because of the sheer experience of perceiving *forms* (physical or intellectual) and the pure calming effect of performing a symbolic *act* itself are simultaneously enjoyable. When one praises *beauty*, one also praises the ways in which he perceives that beautiful thing (*bellum*).  

**Virtue of Ethics**

What is praised, as the virtue of ethics, is the habitual human character. In his works Aristotle explains at great length the connection between the study of ethics (*ηθική* with the ideas of character (*ηθος*) and custom or habit (*εθική*) (*Ethics* 1103a5; *Eudemian* 1220b1; *Magna Moralia* 1186a1). He describes the ethics as a type of excellence that is developed through experience and habituation, and as a set of virtuous actions that build up an individual’s character of making right decisions at the correct time and place as a result of being educated in doing so, which becomes a personal habit. In his treatment of the subject, the deliberate *choice* of an individual to do the right thing is on the foreground, and the *habituation* is on the background. For example, it does not matter, for Aristotle, that if one knows what is ethical to do unless he chooses to do it.

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37 My analysis here resembles Santayana’s examination of *beauty* and *aesthetics* in *The Sense of Beauty* and his later expanded work, “Reason in Art” as a part of *The Life of Reason*. However, I much more try to reconcile the opposing views that understand beauty as an intrinsic or an extrinsic value in regards to a subject.

38 An interesting note here: *Bellum* is the accusative form of *bellus*, which means “pretty, handsome, neat, pleasant, fine, agreeable” and it can also be neuter in gender as similar to the word for war!
Moreover, it is definitely out of question if that person is compelled or driven to do that virtuous act or if he does it because of a mistake since one cannot mention a deliberate choice because that action would not be a part of his character (Ethics 1103a15-25). Therefore, the virtue of ethics is the entire course of one’s habituation in doing virtuous acts, and development of his character in doing these acts deliberately without hesitation. Interestingly he also argues that if one is habituated in virtue well, that person would choose to do the ethical thing without a long period of consideration (Ethics 1112a31-1113a12).

Aristotle’s examination draws a hierarchical scheme of an ethical act from bottom to top: (1) one learns what is virtuous to do in a course of habituation; (2) one knows what is virtuous to do because of his experience and education, (3) one chooses to do the virtuous act when its time is due (kairos), (4) through practice and deliberation one perfects his character by choosing the right course of actions over time. This hierarchy determines the qualifiers of an ethical character.

Of course, Aristotle would name certain traits of character as virtuous but before he does so, he initiates a system of evaluation of these merits, namely “the golden mean.” I believe that it is more significant to emphasize this system of evaluation rather than the actual naming of each trait as excellence. Aristotle’s golden mean is based upon the idea that each behavior in social intercourse should be evaluated according to its balance between deficiency and excess. Therefore, if a character trait is performed in deficiency or in excess it signifies an ethical weakness. Of course, there are cases in which this

39 Aristotle seems to be following the ancient Delphic rite of “nothing in excess.”
system cannot be applied. For example justice (not the legal system but as a virtue) should not be found by determining a middle point between two extremes but it makes up the whole set of social virtues (Ethics 1130a15-1131a10). Also wisdom, as the intellectual excellence, cannot be attained by implementing the same rule because of the fact that excess in wisdom would be unreasonable since it is the highest of the virtues.

In the same way, discussion of virtues in Cicero points to a similar understanding as for him the criterion of virtue is the habit of mind being in harmony with reason and the order of nature. Even though he names a similar set of virtues, Cicero emphasizes that human behavior should be in concordance with what commonsense and nature dictate, which is a clear Stoic worldview (De Inventione II.liii). Cicero also brings the idea of advantage into discussion. He argues that what is honorable is naturally advantageous but not vice versa. Since virtue directs an individual to what is good and protects him from what is bad, being virtuous rewards one with the advantageous ends in life. However, the most virtuous person would care about the most advantageous things for his community as a part of service and duty to one’s own commonwealth. This argument seems to be very similar to Aristotle’s case that the best man is the one who wants the good things for his fellows and exercises virtuous acts toward the other (Ethics 1130a5-10). This ability to deliberate what is good for one’s own as well as for all men in any situation is called phronésis and it is usually translated as practical wisdom (φρόνησις or prudentia) (Ethics 1141b30-1142a10).

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40 Wisdom, justice, courage and temperance. See De Inventione II.lii.159.
Both Aristotle and Cicero juxtapose the discussion of ethics and virtue with the examination of the idea of pleasure. This seems logical since they both appear to think that one ought to find the outmost pleasure in fulfilling one’s own purpose in life—that is têlos again. In this sense, the virtue of ethics covers the discussions of the virtues of purpose and aesthetics. Therefore the fundamental idea behind the whole discussion becomes as follows: man has a purpose in life and the right way of conduct is to act in accordance with that end (virtue of purpose). As man acts in harmony with his purpose in life then he sees the beauty in life, and feels pleasure, which makes him happy (virtue of aesthetics). If it becomes of a habit for that man to learn, know and choose the right way of acting and doing things on purpose (phronësis), then man attains wisdom and happiness (virtue of ethics).

As I stated above when categorizing the virtue of ethics, it has a close relation to politics and economics. Phronësis is the foundation of the idea that ethics should be part of the study of politics and economics (Politics 1253a20-1253b22). The skill of deliberation to determine the good course of action in the political sphere is an important part of the ethical disposition of human experience. The driving metaphor of politics is the idea of government. It suggests the deliberations to decide what are the best ways of administration and management of political actions, ideas and conduct in a given political structure and system. By the stress on phronësis through ethical virtues, habituation and education of a prudent citizenry gains significance in maintaining the necessary conditions for that political community to persevere and improve its own existence and commonwealth.
In connection, the same mentality of practical wisdom in management of the physical and material resources necessary for the sustenance and survival of a commonwealth is essential in the economical sphere (Aristotle, *Politics* 1252a1-17). The driving metaphor for this sphere would be the idea of *service*. If the citizens and administrators of that society can make prudent decisions regarding financial policies, and determine the best available ways to exploit resources, produce crucial goods and services, and provide the distribution of wealth in terms of justice, dignity and welfare, their community would have a healthy and stable economics.

Some may argue that the ancient analysis of Aristotle and Cicero that I examined here leaves the religious virtues outside of the discussion, and simultaneously it is not compatible with the modern understanding of virtue. To tackle this assessment requires a lengthy discussion, which I cannot enter here, however, as for the first part regarding religion, I would argue that the reason that ancient analyses seem not to cover religious virtues is the fact that there has been a multiplicity of shifting religious paradigms in history. In fact, the ancient thought would consider what we think of as religious virtues today as a part of the idea of *wisdom*, which would engage one with the divine.

Nevertheless I disagree with the second part of the assessment regarding incompatibility on the basis that the description of virtues in the ancient thought theoretically shows consistency with the modern understandings of ethics, if one does not insist on focusing much on the particular prescriptions or the specific instructions of behavior (MacIntyre 185). One needs to carefully highlight the theory and philosophy behind the ancient analyses. They are still relevant today with strong emphases on the purpose of human existence (*direction*), on the importance of human action in ethics
Advertising as Epideictic Rhetoric

(praxis), on the significance of deliberate choice (responsibility), on the genuine care for the good of others (grace), and the sensitiveness toward community (altruism and humanity). All these emphases of concern can also be found at the center of the modern theories of ethics.

Virtue of Tradition

Virtue of tradition follows the virtue of ethics and in some extent the virtue of aesthetics. The subject of praise in virtue of tradition is the notion of fidelity (Fisher 76). It signifies one’s loyalty to his community in which he is habituated and that is his home. An individual feels allegiance to this home. His allegiance also goes for the people, the geographical place, and the symbols of his community. These symbols stand for all the aspects of symbolic action as well as the symbols of authority. Because of ongoing habituation of individuals, the commended ways of living a good life in that community forms a tradition in time (MacIntyre 222).

Tradition defines and directs the ideas of justice and ethics in a society. Justice here should not be considered as the structure of legal proceedings but as the contemplated correct way of conduct in life (δίκη) (Burke, Grammar 15). Together with the defined societal values and virtues, the systems of faith and beliefs are also parts of tradition. There is another significant aspect of tradition; it is many times considered as the ways of our ancestors. Furthermore, the symbolic imaginations and expressions around this idea usually create a very powerful narrative that guides and shapes individuals and public deliberations on life in society. We would see this in the observable respect for certain historical figures of significance that usually become the symbolic heroes of that community. Along with this, as a part of their habituation, for
individuals, there is a method of identification with their ancestors, with their respected hero figures (i.e. past and current leaders etc.) and historical symbols. This identification strengthens one’s fidelity to his tradition.

Traditions usually operate through narratives, which ethicize certain course of symbolic actions and make new generations attitudinize for integration in to the community (Burke, Permanence 204-07). Integration happens when one engages a narrative structure and adheres to it through participating in its overall story by performing ethicized symbolic actions. Because of the intensity of his habituation, it is very hard for an individual to cease this engagement unless a critical change occurs in the narrative structure itself. This change may be a result of a crisis, threatening the whole stability of a narrative, which stems from a dramatic alteration in society’s material and intellectual resources and environment.

The change in tradition happens on two levels. On one level, an individual may become disembedded because of a crisis that disrupts his personal grounds and cannot continue to participate in the narrative that he has been a part of. At this point, he seems to have two choices. He either needs to resist the crisis that upsets his participation in the narrative and try to adapt to the conditions of the new situation without severing his ties or has to stop his participation and fall out of the narrative structure usually becoming alienated (Marx and Engels 102-05). There is also another option in which the individual becomes delusional and continues as if nothing has changed. Because of the powerful influence of habituation, each situation brought up by the crisis typically is painful for individual and it affects his physiological and psychological state. In any case, an
individual’s *fidelity* to the original narrative and tradition is called into question and he finds himself in an unavoidable situation in which he has to respond.\textsuperscript{41}

On a larger level, change may occur in such way as to disintegrate one tradition or narrative and cause it to split into factions. This split usually creates a tension that disturbs the separated parts in respective proportions of intensity. Because of the fact that the emergent tension has to be eliminated, factions try to purge themselves by the use of available inventory of the symbolic resources. The purgation process may lead to violence since frequently factions perceive each other as a threat to their own existence (Arendt 203). In this case, these factions utilize all the symbolic tools of cooperation and identification to defend their own version of narrative and work for the destruction of the other.\textsuperscript{42}

Alternatively, the purgation process may lead to a corrective process in which factions attempt for reconciliation and negotiate for a consensus to coexist. In this case, the symbolic tools for cooperation and identification are used to facilitate the reconciliatory activities. Reunions are very rare and hard to materialize, but if a consensus or imperative for coexistence can be provided once, this may create an environment for diversity in which several traditions and their various respective narratives live side by side. This can be a step for a higher tradition of traditions, which has abundance for coexisting narratives to emerge.\textsuperscript{43}

\textsuperscript{41} No one wants to be the “infidel.” It would be surprising the find anyone really who says, “I am the infidel” and really means it. It is usually said in means of irony or symbolic transcendence to refuse or rise above the claims of an opposite tradition.
\textsuperscript{42} The worst-case scenario would be the one in which both the individual and the larger level of change to occur simultaneously leading violence and burning bridges.
\textsuperscript{43} The best-case scenario should be this in which multiplicity would be the center metaphor and we all pledge our allegiance to peace, promising our *fidelity*.
Advertising as Epideictic Rhetoric

Praise

As I mentioned earlier, the subject of the epideictic rhetoric is to praise and censure people, animals and things based on the merits that they possess. The effect of praise depends on the quality of the linguistic or symbolic execution to represent the praised virtues. In order to praise one’s virtue of purpose, there has to be an appropriate form of execution to magnify that specific virtue. Amplification is an essential part of the epideictic discourse. It is not a place to make arguments as in a deliberative occasion or to provide proofs as in a judicial case. It is a place for celebration. Since it is considered that audience already knows the references to the applauded virtues, what an epideictic orator needs to do is to simply point to them and associate his subject of praise with the virtues in a pleasing and celebratory language (Aristotle, Rhetoric 1367b25).

The fact that amplification is the essence of epideictic rhetoric does not mean that it loses its persuasive effect. To the contrary, the reinforcing effect of praise, applauding virtues and values of a society which audience is apart of, creates a powerful point of persuasion. This almost operates like an enthymeme as it leaves out the actual congratulatory expressions to the audience. Amplification consists of a series of definitions, affirmations, consequences and comparisons in a form of narrative, which employs a heightening effect on emotions leaning toward the pistis of pathos without completely suppressing logos and ethos. It is not appropriate to suppress logos since an invention of what has to be said ought to be carefully planned, and a beautiful language needs to be prepared to carry the festive occasion, and to arouse the interest of audience because of their position as spectators and observers of a celebration. Usually a story telling approach accompanies amplification to provide identification between the subject
of praise and the audience so that the communality of the applauded virtues can be emphasized.

Isocrates implies a critique of Gorgias’ *Encomium of Helen* because he argues that his speech sounds much more like a defense in behalf of Helen, and seeks apology. Instead, it should amplify Helen’s well-known virtuous qualities in a form of story that defines her family’s honorable background, affirm her beauty and attractiveness as a woman, and exemplify her pleasant company explaining the hardship she needed to endure for what she believed in picturing the appreciation that she received from the noble Trojans and so on. Isocrates then presents his own version of *Encomium of Helen* to practice what he preaches as an example. As seen in Isocrates’s version the plot of epideictic discourse strives for identification as it praises. Of course, in a case of censure one would get an opposite image.

Another important aspect of the epideictic praise is to plan an outline of emphases that portray the subject according to the hierarchy and significance of virtues. For example, praising one person only in merits of the physical form can be considered as base and ineffective unless it provides an association to the finer virtues that person reveals through deeds and actions (Cicero, *De Inventione* II.lix.177). Only it is done so, praise could be a part of the rhetorical amplification that stresses the beauty of character as manifested in exterior appearance. Otherwise, it can create an opposite effect and praise can be in vain. Usually it would be correct to start with the virtue of purpose and of aesthetics then built up toward the virtue of ethics and tradition. Therefore, a continuum of imagery follows the *têlos*-bellus-phasisis-fidelity direction. However, since apparently each of these aspects of virtue are closely tied to each other and necessary for
sequence, there is no need to reduce the influence of *arête* as function or purpose in order to increase the influence of *arête* as ethics. The best way to present it could be expressing that one has *ethical* excellence because it is apparent in the way he *functions* in life. Thus, the former level of virtues can be shown as the demonstration of the latter level of virtues (Hyde 89).

It should be also remembered that continuum of *tēlos-bellus-phronēsis-fidelity* does not constitute an exact hierarchy, even though the positioning of them in a continuum may suggests a hierarchical structure. They should be considered as a whole, not as parts compared to each other. However, one can mention an inner hierarchy in each aspect of virtues. For example, there might be a hierarchy upwards following fecundity, labor, work, leisure, and contemplation in the *arête* of purpose. Moreover, one may mention of a hierarchy downwards following fidelity, ethicizing, participation, identification, and habituation in the *arête* of tradition. But if, let’s say, a comparison of *purpose* and *tradition* is necessary, orator needs to decide which design of ranking would be the best representation for describing the most accurate status according to the characteristics of a case. It would be hard to prioritize *fidelity* over *contemplation* or vice versa, since the difference in kind would create a consequence that is reflected in the meaning.

Even though the praise of abstract ideas and symbolic forms would be as complex and textured as the praise of a human being, an animal or an inanimate object also can be praised in more simple terms unless they symbolically represent higher ideas or person(s) (Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1366a30). In the case of praising an inanimate object, one can imagine that the virtues of purpose and aesthetics are much more useful than those of
ethics and tradition. Latter virtues are only emphasized for an inanimate object if it has an actual or symbolic association to human beings. Inanimate objects can receive praise as symbolic constructs by emphasizing their contributions to human virtues of ethics and tradition too. If one thing is identified as fundamental in the operations of one community’s metaphors of fecundity, labor, and work, that thing naturally wins appreciation and respect of the people in that community. Following the same reasoning one can imagine that many inanimate things (largely one’s own products of physical and intellectual symbolic actions) are ethicized because they are conceived as essential even in the human attempts of contemplation (Arendt 16). Therefore, many things that function as the instruments of human purpose in life are assigned to have meanings beyond the mere instrumentality or functionality of their nature because of the fact that we identify with them by ethicizing their usefulness. For example, tools of writing and reading may become ethicized and receive praise because through their use we can realize our contemplative imaginations. A book becomes much more than what it physically is, a pen may become mightier than sword, and a mechanical or electronic print becomes the enhancer of intellectual freedom and so on.

**Kinds of Epideictic Praise**

There is a categorization of epideictic discourse according to the symbolic attributions in an expression of praise. This classification has existed since the times even before the reconfiguration of epideictic discourse by Aristotle (Schiappa, Rhetorical Theory 198). Although there has been a theoretical debate on the consistency and exclusiveness of each form, three kinds of epideictic discourse seem to be the most
Many times, because of the naming of these epideictic forms, some confusion may arise. The reason behind the confusion is the general perception that identifies some forms only with certain occasions. One example is that eulogy is usually considered as a funeral oration. Although this view is not completely wrong, it is not inclusive enough. Eulogy is actually the general name for any discourse of tribute and acclamation for someone’s praiseworthy characteristics. There is a similar confusion for encomium too. Usually encomium is considered as an apologetic discourse that tries to induce sympathy for a person (Mirhady 31). This confusion is there because of the frequent use of encomium in courtrooms as a legal strategy. This strategy may not be completely erroneous either; yet the idea is still not precise since encomium is the general name for a praise of recognition in which the ethical choices and lifework of a person is celebrated. One more confusion arises because of the fact that one orator may decide to use a combination of these three kinds simultaneously, which is actually a justifiable strategy. To clear up the confusion, if possible, then it would be useful to see each kind in detail.

**Eulogy**

The etymology of eulogy provides us a clear idea of the meaning behind it: good + words. As briefly defined above, eulogy is to speak about one’s pleasant characteristics. Usually in this form of praise, it is observed that the virtues of purpose and aesthetics are emphasized to induce appreciation of audience. For example, we praise a writer because he writes a wonderful book. However, our focus of attention here is not to praise him for the choices he made in life. On the other hand, we praise a person because he is a
pleasant company, but we do not mention why he chooses to have a certain job or emphasize how he decides to contribute to his community. Another characteristic in eulogy is that we praise one by his apparent characteristics without giving a concrete recognition (Cicero, *De Partitione* xxii). What this means here that the praised person or the thing is good but not the “the best one.” For example, he is intelligent but not the brightest, or he is a hard worker but not the most successful, etc.

**Encomium**

Encomium is a praise of recognition. It is a higher level of praise than eulogy. In encomium, the focus of attention in praise shifts toward the virtues of ethics, and at times it relates to the virtues of tradition. Along with this emphasis, the content of praise consists of the choices of conduct and the excellence of ethical character, which stresses the uniqueness of a person or thing that is notable. As mentioned before, Isocrates’s critique of Gorgias’s *Encomium of Helen* can be a good reference for describing encomium correctly. Isocrates focuses on the significance of Helen and her family with a series of deeds and services, which he identifies as fundamental in the composition and maintenance of the Greek character, and considers her disposition as a symbol of the chief Greek value (*beauty*) while praising her for her contribution in the formation of Greek common mind and shared destiny. In encomium, it is essential to extol a person’s exceptionality (Isocrates, *Encomium* 45). We need to emphasize the deeds and characteristics that make the celebrated person “best” in regard to the accepted and observed common values. Therefore, for example, one needs to be not only intelligent but the brightest, or not only a hard worker but also the most successful in order to receive an encomium.
Panegyrics

The etymology (all + gathering) and historical background of panegyrics point back to the great traditional gatherings of festivity in the ancient Greek culture. As examples of panegyric discourse, one can show Isocrates’s two speeches which were prepared to be delivered in such occasions: Panegyricus and Panathenaicus. Both speeches were good examples of Isocratic method to combine epideictic and deliberative motifs for creating awareness in audience for the common values and virtues, while calling them to be loyal to them (Mirhady et al., Introduction to Isocrates 5). This call does not necessarily prescribe a certain course of action formally but invites a perspective expecting that it will motivate audience to act accordingly to the values and virtues that are praised in the speech. I believe that from Pericles’s Funeral Oration to Martin Luther King’s “I Have a Dream” many speeches that are usually considered political discourses, including JFK’s inauguration speech, actually fall into this category, because of the fact that they follow the Isocratic example. Another reference that supports this assessment is the comment in Cicero’s De Partitione where he says that panegyrics have a value not only for good oratory but also for right conduct (quae non ad bene dicendum solum sed etiam ad honeste vivendum valent) (XX). Then, it is fitting to say that panegyrics primarily focus on virtues of tradition with an attitude toward ethical excellence, and are given in such occasions of communal gatherings.

Phenomenological Perspectives in Praise: Adverting the Attention

As I mentioned before, epideictic discourse emphasizes the temporal dimension of “now”—i.e. present. In the spirit of ceremony, an audience observes the commended value and virtues of their community through a beautiful language on a temporal plane of
“right here and right now.” One of the significant effects of epideictic discourse is its capacity to gather audience’s notice and provide a focal point for it. Epideictic rhetoric guides the awareness of an audience toward its subject matter through praise. Here audience’s role in the epideictic decorum, as spectators (theorioi) who simultaneously participate and observe the ceremonial event, is important because it implies a sense of interest, that is needed for genuine involvement, and because an orator consistently tries to arouse and maintain this interest in his speech via identification, amplification and aesthetics. This relationship between an orator and his theoroi signifies two conditions, namely “to advert” and “attention”, one being a virtue of purpose on the part of orator, and the other being of audience.

Orator has to advert\textsuperscript{44} his audience’s awareness on the person or the thing, which he aims to extol, in order to perform successfully his duty. To advert is the essential necessary component of epideictic occasion because of the fact that the discourse focuses on the present time and the audience’s participation as spectators is needed to celebrate all together. To advert is a three-part action in which the first is arousal, the second is preservation, and the third is direction of the audience’s interest (Cicero, De Partitione xxi.72). The first two parts are self-explanatory and provided by the forms of epideictic praise themselves, whereas direction requires careful and purposeful use of linguistic symbols and imagination. Direction is akin to provide a sense of counsel, usually covert in representation, that aims to encourage audience to act in accordance with the values and virtues emphasized in that ceremonial discourse (Cicero, De Partitione xxiii).

\textsuperscript{44} In Latin, advert means bringing something into attention.
An auditor observes the epideictic discourse with a sense of duty because he is aware of the fact that he shares the presumptions behind the virtues that are celebrated at that moment. He is either brought into this state of awareness by an adventing orator or is readily in it as he is expected to know why he is in the role of being a spectator (theoros). In epideictic decorum, the ideal disposition of a spectator is that he is in attention, pays attention and attends to the praise. Attention implies a tendency or inclination on audience’s part to acknowledge the praise as he observes a ceremony. This idea of tendency stands as the basis of observation in its all connotations: as watching, as examining, as thinking, as commenting and as performing in terms of celebration. The idea of observation also refers to the idea of duty because of a semantic relationship between these terms in the Latin language–i.e. duty is service, that is to serve and then “ob-serve” as to abide, to respect and to follow. Therefore, one can mention about a continuum of acts in terms of attention-observation-duty-service that the audience is expected to follow in an epideictic occasion by the role of theoria (Walker 9).

As it is given in theoria, the epideictic purpose is the idea of fidelity as a têlos. To fulfill his role, an auditor “ob-serves” a virtue of tradition, promising commitment to a narrative while he participates in it as an embedded agent whereas it is the orator’s duty to help him to execute this role.\(^45\)

**Semantic Perspectives in Praise: Eulogistic and Dyslogistic Expressions**

In his Table of the Springs of Action Bentham introduces the idea of eulogistic and dyslogistic expressions in language. He also places a neutral zone between them. He

\(^{45}\) A basic example of this could be the pledge of allegiance or performance of the national anthem in ceremonies. As a part of audience, one observes the ceremony by taking part in the pledge or the anthem as a patriotic performance promising his adherence to a patriotic narrative, which implies future action.
argues that if one were to express an idea that is closely related to his interests and
purpose in life, he would employ a positive semantic attribution, whereas he would use a
negative semantic ascription for the interests and purposes that he perceives opposite to
his. Bentham argues that if there is no sense of identification per se, an idea receives a
neutral semantic label. For example, while religiousness is considered neutral, sanctity is
eulogistic and sanctimoniousness is dyslogistic, or devotion is eulogistic versus hypocrisy
is dyslogistic.

Bentham’s analysis offers a useful perspective to examine the human motives to
invent the symbolic expression of praise and censure in the operations of language.
However, following Kenneth Burke’s lead I attempt to go one more step and claim that
all terminology tends to be either eulogistic or dyslogistic in nature and whatever one
claims to be neutral can be opposed by a eulogistic or dyslogistic “covering” (Burke,
Permanence 212). Even the acts related to the satisfaction of basic bodily needs for
human survival can cease to lose their “neutral” meanings, and metaphorically or
metamorphically become eulogistic or dyslogistic. For example, we tend to see education
as positive and indoctrination negative semantically. Nevertheless, is it correct to do that
in every context? Are not there “right” and “wrong” education according to what we
believe in? If we look at the etymology and historical use of the word indoctrination, we
would see a positive meaning of “teaching.” However, is not what is taught as important
as the act of teaching?

In order to manage the complexity, I argue that, one way of analysis is to examine
each naming of a human act according to Burke’s ratios of Dramatism. Dramatism is a
pentad with scene-act-agent-agency-purpose components (Burke, Grammar xv-xxiii).
There are twenty possible ratios stemming from this composition considering the emphases. However because eulogistic and dyslogistic expressions get a semantic value according to the identification and interest, I believe ratios of purpose gain significance in determination of eulogistic and dyslogistic language, namely scene-purpose, act-purpose, agent-purpose, and agency-purpose. Of course, this is not a “perfect” method but sufficient to unveil the complexity because of the fact that purpose is closely related to interest. Since following these ratios one may assume why one act is done by someone in a setting using an instrument, one can determine if an expression is said to eulogize or to dyslogize in its bearing according to purpose assuming why one assigns a positive or negative meaning to a word in human interactions via symbolic imagination.

The basic assumption should be, following ethicizing aspect of epideictic discourse, to praise (eulogize) when one identifies with the purpose of an action while to censure (dyslogize) as one sees the purpose of an action hostile to his (Burke, *Permanence* 167). Then in epideictic rhetoric virtues of purpose, aesthetic, ethics and tradition are praised as long as one believes that they serve his and his fellow men’s interests in the forms of physical and intellectual needs toward fulfillment.

**Praise in the Marketplace: Advertising**

Advertising is the overall name of integrated communication activities to promote a product, a service, and an idea (or a person) in a relevant marketplace. The idea behind advertising is to distinguish the marketed thing by emphasizing its characteristics in a way to create an appeal on the part of certain publics (Dyer 2). Through this facilitated demand, it is expected that a customer behavior will occur in forms of acceptance (Burke, *Attitudes* 94). These forms of acceptance can be a purchase, employment of a service or
adaptation of an idea in customer’s interactions in life. For example, in the terms of political sphere, a political ad would urge public to do a political act benefiting a politician or a party, whereas an ad for financial institution would advice public to do a financial act benefiting that institution.

Advertising functions as the rhetoric of capitalism, which praises the mechanics of free market economy\(^\text{46}\) (entrepreneurship, production, consumption, competition, acquisition of property, and cooperation toward welfare). Once it is established that advertising is a commercial laudation, it is easier to examine how advertising realizes this praise through the operations of language and symbolic action. Following the discussions I made in the first half of this chapter, I will look at advertising from the terministic screens of epideictic rhetoric.

**The Idea of Virtue (Premise) in Advertising**

As I emphasized before, the subject of praise is virtues. Advertising praises the components of capitalistic free market as it eulogizes products, services, ideas and persons as marketable entities. Advertising emphasizes the good attributes of a marketable entity, and this goodness is presented in the discourse as the basis of distinction, which ought to motivate a preference toward the purchase\(^\text{47}\) of the very marketable entity itself. There is a sense of promise in advertising’s discourse (Ogilvy 12). The reasoning is then to promote a product because it is good or virtuous on some

\(^{46}\) Even though a discussion around the relationship between the ways of government and the ways of providing material sustenance can be raised here, it is best for my purpose to talk about this connection in the next chapter too.

\(^{47}\) I am aware that the term, purchase, is not a correct word to define public preference for a person such as a political candidate, however for the sake of simplicity, I will continue to use the term purchase in general for the discussion of this subject unless I mean a political advertising campaign. Then I will have to employ the terms, vote or support in order to describe public’s preference toward a political candidate.
ground to correspond a need of people, and help them to achieve the requirements of living virtuously. Therefore, it should be emphasized here that advertised entities are not only good themselves but they also inspire goodness in other aspects of life (Leymore 35).

As I categorize the virtues in the discussion of epideictic discourse, I should continue to employ the same category of virtues for the marketable things here, following the similar definition of virtue as arête (ἀρετή):

**Virtue of Purpose:** fulfillment of one thing’s full potential and function (télos).

**Virtue of Aesthetics:** being beautiful (or handsome) and pleasant (kálos-bellus).

**Virtue of Ethics:** being part of a “right” decision at critical moments (phronēsis), for the conceivable “habitual good life” (ethos-ἔθος), and again following Aristotle’s lead, virtue of politics, about making “right” decisions to govern, also of economics, about making “right” decisions to serve materially. This is a virtue used for people and corporations very frequently.

**Virtue of Tradition:** being part of a tradition or a narrative that promotes public good; inspiring loyalty to them; also promotion of brand and product loyalty (fidelity).

** Marketable Virtue of Purpose**

As I established before the virtue of purpose is the idea of realization of purpose and function of a thing. It is the degree in excellence and perfection that one thing is designed to perform its function. In human terms, it is the level of accomplishment of one’s purpose in life, in its full potentiality.

A product’s premise is its marketable virtue of function. Advertising has to stress this premise to encourage its preferability (Ogilvy 12). For example, let us consider a car,
again since I have used it in my discussion of the subject before. A car is advertised as preferable because it rides well and performs its function as a mean of transportation. As long as it performs this function satisfactorily, it is considered good and in the most basic understanding, it fulfills its virtue of purpose. However, it is not enough to differentiate a car in the marketplace by only stressing this very basic virtue. Then one needs to look at in what ways this car contributes to the other virtues of purpose, especially in terms of human purposes in life. The question becomes, as in the language of a recent commercial, “when is a car not only a car?”

A car ceases to be only a car when it starts contributing to the human virtues of purpose. Then, advertisers need to establish and emphasize an association or identification between owning the car and the higher ideas related to several aspects of human experience. I have defined the virtues of purpose as act, work, play and contemplation. For example, as for the virtue of fecundity, one may stress the idea of safety of a car as an appeal to people’s interest in the care for their loved ones. “This is a car that you will feel at home in it.” “It has the highest security ratings in the market.” “You will drive your kids safely.”

In addition, by the same analysis, a car ceases to be only a car, when it contributes to people’s efforts of labor as it helps one to drive to his job or becomes a part of his job. A car ceases to be only a car, when it contributes to people’s work, as it helps to improve the conditions of one’s family, community and society itself (“driving kids to school even when it snows” or, like the old Volkswagen commercial, which asks “how does the driver

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48 The advertising campaign for Toyota Camry’s 2006 models carries this slogan. It is TV commercial that shows the contribution of the car to its owner’s quality of life in a slice of life sequence.
of snowplow go to work” as it shows a VW Beetle’s engine starting and it driving easily even in winter conditions)\textsuperscript{49} or by its mere production and sale (employment, economic prosperity). Following the same reasoning, a car ceases to be only a car, when it contributes to one’s engagement in recreation and leisure (we can see a commercial in which one drives to observe or perform an art). A car ceases to be only a car, when it contributes to one’s intellectual well-being or contemplation in life (I am not sure if a car can accomplish this fully but advertisers try to establish such associations by using symbolic images of sophistication and elegance).\textsuperscript{50}

Of course, the association and identification of a marketable entity with the virtues of function (or with any virtue) is affected by the very nature of that entity. For instance, it would be a diverse case if one were to think about an institution of higher education, instead of a car, since references to the virtues of work, play and contemplation would emerge in a completely different picture. If one were to advertise a university, he would associate it to the virtue of work more directly since a university contributes to the betterment of its community on many levels (education of future citizens, intellectual livelihood and employment). As for the virtue of play (leisure), one could emphasize the university’s contribution to arts, sports and recreation more precisely. Moreover, because universities are the centers for generation of ideas, they already symbolize the virtue of contemplation.

To sum up, the marketable virtue of purpose has two levels. One, a product should possess a good in itself via its own function, and second, it simultaneously should

\textsuperscript{49} Legendary Volkswagen Beetle commercial from 1963.
\textsuperscript{50} Lexus ES 350’s 2006 campaign.
contribute and inspire good in other aspects of life too (Leiss, Kline, and Jhally 254). Furthermore, a product’s own making and nature affect its contribution to other virtues of purpose. It is similar when we think of a political candidate, since his primary virtue of purpose would be the function of his office and his governance. Then the question becomes the potentiality of performance; if he has the credentials to perform the functions of a political office and authority well or not, while contributing to the other human virtues of purpose (Packard 185-86; Dyer 11-12; Ogilvy 210-213).

**Marketable Virtue of Aesthetics**

Since what we praise as the virtue of aesthetics is beauty and pleasantness both in physical and intellectual levels, a product’s aesthetic premise is its potentiality to please people physiologically and psychologically, when it delights bodies and minds of people. As I argued before, the virtue of aesthetics is based upon perception and thought, furthermore, it is in its most complete shape when it appeals to body and mind as a whole.

Similar to purpose, a product needs to be pleasant as well as it inspires for perpetuation of aesthetic virtues in life. I will continue with the car example. A beautiful car needs to have a good *design*, and it should have a *form* not so alien to people who are going to purchase and use it. It should stand in *harmony* with people, a geographical setting and physical surroundings. It should remind pleasant things, and inspire us to remember pleasant *ideas* and *emotions* (Ogilvy 109). Mere performance of the *function* of a car can also be labeled as *pleasant*. It can promise and realize a pleasant drive (Ogilvy 10-13).
An advertiser can also relate a car to the things considered as pleasant and beautiful in life. A car metaphorically can be presented to carry the qualities of human beauty. At times, one may witness cases of car commercials (and some other products as well), where the form of a car is associated with the form of a woman’s body. On top of its parts and surfaces are metaphorically associated with the texture of skin (human or other living beings and inanimate things) in order to link the appetite for that certain form to the car by transformation of meaning.

Another example would be a car commercial where the pleasantness of an adrenaline rush (a pure bodily sensation) is associated with the very performance (experience) of driving a car (function) (Solman 9). Driving as an experience is represented in this commercial not only as an association but also as a facilitator act which assists one to benefit from the other necessary and more “enjoyable” experiences in life.

Many advertisements, while emphasizing the aesthetic form of a product itself, also enhance the beauty of overall presentation of that product by preparing an aesthetic arrangement of symbolic instruments. It is easy to observe this especially in televised commercials where aesthetic forms of imagination such as musical and visual effects, designs, and compositions, are presented as tangential components to strengthen the

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51 Unfortunately this form of “persuasive tricks” are applied in advertising very frequently, my aim in mentioning this example is not representing it as an commendable strategy but demonstrating the present use of several ways of aesthetic imagination in advertising.

52 An example of this is the 2006 Lexus commercials in which the beauty of the car’s design gives crash-test-dummies “goose-bumps”

53 Toyota Tacoma’s “Adrelanitis” Campaign in 2004 was an interesting example, which was followed by Ford’s Racing campaign in 2006 emphasizing “overactive adrenaline disorder.”
attraction of a product and to boost the persuasive effect related to “pathetic”

*pistis.* 54 One example of this is the Cadillac commercials, which is presented with famous Led Zeppelin track Rock’n’Roll in their “Breakthrough” campaign. This type of music represents an aesthetic “taste” as well as it symbolizes a tradition of aesthetic perception. It is a pure form of American style rock’n’roll in the veins of early seventies. In one commercial, Cadillac did not only advertise its car in synchronization with Led Zeppelin but also juxtaposed it with German cars (its competitors in luxury car market). A Cadillac “busts” an elegant party where seemingly German cars (one can tell from their physical form) dancing to a Viennese waltz in a rococo ballroom (artistic form) and forces them into submission with its maneuvers accompanied with Rock’n’Roll suppressing the waltz on the background. 55 This is a perfect example of comparative advertising, which not only emphasizes the competitive edge of a product but also, through an intellectual aesthetic form, provides an irony to intensify enthymematic amplification.

As I mentioned before, virtue of aesthetic forms also aims at the idea of happiness by application of *cathartic* imagination. One would see many representations of real-life situations in advertisements where actors perform mimetic reflections of genuine human emotions. Through identification and dramatic effect of *mimesis*, advertisements try to inspire and *purge* the audience (target market in advertising lingo) by creating an association between the advertised product and the represented state of emotions via forms of simplification (Leiss, Kline, and Jhally 200-02; Ogilvy 73). Actors in a

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54 Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM), a well-referred advertising theory, argues that the emotional appeals or messages based on liking can be used to reinforce the informative content (pathos-logos connection in rhetorical theory).

55 Cadillac’s *Let’s Dance* commercial film was a part of the “Breakthrough” campaign.
commercial laugh, smile and rejoice in delight and we assume that they are pleased—
i.e. “drive this car and be happy!”

If we were to consider a political advertisement, we would observe similar
strategies of application aesthetic forms to promote support for a party or candidate.
There are many examples but I will relate one\textsuperscript{56} that was found as very effective in 2004
presidential elections. Toward the close of the endorsement period, the Republican Party
put on an ad in which a wolf pack was shown in an enchanting forest scavenging and
forming a hunting party. The ad contained dramatic and alarming background music with
a serious off-voice. The visuals in the ad were in documentary quality representing
natural scenery. Wolves forage and draw closer as the desire for kill can be read in their
eyes. Off-voice narrates the latest events of terrorism and describes how terrorists are
planning and working to inflict harm without expressing a direct reference to wolves.
Then it tells us that we need to stop them. At the end, the screen darkens and the
Republican Party endorsement fades in. The association of wolves with terrorists is too
obvious to tell, however the use of physical and intellectual aesthetic forms are very
powerful to carry out the message. The ad praises the Republican Party, because it
possesses the will and determination to stop the immanent threat of terrorism and
censures the Democratic candidate who undermines the security of the nation. Thus, it
exemplifies the use of “censorial” aesthetic forms in order to promote “appraisal” of a
certain response (Burke, \textit{Permanence} 167-68).

\textsuperscript{56} I need to state here that I do not condone or condemn any political party in a partisan manner by giving
this example. It is my genuine opinion that this example is solely representative of the ideas discussed in
this segment of the subject matter (Bush-Cheney 04, Inc. and The Republican National Committee’s
“Wolves” political ad film).
To sum up, advertising praises products because they are pleasant, beautiful and aesthetically appealing (and censure others because they are not). It also praises products because they contribute to the invention and experience of other things pleasant in life (and censure the ones which do the opposite). Lastly, advertising praises products; it promotes happiness by creating identification and associations between products and people as it exploits the cathartic characteristics of symbolic mimesis because of the portrayal of emotions by the actors in advertisements.

** Marketable Virtue of Ethics**

As I discussed before, what epideictic rhetoric praises as the virtue of ethics is the habitual good character and *phronēsis*. Then in what terms does advertising reflect this praise in the marketplace? One may argue that advertising associates the virtue of ethics to products in terms of brand personality and corporate identity (Leiss, Kline, and Jhally 242-43; Ogilvy 117-26). It is not enough for brands and corporations to introduce functional products but also they need to present an *ethical character*.  

If we go back to Aristotle’s criteria, ethical character is a result of a habituation in performing *phronēsis* on purpose. Performing *phronēsis* in the marketplace may mean sensitivity toward the observation of ethical principles by corporations. The ethical attitude here is a genuine care for community when producing and marketing products, services and ideas (Leiss, Kline, and Jhally 243-44). This attitude involves an understanding of benefit in reciprocal terms. If a corporation realizes that it is most beneficial for itself to act accordingly to society’s goodness in its interactions with

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57 Corporate identity and branding is based on the idea of a corporation’s relationship with its customers. See Ogilvy’s discussion of corporate advertising and brand image in *Ogilvy on Advertising.*
publics, then the assumption would be that publics would react favorably toward that
corporation (Schudson 100).

A corporation should have a sense of purpose in life beyond the mere motivation
of making money, in which it contributes the overall well-being of a society that it serves.
This idea of purpose stems from having faith in the idea of good as an altruistic end. If a
company acts accordingly to this idea of good, it operates in harmony with its community
(people) and its surroundings (nature). In order to consider this attempt as *phronēsis*, this
corporation should have a desire to learn, know and choose the right way of execution
and do these willingly (Ogilvy 117). All these are even not good enough to qualify for
having an ethical character since a corporation should also turn the performance of
*phronēsis* into a habit. It should be a custom of corporation to operate according to
*phronēsis*. Then it earns the right to be praised as an ethical and responsible institution
(Page and Fearn 312).

According to the virtue of ethics, by performing *phronēsis*, a corporation
contributes not only to its own happiness but the happiness of a community and society.
Furthermore, as a corporation grows bigger and becomes international, its responsibility
also should get more inclusive and it should be a corporate policy to be globally
responsible.

Advertising praises ethical products, services, and ideas in terms of their
contribution in the creation of a better and more pleasant life (Brønn and Vrioni 210-12).
One would see that in practice as corporate advertisements, brand personality
commercials, special sponsored events and social responsibility campaigns. One example
of this effort may be corporate advertisements of GE, which emphasize the contribution
Advertising as Epideictic Rhetoric

of the corporation to the society in different means.\textsuperscript{58} Another example could be, \textit{Essential}$_2$, the industrial awareness campaign of the American Chemical Council\textsuperscript{®} (ACC) that stresses the contribution of companies working with chemistry and plastics by portraying a world where everything produced by chemistry fades away in order to create appreciation for the products we use everyday (actually a long list of things).\textsuperscript{59}

The basic reasoning in this marketplace praise is that “corporation A works hard to provide the necessary things for a pleasant and happy life, and it constantly researches ways to improve its own contribution to the welfare of society and humanity.” A latest example of this kind of marketplace praise emerged when a public discussion on the energy crisis regarding to the oil resources started. Many oil companies demonstrated a good effort to represent themselves as sensitive to natural resources and as responsible institutions which work hard to obtain new kinds of energy to fulfill the needs of society while renaming themselves as energy companies and not as oil companies anymore.\textsuperscript{60} The commercials regarding these efforts emphasized that those companies are motivated to be socially responsible. It is no doubt that such commercials are epideictic in nature, praising these energy companies’ ethical character and efforts to make the right decision for all at the right time.

Another aspect of epideictic praise in the marketplace is sponsorships. Corporations using their product and brand names facilitate many special events where they financially and intellectually support cultural, educational and sportive occasions to

\textsuperscript{58} GE corporate campaign: Imagination at Work concept and the new “Ecomagination” campaign that focuses on protection of the natural resources and working with alternative fuel sources.

\textsuperscript{59} American Chemistry.com commercials focus on the contribution of chemistry in everyday life from household items to health industry instruments.

\textsuperscript{60} Ford and GM’s new Ethanol (E85) FlexFuel campaigns are good examples.
contribute to the society (Close et al. 421). Advertisements promoting these sponsored events carry and endorse many symbolic representations of the sponsor corporations, and praise their hard work to realize such occasions. People attending these events observe many instances of discourse that encourages them to thank the corporations (Harvey, Gray, and Despain 407-08).

If one were to think in the terms of a political advertisement, the issue of ethical character and *phronēsis*, of course, is more about the personality and credentials of a political candidate or a political party. Political advertising campaigns usually focus on the merits and virtuousness of a candidate as they argue that he can do a good job (that is he is ethical and prudent) in decision-making and serve for the best interests of people. Such political ads try to establish an ethos as they give examples from the respectable backgrounds of candidates and prudent decisions that they made in the past in order to amplify their praise.

** Marketable Virtue of Tradition**

As I pointed out before, the driving metaphor behind this virtue is fidelity, and virtues of ethics and aesthetics support its composition. In the rhetoric of the marketplace, this virtue appears in different forms. In one form, a corporation or a brand name adheres itself to a narrative and identifies its ethical character and prudent actions as a derivative of that narrative (Brønn and Vroni 214-15). In another form, advertising encourages customers to participate in a narrative that advances a virtue of (purpose, aesthetics, or ethics) a corporation or a brand as well as emphasizing the contribution of that company or brand in promoting those virtues in the society (Dean 78-79).
The first form usually is defined as a corporate objective and takes the shape of a *mission*. A corporation is then praised when it demonstrates its fidelity to the principles explained in its mission. Mission statements are successful as long as they are not treated as mere words, they should be manifestations of a genuine intentions to contribute and participate in the betterment of human purpose in life. Therefore, corporations should authentically embed themselves to a good story and act prudently following the direction of the narrative(s) that they pledge their allegiance to.

The second form is observed in terms of the attitudes of customers, and usually named as *customer or brand loyalty* (Baldinger and Rubinson 31-34). In this type of fidelity, customers are encouraged to adhere themselves to a specific narrative (or multiple ones) that are introduced by a brand or corporation, and act accordingly as embedded agents (Dean 80). Thus, their loyalty is described as a prudent act since they participate in and observe the virtues that are promoted by the corporate narrative(s).

Corporate missions and narratives ethicize certain course of symbolic actions and try to make their customers attitudinize to take part. The integration of a customer on attitudes in a corporate mission or narrative provides a habituation for customer to perform the ethicized symbolic actions so that the purpose of realizing a mutually desired interaction between a customer and a product, brand or corporation is sustained. Advertising, as the means of praise, promotes customer or brand loyalty and applauds corporations for their fidelity to the principles that are defined in their mission statements and other narratives active in a society.

One may remember many advertisements that emphasized the ideas of tradition and fidelity. Couple of those that I want to exemplify here are Ford and Mercedes
commercials. In 2002, Ford introduced a campaign in which the young CEO of the company, Bill Ford, narrates a story of excellence and loyalty to the customers in terms of quality and service, following the principles of his grandfather Ford whose character and innovativeness constituted a persona as the marketplace hero. This commercial was clearly an epideictic discourse in celebration of Ford and its history.

The Mercedes Benz Company had a similar commercial in which the old and new photographs of Mercedes cars and their proud and happy owners are shown in a dramatic way. Some photographs are in color some of them black and white. Each photograph is from a different historical moment and from the different parts of the world, showing people and cars together in different occasions of life. The common thing is the rewarding and pleasing feeling that their happy faces and smiles confess. The overall feeling is the mutual loyalty and dedication between the car and its owner; it is the idea of togetherness and unity.

The virtue of tradition is of course very significant for political advertisements as well. Since many political decisions are made and maintained because of the principles of several narratives of worldviews and opinions, political advertisements also praise advertised candidates and targeted constituencies by utilization of symbolic language and imagery, which articulate, promote and defend the narratives and the stories that people adhere themselves to.

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61 Ford commercials Bill Ford on Ford had 9 different films. Especially the one named Legacy and Passion are exemplary films of the ideas discussed here.
62 Mercedes campaign in 2004 was based on customer photos and had 3 films named Love Never Fades, Toaster and Winter Dream Event –2.
Praise in Advertising

The praise in advertising materializes as it amplifies the marketable virtues of products, brands and corporations following an epideictic demonstration. Through amplification, advertisements familiarize customers with virtuous actions of brands and corporations. It applauds them and motivates customers to applaud them as well. As I mentioned before, amplification operates as an enthymeme, since it leaves the actual congratulatory action to audience. Amplification as a rhetorical construct is a series of definitions and demonstrations of virtues of a person or a thing. The similar effect is true for the communication strategy of an ad. Advertorial amplification defines, affirms and compares marketable virtues of a brand or corporation as it employs a powerful effect on the pathetic rhetorical proofs while aligning logical and ethical arguments to magnify the praised virtues in association with the advertised thing.

Advertorial amplification also works toward an identification effect between the advertised thing and customers as it emphasizes the commonality of the praised virtues. The identification in advertising usually targets to create a link between customers and a brand personality or corporate identity. The praise of the communally accepted virtues of marketability strengthens the affect of the identification and a customer’s loyalty.

Advertisements may present the marketable virtues separately or in combination as questions that follow:
Function and purpose: What is the advertised product, brand or corporation’s premise? What does it claim to do and how does it express its premise by the use of symbolic imagination? (Tēlos)

Aesthetics: What is the beauty and pleasantness (or appeal) behind the advertised product, brand or corporation? What creates this appeal and how is it portrayed by the use of symbolic imagination? (Kālos-Bellum)

Ethics: What makes the advertised product, brand or corporation prudent? How is it a prudent choice to “buy” this product, brand or corporation? How does it contribute to community and society? How is the idea of phronēsis presented in the advertisement through the symbolic imagination? (Phronēsis)

Tradition: What is the narrative that the advertised product, brand or corporation adheres to? What is the mission of that corporation? How is the advertised product, brand or corporation’s loyalty to its mission carried out by its contributions to the society in forms of cultural, educational and sportive sponsorships and social campaigns (brand personality and corporate identity)? How does the advertised product, brand or corporation encourage customers to participate in its narrative (brand loyalty)? How is the idea of fidelity presented symbolically in the advertisements? (Fidelity)

Kinds of Praise in Advertising

Advertising mimics epideictic rhetoric in the types of praise that it employs to the communicative arrangement of the premises of a product, brand or corporation. In the

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63 Of course, if this is a political advertisement campaign, we need to talk about an idea, a candidate or a political party.
advertising terminology, the main strategies of praise are positioning, branding and corporate identity.

**Positioning** is assigning a place for the advertised product, brand or corporation in the marketplace. It includes a process of research, planning, and matching the desired marketable virtues with an advertised product, brand or corporation (Ogilvy 12).

**Branding** is the activity of creating a name and personality (an *ethos*) for the advertised product, brand or corporation, which can correspond and represent the desired marketable virtues that will motivate the targeted publics to involve in an identification process (Ogilvy 13).

**Corporate identity** is the definition of a corporate mission that will adhere a corporation to a specific narrative, which stands for a meaningful purpose in the relations with the communities and publics that the corporation desires to initiate, maintain and improve. It usually emphasizes the virtues of ethics and tradition, with that covers the ideas such as social responsibility (Clark Jr. 29-42).

Through symbolic imagination, advertising uses these strategies to praise the advertised product, brand or corporation, and it encourages customers to get in contact by starting a mutually benefiting engagement that, at the end, may result desirably in a *loyalty* on customer’s part.

As I discussed in epideictic kinds of discourse, advertising also uses three types of praise in its communication efforts. Let us see how these three kinds of epideictic discourse would match with the advertising strategies:

**Advertorial Eulogy**: Advertising focuses on pleasant and attractive characteristics of an advertised product, brand or corporation. It demonstrates the good aspects of the
advertised thing without distinguishing it as the “best” necessarily (Ogilvy 12).

Advertorial eulogy usually concentrates on the marketable virtues of function and aesthetics but rarely mentions about those of ethics and tradition. It employs a limited effort of positioning.

**Advertorial Encomium**: Advertising focuses on the distinguishing characteristics of the advertised product, brand or corporation.\(^{64}\) It demonstrates the qualities that would designate the product, brand or corporation as the “best” or one of the bests in the marketplace (Ogilvy 18). Advertorial encomium definitely involves positioning and branding as it describes the marketable virtues of ethics in addition to those of purpose and aesthetics. It mentions about performance and deeds of a brand in the marketplace, endorses the brand’s sponsorship activities. It asks for support and participation of customers directly or indirectly in its message while laying out the basics of the narrative(s) that a brand identifies itself with without fully explaining the virtue of tradition. Advertorial encomium builds toward the corporate identity but does not signify it wholly.

**Advertorial Panegyrics**: Advertising here focuses mainly on creation and maintenance of a corporate identity, which usually associates it with a sponsored event (Close et al. 420-21). This association can be in a form of commercial spot that accompanies a sponsored event or it may appear in a form of the overall activities of planning and execution of such sponsored events, which carry out the messages of identification to support the virtues of tradition. The narrative(s) that a corporation identifies with are presented in

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\(^{64}\) USP: Unique Sales Proposition.
order to realize its corporate mission and identity. Customers are encouraged and welcomed to participate and engage in the advertorial panegyrics in order to enhance the brand loyalty and the fidelity to a corporate mission.

**Phenomenological Perspectives in Advertising: Adverting the Attention**

Advertising addresses customers not as judges but spectators (Leiss, Kline, and Jhally 237-42). There are three reasons behind this. (1) Advertisements are not designed to provide counsel for the best course of action on a subject that would take place in the future. However, they perform analogously to a counsel as they praise products, brands and corporations. (2) Advertisements notably are designed to provide a commercial praise, which aims to advert the attention of customers *right here and right now* (Ogilvy 16). They encourage customers to watch or observe this commercial praise by facilitating amusement and fascination (Ellul, *Technological Bluff* 352). (3) Customers usually view advertisements as an accompanying part of a totality of symbolic communicative actions or processes other than commercials. Advertisements are inserted in media activities, physical surroundings and social events. In addition, they are offered complimentarily as a part of another event that customers voluntarily direct their attention toward such as a TV program.

Advertisers as the modern commercial rhetoricians seek ways of adverting customers’ awareness on the things that they advertise. In order to accomplish this task, advertisers work for arousing, preserving and directing customers’ attention on the advertisements and the advertised goods through employing an attractive language and pleasant symbolic imagery (Berman 123-129; Dyer 146; Leiss, Kline, and Jhally 242-46). In this sense advertising resembles a ceremonial event as advertisers try to encourage
customers to be in *attention*, pay *attention* and *attend* to a commercial praise that takes place in the celebratory media episodes and commercially sponsored special events.

Through the created attention, advertisers hope that customers would acquire the advertised things by adopting marketable virtues that are promoted in advertisements. The adoption of marketable virtues, then, stands for the basis of the desired customer behavior, which makes customers attitudinizate as consumers who observe the ongoing commercial praise by watching, examining, thinking about, and commenting on advertisements, before purchasing the advertised goods.

On a macro level, a citizen who lives in a capitalistic economic system is expected to *observe* and *attend* to the advertising as epideictic rhetoric as a whole, and adapt to a life style in which he performs his duty of *theoria*. As he purchases goods, and therefore, acts in accordance to the epideictic rhetoric of capitalism, he fulfills his role as a good citizen.

*Semantic Perspectives in Advertising: Eulogistic and Dyslogistic Language*

Advertising also mimics epideictic rhetoric as it employs eulogistic and dyslogistic coverings in the “appraisal” and “censorial” operations of language. Advertisers use eulogistic language when they want to assign a positive meaning to a commercial good or a marketable idea. By employing eulogistic coverings, advertisers motivate customers to identify themselves with a positive meaning that is offered by the praise in advertising (Barry 23-28).

In a similar way, advertisers may use a dyslogistic language, especially in comparative advertisements, when they want to assign a negative meaning to a commercial good or a marketable idea in order to hurt their competition. By the
employment of such dyslogistic coverings, advertisers try to motivate customers to identify with the censure and to deter them to act in support of the competitor’s commercial or political advantage (Pinkleton 25-27).

An examination of advertising language would demonstrate how advertisers use a language as the tools of symbolic imagination eulogistically and dyslogistically in order to *ethicize* the ways of promoting a commercial advantage as well as the actual *act* of purchase (or support) of an advertised good or idea. Following are some demonstrative examples of eulogistic language ethicizing commercial slogans:

- “Connecting people” Nokia
- “For a better world for you” T-Mobile
- “Think different” Apple Computers
- “Brilliant!” Guinness Beer
- “Like a rock!” Chevrolet Trucks
- “The ultimate driving machine” BMW cars
- “Engineered to move the human spirit” Mercedes-Benz cars
- “Like a good neighbor, State Farm is there” State Farm Insurance Company
- “Ideas at work” Black & Decker
- “Eatin’ good in the neighborhood” Applebee’s Restaurants

Ethicizing through eulogistic (and dyslogistic) symbolic expressions and imagery, advertisers implement an attitudinizing effect in the advertisements.
**Conclusion**

In this chapter, I discussed the four reasons why one should consider advertising as epideictic discourse. They are: (1) advertising is a commercial praise, (2) advertising treats its target audience as spectators (*theoroi*), (3) the temporal orientation in commercial communication is largely connected to the present time, and (4) advertising has become the rhetoric of capitalism that constantly encourages public to adopt a particular way of life.

The main theme of the chapter was that advertising and epideictic rhetoric share similar purposes, namely commendation and observance of virtues and values in a society. I examined this theme under the umbrella of two major metaphors: *praise* and *theoria*.

Under the metaphor of praise, I looked at the several significant characteristics of advertising that are common with the epideictic rhetoric exclusively—on a micro level. I have identified the types of excellence (*virtus-άρετή*) that are proliferated in advertising by looking at the general topics (τόποι) that are covered in persuasion in relation to epideictic discourse. Then I looked at the types of praise (*encomium, eulogy* and *panegyrics*) and the qualities of “the praised” in an epideictic discourse in relation to advertising. By examining the eulogistic and the dyslogistic language used in advertising in forms of *adverting* and transforming *attention* into attitudes, I have also tried to emphasize the phenomenological function of the epideictic discourse.

Under the second metaphor, the notion of *theoria*, I identified the role of consumers as spectators in the commercial discourse as essential—on a macro level. Then I linked the context of ceremony to the purpose (*tēlos-τέλος*) of persuasion in
advertising, which ethicizes capitalism and makes consumers attitudinize through aesthetic motivation.

Lastly, I defined advertising as a modern rhetoric of the commercial amplification of ideas, goods, services and people, in terms of an epideictic discourse. In the next chapter, I intend to examine the economics-politics relationship under the title of *advertising as epideictic rhetoric and society* where I will discuss the function of advertising in relation to capitalism and democracy by starting a conversation around the connections between the ways of government and the ways of providing materially.
Chapter 3 Advertising as Epideictic Rhetoric and Society

Capitalism and Advertising: Container and Thing Contained

Any discussion on advertising, and its effects on society, needs to explore the idea of capitalism and its place in a society as well. Advertising is logically and inevitably connected to capitalism and has become the rhetoric of capitalist economic system since the industrial revolution of nineteenth century. For that reason to criticize or defend advertising, moreover even to think about it, without considering the context and the background, which it had originated from and nourished by, cannot hold a strong argument. The relationship between advertising and capitalism is in the likeness of Burke’s idea that refers to “container and the thing contained” or in another terms, the scene ratios of his dramatism.

Ratios of Scene: Democracy or Democratic People

As Burke portrays in A Grammar of Motives there are two ways to reason such relationship especially in scene-act and scene-agent ratios. The example to demonstrate the first one is that a democratic country becomes democratic because the people who live in it are democratic and act democratically (act-agent ratio). On the other hand, the second one is that people are democratic and act democratically because they live in a democratic environment (scene-act). One emphasizes scene whereas the other focuses on agent or act (17).

One can give real examples of these assumptions easily. Let us think about the efforts to make Iraq a democratic nation. There is a commonsensical expectation that since Iraqi people are acting “democratically” and fulfilling the requirements of
citizenship in a democratic republic then Iraq will become a democratic nation. However, this reasoning forgets to mention that, at this level, part of the Iraqi people’s citizenly duty is to establish and maintain an *environment* where the new democracy can flourish and persevere. Then this thought actually points toward the importance of *scene*.

Alternatively, the reverse example would be the history of immigration and making up of American nation. Many people immigrated to USA since the foundation of the republic and each wave consequently integrated and assimilated into a system, obtaining their new homeland’s values, beliefs and attitudes eventually. Of course, each wave of immigration brought something new to the republic but the essential ideas of the original republic have been kept explicitly. However, for people of Iraq, living in a location, which had been torn by political, social, cultural and religious schisms, and the power vacuums created by colonialism and the foreign autocratic dominance for hundreds of years, is harder to establish a strong foundation for democracy, in spite of all economic reserves they have.

According to this line of thought, a container affects the contained much more than latter influences the former. There are many examples in human history where the environment essentially shaped the actions and characters of the people who chose to or had to live in it. That is one of the principal theses of Jared Diamond’s book *Guns, Germs, and Steel* since he argues that in the scope of communication activities, for the fate of the nations, it is very important where they settle down and what kind of geographical conditions they have around them to develop and materialize their survival and their culture. Diamond’s perspective supports the idea that the geographical location
and the natural resources of a nation would have a more or less power to determine the characteristics of that culture and their potential future cultural activities.

On the other hand, following the act-agent ratio, if one chooses to focus on individuals as a democratic people (or as a part of universalist perspective, if one believes that all humans have an intrinsic passion to be democratic) then the characteristic for being democratic is considered as a part of the human essence. Therefore, the democratic man will not change into something contrary to his nature even though the environment and situation around him changes. Nevertheless opposing to this idea, another person may think that humans are essentially not democratic, so even though the conditions point toward a democratic environment, individuals will continue to play power games and try to dominate others, acting autocratically.

Therefore, according to this line of thought, this time, the contained thing would act independent of the container and consequently may change the characteristic of it. There are also many examples of this act-agent relationship in history. One, which I should definitely note here, is the history of the Republic of Turkey, which by the directions and efforts of a strong leader, M. Kemal Atatürk, the country changed from a monarchic empire into a republic.65 Another one is more recent; the transformation of the USSR into the Russian Federation seems challenging because many suggest that people and institutions are not changing their ways of acting autocratically, even though the newly founded republic is a democratic system in appearance.66

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65 84 years after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, the discussion over the secular republican regime’s stability is still under discussion. It seems that some fears that the old ways of political and religious foundations will rise again even now.
66 Some argue that this is because Russians are still following the old ways of Russian Empire and totalitarian communist regime in their actions, which may mean that they have never actually changed!
Even though there are enough examples of act-agent ratios in the course history, many instances of political and economic events throughout history seem to make a stronger case for scene-act relationship. Therefore, conditions and situations where individuals find their abode, are habituated and embedded would have a big influence on the formation, development and outcome of their actions. That also means that the characteristics of one’s environment and surroundings would affect one’s ethical choices. Aristotle’s theory of ethics may be considered, as a reminder of this principle, which argues that habituation in an environment of good actions, would also result in good actions.

The discussion over democracy or democratic people regarding to scene-act or agent-act ratios is a good example of philosophical approaches to investigate the questions over system and extension, law and policy, imagination and bureaucracy relationships in a perspective of whole and part associations. A discussion over capitalism and advertising would require a similar approach but with a different emphasis. Just like the scene-act ratio, there are also potential scene-agent, scene-agency, and scene-purpose ratios too (Grammar 15). It is important, as an emphasis of the present study, to think that capitalism would represent a scene for advertising, which can be an agency, perpetuating a capitalist act or purpose.

**Advertising as the Rhetoric of Capitalism**

Capitalism based on mass production essentially needs a system of mass consumption. Capitalist economic system philosophically and pragmatically works best with the democratic environment, mindset and society (Cox 23). A democratic system is based on the choices made by citizenry. Citizens make choices to assign themselves
leaders and representatives who are licensed by vote to govern. Therefore, the element of choice in form of voting is essential and fundamental for a democratic system and way of thinking. Differently from the ideal and the ancient forms of democracy where the whole of relatively small citizenry has the right to choose as much as opportunity to serve and make decisions, in the modern democracies citizens delegate this direct serving duty to politicians by choosing the best one that they think represents their worldview and attitudes (Cox 21). For that reason, the activity of voting, elections and campaigns have become much more emphasized aspects of today’s politics. Therefore, while politicians try to persuade citizens and voters expect to be persuaded the best way possible in a democratic election. In some aspects, this resembles a political marketplace.

A democratic environment, which encourages and depends on a citizenry that makes choices, naturally nourishes the same idea in an economical context (Cox 33). As I demonstrated in the discussion of the virtue of ethics, one’s prudent choices on political matters are principally connected with his prudent choices on subsistence toward household and state serving both of them materially, that is economically. A society that is accustomed to be democratic would prefer to have capitalist economics, because of the fact that the former represents the free market of ideas while the latter refers to the free market of goods. Just like deciding on the best politician, individuals in a democratic capitalism would like to choose products that are best for them. Additionally, because the same mindset, like the political election, is in action, citizen-customers would seek to be persuaded upon the choices they could make (Cox 23).
Advertisers are the counselors of producers who help them to sell their products. Just like a political strategist, who assists his clients to be elected for a political office and enjoy a certain amount of following and support, an advertising man seeks ways to convince consumers to buy his client’s product, service or idea. Moreover, as I pointed out in the discussion of brand loyalty, an advertising man would try to create an ongoing support for the marketable goods; he would want consumers to have a stable and satisfying relationship with his client for a long time in order to retain the optimal economical outcome. As advertisements facilitate commercial decision-making processes of consumers, they motivate them to consume constantly so that the dynamics of capitalist marketplace based on mass production can survive.

An attitude that is shaped by marketplace dynamics always tends to seek for the best fit to realize a satisfaction toward the needs, which motivate a customer’s presence in the market. That attitude cannot be pleased with a situation where there are not many potential options or that only has limited number of choices. A customer, in his mind, wants to make the correct decision and anything below the optimal fit to his aspirations would bring him deep disturbances. Advertiser’s ultimate purpose is to present his product and to motivate consumer to believe that the advertised product fits perfectly with his needs. Advertising, also in a macro sense, attempts to motivate consumers to support the capitalist system by making continual consumption that cultivates an environment where he enjoys making decisions over purchase (Berman 102). Advertising

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67 Customer equity is a significant concept, which is defined as the total economic value of one brand or product’s ongoing marketplace interactions through the lifetime of that customer. One of the most important reasons behind the development of this idea, together with brand loyalty, is the fact that it is much more beneficial and profitable to keep your customers with you then making a new one.
actually praises the virtues and the values of the capitalist free market every time it extols a product, a service or an idea. Therefore, in that sense, advertising becomes the synecdoche of capitalism. To advertise, as an act, becomes the most representative expression of the whole capitalist system.

Advertising is also the most apparent extension of the capitalist system. It motivates, maintains, and conditions consumption through a series of communicative and symbolic acts. Therefore, advertising becomes one of the driving forces behind the capitalist system, and turns into the rhetoric of capitalism (Schudson 222; Twitchell 55; Dryer 158). This rhetoric of capitalism not only urges citizens to consume—i.e. enjoy the virtues of marketable goods—but also advises them to observe the values of the capitalist system and the political environment that supports it (Schudson 232-33). Furthermore, it becomes an epideictic discourse praising consumption for the celebration of the ethics of capitalism toward wealth and prosperity.

In order to investigate this claim, I will first start with a discussion over the major theories in regard to the advertising and society relationship exploring both the critical and defensive approaches. Later, I will explore the debate between the Marxist and the capitalist perspectives that respectively define the advertising’s effect on the consumption of marketable goods either as fetishism of commodities or acquisition of wealth. Then, I will examine the origins and the progress of capitalism, especially in its connection to the ideas of liberty, freedom, deliverance and democracy by looking at the works by Adam
Smith, Jeremy Bentham, Stuart Mill and Max Weber. Next, I will introduce the major thinkers of the present study: I will mention the contributions of Burke’s work, *Attitudes Toward History*, especially in its descriptions on the economic thought, and the imagination-bureaucratization dichotomy. A discussion of Ellul’s work, *Technological Bluff*, and its significance to advertising will follow. I will identify advertising as a form of epideictic rhetoric in terms of the idea of social propaganda by using Ellul and Burke’s arguments. Then, I will explain Burke’s seven offices in depth and relate them to Thames’s description of nomic categorizations of humans as an attempt to connect advertising to the seven offices. As a final step, I will explain advertising as epideictic rhetoric by synthesizing (1) Schudson’s idea of capitalist realism, (2) Ewen’s idea of shaping consciousness, (3) Twitchell’s idea of salvation by consumption with (4) Spitzer’s and Barthes’ discourse on the artistic, aesthetic and literary aspects of advertisements, and (5) finally Fisher’s idea of creation of values through narratives—(i.e. advertising as commercial narrative).

**Theories on Advertising (as the Thing Contained)**

In general, there are two major views toward advertising. There is a group of theories that aims to attack advertising and to critique its effects on the society negatively. Many of these views have their grounds naturally in the Marxist thinking. On the other hand, another group aims to defend and to honor advertising’s contributions to society. Both side of the theories are definitively affected by the Enlightenment

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The reason I do not offer Marx’s view on capitalism in this context is twofold. One, I plan to examine Marxist attitude toward capitalism elsewhere as a part of the critique of advertising. Second, Marx was reactionary to the idea of capitalism, even though his ideas partly helped the shaping of the capitalist economy structure today in the critical sense, his ideas cannot be considered as the core of the driving metaphors of capitalism.
liberalism. Even though their final analyses are so opposite to each other, both approaches agree upon the idea that advertising has an impact and influence on the society.

The theories that criticize advertising focus on the claims that advertising is manipulative, and it consists of proliferating of commodities that are designed to address ersatz needs and desires which, in reality, are products of the propaganda of capitalism that is based on a system of mass production. Therefore, advertising is accused of being exploitative and seen as an instrument of capitalism to install and maintain its own system in a totalitarian and autocratic way. Doing so, advertising serves only the egotistical purposes of the few capitalist entrepreneur elites.

On the other hand, the theories defending advertising argue that it is an essential logical continuation of political and economic systems, which are founded upon the principles of freedom, democracy and free market capitalism. These principles aim to bring a society wealth and richness both materially and intellectually (even spiritually). Therefore, they assume that advertising serves a society by encouraging consumption, which, in turn, would also benefit that society economically, politically and culturally. So advertising can be seen as the champion of the capitalist democracies that spreads the values of freedom and prosperity through persuasion that addresses and respects human mind.

Theories of attack and defense on advertising separate from each other with the following basic presumptions:

(a) Advertising’s intent: the manipulation of masses for consumption vs. the persuasion of citizens for business.
(b) **Advertising’s benefit**: richness of the capitalist elite vs. prosperity of the commonwealth.

(c) **Advertising’s audience**: people as dummies or peons in a mass society of totalitarian capitalism vs. citizens of a democratic capitalist economy who can reason and decide for themselves.

(d) **Advertising’s end**: fetishism of commodities (which can be anything, people, inanimate things, ideas or even spiritual entities) vs. acquisition of wealth as a tool for individual and communal prosperity to achieve material and spiritual goodness.

Even though there seem to be irresolvable differences and conflict between these two approaches toward advertising, they converge on a narrative point that indicates a significant influence of advertising on the society affecting peoples’ ideas and impressions on the right way of being (δίκη—di/kη), and the correct character (ἐθος—hθos) and customs (ἔθος—ηθος). In addition, the differences seem to be based much more on a perspective à la Bentham’s eulogistic and dyslogistic terminologies—that is a problem of naming—so that they clearly demonstrate an ideological rather than functional difference on advertising.

The functional emphasis on advertising’s influence on the society is significant for the present study. No doubt that the ideological differences are extremely important too but they may blind one’s point of view. I believe that both of the approaches actually describe the same phenomenon (advertising) with an opposite ideological language in different terministic screens. On the other hand, a functional perspective may converge the theories from opposite approaches about advertising’s impact on the society in
rhetorical terms. Connotations of procedure (and procedural acts) regarding advertising could foreground its ceremonial or epideictic characteristics. No matter what the overall message that advertising conveys toward the society, the way that message is carried out seems to suggest a sense of formation, preservation and celebration of certain set of values (and virtues in relation to them). Before exploring the epideictic connections of both of these approaches in depth, it would be useful to look at them and identify their ideological and philosophical grounds. Leiss, Kline, and Jhally, in their work *Advertising as Social Communication*, provide a compressive account of theories on advertising from the both perspectives, which would be very useful to examine here.

**Criticism of Advertising**

Leiss, Kline, and Jhally argue that many scholars who contemplate on advertising mainly focus on its economic *function.* That is a fair emphasis since advertising is primarily an economical marketing act. Of course, there is a constant discussion of its cultural and social implications as well, however even these are considered as a part or extension to its original economic *function.* One of the essential critiques of advertising from an economical perspective is that it brings waste to a society and adds unnecessary costs to the market. This argument deprecates the capitalist claim that advertising would lower the prices of consumer goods, provide a higher standard of living and grant customer satisfaction. This critique argues that the added expenditure because of advertising does not benefit the customer in any way. To the contrary, consumers actually pay more because of it (13).

In addition, according to the economical critique, big corporations can easily dominate and control small companies in the market with the help of larger advertising
expenditures and larger exposures. Because advertising creates a greater visibility to
bigger corporations as a result of their financial superiority and closer media relationships
(even ownership, since advertising media are also part of big businesses), small
companies have difficulty to advertise and compete (Leiss, Kline, and Jhally 14).

One of the most significant claims of the economical critique, in relation to social
and cultural aspects, is that advertising helps create a marketplace where the rule of
material pleasure and senseless hedonism run havoc. This claim argues that, as a logical
continuation of the “oppressive” capitalist system, advertising arouses needs and desires
that are not real and it generates an environment of materialistic mentality based upon an
ideology of narcissism (Leiss, Kline, and Jhally 15). Of course, the discussion over the
authenticity of needs and desires is philosophically important. The basic question
becomes: do people buy things because they really need them, or do people buy things
because advertising makes them to think that they really need those things? How one
answers this question would probably betray his worldview in a larger scope than only
about advertising.

Neoliberal Criticism on Advertising

The Neoliberal position is about the idea of “welfare capitalism.” This concept
stands for a well-maintained and managed economical system based on social capitalism
but argues for only addressing and satisfying the authentic needs of people, whatever they
might be. Galbraith is one of the significant representatives of this Neoliberal view. He
argues that people can have many different, strange and even corrupt needs and desires,
but he offers a qualifying condition for their authenticity. He believes that if the system
that claims to be built to satisfy such needs actually starts to create extra needs, this
would disqualify it as a just economical scheme:

Consumer wants can have bizarre, frivolous, or even immoral origins, and
an admirable case can be made for a society that seeks to satisfy them. But
the case cannot stand if it is the process of satisfying wants that creates the
wants. (Galbraith 140)

Pointing to the direction of the irony, Galbraith’s argument is an important one
because it brings the intent and the têlos of advertising into question. The existence of a
large industrial system that works to innovate goods, market commodities and make
money disturbs the Neoliberal view. Accordingly, people as members of a society not
only lose their place in the center of the whole system but they might become auxiliary.
The capitalist system is not there to serve people but they are there to support the system.
The process becomes the purpose; a methodology of making monetary profit is placed to
the center of the world, instead of a service mentality to fulfill the community’s needs
and desires. Mass production of commodities brings more consumption and in turn more
production repeatedly in a continuous chain of economic events. Companies that produce
goods and profit from consumption are motivated only by money, which is the main
source of their existence. In order to survive, they need to exploit the marketplace and
create needs that would serve their business so that they could guarantee their long-term
survival. Therefore the idea of service becomes secondary or sometimes non-existent
next to the idea of egotistical interest and survival on the behalf of businesses which not
only exercise this mentality but through their marketing and advertising efforts, i.e. via
communication and purchase, they also propagate and disseminate it in the society, dehumanizing business.

As Galbraith points out, especially big corporations and conglomerates finance and support a massive advertising industry to reach their objectives. The mobilization and institutionalization of advertising in the society by large corporations is a sign of the element of control and manipulation (if not the intent or attempt for it). Large corporations essentially run against the original principle of capitalism and free market economy, which frowns upon any tendency toward monopolies and market control beyond the market dynamics themselves (which are largely based upon customers and service quality).

The Neoliberal view places the people’s interest and a fair distribution of wealth in the center. A market place that is dominated by corporate interests conflicts with this moral presupposition. Advertising as the instrument of corporate manipulation and control also loses its moral stance. Businesses that align their cause with the community based or social causes and aim to provide service to the authentic needs of citizens should serve a moral cause (Leiss, Kline, and Jhally 17).

The Neoliberal critique essentially is at odds with the philosophical bases of egotism and self-interest that modern capitalist approaches argue for emphasizing the survival of the “fittest” in the market place. The egotist believes that the primary human drive and motivation to make business is to increase self-importance and obtain power to control and create demand in order to continue and maintain profit. Of course, the Neoliberal position argues against this because it assumes that such economic activity would create unequal, unstable and unjust distribution of wealth, which means an
exploitation of the citizens in a very mechanistic way that could trigger social frustrations and unrests endangering a society’s harmony.

**Marxist Critique on Advertising**

*Marxist Presumptions*

The Marxist understanding of economic thought is based on the idea of the ownership of the instruments of production. According to Marxists, whosoever has the power and control over the productive tools and activities, would also rule the political, social and cultural substructures of a society. Just like the capitalists, Marxism is an offshoot of the Enlightenment Thought; they advocate *Reason*, and focus on economic and materialistic growth to reach prosperity and wealth in a society as a whole.

Marxists envision their utopia based upon a communal ownership and classless society, and they believe that workers are the real owners of the productive tools and the collectively produced goods. They deny private property. They would believe in the idea that the state control on property is a stepping-stone to a better society in the future. In that sense, Marxism becomes also a prophetic movement since it assumes that there is a pre-determined historical direction toward a Marxist Utopia, and as a result (or a continuation) of the late capitalism, the scene of the last stronghold of the class conflict, the society would evolve into a communistic civilization. This vision is at the core of the Marxist dialectic materialism and historical determinism, which actually is a derivative of

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69 Pre-Marxist thought and socialistic movements tend to reject the idea of property as a whole. Especially the property that can be bought and sold is refused very strongly. However, many utopian socialist like Proudhon argued that man can own a house that is built by him or for him by his community (or anything he makes himself) whereas land and human power as workforce cannot be owned, and even if they are owned, that would be a violence against Nature and Providence (or God). This thought shows the spiritual origins of the socialistic imagination, and its anarchic genesis.
Hegel’s thought. However Marx and Engels rejected Hegel’s essential idea of Absolute Spirit (or Idealism) which can be explained by the famous quote “What is real is rational—what is rational is real” that means that the only metaphysical entity, that is real, is the Mind that knows. Nevertheless, Marx and Engels turned Hegel’s idea upside down, when they argued that “the matter… necessarily give rise to the thinking mind in organic beings” (Bober 44).

On the other hand, the Marxist idea of class struggle has definitely its roots in Hegel’s The Phenomenology of Spirit in which he argues that the origin of the self-consciousness is to acknowledge an “other.” Ensuing this acknowledgment, a conflict starts between two parties because of the threatened self-consciousness. As a result, each tries to assert its own freedom over the other and establish an acknowledged dominance. Then one becomes the master and the other a servant. The servant has to produce goods for the master, but because the master depends on the productivity of the servant, he also becomes covertly dominated. The servant’s labor would have a permanent quality so that by dominating the servant, the master himself becomes dominated. Hegel argues that, for Mind, there is no other real solution to this problem but to use dialectics to seek freedom within itself (Baird and Kaufman 897).

In his rejection of Hegel’s Absolute Spirit, Marx also rejects Hegel’s incomplete solution. He argues for denouncing the exploitation of labor and freeing labor force from its yoke under the masters (that signify the capitalists and the capitalist system at the current historical moment). Such attitude would eventually destroy the class-based society in an evolutionary way. Of course, Marx’s later thought argues feverishly for a revolution instead of waiting for the evolution to happen. I believe that the idea of
revolution has hurt the Marxist thought in general terms because of the fact that all
the efforts of communist and socialist movements to create a fast track to the utopist
society failed greatly when revolutions broke down in every major industrialized
capitalist nation. Many revolutions only succeeded in traditionally autocratic agricultural
societies that are dramatically different than capitalist societies in terms of political and
economical aspects, where the ideal temporality of state control of the Marxist vision
only was transformed into a continuation of the totalitarian regime that was previously
already there.\(^{70}\)

**Marxist Critique of Advertising as a Part of Anti-Capitalist Agenda**

A direct critique of advertising from a Marxist viewpoint is a misnomer or at least
a limited argument. The Marxist thought in political and economical planes are in their
origin and essence naturally anti-capitalistic. Marx’s critique was a powerful reaction to
19\(^{\text{th}}\) Century industrial capitalism, whereas Marxisms of the current era, also competing
with each other for the heritage of Marx, critique modern and/or post capitalisms. Even
though the environments and conditions of 19\(^{\text{th}}\) Century capitalism and the modern
capitalism is very distinct from each other, the modern Marxist analyses of the current
state of capitalism still share the common seminal criticism and contempt. Therefore, a
Marxist critique of advertising is actually a dispraise of the capitalist economic system.

Marxist criticism of advertising can be categorized in three general critical
arguments: (1) mass production of capitalism can only survive with the propagandistic
effect of advertising, (2) without advertising the demand for products that arouses

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\(^{70}\) Russian and Asian communist revolutions greatly show this characteristic. Even in the case of Eastern
European communism after World War 2, the systems are actually an extension of the previous fascist and
royalist tendencies politically.
irrational needs and desires, cannot be created, and (3) advertising works to create a consumption consciousness based on the idea of fashion turning reasonable citizens into consumers that are living in an illusionary world of freedom of choice but actually are enslaved to purchase and oppressed by the corporations and conglomerates of the capitalist industry (Leiss, Kline, and Jhally 17-18).

Marxist thinkers frequently argue that an economical system that is based upon mass production surely would need a mass consumption. They also emphasize that without a large body of consumers who would seek the consumption of these mass-produced goods, the whole system would collapse. At this point, advertising becomes a great aid to motivate people to buy. People are manipulated into buying things that they naturally will not buy beyond their basic needs. This manipulation is manifold, and may show itself as the propaganda of commodities that appeal to eliminate the inferiority complex and self-loathing of consumers which are dug up and stimulated by the whole capitalistic narrative itself. Otherwise, it may portray itself as forms of indoctrination (or education— if a non-Marxist term is needed) and the habituation of mass consumers into a world of material gratification and leisure. Hence, by guaranteeing the survival of capitalist system, advertising becomes the frontrunner of capitalism.

One of the most striking arguments of the Marxist criticism toward advertising is its attributed power of convincing people to buy things that they do not need. Marxists argue that beyond the basic needs of subsistence, housing and clothing, desires for irrational and plastic needs are constantly encouraged and disseminated by advertising. Of course, Marxist critics are well aware that it is not the sole job of advertising but a collective effort of the all forces of “capitalist hegemony.” People become painfully
aware of the things that they would not normally think about by a steady reminder of advertising messages, and feel more and more insecure about what they normally have and own. Advertising creates a sense of “lacking” or “missing” something; it presents a thing in way to characterize it as something essential for the existence or “being” of humanity, so that consumers cannot help but have to adapt themselves in one way or another to desire it (Ewen, Captains 45). Marxists would call this process as the promulgation of false humanity.

Another aspect of the Marxist thought on advertising is its role in creating and engineering a society of consumers who are intentionally and methodologically molded by the values and the virtues of the capitalist society and system. Advertising introduces consumption as a virtuous way of life and installs the values of “goodness” according to the market dynamics, which praises self-interest, self-gratification and popularity over anything else (Berman 56-60). In this way, the capitalist system controls the consumption as well as the production by manipulating people’s desires and habits. Doing so, the capitalist system controls everything and invents a mechanistic totality for humanity almost in a totalitarian way because, for the individual citizen, there is no place to escape or have peace outside of the systems that is already tailored for him. There is no private abode to save his soul.

The Marxist criticism is much more focused on the “container” (the scene of capitalism) rather than the “thing contained” (the agency of advertising).

**Significant Themes of Criticism toward Advertising**

The Neoliberalism and Marxism are not the only sources of criticism toward advertising. There are also religious, aesthetic, cultural and philosophical criticisms.
Together with the dominant critiques of the Marxist ideology and the Neoliberal optimism, there are other significant themes, where certain religious, aesthetic, cultural and philosophical perspectives offer to evaluate advertising critically. Following Leiss, Kline, and Jhally’s example, it is possible to categorize these themes in two groups of questions: (1) how does advertising create demand, and (2) what kinds of negative effects do advertising have on society?

**Debate on Demand**

Many thinkers concur that advertising has a power to create demand in the marketplace. The source of this power of advertising frequently sought in the influence of the mass media and its effect on the society. By using mass media, advertisers exploit the awareness and recognition effects and try to turn them into purchasing preferences for consumers. There is a widely accepted agreement that advertising catches our attention and affects us in one way or another.

**Technological Manipulation**

It is noteworthy to mention two thinkers under this discussion topic. The first one is Vance Packard whose *Hidden Persuaders* is an influencing work on advertising and its effect on the society. He emphasizes the manipulative aspect of advertising as a part of the mass media structure and argues that the collective effect of the advertising via mass media creates an effect outside of our awareness. Packard argues that advertisers as “symbol manipulators” study our everyday habits for hidden meanings to persuade us for action (4). He states that advertisers see consumers as “bundles of daydreams, misty hidden yearnings, guilt complexes, irrational blockages” who obediently respond to symbolic manipulations that induce action (7). In order to create such manipulations,
advertisers employ the scientific theories:

   It is about the large-scale efforts being made, often with impressive
   success, to channel our unthinking habits, our purchasing decisions, and
   out thought processes by the use of insights gleaned from psychiatry and
   the social sciences. Typically, these efforts take place beneath out level of
   awareness; so that the appeals which move us are often, in a sense,
   ‘hidden’. (Packard 3)

Packard relates a very frank explanation by a research company leader, Mr.
Cheskin, on “motivation research” who says that it is a type of research, which looks for
the motivations behind people’s decision making. He believes that this type of research
often seeks to learn about the unconscious and subconscious mind as well because he
presumes that many preferences are made by the factors affected by them. He confidently
states that “…in a buying situation the consumer generally acts emotionally and
compulsively, unconsciously reacting to the images and designs which in the
subconscious are associated by the product” (7-8). At this point, I think it is more
important to know that Mr. Cheskin conducted research for many of the leading
American companies of consumer products in 1950s, something that is still being utilized
in the advertising industry. A careful look at research techniques that are used by
contemporary advertising research also would show that psychological, cognitive and
sociological (even anthropological) methodologies from social science, even now,
dominate the applied and academic research on advertising.

Another very significant thinker on this issue is Jacques Ellul—whose ideas I will
explore deeper later in this chapter. In his very influential work, Propaganda, Ellul argues
that advertising at times, especially in societies like the United States, functions as a sociological or integration *propaganda* which, by description, is defined as a feature of the technological society. Of course, Ellul is very critical of technology, founded on the idea of *technique* that creates an inhumane and mechanistic world where everything is measured for its efficiency rather than “goodness.” Furthermore, propaganda created by this technical worldview shortcuts the human mind and decision-making process and eliminates reason. Ellul sees mass media as an extension of the technological society that is necessary for propaganda to exist. Ellul defines sociological propaganda as “the penetration of an ideology by means of its sociological context” (63).

Ellul argues that in the traditional view propaganda is understood as the use of the mass media of communication to guide publics to accept a “political or economical structure or participate in action” (63). However, for the sociological propaganda, the process is backward as “the existing economic, political and sociological factors” use an ideology to penetrate people in a mass society. As an example of sociological propaganda, Ellul, states that

At this level, advertising as the spreading of a certain style of life can be said to be included in such propaganda, and in the United States this is also true of public relations, human relations, human engineering, the motion pictures, and so on. (Ellul, *Propaganda* 63)

Ellul argues that sociological propaganda is not necessarily intentional. As one advertiser or producer wants to express a message regarding to a product. He does not do this for propaganda, but without realizing it, he contributes to the American way of life, which he resides in, that is innately propagandistic. Therefore, his commercial becomes a
Ellul states here “[W]e see here the force of expansion of a vigorous society, which is totalitarian in the sense of the integration of the individual, and which leads to involuntary behavior” (Propaganda 64). The sociological propaganda shows itself in “advertising, in the movies (commercial and non-political films), in technological devices and gadgets, in education” and many other aspects of life that, Ellul thinks, some would hesitate to call it propaganda. Nevertheless, since its influences are in accord with each other, and leading spontaneously at the same direction, and because of the fact that those who make propaganda essentially direct them, Ellul believes that, it is propaganda. He argues, “[S]uch activities are propaganda to the extent that the combination of advertising, public relations, social welfare, and so on produces a certain general conception of a society, a particular way of life” (Propaganda 65).

By defining advertising in the realm of social propaganda, Ellul acknowledges the idea that it is a manipulative symbolic action. It is designed for and carried by the channels of mass media of communication, which intrinsically are technological constructs that is required for any propagandistic program to succeed in order to pervasively surround the members of the mass society so that they cannot function in the most essential human way: reason and make decision for themselves.

**False Symbolism**

The criticism toward advertising which focuses on false symbolism argues that advertising presents the products, services and ideas in a way to create an impression that their premise is multi-potent beyond their actual use or benefit. False symbolism signifies the linguistic, aesthetic and communicative attributes of commercial messages. For that reason, the problem of this critique, which lies on the center of its argument, is about the
perception, meaning and understanding of an assigned praise to an advertised good. False symbolism argues that the most of the virtues designated for commercial goods in advertisements are not authentic or even relevant to their original and actual powers of gratification after consumption. Since usually an accompanying interpretative meaning is linked to the consumption of a particular product in forms of plastic aesthetics in order to facilitate inspiration, motivation and amusement, the symbolism does not hold together, even though it creates a reasonable amount of resonance in consumers, simply because the advertised good cannot realize the whole premise in actuality. However, because such fictional symbolism is possible and easy to create as a playful and amusing rhetoric, it has already taken over the advertising discourse to induce purchase (Leiss, Kline, and Jhally 21).

The reasoning behind the false symbolism as an advertising strategy is to make people enjoy materials also psychologically. False symbolism is there to fascinate, amuse and make people adore the things that they consume. Therefore, it also provides a metaphysical or even spiritual characteristic for the relationship that is created between the consumed thing and the consumer. Especially branding and positioning strategies of advertising are accused of having false symbolisms. Williams brings a distinguishing perspective toward the rational and the irrational utility of goods:

If we were sensibly materialist, in that part of our living in which we use things, we should find most advertising to be of insane irrelevance. Beer would be good enough for us, without the additional promise that in drinking it we show ourselves to be manly, young at heart, or neighborly. A washing machine would be useful to wash clothes, rather than an
indication that we are forward-looking or an object of envy our neighbors. But if these associations sell beer and washing machines, as some of the evidence suggests, it is clear that we have a cultural pattern in which the objects are not enough but must be validated, if only in fantasy, by association with social and personal meanings which in a different cultural pattern might be more directly available. (Williams 185)

In regard to one aspect of false symbolism, Andren’s study on the representation of goods and products in advertisement—one of the first examples of research on the rhetoric of advertising—indicates that advertising has more non-rational persuasive elements than rational arguments about the advertised things (“Rhetoric” 74). Andren argues that the rational arguments in advertising operate as the rhetoric of public or consumer interests, whereas non-rational persuasive (or maybe we can call it manipulative) strategies operate as the rhetoric of fantasy and fascination. Andren et al. conclude, “advertising does not serve the consumer or the public interest” (Rhetoric and Ideology 112). This criticism assumes that the rhetoric of advertising, as a form of presentation, would have to fit to a specific set of principles if the communication can be considered as a rational guidance for the consumer. However, advertising does not contain sufficient information to be the basis of reflective choice among products, therefore, they can be misleading and false.

Magic

One of the most interesting critiques of advertising is that consumers can be manipulated by advertisements following the false premises in which the advertised goods would perform something very special for consumers and make their lives much
more desirable and fascinating. The element of magic is present in advertising as the advertised good passes on its virtues to a consumer via the very act of consumption. The magical imaginations of the advertising appeals are almost cathartic and at times religious in the sense that the advertised thing is presented as a sacred object. Through his interactions with the commercial good, the consumers feel as if he reaches into a higher ground of consciousness. Even the use of a product in advertising may be presented as a religious experience of ecstasy. The object is represented in a shamanistic or animistic totem that has an enchanting power, which gives the consumer a new supernatural (or natural depending on the viewpoint) quality via consumption (or owning) to experience life (Leymore 35). Therefore, the symbolism is designed in a way either to show that the consumer may obtain the special characteristics that the commercial good has, or to portray that the customer may turn into the advertised object itself in a metaphoric transformation—a metamorphosis.

An ex-advertising professional who became a critic, Howard Luck Gossage, argues that advertising carries the whole magical collection that includes infectious magic, charms to get rid of grim situations, taboos, command over the supernatural, incantations (as jingles), and “devil’s blandishments” (364). All can be retained in form of purchase.

Mephistopheles grants a boon; eternal life, youth, prowess, togetherness, unfulfilled dreams. His price is always something. When it is such a small thing as a pack of cigarettes, or a soft drink, or a lipstick, why should one not take a chance? (Gossage 367)
The criticism argues that the presented magical connections have no real foundations and the transformation of the consumer into the object that he consumes does provide not only a faulty philosophy but also is dangerous for the realization of the real world. In the envelopment of magical and fantastic symbolic structures, an individual may lose the sight of the everyday realities of life beyond the normal limits of an innocent escape.

Williamson argues that when people turn into the images and symbols, they cease to be treated as human beings. Such transformation might cause violence or exploitation because people become the “means” not the ends and are objectified—as mere things (169). Moreover, things can be purchased by money!

**Negative Effects on Society**

One of the most crucial claims toward advertising from the both camps, liberal and Marxist, is that advertisements collectively create *inauthentic needs* that have not existed before. One of the most significant critiques comes from Herbert Marcuse as he condemns the whole system to be oppressive since the new economic and technological structures to be forced upon individuals, in which false needs are imposed on them.

Aligning with the Marxist perspective, Marcuse argues that

Such needs have a societal content and function which are determined by external powers over which the individual has no power…No matter how much needs may become the individual’s own…they continue to be what they are from the beginning—products of a society whose dominant interests demand repression. (19)
Marcuse’s vision echoes the claim of Ellul that advertising may become a sociological propaganda in which *ersatz* needs are created and manipulated in a society. Therefore, satisfactions and liberations offered by propaganda are not real (Propaganda 175). Ellul defines advertising as a part of the sociological propaganda and he argues that the capitalist propaganda may play the same role as advertising and it is largely aided by it.

Propaganda creates artificial needs. Just as propaganda creates political problems that would never arise by themselves, but for which public opinion will then demand a solution, it arouses in us an increase of certain desires, prejudices, and needs which were by no means imperative to begin with. (Propaganda 176)

In continuation of Ellul’s thought, another French writer, Guy Debord, indicates that the whole enterprise of the consumer society is deceitful. He introduces the idea of pseudo-needs, which demonstrates many similarities with Ellul’s idea of *ersatz*.

When economic necessity is replaced by the necessity for boundless economic development, the satisfaction of primary needs is replaced by an uninterrupted fabrication of pseudo-needs, which are reduced to the single pseudo-need of maintaining the reign of the autonomous economy.

(Debord 51)

Together with the economic system of mass production, the mass media of communication also contributes to *ersatz* needs because an image-based mentality towards consumption is mainly introduced, established and maintained by media, which
are capitalistic institutions themselves or owned by large corporations that would naturally benefit from such system.

The second major idea on the effects on society is that advertising encourages a fetishism of commodities as a form of propaganda. This idea is about the principle of capitalist materialism assuming that material production, and consumption, in forms of work and leisure generate a reification of commercial goods, services and ideas. Everything has a value according to its marketability and fashionableness. Things turn into ends of human desire for salvation from anxiety and distress together with everything that is packaged in them; an image, a reputation, a social or cultural meaning, prestige, values and virtues. As Lasch points out, in his The Culture of Narcissism that advertising’s sole purpose is not to sell products but also promote a way of life, based upon consumption. Thus, advertising can be seen as a social force that drives and educates (or indoctrinates–depending on one’s worldview) consumer society.

As an essential part of the fetishism of commodities, advertising also provides a continuous narrative that emphasizes the fundamental place of consuming commercial goods in the individuals’ lives by creatively and fictionally generating stories, impressions and atmospheres of intolerability toward a world without the commercial commodities. In order to be successful at this, advertising ought to incite people’s weaknesses, fears, insecurities, inferiority complexes, and spur all the sources of human unhappiness by pointing toward the things that might cause discontent. Capitalist system that needs mass consumption has discovered that the people who are not happy with their lives are more profitable as customers (Ewen, Captains of Consciousness 39).
Another aspect of fetishism is the narcissism that emerges as the self-adornment, which is created by the interpretation of commodities offered in advertising as physical or existential extensions of human beings. Then advertising tells us stories that we become adorable, attractive, prestigious, idol-like, and of course, morally and rationally right by consuming commercial goods, service and ideas. As consumers become the things they consume, attain the virtues of the things they purchase and use, own the attitudes of their acquisitions, they themselves transform into commodities. Thus, the self-adornment through consumption turns into a self-love, a narcissism that requires constant attention. Therefore advertising not only promotes commodities, images, and impressions but also endorses self-absorption.

The last major idea of the negative effects of advertising is related to the argument of consideration of advertising as a means of social control and as a part of larger ideology. This critique is rooted in the question that if people see themselves mainly as producers or as consumers. The question is based on a dichotomy of existential curiosity. Williamson argues that advertising as a systematic ideological communicative effort, obscures the choices in front of individuals to answer to this question by persistently emphasizing on consumption (186). Clearly, the reason for such persistence to exist is that the capitalist economy undeniably depends on people’s high participation to integrate themselves in the overall system of capitalism as a way of life—the right way of being (dike-δίκη), and the correct character (éthos-ήθος) and custom (ethos-ἔθος).

Defense of Advertising

Even though the criticism of advertising is very complex and multifaceted, especially in its philosophical and ideological aspects, the defense of advertising is
surprisingly concise and clear-cut. Defenders of advertising simply argue that
advertising targets human beings as rational and reasonable audiences. It is a persuasion
process in its full rhetorical sense. Consumers as advertising audience have the capacity
to understand and interpret any or all the persuasive strategies in it. Even though they can
be tricked once, they will not be twice. All successful advertisers would tell this as a fact.
On the other hand, even they follow or are sidetracked by the fantasy world that is
created by advertising; they would do so being aware of the fantastic qualities of the
commercial message. In other words, they know and enjoy it. Furthermore, that
enjoyment is what they want and is the reason that they turn toward to advertisements.

The second essential claim is that advertising is not manipulation. Naturally, this
argument is also connected to the first one; since if the audience is rational, the process
should be reasonable—that is persuasion in the rhetorical sense. Consequently, defenders
of advertising would tell that, following Aristotle’s definition, advertisers observe the
potential means of persuasion in any given marketing case. They argue that there is too
much credit attributed to advertising about the extent of its effectiveness. Even Ellul,
having many problems with it, identifies advertising as a type of social propaganda, but
also has questions on its effectiveness on certain levels (Propaganda 262). The defenders
accept that there is a desired effect in the marketing sense, since advertisers want
consumers to buy their products. However, a propagandist manipulation on the social and
cultural formation of a society is not what they aim, or intend to do. If there is such a
effect, it should be a side-effect of the persuasive strategies utilized in advertising, which
also exist in any other persuasive content available in a society such as the forms of
artistic expressions, and the political arguments, even the educational texts. Believing anything beyond that would demonstrate naivety.

The third main defense is that advertisers do not create new needs but discover the ones that are related to the traditional human needs and desires for the perceived “good life” in that society. Therefore, advertisers research, look and seek for the definitions and descriptions of the element of a “good life” in a given society and then try to associate their product with the values and virtues of that “good life.” Then, advertising is a reflection of what is going on in a society, a mirror image that people see themselves in. Another thing is that advertisers do not see themselves as the authoritarian manipulative propagandists who are behind the scenes but look at themselves as free market democrats who live in the same conditions and breathe the same air with the consumers in a society’s cultural, economic and political environment.

The last major point of defense is that advertising is defined and identified as a marketing communication tool that is essential for the free market economy. Defenders emphasize the idea of freedom of choice that is provided and guided by advertising in the marketplace. They link the freedom of choice to the idea of democracy as an essential ingredient of the free market of ideas. Therefore, it is a democratic forum, in which the commercial opinions and voices are expressed and heard by public, with an evident assumption to persuade citizens. The defenders of advertising perceive it as a necessary thing contained in the free market of ideas–on a political plane–and in the free market of goods–on an economical plane as the extension of the political–and in a democracy, which is the logical container of such agency-act ratio.
In order to discuss the arguments for the defense of advertising, again it would be useful to follow the structure that is offered by Leiss, Kline, and Jhally, because the criticism of advertising was already examined above under their terms.

**The Manipulation Myth**

In the defense of advertising, the thesis against manipulation has a significant place. Since if it were eliminated, the whole case of criticism toward advertising would not stand. For that reason the defenders of advertising usually put together an argument indicating that advertising is an affirmation–reaffirmation cycle in terms of the ordinary patterns in marketing and consumption rather than a coercive pervasion of manipulative discourse to create demand. Leiss, Kline, and Jhally relate the ideas of a retired advertising executive, Bud Turner:

> Advertising follows, it doesn’t lead. You have to discover there’s a market for what you’re producing— you have to have a dream… advertising follows this to its logical conclusion and uses whatever is the fashionable way to describe that product and the strongest medium. Even the fashion has to precede the expression of it in the ad. The product and the ad reflect society. If it’s well placed on the consumer spectrum it will be successful.

(34)

The second point against the manipulation thesis is that advertising actually does not create new needs. Advertising only creates the new channels for the needs that have always existed as a part of human nature. Therefore, new products and goods are marketed with a hope that consumers would recognize and accept them as the satisfactory agents for their wants; that is the basis of advertisers’ association strategy. Instead of creating
new needs, which would be an impossibly expensive marketing tactic, advertising presents new things to address old needs. Following the same reasoning, Schudson concludes that advertising cannot create new needs, but it can help to fulfill an old need in a new way and speed up the tendencies of consumption. As a result, advertisements pick up and represent the values that are already present in a culture (233).

Another argument against the issue of manipulation is that advertising is not a scientific construct but an art form in the veins of the ancient understanding of rhetoric. Advertising as a persuasive art form is an important idea because it answers the charges of being scientifically engineered manipulative propaganda. Advertising is an art form because it uses persuasive language. Furthermore, using language effectively and persuasively is itself considered as an art. Advertising uses all the means of persuasion at hand, available and possible in the operations of language and symbolic communicative action. That is not something foreign, nor against to the human nature. Conversely, it is part of human condition (and cooperation in terms of communication). Leiss, Kline, and Jhally relate another quotation that significantly portrays this argument, which Alfred Seeman spoke in front of the Federal Trade Commission in 1971:

I can see why people outside the advertising business think we have an unlimited supply of scientific tools and techniques–so magical that we can manipulate almost everything. The fact of the matter is that we are successful in selling good products and unsuccessful in selling poor ones. In the end consumer satisfaction–or lack of it–is more powerful than all our tools and ingenuity put together. The economics of the marketplace insists that an advertiser must satisfy the consumer–that is, get repeat
purchases—or fail. Often we think, after using all our techniques, we have a sure bet in a new product, for instance, only to find that it fails in the marketplace. You know the story: we have the perfect dog food except for one thing—the dog wouldn’t eat it…. The use of language is not a science, it is an art. (Moskin 44)

Lastly as an answer to the claims of manipulation, the defense of advertising touches upon the idea of creation of demand. Defenders face this attack with a pleasant agreement but a slight correction in its perspective, accepting that it is advertising’s job to create demand in the capitalistic market system. Leiss, Kline, and Jhally state that advertising actually can increase the levels of demand, not because it is manipulative and forces us to do things that we would not do otherwise, but by making the system work more efficiently for the mutual benefit of consumers and producers (36).

**Advertising as Information**

The second major argument by the defense of advertising is that it is a tool of informative communication in the marketplace. The defenders of advertising connect this idea to the competitive environment of the free market economics. Schudson argues that “advertisers use advertising as one way of coping with the ever uncertain world of changeable consumers and wily competitors” so that they cannot risk not to advertise (42).

An advertising executive, Frank Convery says that if a consumer is likely to buy a product or thinking about purchasing it, advertising can only affect the brand that he would choose as a result however, to mention that advertising makes people buy the things that they would never buy normally is a logical stretch (Leiss, Kline, and Jhally
37). The case about advertising as information relies on the assumption that in an environment of mass-produced goods, consumers have only limited information. Once new and unfamiliar produces are introduced into a market, advertising starts its duty to inform consumers to assist them to find the one that would fit to their interests the best.

Not only consumers rely on the information they gather from advertising, they also establish an impression upon the fact that if a product or a brand is advertised, it must be a good product; since if it was not good, advertising efforts solely would not be enough to sell it in the competitive marketplace. Then it should have a good promise to keep and the producers should trust their product.

The consumer is right in his belief that advertised brands are better. The better brands have more incentive to advertise than the poorer brands…Simply put, it pays to advertise winners rather than losers. In consequence, the amount of advertising gives consumers a clue as to which brands are winners and which brands are losers. (Nelson, “Economic Value” 50)

Another interesting position that the defenders of advertising point out is that even in the socialistic countries advertising was used as an informative necessity. In his book, Advertising and Socialism, Philip Hanson demonstrates that in the 1970s, Soviet system utilized advertising to solve the distribution of some “surplus goods” of the centralized market. However, there was some advertising related to production issues, in the same time period, especially in countries like Hungary and Czechoslovakia as well as Yugoslavia where the market was comparatively more active in which production groups interacted with the end-users more directly and independently. The fact that there were
even a limited number of advertising expenditures in the Communist Block countries is seen as an effective argument by the defenders of advertising against the Marxist critiques.

**Advertising as Persuasion and Symbolic Reality**

One of the most powerful arguments on the defense of advertising is about the treatment of the consumer as an active and reasonable person who controls his own consciousness voluntarily. Therefore advertising does not have a strong controlling effect on the consumer and makes him passively follow the propaganda of commodities. Instead, there is an element of persuasion in advertising limited to a situationally determined decision-making toward purchase. Driver and Foxall even argue that the decision-making process does not occur fully only after the first trial for certain products (92). In addition, many commercial decisions are based upon a word-of-mouth communication among the consumers interpersonally.

Outside of direct mail and retail advertising, informative advertising messages are not so much used to create persuasion. Thus, many national brand-advertising campaigns rely on more emotional and ethical appeals. However, the overall effect of persuasion shows itself as a reinforcement of the socio-economic and cultural aspects of the capitalist system. Sandage argues that modern society is based on the idea that every citizen should be employed, and in order to achieve this goal, a steady high-level consumption is required. People are persuaded to buy things, which in turn would bring more employment (149). The interesting emphasis here is that it seems capitalists proudly argue for what Marxist view criticizes. Hence, it demonstrates the essential worldview difference between the positions.
One of the most significant assumptions on the defenders’ side is that they argue people are rational or at least are able to use their reason. That is the belief that consumer can differentiate between what is good or bad for their own interests by evaluating the clashing claims and opinions in the free market of goods and ideas (Rotzoll et al 20-21). For the defenders of advertising, to treat advertising as the sole responsible force for the whole consumer motivation is an exaggerated position. Therefore, if the man is rational, then he can be persuaded, or through persuasion, he can be motivated and there is nothing bad about it.

On the other hand, since there are many goods in the market and the consumer has very little time to weigh his options before fulfilling his needs, a perfect informational cycle of advertising messages or persuasion based on only information is not possible. The consumer wants to be persuaded in the shortest time possible, given the conditions of the market (Linder 73). In order to do that the consumer accepts the persuasive strategies of advertising as genuine without critically analyzing every commercial message that he sees or hears. That means, just like the ancient rhetorical theories, advertisers try to rely on the artistic proofs (pisteis) of persuasion to convince that their products are a good match with the consumer’s needs. The rhetorical assumption is that people as citizens or consumers, do not have all the time in the world to make their decisions by perfectly attaining all the possible information available. The rhetorical situation requires a decision when an action is due and cannot wait, responding the exigencies of the scene.

Basing their action on persuasion, the defenders of advertising would not consider advertisers as manipulators (Aakers and Myers 567). Manipulation in their eyes has two evil characteristics—which is essentially different from advertising. One, manipulation
involves an element of deceit that is intentionally misinforming and misleading consumers. Second, manipulation also includes an element of violence and exploitation of human beings, making them do things against their will. Even though advertising does not always represent the whole picture behind a product, there is not an intentional act to hurt the consumers. At least, the defenders believe that there is not. The case of cigarette advertising is a significant example here. Currently it has become public information that cigarette companies did not tell consumers the possible harms included with smoking for years after they learned the fact behind it. It is definitely a case of not telling the whole truth about an important public issue and a portrayal of public irresponsibility; however one may also argue that the cigarette companies never try to show smoking as a healthy activity in advertisements either. Certainly, they associated smoking with the pleasant things in life but they did not tell that it is good for your health. As many smokers know the obvious side effects of smoking, they are not symptoms of a healthy activity. People themselves are readily persuaded by the gratifying actions of consumption sometimes so that it requires little imagery and symbolism to convince them. The same thing is true for alcohol (and maybe will be true for marijuana).

Civilization is man’s attempt to transcend this ancient animality: and this includes both art and advertising…. Both represent a pervasive, and I believe, universal characteristic of human nature—the human audience demands symbolic interpretation in everything it sees and knows. If it doesn’t get it, it will return a verdict of “no interest.” (Levitt 87-89, italics in original)
Consumers tend to figuratively transcend their basic physicality by assigning meaning to their materially based needs and desires; and that requires an ethicizing symbolic simplification and interpretation of their perceptions about the things around them. Advertising shares this function with art. It would be wrong to accuse advertising for using symbolic representation this way, since human beings use this kind of linguistic symbolism for everything that makes up the human culture in any aspect of life. Human beings always tell their stories with symbolic representation of their motives, desires and longings. As Schudson articulates in his Advertising, the Uneasy Persuasion, people essentially want advertising to be symbolically charged.

There are also philosophical attempts to defend advertising. Focusing on the natural disposition of human beings as animale symbolicum, Maciejewski argues that the institution of advertising, as far as its symbolical and artful representation of reality for persuasive discourse is considered, can be justified as a part of the “natural law” (117). According to this philosophical approach, human effort to cooperate and persuasively interact for sustenance and material sources has been one of the essential human motives. The management and maintenance of economical means of production and satisfaction for sustenance is naturally seen as a persuasive discourse since one needs to convince and motivate others to work and serve for the greater good of their perceived commonwealth according to the proposed plan of action which that very discourse

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71 See Burke’s Permanence and Change Part III on the “Basis of Simplification.”
72 An description made by Wilkins and Christians to argue that the stimuli-response explanations of the mode of human existence is far from the real human condition which includes a significant elements of creativity and utilization in symbol construction and usage. It should be noted here that their description seems to be mimicking Kenneth Burke’s definition of human being in LSA p. 3-24.
advocates. Such persuasive discourse again points back to the Ethics-Politics-Economics relationship that was examined in the discussion of the virtues.

Another philosophical defense of advertising lies within the very idea of subsistence. Since the subsistence depends on the sustenance, the means of production and the consumption of economical resources have always been eulogized because of the fact that they are physically required. Therefore the means of economic and material resources and services are usually defined as a part of a morality scheme because they regulate and justify the certain modes of being individual for the continuation of a society as a system, and the specific economic method that nourishes a society begins to be defined as a moral idea. Kirkpatrick, following this reasoning process, in his “A Philosophical Defense of Advertising” argues that the morality of advertising lies in the capitalist justification of self-interest and the selfish motives for individual “good” which, only as a cumulative effect, influences “common good” peripherally (44). Following Rand’s untraditional defense of capitalism, Kirkpatrick bases his defense of advertising on the same foundation (43). The reasoning behind this defense is as follows: (a) the most important thing for a living being is to survive. (b) In order to survive, the living being desires to control all the surrounding resources of sustenance driven by self-interest. (c) Then, if necessary, the self-interest of an individual living being only becomes the self-interest of a social group that he is associated with in any means (physically or symbolically). (d) Therefore if capitalism is based upon the moral idea of self-interest, then so is advertising.

The relationship between the idea of self-interest and the issues of morality is definitely an important element in the discussion of capitalism. However, it should be
noted here that even though there are two philosophical positions which approach
self-interest inductively (emphasizing the individual existence as a principle condition for
the existence of a society) or see it deductively (emphasizing the existence of a society as
a prerequisite for the individual existence), the overall examination of the both arguments
seems to be cyclical. A more comprehensive and textured analysis that would view both
the society and the individual integrally associated is needed for the examination of the
capitalist life style, and linking it to the ideas of the right way of being (dike-δική), and
the correct character (éthos-ἐθος) and customs (ethos-ἐθος).

Interpreting Criticism and Defense of Advertising Epideictically

Advertising is an apparent aspect of the capitalist discourse. Regardless of the
micro or macro level approach toward advertising; considering it a praise of a certain
commodity or the praise of the whole capitalist system, the ideas from both ends of the
intellectual spectrum–one criticizing and the other defending advertising–support an
assumption to regard advertising as an epideictic discourse. As I discussed in-depth
earlier, in Aristotle’s configuration, what make epideictic rhetoric special are its
characteristics based upon the temporal plane of discourse, the role of audience, and the
content of persuasive logos. The socio-economic theories on advertising in their pro or
con stance clearly attribute epideictic characteristics to the institution of advertising, and
hitherto even each of the debating party’s approach is disclosed epideictically, that is the
defense is a praise, whereas the critique is a censure.

The critique of advertising argues that advertising is propaganda of commodities
supporting a system of capitalist economy. In Rhetoric of Motives, Burke relates that the
Soviet propaganda can be considered as a type of epideictic discourse since it portrays the
heroes and heroines of the revolution reflecting the values and virtues of the Bolshevist worldview in their actions. Following his reasoning, the Marxist critique of advertising for installing and spreading the values and virtues of a capitalist worldview based on a consumption culture also can be considered as propaganda. Advertisers and the citizen-consumers become the heroes and the heroines realizing the capitalist virtues; even the products and services can become the vehicles of such realization. Janack tells us that another example of this idea exists in the Brooks’ work *Thank you! Comrade Stalin* which argues that the educational emphasis of the Soviet press from the time of the October Revolution to the Cold War carries the epideictic function of praising the Bolshevist value system and the virtues of the desired exemplary Soviet citizen as the hero (303). Especially Ewen’s critique in *Captains of Consciousness* on advertising in the USA of the early 20th century argues for the same effect. Thus, advertising not only promoted the product and services of that era but it also aimed to transform the whole fabric of the American society from an industrial production mode to the mass consumption mode under the names of freedom and democracy. He argues that it was the case because the theme of the virtues praised by the capitalistic discourse was based on the idea of a “liberating progress” that actually, in turn, made citizens much aware of their “inefficiencies” for reaching to the American dream, while ironically creating a type of self-consciousness about their deficiencies that can only be only corrected by consumption. According to this summary of the Marxist critique, advertising becomes an institution of education, installing the required values and virtues for citizens to easily adapt to the capitalist system. The dichotomy of indoctrination versus education, changing positions at times on the continuum of the logological antagonists as the
eulogistic or dyslogistic opposites, always seems to point toward to an epideictic moment of praise versus censure. Therefore, the critique of advertising generally censures advertising to praise anti-capitalist or anti-conglomerate sentiments. It becomes a censorial rhetoric for commendable action.

The defense of advertising, as any good epideictic discourse does, regards the reasons behind advertising’s existence as a non-controversial topic. The manipulation accusation is eliminated in the form of praising the Reason in man and describing the advertising process as a persuasive discourse. The persuasion idea is dichotomized against manipulation as the latter is defined as an act against the reason, while the former champions it. Another important defense strategy is to downplay the advertising’s effectiveness or to use a very old way of epideictic argumentation, negating the negative; that is to say, advertising is a very bad (ineffective) propaganda (manipulation). As for the advertising as epideictic rhetoric, defenders argue that advertising celebrates the human reason (intelligent choice–willful action) and freedom (free market of ideas to free market of goods) as well as the human nature that has the ability to symbolize any artifact of his own creation. Therefore, advertising contributes to the well-being of a society in form of a symbolization process of commodities as the means, extensions and attributes of a good life, and eulogizes capitalism as the way (hodos) to that end.

Another assumption of the defense is that advertising helps epideictically for serving society materially. Material service shows itself in two different levels. On the one level, as the consumption increases, advertisers profit and, in turn, invest more on production and enlarge their businesses so that money, the essential instrument of the modern capitalist economy, circulates faster, in a way to benefit everyone that uses it
during this circulation. Not only employment increases but also leisure time for each
citizen diversifies and expands so that it creates new opportunities to purchase new
products and spend money on new services. Integration and participation of a citizen-
consumer in this cycle is not only required but also praised extensively by the advertising
discourse that extols products and services, which are associated with the values and the
virtues of the capitalist democracy.

Specifically in the rhetoric of advertising that symbolically associates the premise
of a product or service to the familial, communitarian, societal, patriotic, and
humanitarian values, the epideictic characteristic of advertising demonstrates the clearest
and the most evident examples. When using a certain product becomes the sign of being a
good father, a good teacher, a good citizen and a good person, the advertised premise is
transformed into a complex and textured suggestion of advantage where the commercial
turns to a communal prayer and brings about a good life through the acquisition of
property.

Another significant point regarding to the epideictic characteristic of advertising
is that both approaches, the critique or the defense, indicate the temporal urgency in the
rhetoric of advertising. In the Marxist or the neo-liberal critique of advertising, the
argument is that a consumer is put into action manipulatively coerced for an immediate
adaptation and integration in the \((\text{bad})\) system or he has to face isolation and effacement.
On the other hand, the capitalist and democratic defense argues that the consumer is
encouraged to act and participate in the \((\text{good})\) economic system here and now to utilize
the utmost mutual benefit. A delayed action in the marketplace may result in an undesired
consequence of loss or at least something below the optimal utilization of the resources in
the best way. Such assumptions lying at the foundations of each perspective also indicate an epideictic characteristic: the temporal platform of discourse. According to the critique and the defense of advertising, this temporal platform points to the present time: (a) the consumer participates or is exposed to advertising in the present time, (b) advertising presents its arguments in and for the present time, and (c) the virtues and the values praised in an advertisement should be defined as current and observed as current by the consumer.

According to the critique and the defense of advertising, as the final characteristic, the role of the consumer as the audience again indicates an epideictic feature. In the epideictic discourse, audience observes the presented discourse as a spectator but not as a judge. He is not there to make a policy decision; however he is present to watch and speculate about the ceremonial moment where he is supposed to share, appreciate and identify with the values and the virtues of any given discourse. Epideictic rhetoric also impresses and motivates the audience to comply with the given praise or censure. Not only the content of the discourse but its form and style also need to be epideictically appealing when addressing the most apparent physical and psychological needs of the audience. In the participation of audience, the epideictic rhetor assumes either a purpose of integrating his audience into the praised value system, or aims to bring out the already present values system and associate it with the praised subject. The Marxist dyslogy on advertising presents such epideictic observation of the consumer, for instance, as an example of manipulating citizen’s consciousness and coercing him into compulsory obedience with the totalitarian capitalist system, which exploits and abuses people and their real needs with false symbolisms. The democratic and capitalist thinkers, on the
other hand, dyslogize the Marxists in a similar way to argue that the Marxist ideology results in a totalitarian and authoritarian state, making a similar epideictic argument, especially using Soviet, Chinese and Korean examples. Of course, it is possible to make an opposite argument. The supporters of capitalism approach toward advertising eulogistically, arguing that the audience’s epideictic participation via commercial persuasion reinforces the values and the virtues of the free market idea both politically and economically. Both of the perspectives place the audience in an epideictic position of theoros regardless of their imagination and consideration of consumers as easily manipulated peons or free-willed citizens.\(^73\)

**The Discourse on Capitalism (As the Container)**

Following the Burkean idea of scene-ratio, in an attempt to explain capitalism-advertising relationship in epideictic terms, requires not only an examination of advertising but also asks for the exploration of discourse around the idea of capitalism so that the reservoir of suggested values and virtues inhabited in that system can be explained as well. Since, hitherto, advertising is considered as the rhetoric of capitalism, *epideictic symbolisms and expressions of advertising can find their source in the seminal ideas behind capitalism*. As the present study refers to the modern understanding of advertising applications, a logical supposition can apply the same reasoning to the capitalist ideas—that is only to investigate the modern capitalist implications. However, such examination would disconnect the values and the virtues disseminated in the modern

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\(^{73}\) Of course, “easily manipulated peons” or “free-willed citizens” already carry their own dyslogistic and eulogistic coverings. Usually values of opposite systems are considered in censorial terminology to praise one’s own value system (where double negative would produce a positive symbolic motivation) as Burke demonstrates in *Permanence and Change* under the title of “the Basis of Simplification.”
capitalist thought from their philosophical and historical origins. The story of capitalism, as we know it, is also a story of the Western Europe, even though, in history, there have always been complex ideas and applications related to different systems of political economy, which were based on trade and monetary exchange, also emerged and thrived in diverse geographic and cultural locations of the world.

From the Sumerian states to the Assyrian Karums and Hittite trade routes, from the Phoenician maritime to the Egyptian, Greek, Carthaginian and Roman trade systems, all economic activities were based upon the idea of *market*. In the classical understanding, trade was considered as an exchange of a necessary artifact or any resource with another one, which cannot be produced or attained locally. Creation of markets was profitable because of the fact that as they became the centers of such exchange, their surroundings in turn prospered and benefited. After the Lydian invention of money, such transactions became easier, faster and opened a way to the accumulation of economic wealth in means of monetary systems. A merchant or trader did not need only to stock goods and tradable artifacts but also should have accrued money. However, since the money was in form of coinage and only introduced by the political rulers or states, the creation of markets and trade routes always had an element of political expansion as well as subsistence. In that sense, everywhere in the world, from Pacific to Atlantic and from Scandinavia to Africa, there had been trade, markets and reservoirs of

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74 In the ancient texts that refer to the economic activities and trade in Assyrian Empire, there was a form of personal check, which resembled to the modern ones with the exception of the warranty of a true financial institution. However, it was not like money and usually its worth was solely based upon a trust system between the trading merchants but it was susceptible to interpersonal disputes.
coinage. By acknowledging that, it should be still emphasized that the capitalism, which the present study aims to explore, has its roots fundamentally in Europe.

**Early Capitalism**

Braudel’s work *Capitalism and Material Life 1400-1800* is an admirable study on the roots of capitalism. In his extensive and detailed investigation, Braudel argues that the modern capitalist life style has its roots in the development of (Western) European towns, which had special political, economic and social characteristics. Another significant work, which was published much earlier, is Henri Pirenne’s *Medieval Cities*. Pirenne also argues for a similar thesis that the early development of the European cities and their involvement with trade, especially around the Mediterranean, created the environment for the modern capitalist economic system.

According to Pirenne, once Europeans found themselves cut from the ancient trade routes of the East because of the Islamic conquests, they had two options to reestablish trade activities. One way to initiate trade with the East was creating new relationships (hostile or friendly) with their Muslim opponents, and the other was to find a new way around, in an attempt to bypass them. Although both of the options were utilized at the end by different cities and political powers of Europe, the former option was tried first. Together with the religious sentiments about rescuing the Holy Land from the Muslims (as well as recapturing Spain), European desire to access the eastern trade routes—which had been known since the Roman times—for religious, political and economic expansion created the era of Crusades starting from the tenth century. Contrary to the popular conception, the Crusades were not only military expeditions; the established foothold of European powers maintained existence for hundreds of years and
the Crusader states in the Middle East became the bases of European trade and cultural interactions with the East. One of the interesting events of the Crusades was definitely the sack and invasion of Constantinople by Latins in the 15th century. Italian city-states such as Venice and Genoa progressed as significant naval powers during the Crusades and established a steady supremacy in the Mediterranean, which in turn put them in a position to control and use the trade routes to the Eastern markets. From Sicily to Crete, from Malta and Rhodes to Cyprus, Mediterranean island became the pedestals of European trade routes to the markets in the Middle East that was connected to the Silk Road.

On the other hand, the second option was an offshoot of the first one. During the sixteenth century, impressed significantly by the Italian maritime success, Spain and Portugal employed the experienced mariners from the city-states, and decided to move into the open seas, instead of competing with the Muslim and the Italian city-states, with hopes of reaching the riches of the East by discovering new naval routes to India. Christopher Columbus of Genoa (1492), Amerigo Vespucci of Florence (1497) under the Spanish colors made the first trips to the Westerly route—eventually discovering a new continent for Europeans. Vasco da Gama of Portugal (1498) finished his countrymen’s earlier expeditions as he turned around the Cape of Good Hope and found his way to (real) India. Magellan (1516), another Portuguese, sailed around the world for Spain

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75 Westerly expeditions have actually quite ancient history. From the archeological findings in Azores, it is for sure that the islands were in touch with Carthaginian maritime traders in about fourth century BC. It is also known from the Carthaginian annals that they had been as north as to Ireland and as south as to the Congo delta. It is pretty for sure now that Norsemen settled in Iceland in the late ninth century and founded a colony in the Greenland in the tenth century. Icelandic records demonstrate attempts of colonization of today’s Labrador, Newfoundland and Nova Scotia (which Norse called as Vinland) up until the mid-fourteenth century.
passing the most southern point of the South America—*Tierra del Fuego*—, but unfortunately died somewhere in the Philippines. Remaining of his men returned to Spain in 1522 under del Cano. After such expeditions a race to colonize the New World and the Far East started. English, French and Dutch expeditions followed the Spanish and Portuguese. The significant point is here that the biggest original motivation of these expeditions was to get spice. From Venetian trade routes to Portuguese expeditions they always aimed at the spice of the East, later the riches of Americas in forms of material and food dominated the European markets.

At this point Braudel’s work becomes more relevant. He argues that in between tenth and thirteenth centuries through Venetian and Genovese expansion of trade routes in the Mediterranean, and later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Westerly expeditions of Spain and Portugal, European cities in Italy (especially smaller city-states), in Nederland and Germany demonstrated extensive economic progress. These cities found themselves in a position as markets, which simultaneously served as the originating and the ending points of great trade routes. As a result, a new class of people—*bourgeoisie*—that was predominantly engaged with trade, who resided and lived only in these cities, emerged (396).

The political environment of Europe at the time was also helping for such development. The feudal structures and strong localisms did not easily give way to powerful large states, but in reverse, kings and emperors always needed to maintain the support and allegiance of the feudal lords and city-states. Even in big monarchies such as England and France, kings did not always have limitless unchallenged authorities over the regional establishments. Such political environment gave cities character that is more
autonomous and they established a free economic and social structure in themselves (Braudel 397). European city became a closed-town, which had its own ways of government, administration, and trade. Thus the city was much more independent and could sustain itself through trade and artisanship. Even local subjects of feudal lords could seek residence in cities and if they were accepted for adoption, might have severed their ties to their masters since the feudal lord had only limited powers on such cities as well. Even in the strong central monarchies such as England, France and Spain, certain cities mimicked the economic and social developments of the independent bourgeoisie towns. In England London, in France Paris and Marseille, in Spain Seville and for the Northern Europe Amsterdam had leading influence for the rest of their corresponding regions, and the form and shape of the economic and social life of those nations took their foundations from such seminal trade centers and markets.

Braudel argues that capitalism and towns are the result of the same phenomenon in the Western Europe. In these towns, a new kind of mindset was introduced. The Western capitalism had its roots in the marketplace of the European cities where a set of rules, possibilities, calculations, and the art of both getting rich and living well emerged. Such life style definitely included risk and gambling. Braudel gives examples from the commercial language of that era, Italian, as he talks about the public colloquial on fortuna, ventura, ragione, prudenza, and sicurta which cleverly warns against the risks. The life style had no longer a day-to-day attitude. The merchant had to be careful and be very economical with his money. He needed to estimate his expenditure according to his profits and his investments according to the yield. The merchant/bourgeois now had to think cost and time efficiency. Braudel tells us that by the sixteenth century there was
already an Italian saying, *chi tempo ha e tempo aspetta tempo perde*, something almost means as exactly as “time is money” (400).

**Mercantilism**

The Mercantilist idea generally means promoting domestic industry and exportation of goods to other countries regardless of whether it is harmful to others or not (Ekelund & Tollison, *Mercantilism* 26-27). Mercantilists seek to provide an accumulation of wealth in terms of money (i.e. bullion) and of the employment of their citizens in local industries that make certain goods available for export (Ekelund & Tollison, *Politicized* 22). Both of these economic activities are directed by a common concern for the national interest. Mercantilists also favor exportation of their own currency to other parts of the world to be used as the instrument of exchange, which would bring the original country of that currency to control over monetary policies in those parts of the world (Suviranta 67).

The Mercantilist idea first became popular in the early seventeenth century and was widely implemented by the world powers of the period extensively until the late eighteenth century (Thomas 138-139). This era corresponds a time that was preceded by Renaissance in which the medieval world orders and ways of life critically change in Europe (Moon 25). One of the important factors was a change in people’s attitude toward their future and lives. A sense of adventure and invention was accompanied by an enthusiasm for new forms of conducting one’s life. In this age of discovery, the new parts of world were explored. A completely new continent opened new opportunities for

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76 Or a better version from Leonardo da Vinci, who lived during the times of the discussion above: *chi tempo ha e tempo aspetta, perde l’amico e denari non ha mai* which somewhat means, “if you don’t use your time well, you lose your friends as well as your money (that you would make in the future)."
reaching and trading the exotic spices and goods (Suviranta 5). New nation-states began to emerge, and started competition with the empires. Countries started using money as a mean of unifying and controlling the economical and social order in their respective countries (Moon 33). The countries of Europe also started a form of commercial war and the newly emerging trading companies were the key players fighting for monopoly in the name of their original countries. They were usually named after which part of the world they were responsible for, such as British East India Co., or Dutch West Indies Co. etc (Thomas 22).

Thomas Mun was perhaps the most influential person of early mercantilism. He was the director of British East India Co. for long years during mid 1600s (Thomas 12). One may think that the influence of East India Co. is huge on the British Empire and maybe the one of the greatest reasons that England became the center of an empire “on which sun never sets.” Mun argued that a government supporting foreign trade would increase exports and would restrict imports (Thomas 15). By doing so, the money coming to the Empire would increase too. In an economic world that was limited by a balance (equilibrium) between supply and demand, a country, which had the greatest share in trade, would eventually defeat others economically so that it would secure itself against the hostile nations.

Mun also argued that government support for the international trade and exportation of one’s own currency was, contrary to the belief, beneficial (11). Since a country only could reach a certain amount of bullion by only being occupied in home manufacturing with certain balance of supply and demand, the only way of acquiring more bullion and increasing one’s treasure was exportation of money and buying goods
and gold or silver with them (13). Maintaining a certain quota on imports and
encouraging exports would also benefit the ordinary citizen in the country because the
new exports would mean new opportunities of jobs for people that only would be
available through building, maintaining and enlarging a country’s international trade
infrastructure, i.e. ships, naval and land transportation, storage and security (16).

Mun claimed that mercantile system would best prepare a country for its
defensive needs. A well-developed foreign trade policy, together with a trading company,
would boost home manufacturing of goods, which eventually utilizing production of the
military equipment at an ultimate extent. Along with the commercial power, the military
industry would help a country to be a world power and an empire with huge colonial
wealth. In the time of Mun, such an economical thinking was not bad at all. Mercantilism
seemed to enable an individual and his country simultaneously to prosper greatly (20).

However, free-market liberalism became triumphant over mercantile system,
especially after the abandonment of Corn Laws in 1846 in England. These laws were one
of the essential protecting regulations over Britain’s internal agriculture. Leaving these
laws resulted leaving other related regulations behind and encouraged the free-market
economies to be dominant over production, consumption and trade (Moon 44).

Adam Smith: The Idea of Free Market as a Reaction to Mercantilism

Adam Smith’s Wealth of the Nations, published in 1776, is a definitely
remarkable work where he strongly argues against the government control and any
limitations on the capitalist economics and competition. He offers a new government
policy, which would not interfere with the free trade, by persuasively making a case for
the advantages of the free-market capitalism. He defines the free market capitalism as an
economic system where the production is only controlled by the popular demand as a part of a competitive free market so that the overall revenue from the whole exchange transforms into a cycle of profit and investment in the form of a monetary flow.

Smith’s philosophy on political economy in *Wealth of Nations* is very complicated. However, his observations about the end of the eighteenth century still have implications for the current capitalist systems. One of his primary arguments is about the idea of economic growth. He argues that such growth is only possible by the aid of free trade and the free market economy. Of course, a suggestion for the free market at that time would mean the abolition of government control in terms of the nationalist and Mercantilist limitations over trade. As an extension of his first argument, Smith argued that government should only focus on the defense of national borders, security of citizen body, making laws for the public and private interactions through maintaining a legal system. According to Smith’s vision, such government would create a more fertile political environment for an economical prosperity. Once a government would have smaller means of control and power on the dynamics of the market, the private interests and competition could answer the needs of citizens in the best way and produce better conditions for the technological development. One of Smith’s significant ideas was about the influence of political structures on an economic system. He supported the idea of autonomy, and argued that the free determination of people, especially on local levels, would give a greater sense of liberty and participation in an administration, which, in turn, would help to protect the interests of a free market. He was serious in supporting this case because he openly stood up for the American Revolution, making himself very ostracized in England.
Smith’s interpretation of history in terms of economic activity introduces an interesting perspective. One cannot help but think that Marx probably was also influenced by Smith as much as Hegel, given that he also drew a history of man interacting with the material world. Amusingly, Smith’s historical continuum much sounds like Marx’s explanation. According to Smith, men once lived by hunting and gathering, then expanded in nomadic systems, which transformed into agricultural societies. Next, men settled in the agrarian systems under the protection of feudal powers, and from that political system, another system of commercial interdependence emerged. Smith argued that the characteristics of the economic intuitions created by men in each period were most suitable for that era, and such development was also motivated the tensions between the ideas of self-interest and morality, which were continuously redefined and reinvented according to the political and economic conditions.

So, what are the characteristics of capitalism that Smith advocates? Firstly, the capitalist system relies on the free market in which any good could be for sale and bought without state control. Secondly, customers should have a range of options to purchase similar goods from separate producers and sellers, which emphasizes the idea of free choice. Thirdly, with the ever present contest to attract buyers for their goods and driven by the economic motive of self-interest, sellers and producers attempt to differentiate their products by perfecting and developing their premises so that they can appeal a demand, such competition fuelled by profit and investment would benefit the whole market at the end. Another assumption is that the market will be solely controlled by the supply and demand, and the stability between them would set the conditions for the cost and manufacture of the products. If a product is in demand and has low production, then
supply has to increase by more production and allocation of labor. On the other hand, if a product has no demand or produced more than the market wants, the money invested on it as well as the capital behind its production would decrease and more labor would be allocated to a product of higher demand. Such utilization of capital and labor, hand-to-hand with the competitive environment eventually lower the prices. Thus, the self-centered nature of the enterprises producing goods in order to make profit will encourage the competition, lower prices, industrial development, and an improved lifestyle in the free market.

In international trade, Smith asserts for a product specialization, or the production of one manufactured good exclusively in one certain area where it is produced the most cheaply and proficiently. Since different locations have diverse types of weather conditions and social circumstances, different products would be possibly produced best at some certain areas of the world. This specialization of products would bring an international harmony and a boost in trade for different manufactured goods. Of course, he was thinking about agricultural goods when suggesting such enterprise.

Smith supposed that his clear-cut however inexact theory that has its foundation on the idea of self-interest would let every person have more of everything. The motive of self-interest would inspire “the invisible hand” of the free market to create freedom and wealth for all, the civilization’s highest welfare. However, he foresaw and described the potential dependence on a highly demanded product such as food or fuel that is produced only in one country, and the price fluctuations of such products as the “lesser evils” that are fundamental to any economic system. Because his vision was based upon agrarian regionalism, however, Smith did not notice the evident selfish outcomes of the
capitalistic theory, and he did not see the problems such as child-labor, worker abuse, international smuggling, environmental pollution, big corporate frauds, very powerful international conglomerates that have become the chief topics current economic discussions around the idea of globalism.

Adam Smith was not alone thinking about the free market in the late eighteenth century. Everything he argues for in *Wealth of Nations* also reflects the values and judgments of a generation who supported the ideals of *Enlightenment*. The ideas of *free market*, *abolishment of government control* over political, social and economical conditions, and the idea that *rationalism, empiricism* and *competition*–with a Deist but not necessarily religious ethic–would bring the best to humankind were the dominant principles of the Enlightenment movement. Adam Smith seems to get his primary energy from these ideas as well as his enormous experience and knowledge.

The implied virtue of the free market, in Smith’s vision, is to be honestly responsible and accountable toward the society that supports such a system, having the necessary moral, ethical and self-regulating ethos that aims to flourish and prosper by serving people, not exploiting them on the paths of satisfying one’s self-interest.

**Bentham: The Principle and Rhetoric of Utility**

Jeremy Bentham was surely an influential philosopher and intellectual of his time. Especially his ideas on morals, motivation and political economy were quite significant and affected many in Europe and outside of England. He was even awarded with honorary French citizenship in the following years of the Revolution in 1789. His association with James Mill (J.S. Mill’s father) was particularly significant which resulted in the creation of a sect that was called as “Benthamites.” James Mill’s
contribution to Bentham’s ideas was in a form of democratic political credo which was added to Bentham’s plans as a potential law reform. I already mentioned his Table of the Spring of Action, which is significant for the discussion of virtues as well the discourse around them in terms of eulogistic and dyslogistic coverings. However, a more influential work published by him in 1789 is The Principles of Morals and Legislation where he defined his famous principle of utility\textsuperscript{77} in depth. Even though it was a philosophical treatise, the book was hugely popular in the discussions of politics and economy.

In fact, Bentham’s whole project is based on the idea of happiness.\textsuperscript{78} It is not surprising that such thought preoccupied his philosophy’s foundation, because since Socrates, Aristotle, and from Epicureanism to Stoicism, the discourse on happiness, its definitions, characteristics and qualifications were debated in great length. Bentham’s view on happiness is greatly influenced by the Epicurean idea but not necessarily so far away from the Peripatetic school either. It seems that just like Cicero, Bentham tried to transcend the dichotomies between Epicurean and Stoic worldviews by converging them in his own intellectual imagination.

According to Bentham, the principle of utility is based upon the ideas of pleasure and pain. In a fashion that reminds the Epicurean idea, he argues that the essential motivation is to reach pleasure, but the definitions of it and ways to attain it can be

\textsuperscript{77} It was first mentioned in Bentham’s A Fragment on Government in 1776.
\textsuperscript{78} An important side note is necessary here: Bentham was an admirer of the United States of America. His initial skepticism of the Declaration of the Independence was stemmed from the “inalienable right” phrase, which was an obvious Lockean derivative of natural rights that he questioned deeply. However, he saw the “pursuit of happiness” idea as a continuation of his utility principle, and later became a strong supporter of the American Experience, without many reservations unlike Tocqueville. He had correspondence with many American leaders of the time and in one of his letter to John Adams, Smith called himself as a “more of a United States man, rather than Englishman.”
debated over the moral ideas, which directs a commendable or censorial action. The idea of *pleasure* is experienced according to the four different sanctions of the human condition: physical, political, moral and religious. Therefore, no one can only act upon his utmost selfish gratifications. As a requirement of the human condition, the individual also acts in compliance with his family and community’s pleasure.

Bentham’s idea of the *utility* also requires a consideration toward balance. The principle of utility is defined as the greatest pleasure, which is defined as the most reasonable motivation. Of course, the greatest pleasure could be measured or conceived in terms of its quality and quantity. For example, the purity and fecundity (its ability to produce or inspire other pleasures) of a certain pleasure are thought in terms of its originality, intensity and duration. Since Bentham perceives the idea of pleasure in relation to the gratification of physical, political, moral (popular) and religious needs and necessities, his treatment is not a narcissistic attempt for self-centeredness. However, he would not deny that the self should be included in that great compilation of pleasures, and cannot be considered outside of the realm of gratification. Thus, it is better if one does not need to sacrifice his pleasure (in any four dimensions) for the larger good but rather seek a balance for the greatest pleasure which includes an individual’s interests as well as the general interest. For that reason, Bentham places a special emphasis on *goodwill* as the source of a great pleasure or the motive that represents his utility principle the best. His understanding of pleasures is mostly based upon the motives of friendship, benevolence, love of reputation and power. Of course, Bentham does not make a case for crude love of base pleasures.
Bentham also argues that the principle of utility is only possible through the voluntary and conscious human action. Intentionality of a motive toward goodwill determines that motive’s authenticity. The discussion of consciousness brings the element of freedom as an intellectual component. Bentham’s configuration of the principle of utility is a seminal idea that affected many thinkers on democracy and capitalism. His ideas had a great significance in England as the “Benthamite” Project and were accepted in France, and Northern Europe as decisive for the democratic venture.

The Reflections of Ricardo and Malthus

At this point, it would be a mistake to ignore two other significant thinkers of political economy. These intellectuals are David Ricardo and Robert Malthus. Not surprisingly, both were from England, influenced heavily with the Enlightenment ideas, and responded to the discussion started by Smith and Bentham on the free market and the principle of utility. They were significantly very different from each other in opinion and background but were very close as friends. Both focused on the idea of long-term sustenance of the society—which was a constant fear since the middle age capitalist trade had started, and regarded Smith as very optimistic and Bentham as an utopian (Heilbroner 75).

In 1798, Malthus published his ideas on political economy in An Essay on the Principle of Population as It Affects the Future Improvement of Society. Malthus’s main point was that neither the current economic system nor the available theories (Smith’s and Bentham’s) were not sufficient enough to solve the problem of constant population

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79 Malthus was a man of religion, a reverend, who was coming from an upper middle class family; on the other hand, Ricardo was a converted Jew merchant and second-generation immigrant.
increase, which in the future would affect the wealth of the society as a whole negatively and people would suffer for a long time as a result of that. His problem was both in the production and distribution of the wealth. He was a worried academician who feared that a free market economy, just like the bullionist Mercantilist system, did not have the elements of getting rid of the danger of hunger in long-term. The picture that Malthus drew was very gloomy and definitely resonated with Marx in his later critique of the capitalist society and much later inspired the definition of the Keynesian problem (Heilbroner 71).

David Ricardo, an intellectual, was also a businessman in the trenches of the marketplace. Ricardo saw something dramatically different in Smith’s descriptions of the free market economics and behind the amiable and humane motivations argued in the Wealth of Nations. Ricardo perceived a brutal struggle for profit as he looked at the idea of competition, not a “family” of competitors who together work for the wealth of all as Smith did (Heilbroner 72). Thus, he understood—and lived through—competition as a fight for getting ahead. Therefore, Ricardo turned Smith’s idea of the free market competition, and Bentham’s principle of utility around and argued that the only class that can benefit from the progress of a society is actually the capitalist landowner, who charges rent and reinvests, while working class gets especially poorer and in fact is robbed by the whole production process. His treatment of the subject, the Principles of Political Economy, was published in 1820, as it pronounced the class struggle for the first time and paved the way to Marx’s understanding of the social antagonism. Even though he was one of them, Ricardo theoretically worked against the wealthy landowner, as Malthus oppositely praised the landowner as a chief contributor to a nation’s wealth. Ricardo also argued for
trade that is more international for each country might have become good in producing a certain product (Heilbroner 86). His famous example is of that England’s cloth versus Portugal’s wine. Ricardo’s contribution on Smith’s *comparative advantage* is one of the most important theorems of the time. Comparative advantage refers to the ability of a nation to produce a given commodity at lower opportunity cost than any other nation (Moon 177). A nation has comparative advantage in that commodity where its absolute advantage is the greatest or its absolute disadvantage is the smallest.

**J. S. Mill: Utilitarianism and Liberty as the Forces of the Free Market**

An ardent follower of the “Benthamite” project was John Stuart Mill. Exposed to the ideas of Smith and Bentham through his father James Mill, J.S. Mill had significant philosophical and practical contributions to the ideas of liberty and democracy. Even though Bentham defined the idea of the principle of utility, Mill came up with the metaphor of *utilitarianism* and described it as a methodology toward the greatest happiness standard. Mill went through great pains for defending the utilitarian idea, which was frequently accused of being narcissistic and self-centered. His work on *Utilitarianism*, published in 1863, was a descriptive analysis of Bentham’s principle on utility and a serious attempt to turn that into an “ideology” in the philosophical sense.

In his defense, Mill created a configuration for utilitarianism. His design was significantly based upon the idea of the balance between the *happiness* of an individual and of all people. He argued that neither an abandonment of the interests of a person, nor a complete disregard for the interest of one’s community and neighbor could fit in the utilitarian idea. In fact, through the utilization of both, a correct interpretation could be reached. Mill suggested that the accusation toward utilitarianism on the basis that the
happiness principle based on pleasure had no specific regard for the motives toward public good was simply wrong. For him, the utilitarian principle relied on the idea of *multiplication of happiness*, and he argued that certain moral motives were always in play with the greatest happiness principle, but utilitarians did not necessarily claim a universal definition of good or bad, right and wrong. Moreover, utilitarian idea suggested that the motives (physical, political, moral or religious) had to be defined in terms of the perspective of a person who actualized the action. Otherwise, one cannot actually talk about any type of morality since it is not conceivable that one person *does* an act believing that in the end it would not benefit himself as an agent embedded to a certain ethical notion. An intelligent agent should be aware of the benefits of such act toward humanity as well. Thus every motive, according to utilitarian idea, has two dimensions, internal and external, *for ipseity and for alterity*.

Mill’s other significant contribution was to the idea of liberty. His description of liberty, in *On Liberty* published in 1859, was probably one of the most tolerant and beneficial theories for its introduction of the idea of an individual who by bonding others makes up the society. Mill defined the idea of liberty with the aid of the utility principle. One should be free to do as he wills as long as that action falls under the frame of the greatest happiness standard. In that sense, Mill protects the individual from the bondage of a majority and a certain type of state. This principle is also in concordance with one of the chief motivations of human condition in terms of *self-preservation*. On the other hand, by emphasizing the *multiplication of happiness* Mill presents a condition in a form of qualifier that also protects the interests of others. Therefore, one’s freedom to act and think cannot be limited as far as it does not limit someone else’s freedom to act or think.
No one, no institution, no state, nor a faith should override such principle. Mill’s configuration, on one hand emphasizing the individual happiness within the idea of self-preservation, and on the other hand stressing upon the public interest within the idea of multiplication of happiness, laid the foundation of the utilitarian liberty.

The Benthamite project and Mill’s idea of liberty improved the notion of free market further by enhancing Adam Smith’s ideas. Mill’s struggle to circulate the idea of liberty found its springs in Smith’s free market dynamics and Bentham’s principle of utility which are fully compatible to each other since both highlighted the idea of greatest benefit as their respective objectives. The collective effect of the ideas from Smith, Bentham and Mill created a conception of capitalism that was founded on the ideas of free market. It argued for an independent market dynamics, a greater benefit and happiness of all, and required freedom from government interference and a political economic system protecting the interests of every involved party following its own ethic.

Max Weber and the Capitalism as an Extension of Protestant Ethic

Weber’s main thesis was that modern capitalism had developed mainly in the areas of Europe where Calvinism had originated during the Protestant Reformation. In The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism—originally published in German in 1904-05—Weber argued that a causal connection existed between these two ideas. He was very much interested in the effect of religion on the economic life, but he stressed that the influences that opposed to religious motivations were also equally significant. Weber believed that the doctrine of predestination, which was central to Calvinism, and the distant and incomprehensible God of Protestantism created an intense apprehension and anxiety in individuals regarding one’s state of grace. The practical means of reducing
those anxieties transformed into the forms of a methodical dedication, to a calling, that is, to hard work, thrift, and self-discipline. The material rewards of such calling were not consumed personally but saved and reinvested. Because these qualities were also necessary for success in the newly emerging capitalist economy at the time, the Calvinists practicing calling also started to form the core of the new capitalist class. Furthermore, the success that came as a result of one’s involvement with the commercial world assured the individual that he was in fact in a state of grace because God was pleased with one’s deeds. Weber theorized that because of the weakening of a religious worldview, later the Protestant ethic remained only as “the spirit of capitalism.”

Weber pondered upon the question of whether or not any social, cultural and psychological conditions helped the development of capitalist growth. Weber believed that they did. He thought that the teaching of Protestantism, particularly the Calvinist idea of calling, was the key factor that enabled the “spirit of capitalism” to flourish and become a very important aspect of the social life in modern western civilization.

The second important point is that Weber was much more interested in the effects of the religious thought on the economical activity. He also believed that the dominant mindset that was inherited from the social and political developments of Renaissance was not only limited to those of Calvinism. Weber argued that an ethic based on religion brings certain psychological sanctions that were not essentially economical, and they affected the continuance of the specific attitude set down by that religion, as long as those sanctions were considered valid and practiced in the society. Moreover, in the course of the history, if that ethic worked and gained a kind of independence on the conduct of the social and economical life, it had became the dominant moral background in that society.
and influenced the very social and economic activities.

Weber assumed that the Protestant ethic upset the status quo created by the tradition while it encouraged people to devote themselves rationally to their work.

According to Weber, Calvinism developed a set of attitudes around the thought of predestination. According to this idea, one could not do good works or perform acts of faith to assure a place in heaven. A person was either among the “elect” or not.

However, wealth was considered as a sign (by the individual and his neighbors) that that person was one of the “elect,” thereby indirectly providing encouragement for people to acquire wealth. The Protestant ethic therefore provided religious sanctions that fostered a spirit of precise discipline, encouraging men to apply themselves rationally to acquire wealth.

Weber wanted to demonstrate that the “spirit of capitalism” was the idea that something, which had been seen as “avarice” before, could actually be one’s own perception of duty—that is toward increasing one’s capital as an end to itself—and it actually was not only a means of material accumulation of wealth, but a certain ethic. He argued that the individual who followed this calling believed that acting in this way was also a professional responsibility without focusing on the material consequences that would make one richer and more powerful in the means of capital.

At this point, he can sum up Weber’s idea that it is a code of ethics and a sense of duty, rather than greed and self-indulgence, to push an individual to work hard, get involved into just trade, and build a wealth. At the end, it is not only good for one’s own but also all the social groups that are engaged in this activity. Therefore, any communication activity that is related to this sense of capitalism does not center itself on
the self or the ego of an individual, but rather focuses on the moral and the ethical idea that one’s salvation is bound to the economical advancement of an individual who is a part of a greater social or cultural order. A greater and bigger just or moral capitalistic activity would bring to the members of a society a greater and bigger wealth which leads them to the Calvinistic idea of salvation. Weber calls this type of capitalism as the rational contrasting it with the previous practice seen as the traditional up until that time.

Weber seems to believe that a notion of materialistic determinism does not work in Protestant societies only because the Protestant spiritualistic understanding of the economical activity does not allow any other thought patterns to dominate the actions of individuals.

Although, Weber seems to definitely have valid points, he fails to see that there is not only one cause behind the development of a highly complex idea such as “spirit of capitalism.” He seems to be obsessed with the idea of religion in his explanation of economic relationships, as Marx is obsessed with the materialistic determinism. It can be argued that there have been different reasons and consequences through the course of history that worked out differently in different contexts. If one turns back and look at the history, it can be suggested that some of the places (such as Scotland), which had strongest Calvinistic ideals failed to be very successful in capitalistic development, whereas in some other parts of the world it was vice versa. Weber’s thesis also does not explain why they were many capitalistic developments in France, Italy, Spain and Southern Germany, which was predominantly Catholic (even if after the prosecution of Protestants). Another critique would be that most of the developed countries of the Western Europe today practice a much more socialistic version of capitalism that seems
Advertising as Epideictic Rhetoric

to be a synthesis of material determinism and social accumulation of wealth instead
of a continuation of the Protestant ethic. However, as for the USA, Weber’s case makes
more sense.

**Industrial Revolution and Modern Capitalism**

Industrialization of the world economies started in the nineteenth century and
transformed the characteristics of all the aspects life in a fast pace. The significance of the
industrial revolution is more than a mere economic phenomenon. On one aspect, it was
the watershed for the change of habitual life from an agrarian mindset to an industrial
frame. For that reason, there emerged a tension between the agrarian and the industrial
attitude—which still has implications for the current state of the economic world.\(^80\) The
scene of economic action shifted from the field to the factory, the economic emphasis
shifted from the human agent to the mechanic agency; working men became the
peripheral components of the economic production (Ellul, *Technological Society* 54).

Such change, of course, was initiated by a scientific invention that turned the
cycle of the capitalistic economy increasingly faster: the steam engine. Even though there
was some other mechanization before it, the emergence of the steam engine had two
significant effects on the human conception of life and social order. As I hinted above,
the first effect is the creation of machines that initially aided, assisted and supported
human agents in production, which later dominated and grew as the center of all the
economic and social activities. Secondly, the steam engine started a new attitude and
opportunity about transportation. After the introduction of steam engine, at first, the

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\(^{80}\) For instance, at a time of introduction of the vegetation based energy sources (E85 ethanol based on
corn), “flex-fuel” vehicles and eco-diesel engines; we may be look at the great return of a new era of
agrarian mindset and attitude. However, it seems this time the agrarian element has a corporate face.
commercial and military maritime quickly were transformed into mechanized vessels. Then, a new invention changed the face of the world, when locomotive came along and trains took over as the fastest transportation means. The further development of the internal combustion engines, that use gas as fuel, completed the process as the whole facets of human civilization suddenly changed to have a mechanical ethos.

The first effect was on the human being, as his place was moved from the center that shaped all the orientation and order for motivations of life (Ellul, Technological System 36). He was pushed aside by the machine and the technology that produced it, and the mechanical thing, the machine, became the axis of all things related to life. Such change was an attitudinal alteration. The technology of machinery transformed the criteria of the quality of human life, as human became peripheral to the machine (Ellul, Technological Society 42). The second effect, with a reinforcing influence, shaped the ways of human experience and the human condition. Mechanization changed the ways human beings work, move and relax; it changed the means, the nature and the quality of communication—in addition to the understanding of the ideas of cooperation and competition.

The emphasis on the mechanistic production and the decline of the agrarian life resulted migrations to cities (also to other countries). The city had a new character; the trade intensified and because of mechanization, goods and products appeared in the market faster as the industrial output in higher numbers. The capitalist became the entrepreneur who invested in the technological production and made profit by the rapid distribution to the markets, through the technological vehicles. New emigrants to cities had to transform from the farmer to the industrial worker. Up to the heydays of the
industrial revolution in the mid-nineteenth century, the agrarian worker and landowner farmer had have a bigger potential to join the ranks of the growing town’s bourgeoisie, as the cities had expanded and included the surrounding agrarian communities, but later the agrarian emigrant could only integrate into the urban environments as workers. As the majority of people living in and around the cities became the rent paying industrial workers, who toiled approximately about twelve hours (some as child labor), they also became extensions of the machinery production process, and lost the traces of human qualities in their lives. However, simultaneously they started to become the customer of industrial production slowly but surely, when the industrial capitalist needed bigger markets while the production approached to the mass characteristics.

The industrial revolution also changed the face of political order. Since the American and French Revolutions, the reigning trend of emergence of the nation-states, which seek economic power, political unity and strength, was intensified with the industrial mechanization too. Colonization of the world, seeking economic resources and the formation of new markets in every continent, were greatly aided by the mechanization of the means of communication and transportation. Each nation in the Western Europe (as well as the USA), seeking economic and industrial dominance and influence over the world, faced each other during a big political tension in the nineteenth century. The Great Britain and France increased their colonies in Africa and Asia–simultaneously merging their political and economical purposes under the disguise of companies such as East India Co., while Spain slowly lost her holdings in the South America and new nations were born. Russia and the United States expanded their territory in the opposite direction
adjacent to their original borders. At times these economic and political tensions between the leading industrial nations and the nations which could not have open access to colonies, economic resources and markets turned into major confrontations. At the end, after the turning of the twentieth century, because of such tensions the Great War started and changed everything about the human experience and life dramatistically.

Starting in the years between the World Wars and continued after it, the industrial society began to shift rapidly into a mass consumption culture, in which the mechanization and mass production finally allowed workers to have less hours of work and more time for leisure. The mass consumption system adopted a new role for the ordinary man; he became to a waged or salaried employee who spent just enough time at work to make the right amount of money to be a consumer of the companies that in fact employed him. Severed from the agrarian and industrial work, women became the financial manager of households as housewives, and children had intensive education to bring them up as the law-abiding citizens (consumers).

**Global Commercialism and Corporatism**

Globalization can be defined as a convergence of all the world’s economical activities, i.e. production, distribution and consumption beyond the national-states’ borders (Greider 17). Globalization in this sense aims to utilize whole surface of the world as markets and as means of production without limitations of locality (Nader and Wallach 94). In this trend most of the companies and industries all around the globe try to achieve a status of practicing capitalism not only in their original countries but everywhere in their capabilities of reach (Korten 26). However, by the turn of the new century, this trend seemed to get bigger after the fall of the communist bloc and with the
determinant developments in technology, and some critical analyses from various points of opinions toward it started to emerge (Mander “Facing the Rising Tide” 3).

What is globalization? Is it a better economical system then what was practiced before? Who is it better for? What are the things affected by globalization? These questions seem to drive the main aspect of the critique toward globalization. These questions aim to understand what is really going on in the market place. Because of the fact that globalization, as a process, also moves so fast into the cultural, political and economical aspects of every individual’s lives in the world that it is hard to catch and comprehend it (Greider 12). In addition to that, the technological developments such as computerized online businesses and money transactions, fast transportation facilities and real-time telecommunications drive the pace of globalization process. These technological developments themselves expand even in a faster pace that it is almost inconceivable for a person who is not specialized in them to comprehend the whole meaningfully (Mander “Technologies of Globalization” 345).

After World War II, two major ideas, (a) economical enemies are not likely to be political friends and (b) free-market economy in international trade cannot be successful unless all countries are implementing it, pushed for a need for international institutions that would impose the liberal disciplines on the local governments which they could seemingly not achieve by their own. After the war, Western powers that practice free-market economy came together in Bretton Woods under the leadership of the United States and founded three important institutions of free-market trade that would regulate the international trade between countries in order to avoid what happened in the days that led Great Depression (Korten 21).
These three institutions are GATT, IMF, and World Bank (IBRD). Each institution works on the prevention of a specific beggar-thy-neighbor policy, that is, protectionist and mercantilist in nature. GATT works on the tariff barriers (Haus 163), IMF works on competitive exchange-rate devaluations (Korten 22), and World Bank deals with the capital controls (Khor 48).

GATT is an institution that aims to protect counties that have weaker industries against the imported powerful foreign products by mediating negotiations between respective countries to regulate concessions on the part of the both sides (Moon 77).

IMF and World Bank works as financial institutions of Bretton Woods. Since the most reliable and stable economy seemed to be the one of the United States, economists and politicians, including Keynes in his *The Means to Prosperity*, advocated that all the currencies of world should be valued according to their relative relationship to the United States Dollar (28). Therefore, the reign of Dollar started as the main currency for use in international transactions.

IMF and World Bank try to regulate the values of the countries’ currency by lending their respective governments money in order to control the amount of money in their domestic markets and the investments for balancing economic activities and unemployment. One inconvenience of this practice is that governments sometimes may not fulfill the requirement of these institutions and can go into huge debts (Khor 49-50). Another inconvenience is that IMF and World Bank can miss the vital characteristics of domestic market dynamics of each money receiving country so that plans made by IMF or World Bank could not be implemented easily in that country (Greider 263).
Another very important development was the Uruguay round of GATT, which aimed to improve the initial regulations of GATT meetings into a much better system of international trade. The largest of GATT conventions was launched in 1986 and completed in 1993 by Marrakech protocol (Nader & Wallach 97). Agreement went into action in 1995 but not without creating big arguments for the national governments. The biggest improvement of the Uruguay round of GATT was the introduction of an international trade organization that would regulate all the tariffs and international exchange according to the relations between businesses located all around the world—i.e. World Trade Organization (WTO) (Nader & Wallach 102). This addition seemed to many people a set of violations that jeopardized governments and states’ sovereignties over their domestic issues. WTO aims to facilitate the international trade according to the ideas of free-market, which push for minimal, or no government intervention on the market. Therefore, some people argued that this is the end of government rule over market, and starting of the globalization in which the only sovereignty is based on multinational corporations and conglomerations (Korten 28).

At this point, there are two major critiques toward the globalization: the one originates from conservative politics and the one stems from Marxist thought (Aune xiv). The conservative approach or reaction to globalization is mainly concerned with lessening sovereignty of governments that could result in violations of people’s right to chose their own governments to rule over their countries. The Marxist concern is related to the issue of exploitation of “Third World Countries” (as they are named by the economical “hegemons” such as the United States and EU) by technologically and industrially advanced countries as weaker economies cannot defend themselves even with
the regulations of the Bretton Woods institutions (Mander “The Rules of Corporate Behavior” 319).

The Conservative approach believes that delocalization of free-market economics will threaten the very existence of governments and sovereign countries. They argue for a relocalization movement that puts the government back into its place in relation to free-market economics and international trade, as for democratic ideals demand the rule of the people through their own government in every aspect of life, including the economical one. The conservative approach argues for limitation of the powers of multinational corporations and conglomerates over the local economic and political policies.

The Marxist approach views the globalization as a scheme that in fact helps corporations and conglomerations, and their respective owners to exploit resources and markets of economically and technologically weaker countries almost in the terms of a new colonization. In order to achieve the greatest profit, corporations use the conditions in the terms of comparative advantage to abuse and manipulate the economically weaker countries’ domestic and international markets. Since they are abundant in capital and technology, they tend to use weaker countries’ cheaper labor and land compared to the huge profits they make.

**The Values of the Capitalist Scene**

The survey of ideas behind the origins and development of the capitalist worldview acknowledges the fact that it is complex and textured. There are multiple perspectives and perceptions about the basic presumptions on life residing in it.

The ideas that are significant from the early capitalist era are connected to the emergence of *cities*, with a *new class* of people—*middle class* or *bourgeoisie*, as *markets*
and the *centers of trade*. Trade required *risk taking, renting and investing*. More importantly, the *time* conception has changed into a *race*. Such trade, by the shift of the political powers from interdependent cities to nation-states and strong monarchies, resulted in a mindset of *accumulation of money* in one’s own country by colonization, creating markets and distributing goods and resources from all over the world in a protectionist way. After the reforms on agriculture in the eighteenth century, as a part of the Enlightenment liberalism, the idea of *free market* economics emerged where the notions of *demand* and *supply* ruled the marketplace. Such idea attempted to reconcile the *self-interest* with the *community ethics*. According to the idea of free market, the society was like a family and the dynamics of such market would create the best potential *wealth* for all.

The Enlightenment liberalism gave way to two different ideas; one that is based on the idea of *utility*, and the other on *competition*. The utility principle was conceived upon the idea of *greater happiness for the greatest number of people* directed by *physical, political, moral* and *religious* sanctions, whereas the competition emerged as a complementary presumption stressing that *one person’s gain is usually another person’s loss* propelled by the *self-interest*. Especially the position and prosperity of landowners, capitalists and workers in that sense generated a *pathos* of *conflict*. Later, as the idea of *utilitarianism* and *liberty* gained more support, a new ethic of *independence* was accepted in the marketplace—that is the rights of a man were only to be limited by other’s, and his *happiness* should be a *facilitator* or *part* of the *other’s happiness*. Government’s role was increasingly considered as a *moderator* or an *administrator* rather than as a controller on the liberties of man and the marketplace interactions.
The overall ethic behind the capitalist venture was reconsidered as an extension of religious practice. The methodology of the religious practice was based upon hard work, thrift and self-discipline in a way to answering a calling, which can bring a blessing in forms of wealth. However, the industrial revolution mechanized the human and economic relationships, through which the idea of good changed and the progress of technology and the machine were placed in the axis of human experience. After two World Wars, international trade and monetary interactions surged into an international dominance of multinational companies that produced and manufactured everything for a mass of consumer-citizens who no longer live under a gold standard and have more leisure time than any of their predecessors only to use and purchase goods and services of those conglomerates. Thus, the overall presumption is that the system produces wealth for all and any break in it would cost everyone. The more money is spent on the market and cycled in the marketplace, the more wealth is generated for all participants.

The Discourse on Advertising as Epideictic Rhetoric (as the Scene-Agency Ratio)

Burke’s dramatistic pentad offers us a philosophical platform to analyze any symbolic action rhetorically. So far, I identified advertising as rhetoric of capitalism—that is a discourse of a specific system, which had its own orders of existence. The system itself is designed as the scene, which contains the potentiality of a certain type of communicative symbolic action. Then advertising, in the micro sense, is to advertise and can be considered as an act. However, in the macro sense, it can be seen as a social

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81 It was the subject matter of the previous chapter.
institution, as a medium, or a rhetorical vehicle that asks for integration of individuals in to that very system—that is an agency. In this understanding, I also presented the ideas behind the critique and defense of advertising epideictically. The analysis requires a further investigation of capitalism itself as the scene so that the epideictic discourse of advertising as an agency can be portrayed clearer. In the previous sections, I offered a discussion over the ideas of scene and agency, now it would be useful to engage the relationship between them. Such analysis will require the detailed explanation of some of the seminal works, from which the present study gets its intellectual inspirations.

**Attitudes Toward History and the Stages of Political Economy**

I will start discussing Kenneth Burke’s *Attitudes Toward History* first since it is not only an insightful look at the communicative symbolic action at the times of the Great Depression, it also presents a significant commentary on the historical and “ideological” development of the capitalist scene interpreting the discourse around it in the literary terms. In the appendix, Burke offers his seven offices that help configuring advertising in *epideictic* terms.

Burke, in his introductory remarks, explains that capitalism in its final stages turns into an order of *collectivism* that is imposed by the conditions generated by the modern *technology* and accountancy (bureaucracy or *technique*) where the giant industrial corporations become encompassing polities that can be called “business governments” contrasting “political governments” (*Attitudes*, “Introduction”). Such description is perfectly attuned with the interpretation of capitalism as a scene for the human symbolic action. Burke places his analysis in a dramatistic presentation as he follows the stages of political economy metaphorically in terms of theatrical acts. These are:
Act I. Evangelical Christianity emerging out of pagan Rome

Act II. Medieval Synthesis

Act III. Protestantism

Act IV. Early Capitalism

Act V. Collectivism

Inspired by the Emerson’s treatment of metaphor, “being,” Burke argues that it is a transcendentalist doctrine to talk about a progress and development in which one adds to life and make it better (Attitudes, 19). Emerson’s statement “In a virtuous action, I am properly am; in a virtuous act, I add to the world; I plant into deserts conquered from Chaos and Nothing, and see the darkness receding on the limits of the horizon” contains a philosophical merger which allows a conciliation on a higher ground. Burke implies that capitalism offers a similar worldview, and requires a compliant attitude, or the way (hodos), for salvation in terms of wealth.

As the bourgeois society became more dominant over the traditional feudal system, the shift resulted in a change. In rejecting the feudal lords, the bourgeois rejected the moral foundations of feudalism but they also accepted a new one; the new doctrine assumed that the resources of private initiative were equally available to all (Burke, Attitudes 21). By such explanation, Burke also acknowledges that in the rhetoric of any given political economic system, every rejection brings a directive, since the double negative statement translates into an imperative. Thus, censorial argument epideictically turns into a potential praise (Attitudes 22).

Burke argues that Adam Smith simply uttered a new rationalization by turning a vice of the previous mindset, i.e. ambition, into a private virtue because its service for
public good. Burke calls this reversal as a part of the “transformation of values” which was completed by the utilitarian thought. Because it seems as Smith was preparing the ground for ideas toward acceptance, Marx was working for its frame of rejection (Attitudes 24-25). Therefore, the capitalist virtue of self-interest gains a sense of morality through its conception of contribution to the societal good. Burke reminds that Mandeville’s ideas were significant to initiate such attitude. During the era of early capitalism, especially in the Italian principalities and city-states, a new sense of wealth emerged and changed from the “prosperity of poverty” into “economy of plenty” creating also a shift in the ethical understanding of wealth moving from a qualitative perspective to quantitative one requiring a different perception of measurement (Attitudes 25). The techniques of measurement and keeping wealth in quantitative means required a new organization of society, and were bureaucratized as far as they could maintain and continue exploiting the opportunities of the new economic system (Attitudes 27). Burke argues that the idea of “just price” before the emergence of free market had moralistic aspects, but then shifted as Adam Smith tried to set the standardization of quality on a more mechanistic base of supply and demand relationships (Attitudes 153).

Another interesting idea is homeopathy, which signifies an attempt to deal with a thing that is perceived as potentially harmful in an indirect manner. Burke argues that the Western optimism on wealth emerged as a homeopathic rhetorical device where the bourgeois capitalist worldview sought to soothe the danger of poverty by controlling it through canalization, rather than eliminating it. Such elimination would require a hygienic attitude of allopathy, which was the approach before the capitalist venture (Burke, Attitudes 45).
Burke makes a distinction between the liberalist attempts to link the private property as *inalienable* rights, and the medieval attitude that saw freedom as a type of *alienation* itself. As the serf was bounded to the soil, the soil came inexorably with the serf, so that the idea of one’s *right* was usually conceived as his *duties* as well (Attitudes 56, 121 fn). However, the after the liberal revolution that brought the capitalist market and the industrial society, one’s rights were much more defined as his purchasing or investing power. The direction of duties changed toward the marketplace. Such idea can be traced back to a Hegelian synthesis of contradictions as a transcendental view to overcome the difficulties carried out in the conflicting conditions of a *scene*.

For Burke a capitalist scene of human symbolic action creates a society where one even is invited to capitalize on the affections, and constantly look for a quantitative equivalent of an emotional or intellectual construction. He gives the example the scientist whose tendency to resist corporations for banding their research to commercialize their findings ceased increasingly as the laboratory technologists collaborated with the corporate commercial purposes to employ any scientific data to be used in the factories with a vigorous efficiency (Attitudes 71).

One of the most striking aspects of *Attitudes Toward History* is Burke’s acknowledgement of his special effort to explain history by only mentioning the spiritual and intellectual principles and keeping the economic emphasis in the background. However, he confirms that as his writing progressed, the economic emphasis became inescapable (115). In a sense, Burke follows up with the Scottish Enlightenment and the utilitarian idea to end up in the political economy. As Burke demonstrates that the constant intermingling of material desires with the ideas of morality has been present
from the times of Biblical history to Bentham’s utilitarian project where the eulogistic coverings serve for the material interests in disguise of moral motives.

Burke’s principle of bureaucratization of the imaginative assumes the transformation of an idea into a fixed system—i.e. free market idea to a capitalist system). Accordingly, he suggests that “Capitalism would not be ideally perfect until we had monetary equivalent for everything, until every last bit of material exchange among friends were done for profit, until every casual greeting were given at a price (and that price as high as the traffic would bear)” (Attitudes 225).

**Attitudes Toward History on Advertising**

Burke uses the genres of literary expression to make sense of the history of political economy. A type of expression that is employed in a certain scene of economic interaction, determines its character symbolically. Burke, referring to the literary genres, resembles advertising to epic, as it facilitates the idea of identification with the hero through pointing toward the virtues of his actions in a story. As the epic uses the rhetorical construct of magnification to the degree of praise, it gets closer to having an epideictic nature (Attitudes 35). However, a hostile or sterile perspective toward commercial activity would have more of a tragic characteristic where the identification process would not require a direct connection but a tangential relationship as a friend or foe. For example, a critical statement toward advertising may come from an academician whose friends are professional advertising copywriters. Or, an artist may argue against the commoditization of art while praising pop-art (like Susan Sontag did for Andy Warhol). Alternatively, as a better example, an advertisement for a certain product may
use tragic elements to “praise” the competition—i.e. scapegoating your competitor for the customer’s well-being.

Burke argues that in a capitalist society where the wealth is taken for granted, any interference with the acquisition of property would induce an antipathic reaction. The justification for purchasing of goods becomes the *norm* of the marketplace because it underlines a support for the whole system of production and distribution in the free market capitalism (Attitudes 46). Therefore through sales and advertising a homeopathic communication emerges when it was obvious that not everyone in the capitalist society can make the same amount of money and have the same amount of wealth, by rhetorically turning to the “prosperity of poverty” at times in praise of “cheaper or more economical goods.” In the end, in advertising, there is a didactic sense of active acceptance. Burke argues that such frame of discourse coaches the imagination of people to create obedience in critical suggestions (Attitudes 75). Similar rhetorical dynamics are available in epideictic agreements, in which an audience’s participation to the thesaurus of virtues is expected so through education and observation their obedient actions in the future can be requested indirectly. To utilize a frame of acceptance, discourse should identify and label the terms of “good” and “evil” using praise for appealing to the “good” while discouraging from the linguistically condemned “evil” (Attitudes 79).

It is rare to find some specific examples of Burke’s own analysis on the discourse of commercial communication. However, there is one striking example available for the purposes of the present study in *Attitudes Toward History* when he mentions Whitman’s sentimentalism in the literary means. Burke argues that Whitman “salutes” the materialistic reality in terms of “unseen existences” (91). Immediately after this analysis,
Burke reiterates his main point in a footnote with asterisks. Here he analyzes the idea of “Unseen Value” in cars. Quoting from Neccho Allen, he tells that the Chrysler Corporation had already made Americans aware of this type of value. It is something more than a tangible feature, but it is more important and “vital” to the owner of a car as it becomes more than the iron, rubber, steel, glass of which the car is made. Burke argues that the copywriter of such car ad–that tells us to see the unseen value of the vehicle–moves into the mystical realm of expression. He evaluates this as a language of pious faith like in the case of perceiving Church as the “body of Christ,” so that the unseen value is added to the Chrysler car religiously in the commercial discourse. Burke argues that:

Thus, “providence” became “investment for profit”; the process of “justification” took the simple form of “advertising,” “salesmanship,” and “success”; the close relationship between morality and utility came to a head in the “gospel of service”; the devices of perfidy were exposed in the legal manipulations of contract; the synthesizing tendencies of man were manifest, as they could never be by experiments with decelebrated frogs, in the growth of holding companies; corporate identity itself was shorn of its unwieldy mysticism when the member of the church, as the “body of Christ,” became simply the holder of non-voting stock. (Attitudes 94)

The surprising analysis above contains a language that is foreign to 1930s, but astonishingly enough so familiar to the current marketing discourse in corporate identity.

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82 One cannot help but also remembers the “when does a car becomes more than a car?” campaign of Toyota Camry in 2006.
Such conception is a paradox of capitalism for Burke, as he explains that corporations in the capitalistic societies are endowed with a personality in an inconsistent manner, which helps them to use “freedom” of persons at times, while they function as non-persons at some other times. For example, a legal system cannot imprison them (Attitudes 155). Burke also offers a significant definition here principally relevant to the present project when he suggests, “an economic order that lives by sales (‘the citizen as customer’) supplies its own incentives to make ‘good’ customers, incentives contradicted by the incentives to despoil, but present nonetheless” (Attitudes 96). The attitude that is latent in the capitalist political economic system can be described in the new role of customer very well. In fact, later, as the discourse of the marketplace changed much more into a consumer society, customer became the consumer. Burke suggests that coaching of the citizen consumer body needed a strong economic compulsion by “democratizing” the new virtue of ambitiousness. Thus, they are educated by the capitalist discourse to apply their most determined energy to run their employers’ companies and purchase their products (Attitudes 142).

Advertising in such conditions serves as a magnifier of the all-capitalist ideas, from its virtues of preferability in the market to the virtues of symbolic imagination in terms of mystical and fantastic eulogy. Burke states that a well-formed frame needs to serve like an amplifying device (Attitudes 103). An acceptance frame such as advertising in the epideictic sense operates the same way, as it amplifies a smallest “good” to the skies, whereas a slight mistake darkens all the reputation. Then, advertising functions as hagiography of the capitalist marketplace (Attitudes 107 fn).
Advertising, as an epideictic frame of acceptance, plays on the idea of *justification* as one of the chief motives of human symbolic action. Thus, one tries to prove himself right, says Burke, in the forms of practical and aesthetic composition, and then finds an abode to live. In the capitalist society, founded upon the criteria of the bourgeoisie conception of progress, as a part of the moral obligation (*right-duty* dimension) built in the marketplace, people purchase things because they want to show their feelings of identification and belonging (*Attitudes* 124). That moral obligation is the acquisition of commodities.\(^3\) However, in order to encourage people to live in an “economy of plenty,” the system assists them directly or indirectly–i.e. the newly educated citizen-customers ought to be given money so that they can purchase. Burke calls this type of right to buy a “nomadic” kind of circulation of fast money, and he foresees the high levels of credited expenditure over the consumer purchase (*Attitudes* 157, fn).

As the capitalist economic system becomes increasingly bureaucratized and fixed in a stationary social platform, the overall political economy turns into a form of *collectivism* where all the members of the consumer society are convinced that the whole of their economic activities will collectively take them to a material-spiritual salvation through wealth (*Attitudes* 159). At that time the discourse (or *advertising*) of such commercial culture attains the patterns of a *secular prayer* that epideictically functions as

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\(^3\) Then if one thinks of an opposite position of that *justification*, namely a *refutation*, that is a frame of resistance which is built on the same principles but moves toward the opposite direction as a critique. Such is the Marxist critique of advertising, which argues that the same act of purchase is immoral and denounced as the fetishism of commodities.
a “character building,” shaping of the individual citizen’s character of the democratic capitalism.

**Advertising as Epideictic Discourse of Seven Offices**

Early in the first chapter, I categorized and introduced the seven offices, which Burke explains in the appendix of *ATH* in relation with the six modes of human perspective that I arranged inspired by Thames’s categorization in *Persuasion’s Domain*. Burke envisions these offices as a combination of duties/motives for human action. His configuration is based upon the Aristotelian idea regarding state’s responsibilities that are discussed in *Politics*, and Ciceronian definition of an orator’s (which he equates to statesman) duties for persuasion or motivation in *The Best Kind of Orator*. Burke names his seven offices as *govern, serve, defend, teach, entertain, cure* and *pontificate*. Each function has its own symbolic operation to provide directions for the continuance of a specific system. However, they are broad in terms of potentiality of symbolic action and not necessarily mutually exclusive. For example, *govern, serve, and teach* may have overlapping areas of action or *entertain* and *cure* may share related objectives. In order to remember these offices it would be useful to reiterate their functions:

*Govern* is the political realm of the human experience. It is an administrative and bureaucratic aspect of the overall political experience. *Serve* is the economical realm in which the objective is to materially provide for the system—i.e. governing economically. *Defend* is naturally a political aspect of human motivation, however, even though it

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84 These are political, economical, sociological, physiological, psychological and ethical realms.
directly indicates military realm of action, it actually covers any protective motives of action. Therefore, it could actualize a defense via speech as well as via arms—i.e. symbolically and brutally. *Teach* is the sociological realm of human actions, which usually has the responsibility of orientation, habituation and the customization of each generation of a society. It is highly symbolic and constitutes a foundation for all the other aspects of human experience.

*Entertain* has ambiguously two interdependent meanings. For one, it represents the symbolic structures that allow members of a society relax physiologically and psychologically by *pleasing* them both in intellectual and physical matters. Secondly, it is considered as the overall compilation of symbolic means of *attendance, observation* and *ritual* that are organically related to a society’s value systems and morality. *Cure* has a connotation in its function similar to *entertain* and *defend*. It directly addresses the physiological problems in the biological body politic, however the office of *curing* also involves the symbolic structures and rhetorical discourse behind that very human action. Since the health of a biological being is complicated, all the physical and psychological aspects are included, and for that reason there is a continual relationship between *entertain* and *cure* offices philosophically and symbolically.

*Pontificate* is the most textured of offices and refers to the metaphysical realm of human experiences with a great emphasis on phenomenological and epistemic questions around human reasoning. Burke himself calls this relationship as a symbolic effort to “build bridges between two terministically different realms.” *Pontificate* is the ethical realm of contemplation, a self-reflection, “viewing the ‘temporal’ in terms of the ‘eternal’ (or the ‘natural’ in terms of ‘supernatural’)” (*Attitudes* 364).
Advertising’s institutional function as epideictic discourse of acceptance can be examined in a discussion of Burke’s configuration of seven offices. A way of accomplishing that task is looking at each part in detail, and symbolically defining its characteristics.

Serve / Economic

Even though conventionally it is more correct to start with *govern*, examining *serve*, as the first emphasis would work better for the orientation of the present study. Hitherto, advertising is discussed as a part of a larger economic system. Regardless of perspective, critical or defensive, advertising operates in a scene of capitalistic economy, which largely incorporates free market ideology\(^{85}\) with the political inclinations toward a republican democracy. Advertising in micro and macro levels works for the continuation, maintenance and success of that ideology. Advertising facilitates the generation and distribution of wealth. It is a persuasive discourse of communication in terms of sharing the necessary values for motivation toward an economic engagement—i.e. the foundation of its function. Such discourse of acceptance, epideictically ensures not only the perseverance of the economic system, it also guarantees the persistence of the quintessential values that requires such economic system to exist. As Burke mentions, *serve* has a direct relationship with *govern* because an economic system can govern the financial and business aspects of life that are essentially interdependent parts of the current political realm of action in a republican democracy. Burke argues, “finance and business covertly *govern* as they overtly *serve* (a power of treasury that they further

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\(^{85}\) This is again a philosophical sense of the understanding that is *words about ideas*. In that sense, I would like to operate in an effort to rehabilitate the word “ideology” in the veins of Gadamer as he did the same for the word “prejudice.”
exercise, of course, in their ability to grant or withhold funds for advertising)"

(Attitudes 360). Following Thurman Arnold’s example, Burke suggests that governance
should not only be defined in political terms, and it is possible to mention a “business
government.”

Teach / Sociological

Another office that has direct relationship to govern is education. Teach is the
educational realm of socialization of citizenry. This office does not only correspond to
the idea of formal education (or indoctrination depending on the perspective), it also
covers all the means and sources of information which purposefully function for
attitudinizing the ways of being and the modes of knowing in a society. Burke suggests
that teaching has an implied job of “inculcating” values and attitudes that “lead to
corresponding modes of conduct” (Attitudes 361). The epideictic role of advertising then
emerges in the triangulation of serve-govern-teach offices as “under capitalism we should
also include this same head those bringers of glad tidings that are usually called
advertising agents or sales promoters–or should they, perhaps, be classed under
‘teaching,’ insofar as they ‘educate’ public to yearn for things” (Attitudes 360).

Govern and Defend / Political

Govern is naturally the political aspect of human symbolic experience. Following
the Stoic identification of “Reason” with “Rule,” Burke argues that the governance of a
group is determined by the principles, which that very group is founded upon (Attitudes
359). The principles as the seminal ideas behind the political systems administrate,
manage and control the rules of engagement in any aspect of human experience, i.e. in
political, economical, sociological, physiological, psychological and ethical realms. The
relationship between political government and “business government” is significant for emphasizing the link between sustenance (providing materialistically) and hierarchically subsistence (living orderly). *Govern* is responsible for the survival and the continuation of a society in the best possible way, and needs to offer that publicly. In republican democracies, it also includes the rhetorical aspect of *persuading* citizens to “accept” that public offer, by asking them to *observe* the *principles* of their society and *attend* to them in their lives. In political means, it is appealing citizens to vote in a certain way (public affairs, political advertising), and modifying their lives economically to match with the requirements of market dynamics (as the source of marketplace communication) that would work for the best advantage of the society. Therefore, political attitudinizing also serves for economic attitudinizing by ethicizing the means of support, and vice versa by ethicizing the means of order.

*Defend* is a necessary office following the *principles* behind *governance*. In order to live sanely, after ethicizing the means of support and order, one needs to consistently *rationalize* and *protect* the political, economical, sociological, physiological, psychological and ethical structures, and the attitudes that create them, along with the *principles* that are behind those attitudes. Such defensive action could generate a rhetorical discourse that would celebrate and praise those *principles*, while condemning and censuring any reasoning *against* them. A defensive rhetorical discourse can escalate to a violent show of brute force if such altercation of principles causes the identification *between* confronting groups diminish and *internal* identification increase. Advertising serves for a defensive purpose as it signifies and represents the capitalist economic system. The *patterns of acceptance* toward advertising logically would *defend* capitalism.
Through the identification between the realms of sustenance (material) and hierarchical subsistence (order) advertising also defends democracy in principle, emphasizing people’s freedom in three aspects: the freedom of choice, the freedom of expression, and the free market of ideas—which holistically points for capitalism.

**Entertain and Cure / Psychological and Physiological**

The office of *entertainment* refers to the ritualistic observations and attendance. The original motivation, according to Burke, is a type of “homeopathic magic” that engages the critical natural events in a celebratory manner in a culture (Attitudes 361). Such natural events transform into significant social and economic occasions that constitute ceremonial contexts. Therefore, ceremonies are observed as a duty to honor the principles behind the original connections between the sustenance and subsistence relationship, which also signifies the right way of being (*dike*-δίκη), and the correct character (*éthos*-ήθος) and customs (*ethos*-ἐθος) in a given society. For that reason, Burke reminds that *entertainment* has a direct association with office of *teach*, since the observance of archetypal values would provide an ethical socialization and an orientation for the members of that society. Burke argues that in the original sense, entertainment required an active participation of doing. However later, such participation increasingly turned into a passive participation of watching (Attitudes 362). Still the passive participation assumes a similar socialization effect. Being physically present in a ritualistic event also calls for *supporting* the principles and their archetypical values presented in that very event. Additionally, as a secondary step to the attitudinal *support*, there is an expectation for a future action abiding by the ceremony. In that sense, entertainment also indirectly shares characteristics of governance that “come with the
shaping and intensifying of such attitudes as they have their corresponding role in practical conduct” (Attitudes 362).

The element of *entertainment* is considered in relation to Cicero’s *please* office. Enjoyment and pleasure are essential parts of an entertaining event. Either through active participation of doing or passive participation of watching, the homeopathic mimesis is designed to give pleasure, idealistically both physiologically and psychologically. In physiological sense, the very *act* of participation needs to provide a direct or indirect bodily pleasure through *motion*, whereas in psychological means, participation ought to provide an aesthetic, intellectual and maybe spiritual delight. Because of its direct connotations and associations with the idea of pleasure in an original ritualistic sense, the modern conception of entertainment as amusement and fun makes sense. However, such connections also demonstrate *entertainment*’s vulnerability to degenerate, as it moves from a moral foundation toward an immoral one by the constant emphasis over the maximization of passive pleasure to the extreme so that the participation becomes mostly about *feeling* and *motion* while *thinking* and *action* gradually are eliminated.

Aside from the traditional literary genres, Burke also considers modern news and drama on the mass communication media as a version of *entertainment*. They share the same functionality with the office of *teach*. Even though there is a large emphasis on giving information, both news and TV drama entertain people by providing an opportunity for them to watch suffering and troubles of others. Burke explains, “attitude is made still more apparent in the case of documentary films and news photos assembled and distributed by organizations that regularly comb the entire globe, to keep reader entertained by a daily authentic recital of other people’s miseries” (Attitudes 362). Burke
argues that in the case of news, the office of entertain also relates to govern insofar media organizations by selecting, timing and emphasizing content an influence on “people’s view of ‘reality.’” Therefore, news helps people to shape their judgments over the potential and suitable policies in different situations (Attitudes 362). Burke continues, “Often our political contests make more sense when judged as entertainment than as the citizen’s rational choice between governmental politics. And the nature of our advertising medium strongly associates business with entertainment” (Attitudes 363).

Cure similarly serves for both realms of physiological and psychological human experiences. It has two major aspects, one in treating illness and sick, and second in an “emotional cleansing” in terms of cathartic purgation. The actual caring for suffering people and treating ailments (the scientific knowledge) and the rhetoric around curing together symbolically make up the entire scope of this office. In this sense, cure works together with the offices of govern and pontificate because, on one hand, it refers to the political and social applications of health politics, and on the other hand, health professionals try to help people to deal with the questions and anxieties toward the “timeless” realm of beyond. It needs to relate to the serve office, too, in terms of providing citizens with the necessary medicine and insurance services. Burke gives the example of American Medical Association that gets involved with all the triangulation offices of cure-govern-serve as a professional institution. Advertising promotes and praises health products, insurance, and medical services, regardless of the scientifically or aesthetically constructed needs that they may seem to address.
Pontificate / Ethical

The last office definitely has a common ground with the office of cure but they differ in terms of emphasis. As I stated above, pontificate refers to the “eternal” and “spiritual” realm of human experience. Pontificate aims to cure people “beyond” the point of physical and psychological aspects of suffering but in terministic ways. It also serves as an element of dignification that ethicizes and moralizes the certain ways of being and modes of living. Such dignification also provides a sense for formalizing or officializing, as pontificate seems to lead and preside over the other duties. In most basic terms, pontificate connects the physical archetypes of natural principles that make up the foundations of a society with the metaphysical standards of supernatural laws, thus by ethicizing the means of support, authority, education, relaxation, caring and war, it attitudinizes the overall system of motivations and orientations (Attitudes 364).

Pontificate signifies a priestly act. Advertising professionals then contribute to this priesthood function as advertising directs a secularized prayer for gaining materialistic wealth as a sign of spiritual salvation. In Burke’s terms, a secular prayer works toward “character-building” through coaching attitudes for providing people with the instruments of coping with and adaptation to their social, economic and political environments. It also habituates individuals in certain patterns of acceptance for ethicizing customs and life styles. Advertising epideictically plays a role in attitudinizing and ethicizing the choices and actions of citizens in means of education (indoctrination).

Social Propaganda and Fascinating People by Technological Bluff

Jacques Ellul is a prominent figure on propaganda, and as I summarized his ideas on the critique of advertising earlier in this chapter, he had a significant emphasis on the
propagandistic characteristics of advertising in social terms, which Burke probably
would agree since he evidently equates propaganda with epideictic discourse in the terms
of modern rhetorical practices (*Rhetoric* 70).

Ellul places his definition of propaganda in parallel with his view toward the idea
of technique. He believes that the idea of technique changed the way human beings act
and think. It signifies a change in the principle priorities shifting emphasis from *quality* to
*efficiency* in connection with a new mentality of seeing everything in terms of
measurement. Ellul defines propaganda as “a set of methods employed by an organized
group that wants to bring about the active or passive participation in its actions of a mass
of individuals, psychologically unified through psychological manipulations and
incorporated in an organization” (*Propaganda* 61). Ellul argues that the social propaganda
means “the penetration of an ideology by means of its sociological context… The
difference in sociological propaganda is that instead of pushing an ideology to people for
acceptance of a certain political or economic structure or action, the existing economic,
political and sociological factors progressively allow an ideology to penetrate individuals
and masses” (*Propaganda* 63). Ellul suggests that advertising is one of the ways that
social propaganda occurs in addition to other commercial, artistic and educational forms
of social services. He points out the fact that such sociological propaganda seems
unintentional but actually, it legitimately generally constitutes the necessary
characteristics of propaganda in terms of “producing a certain general conception of
society, a particular way of life” (*Propaganda* 65). Ellul acknowledges that such
propaganda is a product of the combination of advertising, public relations and public
affairs. Thus, advertising as social propaganda needs to act “gently” since it conditions
people to accept a view over truth. He continues to say that such propaganda introduces “an ethic in various benign forms, which, although sporadic, end by creating a fully established personality structure” (Propaganda 66). Ellul’s description clearly parallels with Burke’s treatment of the subject especially in the terms of ethicizing and attitudinizing. Ellul also makes direct references to Bernays’s “engineering approach,” which is designed for making people adopt and actively support certain ways of behavior and thought utilizing upon professional research methodologies. Similar to Burke’s discussion of secular prayer that “coaches attitudes” in social contexts, Ellul argues that sociological propaganda is a precise form of propaganda that is simple in composition but complex in utilizing all the available social currents in a society. He also suggests that the overall effect of sociological propaganda seems to be slower because “it aims for long-term penetration and progressive adaptation” (Propaganda 67). The economical aspect of social propaganda is significant because it also signifies advertising. The following section from Ellul is noteworthy to see the advertising’s epideictic influence:

Mass production requires mass consumption, but there cannot be mass consumption without widespread identical views as to what the necessities of life are. One must be sure that the market will react rapidly and massively to a given proposal or suggestion. One therefore needs fundamental psychological unity on which advertising can play with certainty when manipulating public opinion. And in order for public opinion to respond, it must be convinced of the excellence of all that is “American.” Thus conformity of life and conformity of thought are indissolubly linked. (Propaganda 68)
Ellul summarizes the epideictic influence of social propaganda as advertising in terms of promulgation of ideas and value judgments of a certain life style by inducing action or calling for “formal adherence” (Propaganda 70). Ellul’s perspective on advertising later did not change but was reinforced in his Technological Bluff in which a section on advertising examines the technology’s growing influence on society as the driving principle of technique that progressively turns people into a group of fascinated people. Twenty-seven years after writing Propaganda Ellul argues that advertising still induces people to buy products but these goods have changed in character so much and become the sophisticated products of technical quality. He continues, “advertising is now the driving force of the whole system. It exercises an invincible dictatorship over our society” (349).

Ellul’s critique once more is toward the hegemony of “technique” that in his view dominates the human experience in forms of conditions technologically determined. As a part of the technological authority over human life, in 1989 Ellul still identifies advertising as a continuous social propaganda, which provides a social orientation to society as “an instrument of social control.” Ellul argues that advertising by the help of technology, become a very specialized, idealized and highly stylized “technique” that turned into a work of art that is spontaneously identified with the object of sale: a commercial product (Technological Bluff 351). However, his analysis on advertising’s social effect is more significant as he suggests that advertising messages are meant to mold life-style and attitudes. Of course, with the everyday life that is constantly sculpted by technology, advertising’s purpose becomes to integrate people into the technological system as it attempts to fascinate the human mind.
Advertising’s collaboration with technology creates a powerful rhetorical construct in which the audience is no longer only a *spectator* but also an actor. Being connected through technological devices and electronic gadgets to the advertiser, the consumer is endlessly drawn into a participatory action, which does not require much critical thinking. In forms of computers, handheld-devices, cell phones, music players, and even game consoles, technological instruments grab all the outlets of human experience. As a consumer *acts* to receive services for such gadgets, he is no longer only watching but also is stirred into action by the mesmerizing work of pseudo-art that makes up the *fascinating* content. Also many gadgets turn into a multi-potent device that does many things for its owner. Imagine a cell phone that works as a camera in addition to a telephonic device, then it also connects the consumer to the Internet from where the *webisodes* of television shows and mp3 files can be downloaded or broadstreamed into the phone so that consumer can watch and listen to them. According to Ellul, in every experience of consumer, the technological fascination envelops all three aspects of reading; speaking and watching that are essential to human communication but unfortunately in a way to bypassing critical reasoning. Moreover, advertising reinforces and conditions such technological state of being because it is designed and stylized by technology itself.

Ellul’s perspective on advertising is associated based upon a critique of technology. His final analysis on advertising argues that the commercial communication utilized through mass media to induce purchase is a type of a powerful and effective social propaganda forming and changing attitudes with long-term consequences. It is significant that his view had not been changed from the time he wrote *Propaganda* to
Technological Bluff in which he identified advertising as a social propaganda that determines social values and attitudes in a society. Such suggestions would agree with a definition of advertising as epideictic rhetoric as far as it praises and asks observance of the virtues presented in the discourse. However, Ellul’s strong critique on advertising as a technological pseudo-art that is based upon image severed from reason is a powerful argument, which could only look at advertising as a perversion of epideictic rhetoric because it imprisons reasoning, and lets image run havoc without a “superego.”

Ceremonial Aspects of Advertising

Following Burke and Ellul’s arguments, it is possible to engage in a discussion over the effects of advertising on society as an institution in the epideictic sense by inviting other voices of philosophical and intellectual thought that are directly or indirectly related to advertising itself and which I introduced already in the first chapter. I aim to synthesize Schudson, Ewen and Twitchell’s views on advertising on top of Burke and Ellul’s analyses while relating Walter Fischer’s views on narrative to advertising theoretically, and juxtaposing Barthes and Spitzer’s famous treatments of advertising as an art form in order to demonstrate advertising’s epideictic characteristics.

Themes over epideictic rhetoric usually indicate a ceremonial connotation. It is probably for that reason that even though epideictic originally meant demonstrative speech (demonstration–επίδειξις in Ancient Greek), later through the Roman influence, it is called as ceremonial rhetoric. As I explained in the previous chapter, epideictic rhetoric has significant definitive characteristics: (a) It is a discourse of praise, (b) it seeks
theoria as its persuasive end, which can be defined as a speculative contemplation or observance (literally and figuratively), (c) it utilizes virtues and values of a society to affect attitudes shaping sense of ethics in any social context, and (d) it is a artful form of expression, which does not only use reasoning but also aesthetics for persuasion.

Advertising as Capitalist Realism

Advertising almost matches all of the qualifications above. According to Schudson, advertising actually serves as a capitalist realism that is a form of aesthetic persuasion. Schudson argues that advertising relies heavily on symbolic structures. He believes that it is part of the “establishment and reflection of a common symbolic culture”(210). Schudson means to portray advertising’s aesthetic aspect insisting on the word symbolic in an agreeing tone with Burke’s perspective that defines all communication as symbolic. Schudson’s objective is to relate advertising to art or elevate its form of expression to an art-like status. For that reason, Schudson mentions Goffman’s idea of “commercial realism.” According to Goffman, Schudson relates, commercial realism is a kind of transformation used in contemporary advertising that creates a connection between people’s real lives and the demonstrated commercial discourse. On one aspect, the relationship is related the idea of ritual. As Schudson tells us, Goffman argues that human life is highly ritualized and commercial communication in advertising uses a similar structure to “hyper-ritualize” its content for matching consumers’ imaginations. Secondly, even though human life is ritualized, it is not concisely edited for always “exciting” sequences of experience. Therefore, people cannot edit their real lives but advertising would offer them already “edited” slices of life (214).

Schudson finds Goffman’s analysis useful but insufficient to explain advertising’s
potential for aesthetic persuasion in a ceremonial way. Instead, Schudson offers a
related alternative, which, in a Burkean style, resembles advertising to “socialist realism”
as an *art style* that is heavily directed by Soviet idealism. Even though it is a surprising
analogy, there are many striking similarities between them. Schudson explains that in
socialist realism the artist is interested not only in an artistic but also an ideological
expression. Socialist realist art should oblige to present a “concrete and correct
representation of reality” in a didactic manner. While doing so, it educates “workers” or
comrade-citizens in the spirit of socialism. The interesting point is that the latter is
objectified in the form of artful expression that would connect aesthetic with moral
demands (215). Schudson relates the desired ways of socialist realism:

1. Art should picture reality in *simplified* and *typified* ways so that it
   communicates effectively to the masses.
2. Art should picture life, but not as it is so much as life, as it *should* become,
   life worth *emulating*.
3. Art should picture reality not in its individuality but only as it reveals
   larger *social significance*.
4. Art should picture reality as progress toward the future and so represent
   social struggles *positively*. It should carry an air of *optimism*.
5. Art should focus on contemporary life creating *pleasing* images of new
   social phenomena, revealing and *endorsing* new features of society and
   thus aiding the masses in *assimilating* them. (215, *italics mine*)

Schudson argues that the five highlighted principles above show a great deal of
resemblance with advertising. It is striking that Burke’s discussions on “the basis of
simplification” in Permanence and Change also resembles the formation given in the rules of socialist realism. Burke, in those chapters, talks about the relationship between the materialistically beneficial things and the ethicized ways of acquiring them that are interpreted symbolically as moral. Burke uses references to Bentham’s eulogistic and dyslogistic coverings for motivation in order to demonstrate the symbolic dynamics behind such relationship (188-215).

Schudson argues that following the principles of socialist realism it can be said that advertising functions in a similar way. Schudson’s basis of argument relies on the idea that aesthetic symbolisms of both forms

…subordinate everything to a message that romanticizes the present or the potential of the present. If the visual aesthetic of socialist realism is designed to dignify the simplicity of human labor in the service of state, the aesthetic of capitalist realism–without the masterplan of purposes–glorifies the pleasures and freedoms of consumer choices in defense of the virtues of private life and material ambitions. (218, italics mine)

Advertising in its commercial expression simplifies and typifies the perfect capitalist life style so that it would capture the attention of consumer-citizens and creates an opportunity for them to identify with the commercial content, and the commercialized items that are associated with the very simplification and typifying. Advertising also symbolically aims to visualize actions and attitudes in concordance with the perfect capitalist life style that demand the use of the commercialized items, therefore through encouraging the imitation of these actions and attitudes, advertising attempts to arouse a desire for the products and services. Advertising usually positions the reasons for
desirability for each product or a service in a social context. Thus advertising hints that, by the purchase of the advertised product, the benefit that a consumer gets would be defined in social relationships. Advertising always carries a problem solving, relieving or cheerful consequence of using the advertised product while employing pleasant artful images and visuals. In this line of reasoning, Schudson’s argument makes sense and closely links advertising not only to “socialist realism” but also to epideictic rhetoric.

*Formation of Consumerist Consciousness as a Way of Capitalist Know-How*

Following Ellul’s configuration of placing advertising under social propaganda and Burke’s connection of propaganda to epideictic in juxtaposition with Schudson’s characterization of advertising as capitalist realism, it would be interesting to look at Stuart Ewen’s perspective on *Captains of Consciousness*. In this book, he explains the role of advertising in transforming American society socially from an industrial production design to a mass consumption culture from a Marxist point of view. Ewen identifies advertising as propaganda of commodities just as Schudson does but their final analyses are very different. Of course, Schudson wrote his book much later than Ewen but I believe that his comparison of advertising to socialist realism has a significant connection to Ewen’s perspective. Firstly, Ewen creates a Marxist critique of the consumerist transformation of American society overtly protesting against the capitalist principles. However, secondly, his analysis later becomes an account of the success of advertising for such transformation. Even though he intends to *dyslogize* advertising, it turns out to be a *praise* of advertising through negation of the negative, stressing its success. On the other hand, Schudson’s analysis of socialist realism clearly demonstrates that such aesthetic communication is a part of propaganda toward a socialist state to
integrate and transform a society into a socialist one following the revolution. Therefore if one moves beyond the socialist-capitalist dichotomy and only looks at the communication patterns of aesthetic visualizations of each system’s virtues, it seems that Ewen’s critique of advertising can be also seen as a *eulogy* for such “technique” of social motivation. If Schudson’s equation of socialist realism with advertising as capitalist realism is correct, which obviously carries epideictic characteristics; Ewen’s treatment toward advertising becomes equivocal because of his socialist leanings.

Ewen argues that the transformation of American society from a society of “workers” to a society of consumers in the early twentieth century, started because of a change in the capitalist system itself. As capitalist system required a bigger national mass consumer market in order to profit and needed people to spend more time shopping for such market dynamics, advertising was employed to emphasize the ideas of consumption and leisure. Ewen states that shorter hours and higher wages was a preliminary step to “habituate a national population to the exigencies of mass production” (*Captains* 29). Furthermore, advertising was the instrument for such change for motivating people to adapt to the conditions of the new economic system. Ewen defines advertising as a direct continuum of industrial capitalism and a major investment to transform working class masses into consumer-citizens (*Captains* 31). Such view on advertising, matches perfectly with the fifth principle of the socialist realism.

Ewen’s arguments on advertising’s role in creating consumers are also significant. He argues that as an integral part of the capitalist business and investment, advertising industry determined to use a universal appeal that should match the needs of the capitalist market “to create consumers efficiently” (*Captains* 33). Thus, the purpose of advertising
Advertising as Epideictic Rhetoric can be equated with the first principle of the socialist realism. The source of such universal appeal was scientifically defined in relations to the instincts of human beings so that desires could be based upon them. Advertising started to employ physical, psychological, aesthetic and intellectual appeals to induce consumer action addressing the socially and individually redefined instincts from “beauty” to “prestige,” from “motherhood” to “self-adornment” etc. (Captains 35). Ewen argues, “the transcendence of traditional consumer markets and buying habits required people to buy, not to satisfy their own fundamental needs, but rather to satisfy the real, historic needs of capitalist productive machinery” (Captains 35-36). Ewen’s attitude constitutes clearly a Marxist perspective in relation to the socialist realism again. The quote above noticeably connects with the third principle of socialist realism.

Advertising messages, according to Ewen, carry significant arguments toward the acquisition of advertised products with a rhetoric of charm that facilitate commoditization of self. Consumers would feel that they become successful and more desirable or enjoy themselves (Captains 46-47). Advertising then offered consumers ways of living well in the capitalist system by visualization of the desired behavioral and altitudinal structures. As the consumption became fundamentally the sole meaningful purpose of society, and was presented in joyful and pleasant imagery with the help of advertising, the social change toward consumption emerged in a form of conformity and acceptance, while it was also associated with the rhetoric of democratic freedom of independent citizens (Captains 86-89). Ewen’s definition of such advertising effects finally complements the second and the fourth principles of the socialist realism.
Above I tried to demonstrate the covert agreement between Schudson’s description of the *capitalist realism* and Ewen’s description of the *political ideology of consumption*. However, it is clear that Ewen’s examination is an overturned explanation of socialist realism toward a capitalist economic system, which, with Schudson’s insight, becomes an epideictic analysis of advertising in the socio-economic terms. Ewen’s analysis is useful to notice the effects of cognitive *orientation* through commercial communication. Ewen’s perspective is without question a pattern of *rejection* toward the capitalist establishment of society. Arguing that the capitalist business bosses *captain* people’s *consciousness* via advertising is a negative epideictic argument. As Ewen criticizes capitalist agenda, inevitably he praises the counter-capitalist agenda indirectly through a censorial route to attitudinizing. Such perspective aims to form a perception about the *unethical* foundations of capitalism and an awareness toward the coercive agency of advertising manipulating human beings deceptively or against their will. It is evident that Ewen’s epideictic strategy is an epistemological attempt to establish an alternative morality that rejects capitalist virtues and values presented in the agency of advertising just as he claims that advertising creates a consciousness in favor of capitalist life style, preparing a know-how for citizens to be “good” consumers.

**Salvation through Consumption**

On the other hand, James B. Twitchell’s perspective in *Lead Us to Temptation* on advertising is an opposite interpretation of advertising, which does not deny what advertising does and transforms it into a eulogistic end. His approach is, in Burke’s terms, a pattern of acceptance, a comic corrective for the whole discourse of advertising. Comic corrective seeks to transcend the problems with an optimist level of acceptance,
which involves a *charitable* attitude toward persuasion and symbolic cooperation (*Attitudes* 166). Even though applying humorous explanations for ethical motives of action, comic corrective would *sarcastically* overturn the heroic genre of expression where the character of hero is *magnified* just as gigantic as the situation he faces, into a comical context where the character of agent is relieved by *dwarfin the situation* (*Attitudes* 43). In comedy, there is still a sense of caution toward imprudence and vice but its emphasis does not constitute a dire consequence. As Burke states, *crime* turns into *stupidity* (*Attitudes* 41). However it is important to notice here that Burke’s treatment of comic corrective is a positive and optimistic approach as he names Bentham, Marx, and Veblen at their best as comedy (*Attitudes* 42).

Twitchell’s analysis of advertising follows a similar structure. First he lays out his presumptions before addressing the issue, and therefore demonstrates his eagerness to follow a pattern of acceptance toward capitalist principles. Twitchell defines human beings as natural consumers; in order to rehabilitate a “good” name for such activity, he attempts to prove that it should not be “immoral” or “unethical” to consume (22). Comparing Ewen’s tragic critique, Twitchell’s preliminary principle plays out as a comical corrective implying that a dreadful description of consumer society is not necessary. Later he engages with the most essential point of the discussion. He describes consumers as rational. Next, he assumes that consumption does not hurt but actually benefits people. Thus, Twitchell makes a case for the most fundamental principles of the free market economics (22). Such attempt of course identifies consumption with the ideas of freedom and democracy. Here the virtue of prudent choice emerges as the underlying principle. However, Twitchell ridicules the critics sarcastically of the consumer culture,
and implies that their critical perspectives have elitist leanings and they are condescending toward the ordinary people, the “commoners,” whom he identifies himself with.

Twitchell argues that capitalism provided American society with a new psyche that no longer considers consuming as a source of shame. In his usually playful use of language, he argues that the feeling of shame shifted from “consuming too much” to “consuming wrong brands”—a comedic instrument—as the modern capitalist system has become a blessing for the American society (27). It is crucial to note that his description of consumption in religious or spiritual terms. He uses the metaphors of “magic,” “prayer,” and “salvation” for defining his “new” interpretation of advertising and commercial culture. Twitchell argues that advertising operates as rhetoric of salvation, which encourages people to assign complex abstract meanings to the things that they consume. He suggests that the identification of commercial product as a “magical” construct is a logical continuation of a human motive for symbolically ethicizing things that are useful to their interests. That argument is akin to Burke’s ethicizing the means of support in *Permanence and Change* and the order of his seven offices. People buy things to gratify their physical or psychological needs—original or not, authentic or false—spiritualizing them for a performance of the pontification office. This suggestion has a sense of indirect resignation, which works as an example of homeopathic magic in modern advertising. It is also noteworthy that Twitchell calls advertising a type of commercialized prayer. Such connation is meaningful in juxtaposition with Burke’s secular prayer, because it explains the dynamics between the material things and the deeds what we want them to do for us. Happiness is the sole end of such yearning.
Moreover, it is closely related with the utilitarian idea toward ethicizing of the means of support. As an Enlightenment construct, acquisition of property is associated with the pursuit of happiness.

Twitchell seems to agree with Max Weber’s analysis on the Protestant ethic’s influence on capitalist establishments in America, as he uses the metaphor of salvation in the same manner that the Calvinistic attitude does toward wealth. Twitchell argues that while interacting with the material things that surround him, man needs to find a foundation for assurance that would relieve his ongoing anxiety about survival soothing him socially as well as politically (70). Because capitalist commoditization and consumption seems to liberate human beings from the worries of their most basic human needs, once they enclose and ornament their environments with the valuable things that have symbolic meanings, consumption operates for saving souls and providing peace of mind. It is hard not to see the simplest Benthamite ethic in Twitchell’s approach toward advertising. The ultimate step is to assign a commercial thing as the pillars of the “bridge” between the temporal and the eternal realms terministically. Twitchell seems to follow the same reasoning as Burke when he argues that the advertisers in the modern commercial market serve as clergyman of such symbolic salvation dynamics. Twitchell’s work praises advertising and the capitalist system that eulogizes consumption as a mean of salvation and liberation—a perfect double-praise, the pinnacle of epideictic rhetoric.

**Advertising as Artistic Expression of Capitalism**

In his discussion of the capitalistic realism, Schudson partly touched upon the subject of perceiving advertising as an art form. Thus, it is possible to consider the connections between the forms of art and the forms of commercial expression. Ewen
examines the very same idea as a part of his discussion on degeneration caused by the capitalist transformation of society into a consumption society. Because of the artful images and texts systematically taking the center place in advertising, they have become the instruments of exploitation of the human yearnings for things. Twitchell, of course, considers the art created by advertising as equivalent to a new wave of artistic expression analogical to art currents. However, apart from the discussions above, considering any symbolic creation of human symbolic action as art—as long as it consists of forms that arouse aesthetic (or actual) appetite in human beings—is not new and present in Burke’s work as an idea since Counter-Statement and Attitudes Toward History. Significantly, enough such discussion also appears in the critical writings of literary and visual genres without containing any serious contempt. The famous examples of such artistic examinations of advertising come from Roland Barthes and Leo Spitzer.

The first example that is Barthes’ 1957 article “New Citroën” published in Mythologies (88-90). Barthes’s article was in the veins of Burke’s reference to grotesque genre of poetic expression that takes place in Attitudes Toward History. Barthes directly starts his examination of cars as commercial vehicles comparing them to Gothic cathedrals. This example is not about the advertising but it is about the commercial presentation of the car in symbolic manners. Barthes’s second observation is that the car as an object has a “magical” look. Barthes has an impression is that the car is a heavenly object. He thinks that it looks like “Nautilus.” The smoothness in its assembly reminds him of a type of perfection that one could only experience through a science-fiction fantasy or a religious experience. The abbreviation of the car’s model mark, “D.S.,” and its association to the nickname “Goddess” inspire a collective spiritual presence. Barthes
even mentions the quality of glasswork as a sign of the spiritualization of the vehicle. He moves to analyze the emblem of Citroën briefly as he argues that the addition of wings to its arrows brings a sense of transformation from a mechanical sense of propulsion to an organic motion of spontaneity. He interprets such changes as a comprehensive attempt to create a humanized art, which he argues as more spiritual and “homely”—like a household object, attuned to human touch and interaction. Barthes also mentions the car’s design for driving. He sees an emphasis on control over motion that stresses comfort rather than performance. Barthes considers such emphasis as a sign of “turning from an alchemy of speed to a relish in driving.”

Barthes acknowledges the “New Citroën” as a part of the neologism, which creates a whole discourse on the new things and how people “should get used to it.” He continues,

In the exhibition halls, the car on show is explored with an intense, amorous studiousness: it is the great tactile phase of discovery of the moment when visual wonder is about to receive a reasoned assault of touch (for touch is the most demystifying of all senses, unlike sight, which is the most magical). (Mythologies 90)

Another example is Barthes’s examination of “rhetoric of the image” in The Responsibility of Forms. Barthes studies the aesthetic and artistic characteristics of a Panzani (a pasta brand) ad by examining its images. Barthes argues that there are three levels of message in an image. He calls the first one as the linguistic message, and the other two respectively are called as a “coded iconic” and “non-coded iconic” messages.

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87 This is almost a universal appeal in car commercials in contemporary advertising.
Barthes argues that the linguistic message of the image is an “anchoring” instrument that does not necessarily focus on guiding the identification process for the watcher/reader but has an emphasis on directing the interpretation. Barthes defines that such directing of attention on image is provided linguistically, and helps people “choose the right level of perception” (Responsibility 28). Texts simultaneously serve for their creator’s and, in relation to him, society’s “right-of-inspection of an image,” which is, according to Barthes, a means of control. He believes that such power places the responsibility on the creator’s part. Barthes believes that on that level, in the act of anchoring, “we can see that a society’s ideology and morality are principally invested” (Responsibility 29).

As for the iconic levels of meaning, Barthes starts with the “denoted” message that stands for the image itself in its pure form. He argues that the image itself naturalizes the overall advertising message, as if the objects in the image are just “being there” in the Heideggerian sense of being thrown out there. In such naturalization process, there is also an intention of demonstrating the image as sympathetic and “innocent” to the targeted audience. Barthes argues, “the simple validity of openly semantic systems gives way surreptitiously to a pseudo-truth; the absence of a code de-intellectualizes the message because it seems to institute in nature the signs of culture” (Responsibility 34). The third meaning is a collection of the linguistic, denoted and connotative meanings as a whole. Barthes calls the totality of all connotators a “rhetoric” that appears as the signifying aspect of an ideology (Responsibility 38). Then in an advertising image, the text (or the absence of text), the graphic image and cultural connotations create a whole of meaning—Barthes’ famous the third meaning—which guides the attention of audience and prepares a
context for a “correct” (or desired) interpretation, by naturalizing the “visual”
connotators in an ideological understanding. Thus, the third meaning is created to provide
a frame of acceptance by proving a context for praise of the signified ideas by a specific
image.

Just like Barthes’ examinations of advertisements, Leo Spitzer’s seminal essay
“American Advertising Explained as Popular Art” in his compilation book surprised
some when he defined advertising as an “applied practical art” referring to the German
concept, Gebrauchskunst, which argues, “art that has become a part of the daily routine
and adorns the practical and the utilitarian with beauty” (Essays 248). He argues that the
idea of beauty already moved into the realm of economic production and distribution so
that the “propaganda” of such a system, advertising, also retained the artistic forms that
aspire aesthetic beauty. Aside from the aesthetic concerns, Spitzer argues that the very
rhetoric of advertising started to contain certain textual and contextual information that
reflected the “American character.” Spitzer precedes Barthes’s analysis but it is possible
to see the same approach of considering the entire commercial artifact in terms of a
“picture-with-text” whole. Therefore, both Barthes and Spitzer employed a similar
analysis. Spitzer lays out his approach to the Sunkist ad very straightforwardly as he
states that he would be analyzing this “commercial art” in the same way that he
approached to a poem of St. John of the Cross or a letter by Voltaire (Essays 248). The
equation of advertising copy and image to the celebrated names of literature reminds one
of Twitchell’s cheerful attitude toward commercial imagination and Burke’s description
of frame of acceptance in a highly intellectual level.
Spitzer argues that the copy and image of the ad serves as an artistic expression of the capitalist utilitarian idea on man’s endeavor to unite or join with Nature. He suggests that the business-become-poetics style of the advertising praises the product, as it is associated with the fecundity and the nurturing warmth of Nature. Spitzer calls the so-called creator of such association a poet, which is important since epideictic rhetoric is the one that is usually thought as the most artistic in rhetorical expression. Spitzer’s analysis requires poetic depth and artistic complexity. A sign of the intellectual level of his analysis emerges when he literally and analogically compares the ad to an eleventh century cathedral’s bas-relief demonstrating the Fall of Man. Spitzer describes the way in which a natural fruit was praised to be accessible to all humanity as the central motif of this “practical art” piece (Essays 255). He compares the large representation of the glass full of orange juice to the “naïve” technique used in the medieval paintings in which the point of interest or emphasis is usually demonstrated bigger in relation to others surrounding it (Essays 256). Spitzer interprets that as a sign of pantheistic motive, where the represented commercial product turns into an idol or an ersatz divinity. He also analyzes the brand name Sunkist and acknowledges it as a poetic construct that is a “sentimental pastiche of Shakespearian style” (Essays 260). It is a reference to the kiss given by the Sun to the oranges. Spitzer argues that the brand name is the artistic expression of the overall attitude of the business world in its emphasis on being energetic and efficient. Not only it is easier to say Sunkist but also it is efficient and commercially purposeful as it signifies the inclination of creating a generic name for the whole product group—just as Burke mentions about a symbolic motive to name things.
Above is only a part of Spitzer’s analysis that sometimes reads more vigorous than a Virgil translation. My final point about Spitzer is more important than the analysis itself in which he refers to the origin of capitalist principles and advertising’s proficiency symbolically turning them into a commercial mimesis. Spitzer seems to follow Max Weber’s account that associates the Calvinist attitude with the emergence of capitalism that reconciles engaging a material world with the idea of Providence. Spitzer’s agreement with the Weberian hypothesis, though, is not the foundation of his final examination. He argues that “Calvinistic-deistic business-mindedness which encourages the increase of goods for the sake of increase” cannot be solely responsible for the “advertising mentality” and the rapid development of the advertising industry in America. He offers a second factor that is related to the Protestant explanation at some levels signifying a “preaching mentality” in advertising. He argues that it is founded upon the belief that each individual having reason, just needs to be taught what is “good” in order to accept and follow it to the always improving perfection of that thing’s nature (Essays 273). I cannot imagine a more beautiful description toward Burke’s frames of acceptance and the epideictic characteristic of advertising.

Spitzer argues that advertising is much closer to a type of deism because it emphasizes an insistence on the individual. He suggests that, advertising as a byproduct of capitalism–when I define it as an agency in the Dramatistic sense–considers the consumer and his “rights,” “happiness” and his enjoyment as earthly pleasures. Thus advertising appeals to the “eudemonism of the consumer” (Essays 275). Advertising seems to “preach” that the consumer belongs to the “paradise” and it ethicizes not only
Advertising as Epideictic Rhetoric

the means of support but also the means of consumption, attitudinizing to comply with a secularized or commercialized prayer—in the veins of Burke and Twitchell.

Barthes’ and Spitzer’s analyses are noteworthy to connect advertising to the idea of art and doing so, they peripherally suggest the epideictic characteristic of advertising in three significant levels: (1) advertising has a quality of didactically and aesthetically motivating praise, (2) advertising involves “character building” through spiritualized language of good wishes, and (3) advertising appeals for action in the artful content of its messages which make up an persuasive argument through its beauty.

Advertising as Stories of Commercial Good Reasons

Beside its association to the artistic aspect of epideictic rhetoric, advertising’s storytelling feature also nears to the ceremonial characteristic of having a narrative for inspiring conformist and ritualistic action. Storytelling is a narrative of motivation, an ethicizing through mimetic anecdotes that represent the value system of a group, and underlines the principles of morality “bridging” the modes of being physically as well as metaphysically. Walter Fisher’s narrative paradigm stresses the storytelling nature of human beings. He argues that man is homo narrans as he playfully refers to earlier designations of Homo sapiens and Homo faber. The most significant foundational idea in Fisher’s narrative paradigm is that human beings make decisions based on “good” reasons that have philosophical, practical, rhetorical and artistic consequences. One’s tradition, history, culture and character may define the “good” reasons for that individual. He argues that narrative rationality as a motivational construct depends on the coherence and fidelity of the stories that people communicate. Another significant presumption of Fisher is the element of choice, which signifies the personal responsibility to choose and
to recreate the ethically defined stories *telling* and *retelling* them recurrently. Such narrative perspective functions epideictically as it privileges values, aesthetic criteria and commonsense. Fisher argues that narrative *coherence* is the ability of the story to hang together which, I believe, signifies its *internal* validity. The narrative *fidelity* is about the perception or the reception of a story by a specific audience in terms of aesthetic, ethical and moral foundations defined in that time and space, which, I think, refers to the *external* validity as an attempt of *universalizing*. The narrative fidelity is based on the idea of “good” reasons, which stands for the interpretation of societal values for specific cases in relation to an assumed universal set of virtues that Fisher defines as “humane” virtues. Examples of such may be truth, the good, beauty, health, wisdom, courage, temperance, justice, harmony, order, communion, friendship, and oneness with the Cosmos (Nature). The actualization of these virtues may change culturally, historically and geographically but it is significant to realize that each independent *scene* would offer a different range of potential interpretations over the behavioral imperatives, because formulas for the desired *action* would be simultaneously inherent in the *scene* itself as well as the suggested “humane” virtues.

Fisher’s narrative paradigm presents an epideictic foundation for advertising’s storytelling characteristics. Since each product, brand, corporation or political candidate has a story behind it and what they competitively offer, advertising messages may also work as if they are a part of a ceremonial ritual that directs action and exemplifies the correct way of *being* (di-κη), and the correct *character* (ηθος) and *customs* (ethos) for a society. Therefore, such “character building” takes place
dramatically as it praises the desired actions and dispositions while censuring opposites.

The narrative paradigm operates in two ways in advertising. One is the micro level in the individuality of each commercial message, and second in the macro level as the whole advertising agency functions as a story in itself, expressing the “good” reasons” behind the scene of capitalism. The first level is already present in the advertising literature academically and professionally. David Ogilvy says that a successful advertising copywriter should use the form of storytelling in designing an advertisement (81). A more contemporary example is from the Journal of Advertising Research’s March 2006 issue where Sal Randazzo, a veteran of advertising research, suggests that brands using storytelling strategy represent symbolically created worlds of myths, with their own mythologies and value systems that “maintain and reinforce the brand’s identity, personality and, an emotional connection with the customer” (11). He argues that storytelling is a part of the human condition and for that reason it is a compelling way of communicating with consumers. He states that humans tell stories not only to express themselves to others but also understand themselves, and create their identity. Randazzo suggests that people always compare their stories with others so that they can gather a philosophical and practical insight about how their lives should be lived (11). Randazzo’s account presents a striking likeness to Fisher’s theorizing of narrative rationality. He argues that, aside the informational approach, advertising actualizes a persuasion strategy based on drama or stories in a transitional model by relying on emotions and feelings attempting to connect with audience for creating identification. He argues that advertising, doing that, has become the most visible and pervasive art forms
in modern cultures (11). Randazzo refers to famous Marlboro and McDonald’s campaigns, as he emphasizes the Subaru campaign that was built around the Crocodile Dundee character as his central example.

On the other hand, the macro level aspects of narrative advertising operate in a larger scope of the overall human experiences. Using the metaphors of narrative paradigm, one can argue that the institution of advertising, itself, creates a story line in the general scene of capitalist order. In agreement with my configuration of Burke’s seven offices and Schudson’s idea of capitalist realism, one may suggest that advertising offers a general story of the “good” reasons denoting the virtues of capitalist worldview that proposes a narrative fidelity and coherence around the principles of free market economics, liberal utilitarianism, material and spiritual prosperity. The collective presence and implications of advertising institution, in that sense, functions as an orientation, direction or counsel for the consumer-citizens exemplifying the values of freedom, happiness, leisure, aesthetic rationality and enjoyment along with material wealth and private property. At the same time as it celebrates the human accomplishments of productivity, fecundity, recreation, work, and contemplation that as a whole strive for the universal well-being.

**Conclusion**

In this chapter, I attempted to employ a scene-agency ratio from Burke’s dramatistic pentad, in order to explain the relationship between advertising and

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88 An interesting article on this issue is Simeon Chow and Sarit Amir’s article on the *Journal of Advertising Research* titled “The Universality of Values” where they conclude that “a universal structure of values” for capitalist societies exist, arguing for an articulation of the core values of corporations as essential for persuasion through identification. Authors suggest, “motivation for brand selection is rooted in our guiding principles and represents a reflection of self” (314).
capitalism. Such association requires a comprehensive look to social, economical and political aspects in the structures of a society. For that reason, I identified the institution of advertising as an integral part of the overall system of a capitalistic worldview, working in the epideictic means. Following Burke’s reasoning presented in the *Grammar of Motives*, I looked at the ways of placement (container and thing contained) and designated advertising as an *agency* that corresponds to the questions of “how” and “by what means” of the capitalist act. First, I looked at the advertising as the *thing contained* where I covered the theoretical and philosophical foundations behind it in the forms of critique (*censorial*) and defense (*praise*). At the end of that analysis, I argued that both of these approaches toward advertising actually betray their epideictic characteristics.

Consecutively, to examine the epideictic characteristic of the *agency* of advertising, I turn to study and describe the *scenic* principles that correspond to the origins of the capitalist motivations and virtues engrossed within the ideas of *wealth, happiness*, and *prosperity*. Since the virtues praised in the *thing contained* should also be present in the containing *scene*, the examination of the principles of capitalism would provide an illuminating example for the epideictic ethos of advertising.

I started the review of the origins of capitalism with Braudel’s seminal work explaining the material life between the years 1400 and 1800. In a temporally logical move, I examined the Mercantilist Era as well. Then respectively, I explored the ideas of Adam Smith and the origin of Free Market, Bentham and the principle of utility, together with the ideas of Malthus and Ricardo on the issue of political economy. I also looked at John Stuart Mill’s liberal utilitarianism and the idea of liberty, as I connected all to Max
Weber’s religious explanation behind the capitalist motives. Because of this survey, I was able to identify the chief virtues of capitalism.

Then I turned back to the investigation of advertising’s epideictic function in a society by focusing on Burke’s ideas in the *Attitudes Toward History* where he looks at the idea of bureaucratization of the imaginative. He offers an analysis of the ideas behind capitalism following the same metaphor. I argued that Burke’s description of secular prayer, coaching “character building,” matches advertising’s epideictic definition as a part of the salvation device and homeopathic magic. Advertising also corresponds with the idea of the frames of acceptance. Burke’s seven offices for modern communication discourse help to describe the epideictic characteristic of advertising. I presented a detailed explanation of each office’s juxtaposition with the institution of advertising and linked them with the six emphases that Thames explains in the *Persuasion’s Domain*.

Next, I connected Burke’s idea of attitudinizing and ethicizing with Ellul’s arguments around social propaganda and the metaphor of “fascinated people” who are constantly habituated by the mesmerizing tools of the technological system. Ellul’s analysis helps to define advertising as a part of the sociological propaganda, which fascinates people through an enthralling aesthetic discourse.

Following Ellul’s insights, I exemplified the epideictic aspects of modern advertising by the guidance of the ideas presented in the works of other significant authors: (a) Schudson’s definition of advertising as capitalist realism in the aesthetic and social terms, (b) Ewen’s discussion of a consumerist consciousness and consumer education, (c) Twitchell’s argument on the salvation rhetoric around institution of advertising, and (d) finally Barthes’s and Spitzer’s definitions and explanations of
Advertising as modern ceremonial art form. Then I connected those ideas with the
narrative paradigm by explaining that advertising portrays a characteristic of commercial
storytelling that perpetuates “good reasons” of capitalism. Hitherto, my analysis was
mostly theoretical. Thus, in the following chapter, my purpose is to present applications
of the theoretical ideas with which I have defined advertising as epideictic rhetoric by
relating some concrete examples.
Chapter 4 Marketplace Applications of Epideictic Rhetoric in Advertisements

Advertisements are the most prominent examples of commercial communication in the mass media. They are always in front of viewers and designed to create a spectacle usually as parts of the media messages or side-contents of other programming or publishing. From print media to the Internet, television to satellite communications, these persuasive commercial art forms, as Schudson would say, take place everywhere that the technological range of mass communication tools cover the imaginative scopes of the marketplace of modern societies.

In the previous chapters, I attempted to establish a philosophical and intellectual foundation for considering advertising as an institution in the public life of capitalist democracies. The argument is that advertising carries the characteristic principles of epideictic rhetoric in its relation to audience, on its temporal emphasis, and kind of argumentation. It treats audience as (theoroi) contemplating spectators, arguing for praise of values and virtues or censure vices in order to motivate for compliance and acceptance while stressing the present time, and building a phenomenology of now.

In this chapter, my purpose is to demonstrate the advertising’s epideictic characteristics by analyzing a sample of commercials, which would exemplify the arguments I previously made. My analysis aims to connect advertising, as represented in the samples, to the values of the capitalist worldview around the four basic virtues examined in the second chapter: function, aesthetics, ethics, and tradition. Each of the basic virtue structure relates to a specific advertising strategy. For example, positioning, brand image and personality, corporate reputation and consumer loyalty, as advertising
concepts, respectively match with the standards of those virtues above.

The commercial mimesis is created by a linguistic, aesthetic and rhetorical platform for the perpetuation of capitalist values. In order to illustrate that, I will also link the rhetoric of each advertisement in my sample to the theoretical ideas that I presented in the third chapter. Burke’s ideas around patterns of acceptance, secular prayer for attitudinizing, ethicizing the means of support and homeopathic magic are essential in that matter. Ellul’s categorization of social propaganda and technological fascination creates a good background for discussion. Ewen’s argument over advertising’s consciousness creating is significant to the advertising objectives of creating awareness, recognition and recall of commercial messages and their collective effect on attitude change. Schudson’s main point over capitalistic realism follows the assumptions made by Burke and Ellul–even Ewen–in relation to the epideictic ends of the advertising messages. His effort to define advertising as a persuasive art form is useful to connect philosophical foundations of my arguments with the aesthetic analyses of advertising examined by Barthes and Spitzer, which establish a well-founded ground for the artistic value of advertisements.

The narrative paradigm and Fisher’s ideas of good reasons are also essential for my analysis. Advertisers seem to strongly acknowledge the storytelling and myth creating features of advertising discourse. The stories of advertising form an understanding of the “good reasons” of the capitalist values and worldview, inspiring for their adoption.

The advertisements in my analysis mostly are TV commercials. TV is still the
biggest medium on advertisement spending and production\textsuperscript{89} that shows its continuing supremacy. However, the current marketplace requires a more integrated strategy of message development, and for that reason it is now more common to see the same or similar messages of a campaign in multiple media platforms. I will examine some of the ads in-depth and some of them briefly in order to make more efficient arguments. I will cover a spectrum of advertised goods, services and ideas as large as possible but it must be considered that unfortunately I am limited with only a small sample compared to the contextual enormity and the scope of the whole advertising industry. It is important to note here that each commercial is obviously designed for a specific target audience and may not appeal the whole of public, thus its rhetorical analysis addresses the each case exclusively. A full list of the commercials and ad credits is available in the appendix section.

\textbf{When Does a Car Become More Than a Car?}

Automobile commercials have a big place in the TV advertisement scene. The domestic and foreign automobile advertising expenditure was over $15 billion for 2006, even though there was a 15\% drop from the numbers of 2005. The total spending for both of the domestic and foreign automotive sectors was the top figure above of the telecom category.\textsuperscript{90} Given the vast popularity and significance of cars in the United States, it is reasonable to start looking at them for an immediate example of epideictic effect.

Toyota Camry’s campaign for introduction of 2007 model is a perfect case. The

\textsuperscript{89} See appendix for TNS Media Intelligence Report on U.S. Advertising Expenditures

\textsuperscript{90} Ibid.
ad in this campaign carries the name, *When Does A Car Become More?* and its long version is about sixty seconds long. Toyota came out with a strategy not only to advertise the car but also to create a certain brand/corporate image that would connect the Toyota Camry name with potential customers in a way to integrate the perceived value of the car with the audience’s worldview representing a capitalistic *gestalt* philosophy. The commercial combines an effective off-voice with the aesthetic shots of car parts, plant shots, workers, drivers and the full portrayal of the car. Here is the transcript of the ad:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Copy</th>
<th>Images</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>At what point does a car become more just glass, rubber and steel?</td>
<td><em>Car production chassis, steel etc.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is it when it comes off the line?</td>
<td><em>Car door—moving line</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Or the first time you get behind the wheel?</td>
<td><em>Hand and a wheel separate, driving hands</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When does a car become more than sum of its part?</td>
<td><em>Lights &amp; other parts</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When does it become something you love?</td>
<td><em>Workers, at plant smiling</em>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When does a car do more than just move itself forward?</td>
<td><em>Out of the mists, cars moves into the road, driving</em>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When does it become part of your family?</td>
<td><em>Dad son washing car</em>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At what point a car becomes more than just a car?</td>
<td><em>Driving dream like environment and lighting</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introducing the all new Toyota Camry for 2007</td>
<td><em>Car is presented...</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It’s time to move forward…</td>
<td><em>Toyota logo, slogan “moving forward” Web address emerges</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This campaign is reminiscent of Burke’s Chrysler example from the *Attitudes Toward History* where argues that the “unseen value of the car” was portrayed as a selling point and appropriated as an example of *homeopathic magic* over the material constituents of the automobile that apparently contains more than its parts. The ad copy starts with a whole-part dialectics in order to build up the argument that “this car is not only a car” which would *justify* the existence and ownership of the car. This would be the foundation of the secular prayer (or as Twitchell would call it, a commercial prayer) for the material providence. From then on, each question is actually *not* a question but they
turn into wishes, requests or a collection of *hopes*. There is a sense of acceptance and a naïve acknowledgement that the car is only a *thing* but it becomes *more* when a person drives it. The car is identified with the owner. The ad prays: “*The whole is more than the sum of parts.* It is more when I love, when it moves me forward, when it is a part of my *family*. The Camry is more than sum of its parts!”

Ad eulogizes the reasons for having a car, praising the virtues of purpose and aesthetics directly, making references to the virtues of ethics and tradition covertly. Obviously, car is efficient for what it is built for, it *drives* but it also moves more than itself. Ad refers to the human *action*; the car will help its owner to *act* in his endeavors of making money, working and thinking. In addition, when it *becomes* a part of his family the car contributes to the owner’s *fecundity* in life and the upbringing of a new generation. The epideictic moment becomes at the end when “it is time to move forward…” Again it is a perspective of prayer, that the consumer is called into action by observing the values presented in the commercial. It is *now*, the present time!

The aesthetic values presented in the ad have a twofold quality. One is related to the literary side of production, whereas the other is related to the rhetoric of image. As I explained, Spitzer suggests that the image-copy whole can be considered as an aesthetic union of mimetic expression. On the other hand, Barthes thinks that the image itself creates a third meaning, separate but usually reinforcing. For Camry commercial both methods make sense but Barthes’ approach seems more appropriate for the images not necessarily matching one-on-one with the copy text. First line of images emphasizes the idea of whole and parts, *gestalt*, however each image of a specific car part also serves as a demonstration of the aesthetic and functional *beauty* behind the specific part. When the
Advertising as Epideictic Rhetoric 237

The word “love” is uttered, the images of two workers from the Toyota plant emerge. They smile happily and seem fulfilled. The faces and expressions are unmistakably American as if the ad once more wants to remove the idea that Toyota is a foreign car.

The third meaning then has also a twofold representation. One emphasizes the idea of reciprocity: workers are happy to have jobs and what you buy is a product of their labor and work (so by your purchase you also contribute to their prosperity). Secondly, they are happy to serve you as the people of the Toyota Corporation for your prosperity, toward the idea of self-interest. That is a perfect demonstration of the capitalistic ethical point stressing the balance between the well-being of self and others. Both of them work as the instruments of identification between the owner and the car (as well as the corporation).

Another third meaning is present in the image of dad and son washing the Camry. Thus, the car becomes the part of the family as Toyota enters the household. The car is not only a car, now it is an object of interest in an shared activity, which phenomenologically puts attention on the communion between a father and a son as they act together, toward a common purpose, sharing physical labor (as the most intimate level of identification).

The dreamlike shots of the drive into mist, and the final presentation gives an impression of the metaphysical and mystical characteristics of the car, as it emerges almost like a magical thing. Magic can turn potentiality into actuality, and wishes into reality. The closing shot that contains the slogan “moving forward” is a pun on car’s essential function which metaphorically implies that it will move its driver forward as well in an enthymematic sense. “Moving forward” seems to have an equivocal quality. It probably refers to the technological progress, which signifies the car’s advance technical
specifications, but simultaneously it perhaps signifies a progress in life that can be described as a synchronized advancement of qualitative and quantitative means. The overall rhetoric is celebratory of the values homeopathically presented in the car in a magical way, and it celebrates of the pleasant things that potentially will happen in the future. It is a discourse of transformational praise where the commended object transforms one’s life virtuously for the better through touch or use—a way of internalization.

Toyota’s campaign is in many ways similar in strategy to other car commercials that facilitate such internalization as their unique selling proposition. A great example is VW Passat’s 2006 Low Ego Emissions campaign in which the Passat drivers are demonstrated as prudent and moderate in their judgments as they are contrasted to other high-end vehicle owners who are presented as unreasonably ambitious and egotistic. It is a perfect example of incorporating praise and censure, where the censorial attitudinizing is planned for inducing a favorable act in a manner of thou shalt not as an imperative expression. In a series of sequences, the other expensive and sports car owners are shown shouting with bullhorns. One yells, “because daddy never hugged me,” another, “because more I get noticed more I love myself,” a third one says, “because I make more money than you,” and the last one screams, “because I am compensating for my shortcomings.” Each example represents censorial characteristics of low-self esteem, narcissism, snobbery, and envy as undesirable traits, and through the identification of Passat, the commercial urges audience to have attitudes that are opposite to those negative ones presented in the ad.

Another example is Lexus ES 350 commercial, which like Camry ad focuses on a
transformational value. This advertising film is called Goosebumps as it refers to the ecstatic feeling of experiencing something that is perfect, an ultimate representation of divine excellence. The car is presented as an objet d’art that arouses a rapturous enjoyment based on its perception and exposure. This commercial reminds Barthes’s examination of the Citroën, the “Goddess.” Just like his example, ES 350 is also represented as a heavenly object. The car stands in a darkened crash test location where lighting effectively creates an impression toward the existence of something extraordinary; something commands humility to the watching eye in its presence. The camera moves around the car’s external and internal space exposing its lines, texture and form. An off-voice reveals the obvious by mentioning that each details of the car is designed for creating awe without pronouncing the word “awe.” As the camera moves, it focuses on the surface of a crash test dummy’s arm, and suddenly the dummy has a chill in its “body” as it get goose bumps. The caption shot presents the slogan, “the passionate pursuit of perfection.” Such high praise of a car as an inanimate object calls for two levels of interpretation. One is based on the aesthetic beauty of the car as an artistic creation for a sophisticated enjoyment; the other is about its iconic quality of spiritual representation. However, in both interpretations, the car is praised as a symbolic embodiment of utmost perfection. Having a direct experience with such object may result in an ecstatic and delightful reaction. The car calls for appreciation in a level of worship where a person’s being dissolves into nothing next to its majesty. Here lies a hint for a mystical merger with such divine perfection in the symbolic union of a car and a driver. When a person owns and uses an iconic object, again homeopathically, that object would transcend him up to the heights of aesthetic and spiritual salvation. This commercial is a
perfect example of Twitchell’s perspective on advertising as a salvation device.

The last example on car commercials is part of Cadillac’s Breakthrough campaign for STS model in 2004, which I explained in the second chapter. The commercial spot carries the name Let’s Dance, which is a comparative advertising that aims to position Cadillac STS as higher than its similar “German engineered” competitions. The commercial uses Led Zeppelin’s famous track Rock’n’Roll as its soundtrack. The overall strategy of the commercial is to demonstrate the foreignness of competitor cars as a censorial quality. As these “German” cars are shown “dancing” to the Viennese Waltzes, ad focuses on creating an identification mechanism around the Cadillac to emphasize the “Americanness” of STS model as a luxury car. The commercial aims to arouse a patriotic motivation for Americans to purchase Cadillac STS as it is mimetically represented as a part of the hardcore American culture bonded in the boldness and free spirit of the Rock’n’Roll tradition.

**The Rhetoric of Perseverance and Environmentalism around Chemicals**

In the recent years, several great examples of social responsibility and corporate reputation campaigns emerged from the chemical industry. Because of the increasing concern toward the protection of environment, the perception of the chemical products has been worsened insisting that they dangerously harm nature, and the consumer opinion over the industry’s reputation have become negative. In response, many chemical corporations needed to explain: they (a) are essential for the requirements of a modern

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91 In the veins of Barthes’ analysis of interpreting the “Italianicity” of a pasta brand in “Rhetoric of Image” in *Forms of Responsibility.*
life style, and (b) work toward the ecological protection of the earth, contrary to the common belief. The first line of social responsibility and reputation campaign started in 2005 under the name of Essential campaign by AmericanChemistry.com where the vitality of industry’s contribution to the society in the basic daily means, especially in the health services, is portrayed. The second campaign is the DOW Chemical Company’s highly transformational campaign that started in late 2006, Human Element, which I want to analyze here in detail. However, I will return to the Essential campaign later.

Human Element campaign is a celebration of the human spirit in nature. It changes everything as it incrementally understands the chemical principles of life in a healthier way, and works with the nature for the betterment of the whole human race. The campaign makes a special effort to emphasize that chemistry, and DOW for that sense, is not working against the nature but actually strives to preserve it as it simultaneously tries to solve the future problems of the world. The ad is shot in a highly aesthetic style, using a merger of nature and people images in order to exemplify the human endeavor for knowledge and improvement honoring the embedded character of man in the nature, and the human mind’s never ending curiosity to understand the works of nature in a respectful manner. It is surely a very poetic representation of human-nature relationship and very celebratory of man’s venture in the nature. Here is a transcript of the commercial:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Copy</th>
<th>Images</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For each of us there is a moment of discovery</td>
<td>Bird view landscapes, water, emotional music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We turn a page or raise a hand</td>
<td>Pages fly, artifacts of sculpture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And just then in the flash of the seconds, we learn that life’s elemental</td>
<td>Human eye, nerve cell, flash, volcano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And that knowledge changes everything</td>
<td>Owl, landscapes, bird view,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We look around and see the grandness of the scheme</td>
<td>Same---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sodium bonding with chlorium (salt), carbon bonding with oxygen (CO2), hydrogen bonding with oxygen (H2O)</td>
<td>Earth satellite images, tree in storms-rain salt taste, basic mineral, photosynthesis, water, running water, waterfall etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We see all things connected, we see life unfolds
And at the dazzling moment of this knowledge, we may overlook the element not listed on the chart
It importance so obvious, its presence is simple understood
Missing element is the human element
And when we added to the equation, the chemistry changes
Every reaction is different
Potassium looks to bond with potential Metals behave with a hardened resolve And hydrogen and oxygen form desire The human element is the element of change It gives us our footing to stand fearlessly and face the future
It is a way of seeing,
It gives us a way of touching…
Issues, ambition and lives
The human element
Nothing is more fundamental
Nothing more elemental

Plants in jars, plants
Panning up oil paint
Fade to elemental period chart
A child’s eye, opens
Cut to the corner, kid is standing, superimposed to a fake Hs elemental symbol (black dark)
Some one’s head comes out the water, another kid walks (white blonde)
Horse shoe to locomotive
Horse with man to swimming underwater
Artists sculpt
Man sitting on the desert
Africa, women baby at back another hand caresses the child
Superimposed human element symbol emerges
Young people – studying standing running
Human element symbol turn into Dow logo

The advertisement presents itself as a cinematographic art. It is shot, edited and produced with an aesthetic concern to create a beautiful filmic poetry. It appeals to a *formal* appetite to draw audience’s attention. Its beautiful discourse would influence some people even without hearing the advertising copy. The rhetoric of image is powerfully planned to arouse specific emotional states by implying hermeneutical associations between each image and the signified thing. The first idea of emphasis is around the metaphor of *discovery*. The human character’s curiosity toward nature is phenomenologically on the foreground as images are related to acts of *seeing* (the world around), *thinking* (as in the act of raising a hand in classroom), and *reading* (learning from the books). Then those acts are associated to the idea of *knowing*, which relates to the metaphor of scientific knowledge, it makes the big picture more meaningful to the
human mind because studying it man finds more about the chemical building blocks of the universe.

The cycle of life in the earth, once a sacred phenomenon, now can be explained with the help of the chemical elements as they unfold the interrelationships of everything fundamental. The basic idea is a metaphorical demonstration of photosynthesis process, as sunlight, water and salt in soil come together with the carbon dioxides from the air to form carbohydrates—the major nutrition in nature—through the chlorophyll tissues of plants. Such metaphoric mimesis stands for the fundamental significance of chemistry in the order of things. The order of things in the inanimate world is presented in the elemental table as a platform of the potentiality of life.

However, commercial acknowledges the fact that the human being and his mind is essential to the order of things, as he understands the relationship between the elements of nature increasingly well, he will further contribute to the potentiality of life. The ad calls that human contribution as the human element. This is represented in a graphic of Hu symbol in the periodic table. Through that metaphoric transformation, the human element entering in the equations of nature makes things have a more human character; human mind turns the order of things into a human order of things. Ad presents the human element as an achievement toward the uncertainty of future—a constant human apprehension due to his awareness of time and his bold attitude for not accepting his fate.

The brief sequence of a blacksmith’s work on a horseshoe, followed by an image of moving locomotive signifies the technological development of the means of transportation while a pun on horsepower is magnified. The ad relates such transformation in the metaphor of change. Then that metaphor of change becomes a
festive sign in which the human work in nature is emphasized. By portraying an artist
sculpts as an example of the emphasized human work, it is obvious that the ad associates
chemistry to an artistic activity and aesthetic creation. Such intellectual and aesthetic
perspective presents itself as the fundamental grounding of human existence. There is a
second pun here as the word ground is used both in its literal connotation and figurative
denotations: a surface and an epistemological basis. It is an attempt to merge the ideas of
earth and science as each is represented to make the other more meaningful.

The ad suggests that such scientific grounding of knowing would give civilization
a perspective to be aware of the problems and find their solutions, curing the essential
issues of health and other needs of basic living. The powerful sequence includes an image
of a mother, carrying her baby in a sling on her back. The beautifully framed picture has
a pastel background of a house built of sand, which creates a perfect contrast on the dark
tan of the mother and her colorful clothes. As the word touch is heard, a hand reaches out
from the right, over the shoulder of the mother and caresses the baby’s head
compassionately. Next, a superimposed Hu symbol emerges on the child signifying the
livelihood of the spirit as well as its vulnerability that requires a considerate care for the
future. Such imagery is a reference to the virtue of purpose, accentuating on the fecundity
of human element. Here lies the dialectic of self-care and altruism in the form of human
action toward caring for his own offspring, which can turn into the philosophical
foundation for caring for others—human ability to be compassionate.

Commercial ends portraying different images of kids, recognizing that they are
the prospects of the humankind; the next generation of human spirit which will animate
the human element in future. Off-voice finalizes the ad copy, “the human element,
nothing is more fundamental, nothing more elemental.” The DOW logo turns into the
Hu symbol at the end as the children run in the desert where the colors of sky blue and
sand brown foreground them. As the Hu symbol transforms into the DOW logo, together
with the final words, a simultaneous identification between the fundamentality of the
human element and the essential role of DOW Chemical Company in it is highlighted.

DOW commercial is quiet long, about ninety seconds. It is a part of an integrated
communication effort to keep a high-end corporate reputation by expressing a vision and
a mission that strengthen the opinion toward the vitality of chemical industry, and
DOW. DOW serves to 22 different industries from agriculture to automotive, from
telecommunications to medical, and from energy sources to food. It is a broad and huge
industry seemingly lies the foundations of everything that humans take granted in a
modern life style.

Essential campaign had a similar strategy with two advertisements;
AmericanChemistry.com launched an awareness recognition campaign to build up an
industrial reputation for public opinion. The campaign has its slogan as “essential living”
which equates chemistry as a fundamental requirement, an archê, of modern life. The
American Chemistry Council owns the web site and it is their official public
communication outlet together with the American Chemistry magazine. The campaign
aims to demonstrate the virtues of chemistry as it assists human beings to live
progressively better in an improved environment, serving their physical and
psychological needs.

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92 http://www.dow.com/hu is the official web site of the overall campaign information.
The advertising strategy is designed to make people appreciate and understand the vital contributions and the ethical stance of the American Chemistry Council, which since 1988 implements the initiative of Responsible Care® that is a global chemical industry performance initiative that is implemented in the United States through the American Chemistry Council.\(^93\) It is a global voluntary initiative under which companies, through their national associations, work together to continuously improve their health, safety and environmental performance, and to communicate with stakeholders about their products and processes.\(^94\)

The first ad has its stage in a medical care room in which a patient waits for the doctor to arrive and treat him. Suddenly he sees that the doctor’s diploma dissolves, as the paper and the print on it slowly vanishes. A superimposed text emerges, “essential₂printing.” Then the phone on the desk melts into air, “essential₂talking.” It continues as other things slowly disappear from the room: Gloves “essential₂rotection,” sanitizer and its container “essential₂clean,” x-rays, the treatment bed; every chemical product in the room fades away. The second ad is very similar to the first one. This time the ad moves to demonstrate the basic household things that people use everyday as a part of their lives. A woman wakes up to the alarm clock, then it suddenly starts dissolving, “essential₂wakeup.” As she gets up, and moves into the bathroom she turns the lights on, as she enters the light knobs disappear slowly, “essential₂light.” She opens up the bathroom cabinet and surprised to see that her pills and medicine suddenly melts into air “essential₂health,” her brush and mouthwash goes away “essential₂freshbreath.”


\(^94\) [http://www.responsiblecare.org/](http://www.responsiblecare.org/)
She curiously moves into the living room and see that a small car toy, the TV and the her dog’s play bone all disappear in spite of Jasper’s, the dog, protesting bark:

“essential playtime, essential primetime, essential Jasper.”

Both of the commercials demonstrate the virtues of purpose, ethics and tradition around the vitality of chemical industry’s contributions to the human life. Seemingly the whole industry is aware of Burke’s seven offices, as they pledge to their duties of serve, defend, teach, entertain and cure directly while the other two, govern and pontificate are indirectly implied.

**The Return of Agriculture with a Vengeance: New Bio-Energy Sources**

As the global need for more energy resources has increased, oil companies started to look for more dependable, reusable and cleaner sources since they, too, realize that a change is not only essential for the continuation of the profitability their businesses but is also required for the sake of the prosperity of all. The current energy sources cannot seem to answer the problem of recycling the base materials since petroleum is used in a one-way process without the renewable outlets.

On the other hand, the ambiguous discussions over the side effects of using petroleum-based sources seem to be too trivial in comparison to the potential risks projected in the case of a sudden depletion of oil or a dire consequence of extreme consumption creating the dangers of carbon monoxide for the environment. I do not believe that this is an issue of opinion anymore. First, as the federal government of the United States publicly acknowledges that the country needs to diversify its energy
sources to reduce the issue of oil dependence.\textsuperscript{95} Contrary to the impression that the phrase is not about “foreign oil dependency” but it regards to the dependence to oil \textit{per se}. However, since it is also an issue of national and domestic security and peace, a sudden elimination of oil is not regarded as viable. Secondly, there has been an apparent attempt to change energy sources in the marketplace while many energy companies already seem to have changed their direction. Many traditional energy companies are changing their ways of looking at the energy sources.\textsuperscript{96} Shell reports investing over $1 billion in the last five years in alternative fuel sources. BP, for example, is one of the large fuel companies that started a campaign called “beyond petroleum.” The campaign is designed to respond the questions toward the alternative fuel in the market. Another example of such advertisement campaign came from American Lung Association of Upper Midwest, which under the name of cleanerchoice.org strongly supports the case for E85 Ethanol and BioDiesel.

FlexFuel engines for cars have been produced in the United States for ten years now but they became more apparent in the market in the past two years. The United States Department of Energy keeps an official data on alternative fuel sources and the available makes of vehicles on the market since 2001.\textsuperscript{97} Major automotive corporations have started to place a special emphasis on E85 especially. Commercials from Ford, GM and DaimlerChrysler on Flex Fuel vehicles have been on the air since 2005. Together

\textsuperscript{95} http://www.whitehouse.gov/infocus/energy/. Government’s official policy on energy resources is explained here as headlines and emphases.
\textsuperscript{96} A good example of that is Shell. In order to present its vision on solving the world’s energy problem Shell offers this movie on their web site. http://www.shell.com/home/PlainPageServlet?FC=/aboutshell-en/html/iwgen/shell_real/shell_solutions/films/app_viewFilm.html. Surely a new advertising medium!
\textsuperscript{97} http://www.eere.energy.gov/afdc/afv/afdc_vehicle_search.php. The U.S. Department of Energy web site holds a vast variety of data on alternative fuel sources.
with government’s public education concerns, such campaigns are good epideictic examples of market education and social responsibility strategies that use advertising extensively. Such use of public communication is what Burke would call as attitudinizing and Ewen would name it as consciousness creation. Even though Ewen used the term in a dyslogistic way, it seems that E85 and FlexFuel campaigns point toward just the opposite direction: a positive agenda setting. Of course, the eulogy of alternative fuel sources, in a way, again contains a censorial message covertly warning against the long-term of usage of petroleum fuels. Therefore, there is a trend (or an emerging pattern) of acceptance over the chargers against the fossil-based energy sources. However, one should not assume that all oil companies ready to let petroleum go.

The first campaign that I will look at is from the www.cleaneriarchoice.org. The commercial spot is called E85. The American Lung Association of Upper Midwest prepared the advertisement for not only making the air cleaner, it seems, but also to help the agricultural economy of the region too. It is not a coincidence that the Midwest mainly is known for its corn. The campaign argues for renewable and cleaner fuel sources. Obviously, E85 is praised since it contributes to a better and healthy environment, and potentially creates a reusable fuel market. However, the epideictic moment comes when the source of this energy is revealed, “what if this new fuel was grown on American farms, helping local economies?” It works exactly as Burke defines it, by ethicizing the means of support.

98 http://www.eere.energy.gov/afdc/e85campaign/e85fuel.html. The U.S. Department of Energy also has an emphasis on efficient and renewable energy sources, especially E85.
A related advertisement is GM’s “Live Green Go Yellow” marketing communication campaign. This campaign was another consumer education strategy. The advertising spot was launched in the pre-game segment of the Super Bowl commercials in 2006. The epideictic message in this ad is based on the environmentalist message where the new fuel is directly eulogized for fighting against the dependence on oil, and the greenhouse effect. Therefore, GM creates a nature friendly ethos for the corporate reputation, and at the same time promotes its FlexFuel vehicles already in the market. There is an expectation from the consumer to take the necessary ethical step to observe the environmentalist initiative presented in the commercial. “Live Green Go Yellow” campaign merges an epideictic discourse with a potentially deliberative moral action in the veins of Isocrates’s panegyric style.

Another similar advertising campaign is built upon Ford’s Cornstalk. Similar to the American Lung Association of Upper Midwest campaign, this one is advertised by the Northland Ford that serves the six states of the same region. An F-150 Ford truck drives on a farm road and stops by a cornfield. The driver, who looks an archetype of the Midwest farmer, gets off the truck. He walks toward to the cornfield and reaches in. He holds a corn stalk and pulls it out. The stem stretches like a fuel pump hose; he puts it in the fuel tank door as if he refuels. The whole commercial idea is based on the transformation of the corn into a fuel source in a metaphoric construct. Thus, finally the food becomes the most essential energy source again.

**A Fresh Look at the Beauty Market**

David Ogilvy was a visionary advertising man who successfully positioned the Dove cream bar so effectively that he almost created a new product segment separate
from the soap market. Ogilvy takes pride of this campaign when he explains the ways of effective positioning in his book *On Advertising*. After more than half a century, Ogilvy is still the advertising agency that promotes Dove. In 2005, Dove launched its latest campaign “Real Beauty.” This exemplary advertising campaign, that turns even all the critics of fashion and beauty product advertisements over their head, is itself based on the very critique of the commercially represented idea of *beauty*. It aims to recognize that not every woman is the same and each has its own beauty as an attempt to put the beauty back on the eye of beholder in the advertising industry. 

Dove’s reference to the actual women in its campaign slogan “Real Beauty” is a (dyslogistic) reaction to the unrealistic and unhealthy beauty standards continuously disseminated by the fashion advertising, whereas it is a (eulogistic) celebration of the intrinsic beauty in every woman. Ogilvy advertising agency, by market research, realized that women are aware of the fact that the beauty portrayed in the commercials is not a reachable objective, but a fantasy. Some even resented the advertising industry’s insistence on such beauty criteria. Upon those research findings, a new campaign was prepared to celebrate women as they *really* are. The overall objective is to place the real woman as the center of beauty appeal again. However, it is a campaign for woman to retain their self-esteem and for that reason the campaign itself may seem to some as pretentious but no doubt, it is effective.

As an example, I would like to examine a revolutionary commercial film by Dove called *Evolution*. The ad starts with a sequence where an ordinary young women walks

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99 http://www.ogilvy.com/viewpoint/view_ko.php?id=42707&iMagaid=9. Ogilvy worldwide advertising agency’s online publication viewpoint examines the campaign in detail and provides a good data from the market research that inspired the campaign idea.
into a photo studio. The commercial then shows the stages of work that lasts hours to transform the face of this young woman into a heavenly beauty of a commercial image. Her hair is done, make up is put on, and her photos are taken. Then the image is put in the computer, by the help of computer software, the imperfections in her picture are removed. This part is significant. The graphic artist does the following: enlarges her lips, lengthens her neck, moves her eyes below to give her a large forehead, takes off from the sides of her neck to show her skinny, enlarges her eyes, makes her head smaller, grows her hair, skims her cheek lines, and gives her a sexy separation of lips. The final image looks fundamentally different. The ad finalizes with the following caption: “No wonder our perception of beauty is distorted.” Then it asks for participation, “Take part in the Dove Real Beauty Workshops for girls” as it promotes a social responsibility PR campaign. The final caption is the logo of Dove Self-Esteem Fund.

The fund also had a thirty-seconds commercial that was broadcasted in American networks during 2006. The commercial’s title is True Colors, referring to the famous song with the same title, which is the jingle of the spot. While a chorus of young girls sings the song, a sequence of images of individual girls take place with captions:

- “Hates her freckles” “thinks she’s ugly” “wishes she was blonde” “afraid she’s fat”
- “Let’s change their minds, we have created dove self-esteem fund” (on white background), then continues to the images of girls.
- “Because every girl deserves…to feel good about herself…and see how beautiful… she really is.”
Final caption reads: Help us! Get involved at www.campaignforrealbeauty.com.”

My favorite is one of the ten finalists of Dove’s Cream Oil Body Wash contest where they asked real women to create a TV ad that would air during the Academy Awards on Feb 25th, 2007. The following, Feeling Divine, is not the winner but surely won my vote. ¹⁰⁰ Here is the ad copy, in which a teenager writes her poetry on beauty:

“Like a tender embrace, a familiar place,
I bathed in enchanting scents that reminded me
Breathe!
My skin is a tropical breeze, caressing your face
My touch is a sweet cherry blossoms
Embrace!
I am the granddaughter of generations
Of women who inspired me to
Love myself
For nobody else’s pleasure but mine
Makes me feel divine!”

I look at the poem charitably and do not interpret “love myself” as negative as narcissism but a necessary step in one’s struggle to be in peace with oneself to love others. It reminds me Levinas’ discussion of being at home in order to see the face of the

¹⁰⁰ The winner of the contest can be watched here: http://www.dovecreamoil.com/
other. Regardless of what the authentic intension of the advertiser is, Dove celebrates its product around the idea of celebrating “Real Beauty.”

**Conclusion**

There are many more examples of advertisements that celebrate the values and virtues of the modern society that epideictically motivate consumer-citizens. It is important to note that the marketplace is a festive place, where the principles (*archai*) of the capitalist economy are constantly praised, commemorated and observed together with the ideas of freedom, liberty and pursuit of happiness in terms of acquisition of property and the democratic self-governance.

In this chapter, I attempted to demonstrate the advertising as an epideictic rhetoric genre both as a societal institution and a persuasive discourse. I looked at four different cases in a broad spectrum, because of their representativeness of the theoretical aspects I discussed in the previous chapters. There are much more, however it is impossible to cover all of them here. However, I will list some of them here, if the reader particularly wants to analyze them.

Ford’s campaign “Bill Ford on Ford” in 2002 is on the virtues of tradition, especially the ads, *Vagabonds* and *Trucks*. In the same lines, Mercedes Benz commercials in 2004, *Toaster* and *Love Never Fades* are powerful examples of the metaphysical relationship between an object and a human being. In addition, Toyota Tacoma commercial of 2004, *Adrenalitis*, is a very good example of homeopathic magic, curing an imaginary deficiency by the sheer use of a car. Hewlett Packard’s use of Shaun White, Jay-Z and Serena Williams as the celebrity role models (Twitchell’s new priestly
class) to celebrate the computer technology, and many others like them are good examples of a merger between the celebrity culture and the technological culture.

I will present a relatively brief conclusion on the qualities advertising as a genre of epideictic rhetoric, and its potential ethical implications for the marketplace in the next and the final chapter.
Chapter 5 The Ethical Implications of Advertising as Epideictic Rhetoric

The discussion of ethics, in the Aristotelian perspective, is a discourse on one’s habituation in a certain way of being. The metaphor of way is the central emphasis of an ethical perspective. It is a realm of human experience where doing and being, acting and existing inseparably come together so that one’s means of action decisively determines his character.

The ethical implication of advertising, pertaining to its epideictically textured nature, also requires such understanding of habituation. As Ellul points out both in Propaganda and Technological Society, advertising is a long-term endeavor to motivate people to act and be in certain ways according to the values of capitalist market. Ellul calls this as a reflexive action, which does not involve a reasoning process that is a propagandistic shortcutting of Reason.

Such an approach has an attitude of deciding for others in a methodology of preparing a controlled environment of living and providing limited options for action so that the people’s behavior would not be outside of what is already destined in the principles of the original setting. However, the idea of deliberate choice brings a different dimension to the discussion. As another Aristotelian idea, the deliberate choice suggests that the habituation is not alone determining enough for the issue of ethics. A deliberate and purposeful act is required. An accidental or ignorant act never constitutes prudence. Prudence requires for a set of necessary phases of education, knowing and acting on purpose.

An ethical implication of advertising in epideictic level ought to function as a
foundation for the perfect capitalist action by choice. The scene of capitalist worldview has its roots in the ancient phenomenon of marketplace. The very connotation of market suggests a dynamics of deliberation and dialogic negotiation. It is an ethical condition to weigh one’s options before acting (on an intrapersonal level), as similar to two parties’ dialogic negotiation holding their own grounds (interpersonal level). As a catalyst of decision-making in the marketplace, advertising can serve as an ethical communicative action as long as it encourages such deliberation and negotiation.

If one assumes that the marketplace dynamics of deliberation and dialogic negotiation is more akin to deliberative rhetoric, it would be an honest mistake. Such an approach assumes that human action is always grounded on an epistemological rationality and ignores the mythological motivation and attitudinizing through stories or narratives that resonate with the human heart. It is certainly true that the scientific knowledge and epistemological rationality make sense. However, they are usually on the foreground in a narrative structure (in the case of the overall idea of the scientific paradigm for instance). Alternatively, they make up the background where a small story takes place (in the case of an anecdote on Pasteur’s discovery of penicillin for instance). At this point, Fisher’s idea of narrative rationality becomes very helpful. Advertising seems to create a mentality of narrative rationality in the marketplace rather than pushing solely an epistemological one. Therefore, advertising operates as it utilizes both of the arguments to convince consumers to do a specific act, usually purchase of a product, and to encourage them to observe the values that are present in its epideictic stories.

Advertising is a not a vigorous assembly discourse but it is an enthusiastic display. It should be noted that such display is still one of the options among the
“available means of persuasion.” Aristotle never said that epideictic is not a persuasive genre. However, its route to persuasion is through a praise (and its dialectical twin, censure) of the accepted virtues (or vices). Therefore, advertising’s epideictic nature has two layers of meaning. One, on the larger scope, advertising as an institution of the capitalist marketplace celebrates the virtues of the market dynamics of that very economic system. Doing so, it also ought to honor the political system that fits that market dynamics the best—i.e. democracy. Since the economic and political continuum is about prudence in subsistence and governance, it also requires a specific ethic, a disposition and habituation in exercising the capitalist values. Second, on a smaller scope, an individual advertisement celebrates the virtues that are present in a product or service (or an idea, a person) in agreement with the whole scene of capitalism. Thus, it becomes a synecdoche for a larger narrative. However, advertising’s synecdochical quality functions much more as an agency. Burke’s dramatistic pentad assumes that agency is the part of the human symbolic action in terms of how and in what means that action is realized. Therefore, it is an agency both literally and figuratively, in the scene of capitalism where an advertiser sells his product for profit by advertising and with an enthusiasm for material prosperity.

I argue that in the light of the brief explanation above and my analyses in the prior chapters, advertising operates epideictically in an ethical manner if it abides by the following principles in the marketplace.

1. Advertising, as an institution or a specific marketing communication activity, emphasizes a sense of purpose and direction in human life, and associates the advertised
thing,\textsuperscript{102} as an essential part of a purposeful objective. The first level of purposefulness is about one’s own consciousness considering his \textit{function} in the overall scheme of things. Then advertising should provide a sense of direction to individuals about their roles as customer-citizens of the capitalist democracies. Advertising also should represent the \textit{function} of the advertised thing in order to accentuate its virtuous contribution to the citizen-customer and the overall system candidly.

The advertising should be able to increase the productivity of all the members of a society. Such \textit{fecundity} is not only about the quantitative increase in the marketplace but also a qualitative growth in prosperity. It should also, through the advertised thing and identification, provide a potentiality of productivity in one’s life. The citizen-customer should be able to create a life of his own, starting a family, \textit{work} and act citizenly and neighborly. Advertising should also serve, as an \textit{entertaining} and \textit{leisurely} symbolic action, which pleases customer-citizens through its own form while promoting things that would \textit{delight} them in their lives. Advertising should also function as a \textit{contemplative} symbolic action through its own forms or by associations of the things it promotes. Advertising’s involvement in any artistic, educative and intellectual venture together with the inspirations that it creates for their realization would constitute such contemplative action.

2. Advertising as a form of linguistic and symbolic expression creates a platform for the aesthetic \textit{creativity} and \textit{enjoyment}. Advertising should create a formal appeal in its own modes of being and production, plus it should encourage and magnify the formal


\textsuperscript{102} I will only refer to the advertised as a thing to simplify but of course, it could be an idea or person.
appeals in the things that it promotes. Doing so, advertising may aesthetically *please* and *purge* customer-citizens in the dramatistic terms as they watch a spectacle of commercials through the functions of advertised things. Advertising should work toward establishing a sense of beauty in the marketplace and encourage the enjoyment of it. Advertising should advertise *beautiful* things *beautifully*. It is an office of advertising to *aesthetically motivate* customer-citizens.

3. Advertising promotes the idea of *choice* in the marketplace. It should encourage and persuade customer-citizens to attitudinize and make *prudent* choices, emphasizing the significance of such prudence. The idea of prudence in the marketplace refers to the act of making the *best possible choice for one’s own interest, as it would also benefit to all human kind*. Therefore advertising should emphasize one’s own interior and exterior motivations in each marketplace decision to facilitate a balance between self-interest and altruism.

Advertising should provide the citizen-customer a spectrum of prudent choices that would *habituate* him to act harmoniously with the principles of capitalist marketplace. Advertising offers a foundation for commercial culture to create a civilization of customer-citizenry in a reciprocal way—i.e. everybody serves everybody or everyone is everyone’s customer. Advertising should not attempt to manipulate deceitfully but persuade people to deliberately observe the virtues of the marketplace pursuing their happiness as a means to the happiness of all.

Advertising educates citizen-customers to act and consume virtuously attitudinizing toward the principles of marketplace dynamics. However, the whole of human social experience is not only an economic situation. Prudence in the marketplace
requires prudence in the political assembly, and prudence in public as well as in family life. Then it is advertising’s office to teach and educate for the promotion of prudence in the political, social and economic environments.

4. Advertising itself is not the principle (archê) that the capitalist system stands on. It is only a vehicle, an agency, though which the capitalist ethic is actualized. Advertising should work toward the end (têlos) of the capitalist ethic. In order to achieve that purpose, advertising should create values, stories, and aesthetic symbols that collectively would generate a tradition of a capitalistic worldview. Such a tradition would be the ultimate source of guidance for the members of a society to embed themselves into the overall system of things. It gives people a sense of place and direction, a reason for waking up everyday, a crucial identification point for associating themselves to something larger than themselves. It makes people move, and makes them human. It is the way.

Advertising should also offer something for human beings to relieve their longing for a sense of salvation, transcending and reaching out to the other side. Twitchell calls this the liberating side of consumption. Burke would call it a secular prayer or pontification. I identify it as a part of the tradition, since it is surely a spiritual experience but not necessarily a religious one. It is a cultural trait in human beings to connect, as Burke would say, the temporality of a material world with the eternity of the metaphysical. Advertising, then, should encourage people to engage with the material world only as a means to lighten their longing and aspirations for an eternal life.

Schudson, at the end of his book, argues that capitalism is advertising’s way of saying “I love you to itself.” I cannot agree more. However, as I see it, advertising is only
a way of eulogizing one’s means of support, paraphrasing what Burke says. It has a small part in the whole human attempt to find meaning and associate that meaning to one’s immediate material surroundings, because of the fact that there is not any other level of phenomenological consciousness. Moreover, capitalism is a logical result and a rational extension of an endless human endeavor to adorn ourselves and our environment trying to satisfy our inappeasable yearning for a timeless realm of being. Then advertising is only a ceremonial moment of an ornate decoration.
Appendix: Commercials


http://commercial-archive.com/node/129312

Agency: Saatchi & Saatchi

VW / Volkswagen Passat - Low Ego Emissions - Bullhorn (2006) :30 (USA)

http://commercial-archive.com/node/129781

Agency: Crispin Porter + Bogusky


http://commercial-archive.com/node/129780

Agency: Crispin Porter + Bogusky
Lexus ES 350 - Goosebumps (2006) :30 (USA)

http://commercial-archive.com/node/133711

Cadillac STS - Let's Dance - long (2004) 0:60 (USA)

http://commercial-archive.com/node/115970

Dow - Human Element (2006) :90 (USA)

http://commercial-archive.com/node/131431

Agency: Foote, Cone & Belding/Worldwide
Production Company: tight
Director: Iain Mackenzie
DP: Iain Mackenzie
EP: Jonathon Ker
Producer: Jeremy Barrett
SVP/EGCD: John Claxton
SVP/EGCD: Kurt Fries
Agency Producer: Sally Naylor
Editorial: Avenue Edit/Chicago
Advertising as Epideictic Rhetoric 265

Editor: Gail Gilbert
Graphic Effects: Resolution Design Studios/Sydney
Graphic Artist: Tim Dyroff
EP: Will Alexander
Shoot Locations: Mexico, Iceland, New Zealand, Namibia, Czech Republic

American Chemistry – Doctor (2005) 0:30 (USA)

http://commercial-archive.com/node/124888

American Chemistry - Disappear (2005) :30 (US)

http://commercial-archive.com/node/124778

Dove - Evolution (2006) 1:15 (Canada)

http://commercial-archive.com/node/133268
Dove Cream Oil Body Wash - Feeling Divine (2007) 0:30 (USA)

http://commercial-archive.com/node/136245

Dove - True Colors - short (2006) :30 (USA)

http://commercial-archive.com/node/129392

GM - Live Green Go Yellow! (2006) :60 (USA)

http://commercial-archive.com/node/127720
cleanairchoice.org - E85 Ethanol (2006) :30 (USA)

http://commercial-archive.com/node/134880

Northland Ford - Cornstalk / E85 Fuel (2006) :30 (USA)

http://commercial-archive.com/node/133403

Toyota Tacoma - Adrenalitis (2004) 0:30 (USA)

http://commercial-archive.com/node/115037

Bill Ford commercials

http://commercial-archive.com/node/1590
http://commercial-archive.com/node/1589

HP Celebrities

http://commercial-archive.com/node/133585
http://commercial-archive.com/node/135020

Mercedes Tradition

http://commercial-archive.com/node/112232
http://commercial-archive.com/node/112231
Appendix: Advertising Spending

TNS Media Intelligence Reports U.S. Advertising Expenditures Increased 4.1 Percent in 2006

New York, NY, March 13, 2007 – Total advertising expenditures in 2006 increased 4.1 percent to $149.6 billion as compared to 2005, according to data released today by TNS Media Intelligence, the leading provider of strategic advertising and marketing information. Ad spending during the fourth quarter of 2006 was up by 4.2 percent against the same period in 2005.

“Total advertising expenditures continue to expand slowly. Excluding the cyclical contributions from special events such as political elections and the Olympics, core growth is tracking in the range of 3 percent,” said Steven Fredericks, president and CEO of TNS Media Intelligence. “In the near-term, we foresee no significant changes to underlying fundamentals that would move the overall ad market onto a different track. Our most recent forecast of 2.6 percent growth for 2007, while conservative, still seems appropriate.”

Ad Spending By Media

Internet display advertising registered a 17.3 percent increase to $9.76 billion as marketers continued to shift budgets toward targeted, digital media. Spot TV, boosted by record-setting levels of political advertising, was up 10.4 percent for 2006 to $17.23 billion. In the fourth quarter, which contained the last five weeks leading up to Election Day, Spot TV expenditures jumped 20.7 percent.

Performance in other parts of the TV marketplace was muted by a second-half slowdown. Network TV finished 2006 with $22.88 billion in expenditures, an improvement of just 2.5 percent against 2005. Cable Network ad spending rose 3.4 percent to $16.75 billion. Syndication was virtually flat at $4.24 billion.

Radio experienced a fourth quarter uptick and moved into positive growth territory for the year with $11.05 billion in spending, a rise of 0.3 percent. Softening ad page counts for Consumer Magazines trimmed revenue growth to 4.6 percent, at $23.19 billion for 2006. Local Newspapers saw expenditures for their print editions fall by 3.3 percent to $24.06 billion.

Advertising Spending by Media: Full Year 2006 vs. Full Year 2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEDIA</th>
<th>FULL YEAR 2006 (Millions)</th>
<th>FULL YEAR 2005 (Millions)</th>
<th>% CHANGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TELEVISION MEDIA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· NETWORK TV</td>
<td>$22,879.2</td>
<td>$22,313.1</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· SPOT TV</td>
<td>$17,233.7</td>
<td>$15,614.8</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· CABLE TV</td>
<td>$16,746.0</td>
<td>$16,196.6</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· SPANISH LANGUAGE TV</td>
<td>$4,279.3</td>
<td>$3,756.1</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· SYNDICATION - NATIONAL</td>
<td>$4,235.1</td>
<td>$4,222.5</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEWSPAPER MEDIA</td>
<td>$27,972.1</td>
<td>$28,645.8</td>
<td>-2.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· NEWSPAPERS (LOCAL)</td>
<td>$24,057.5</td>
<td>$24,872.2</td>
<td>-3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· NATIONAL NEWSPAPERS</td>
<td>$3,539.2</td>
<td>$3,427.5</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· SPANISH LANGUAGE NEWSP</td>
<td>$375.4</td>
<td>$346.1</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAGAZINE MEDIA</td>
<td>$29,833.4</td>
<td>$28,738.5</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· CONSUMER MAGAZINES</td>
<td>$23,190.5</td>
<td>$22,169.1</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· B-TO-B MAGAZINES</td>
<td>$4,144.9</td>
<td>$4,260.2</td>
<td>-2.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· SUNDAY MAGAZINES</td>
<td>$1,881.0</td>
<td>$1,739.4</td>
<td>8.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· LOCAL MAGAZINES</td>
<td>$461.6</td>
<td>$428.2</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· SPANISH LANGUAGE MAG</td>
<td>$155.4</td>
<td>$141.7</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RADIO MEDIA</td>
<td>$11,054.8</td>
<td>$11,017.70</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· LOCAL RADIO</td>
<td>$7,355.3</td>
<td>$7,403.6</td>
<td>-0.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Advertising as Epideictic Rhetoric

· NATIONAL SPOT RADIO $2,695.0 $2,604.1 3.5%
· NETWORK RADIO $1,004.5 $1,009.9 -0.5%
ALL OTHER MEDIA TYPES $15,415.7 $13,303.4 15.9%
· INTERNET 5 $9,756.1 $8,318.0 17.3%
· OUTDOOR $3,831.2 $3,528.8 8.6%
· FSI’s 6 $1,828.4 $1,456.5 25.5%
TOTAL 7 $149,649.3 $143,808.4 4.1%

Source: TNS Media Intelligence

Share of Spending By Media

1. Figures are based on the TNS Media Intelligence Strategy multimedia ad expenditure database across all TNS MI measured media, including: Network TV; Spot TV; Cable TV (44 networks); Syndication TV; Hispanic Network TV; Consumer Magazines (212 publications); Sunday Magazines (6 publications); Local Magazines (27 publications); Hispanic Magazines (26 publications); Business-to-Business Magazines (387 publications); Local Newspapers (145 publications); National Newspapers (3 publications); Hispanic Newspapers (54 publications); Network Radio; Spot Radio; Local Radio; Internet; and Outdoor.

2. Network TV figures include the CW and MyTV networks, both of which launched in Sept 2006.
3. Spot TV figures do not include Hispanic Spot TV data.
4. Local Radio includes expenditures for 34 markets in the U.S.
5. Internet figures do not include paid search advertising.
6. FSI data represents distribution costs only.
7. The sum of the individual media may differ from the total due to rounding.

Share of Advertising Spending by Media:
Full Year 2006 vs. Full Year 2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEDIA TYPE</th>
<th>FULL YEAR 2006</th>
<th>FULL YEAR 2005</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TELEVISION</td>
<td>43.7%</td>
<td>43.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAGAZINES</td>
<td>19.9%</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEWSPAPERS</td>
<td>18.7%</td>
<td>19.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RADIO</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTERNET</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL OTHER</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: TNS Media Intelligence

Ad Spending by Advertiser

The top 10 advertisers of 2006 spent a combined $18.73 billion, a reduction of 2.8 percent versus the prior year period as robust gains from leading telecommunications companies failed to offset automotive category cutbacks. Across the top 50 companies, which are a more diversified group of marketers, expenditures were down 1.5 percent. Beyond the top 50, a segment that accounts for approximately two-thirds of the ad market, spending advanced a crisp 6.9 percent during 2006.

Procter & Gamble (P&G) maintained its spot atop the rankings with $3.34 billion in spending, up 3.3 percent versus last year. In contrast, Johnson & Johnson reduced its advertising budgets by 19.8 percent and fell from the fourth position to ninth position in the rankings.

General Motors (GM) barely held onto the number two spot and finished the year with $2.29 billion in spending, a reduction of $710 million or 23.7 percent decrease versus 2005. To put this in perspective, only 29 advertisers spent more than $710 million in 2006. A year ago, GM was the second largest advertiser behind P&G by just $220 million. The gap between the two advertisers is now more than $1 billion.

Elsewhere in the auto industry, DaimlerChrysler reduced its advertising by 10.7 percent, to $1.42 billion while Ford Motor Company, despite flat budgets in the fourth quarter, increased its full year outlays by 8.5 percent to $1.70 billion.

Telecommunications companies continued their vigorous spending with AT&T up 30.8 percent to $2.20 billion and Verizon Communications up 10.4 percent to $1.94 billion.

Top Ten Advertisers: Full Year 2006 vs. Full Year 2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMPANY</th>
<th>FULL YEAR 2006 (Millions)</th>
<th>FULL YEAR 2005 (Millions)</th>
<th>% CHANGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROCTER &amp; GAMBLE CO</td>
<td>$2,398.8</td>
<td>$1,880.9</td>
<td>30.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Although its fourth quarter spending rate eased, Telecommunications was the top spending category in 2006 at $9.43 billion, finishing at a gain of 10.3 percent. Nearly half of the sector increase was attributable to AT&T. The intense competition in this arena is reflected in the double-digit growth rates of ad budgets at nearly all the key companies including AT&T, Verizon, Comcast, Deutsche Telekom and Vonage.

Foreign Auto claimed the second spot at $8.73 billion, a drop of 1.2 percent from 2005. Higher levels of factory and dealer ad spend behind the Toyota brand were offset by large reductions at Nissan and Volkswagen. Domestic Auto expenditures tumbled 11.7 percent to $7.62 billion due to General Motors and DaimlerChrysler cutbacks, pushing the category down to the number six position. Automotive advertising has now declined for six consecutive quarters.

The highest growth rate among the top 10 categories was registered by Pharmaceuticals which jumped 13.8 percent to $5.29 billion. This was due to the strength of Merck’s marketing launch of an HPV vaccine and increased advertising activity at Pfizer and Astrazeneca.

Local Services & Amusements continued to expand, up 10.3 percent to $8.69 billion. This segment is a diversified mix of small advertisers outside the Top 500 rankings whose collective size and multi-media budgets have made it an important contributor to the overall advertising economy.

Financial Services (+2.0%) and Personal Care Products (+1.1%) eeked out small gains.

### Top Ten Advertising Categories: Full Year 2006 vs. Full Year 2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORY</th>
<th>FULL YEAR 2006 (Millions)</th>
<th>FULL YEAR 2005 (Millions)</th>
<th>CHANGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TELECOM</td>
<td>$9,431.1</td>
<td>$8,550.5</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUTO, NON-DOMESTIC</td>
<td>$8,726.7</td>
<td>$8,832.8</td>
<td>-1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOCAL SERVICES &amp; AMUSEMENTS</td>
<td>$8,887.0</td>
<td>$7,879.2</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FINANCIAL SERVICES</td>
<td>$8,681.8</td>
<td>$8,508.8</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MISC RETAIL10</td>
<td>$8,322.9</td>
<td>$8,258.0</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUTO, DOMESTIC</td>
<td>$7,615.2</td>
<td>$8,625.1</td>
<td>-11.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIRECT RESPONSE</td>
<td>$6,376.1</td>
<td>$6,087.0</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERSONAL CARE PDTS</td>
<td>$5,717.2</td>
<td>$5,654.1</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRAVEL &amp; TOURISM</td>
<td>$5,406.4</td>
<td>$5,486.1</td>
<td>-1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PHARMACEUTICALS</td>
<td>$5,285.4</td>
<td>$4,645.8</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: TNS Media Intelligence

9 Figures do not include FSI or PSA activity.

10 Misc Retail does not include these retail segments: Department Stores, Food Stores; Home Furnishing & Appliance Stores

### Branded Entertainment

TNS Media Intelligence continuously monitors Branded Entertainment within network prime time and late night programming. The tracking identifies Brand Appearances and measures their duration and attributes. Given the short length of many Brand Appearances, duration is a more relevant metric than a count of occurrences for quantifying and comparing the gross amount of brand activity that viewers are potentially exposed to in the program versus in the commercial breaks.

In the fourth quarter of 2006, an average hour of monitored prime time network programming contained 5 minutes, 10 seconds (5:10) of in-show Brand Appearances and 18:11 of commercial messages. The combined total of 23:21 of marketing content represents 39 percent of a prime time hour.

Unscripted reality programming had an average of 8:55 per hour of Brand Appearances as compared to just 2:34 per hour for...
scripted programs such as sitcoms and dramas. Late night network talk shows had even higher levels, averaging 10:17 per hour. The combined load of Brand Appearances and paid ad messages in these shows approached 33 minutes per hour, or 55 percent of total content time.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BRAND APPEARANCES</th>
<th>AD MESSAGES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prime Time Network</td>
<td>5:10</td>
<td>18:11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unscripted Programs</td>
<td>8:55</td>
<td>17:34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scripted Programs</td>
<td>2:34</td>
<td>16:50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late Night Network</td>
<td>10:17</td>
<td>22:31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Kimmel, Leno, Letterman)

Source: TNS Media Intelligence

11 Figures include network and local advertisements, station promotions and PSAs.

About TNS Media Intelligence

Established in 23 countries with more than 16,000 customers, TNS Media Intelligence is part of the TNS Group, ranked #2 worldwide in marketing information. TNS Media Intelligence monitors 3 million brands worldwide across a multitude of media, including TV, radio, print, Internet, cinema and outdoor. The company offers a full range of insights and analyses, including the tracking of advertising expenditures and advertising creative, as well as news monitoring and sports sponsorship evaluation.

In the U.S., TNS Media Intelligence is the leading provider of strategic advertising intelligence to advertising agencies, advertisers, and media properties. The company's tracking technologies collect advertising expenditure and occurrence data, as well as select creative executions, for more than 2.4 million brands across 20 media in North America. The U.S. headquarters are in New York City with sales locations in major markets throughout the United States. [www.tns-mi.com](http://www.tns-mi.com)

About TNS

TNS is a global market insight and information group.

Our strategic goal is to be recognized as the global leader in delivering value-added information and insights that help our clients to make more effective decisions.

As industry thought leaders, our people deliver innovative thinking and excellent service to global organizations and local clients worldwide. We work in partnership with our clients, meeting their needs for high-quality information, analysis and foresight across our network of over 70 countries.

We are the world’s foremost provider of custom research and analysis, combining in-depth industry sector understanding with world-class expertise in the areas of new product development, segmentation and positioning research, brand and advertising research and stakeholder management. We are a major supplier of consumer panel, media intelligence and internet, TV and radio audience measurement services.

**TNS is the sixth sense of business.**

[www.tns-global.com](http://www.tns-global.com)


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<http://www.responsiblecare.org/>.


Revenue for U.S. Ad, Media Agencies Gains 3.7% to $10.7 Billion.” Advertising Age 19 Apr. 2004: S-1.


The American Chemistry Council. *American Chemistry*.


