

Framing and Symbolic Modes in Public Service Announcements

by

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SUMMARY

This dissertation investigates selected South African televised public service announcements. Framing theory forms the basis of the examination of these socially orientated commercials as a mediated reconstruction of relevant social issues highlighted in the media at any one time. Framing elements are identified that assist the constructor of such commercials and guide the development of the public service announcement's narrative and structure. Symbolic modes are identified as key framing elements. Metaphor and metonymy as symbolic modes are investigated as being particularly instructive for their role in anchoring the core message of the public service announcement with imagery relevant to the general framing of the message.

In order to determine the suitability of framing and framing elements as guidelines for the constructor, an in-depth analysis is conducted to identify the presence of these elements in existing public service announcements. It is argued that the presence of framing elements in existing public service announcements shows a degree of consistency with which such elements are applied in the construction of social messages in the television medium. The process of constructing a public service announcement is documented, with the main focus being on the application of framing elements in this process. The application of framing elements in the construction of public service announcements shows these elements to be successful as guidelines for the constructor.

Framing and framing elements, including symbolic modes, are accepted as effective methods of development of the public service announcement, from an intuitive understanding of the organisation for which the message is created, to the final construction of the televised message. Televised public service announcements are explored as multifaceted socially orientated messages that allow various approaches for further investigation, including the investigation of these messages in other media, such as radio or in print.



Key terms

Public service announcements

Framing

Metaphor

Metonymy

Embodiment

OPSOMMING

Hierdie verhandeling ondersoek sekere uitgesoekte Suid-Afrikaanse, sosiaalgeoriënteerde advertensies (*PSAs*), soos uitgesaai op televisie. Raming (*framing*) vorm die basis van die ondersoek van sulke advertensies, as boodskappe van sosiale belang wat onder die soeklig in die media kom op enige spesifieke tydstip. Ramingselemente word geïdentifiseer as hulpmiddel vir die skepper van sulke advertensies. Ramingselemente sluit die figuurlike uitdrukkings metafoer en metonimie in, wat aan die skepper van sosiaalgeoriënteerde advertensies die geleentheid bied om 'n kernboodskap te vorm met die hulp van toepaslike beeldrykheid.

Om vastestel wat die rol van raming en ramingselemente in die konstruksie van *PSAs* is, is 'n analise onderneem om die aanwesigheid van ramingselemente in sulke advertensies te bevestig. Die aanwesigheid van ramingselemente dui die mate waartoe hierdie elemente konsekwent deur skeppers van *PSAs* toegepas word. Die konstruksie van die *PSA* as proses word aangeteken, met die fokus op die werkswyse wat gevolg word in die toepassing van ramingselemente. Die aanwesigheid, sowel as die toepassing van raming en ramingselemente in *PSAs*, dui daarop dat hierdie metode en elemente wel beskou kan word as suksesvolle hulpmiddels in die konstruksie van die *PSA*.

Die identifisering en toepassing van raming en ramingselemente, insluitend metafoer en metonimie, word aanvaar as suksesvolle werkswyse in die konstruksie van *PSAs*, 'n proses wat gevolg word, vanaf die daarstelling van basiese insig ten opsigte van die organisasie waarvoor die boodskap geskep word, tot die finale konstruksie van die advertensie. *PSAs* wat op televisie uitgesaai word, word ondersoek as boodskappe met veelvuldige sosiale implikasies wat verskeie invalshoeke bied in die ondersoek daarvan, insluitend die ondersoek van *PSAs* in ander media soos radio of die pers.



Sluitelsterme

Sosiaalgeoriënteerde advertensies (*PSAs*)

Raming (*Framing*)

Metafoor

Metonimie

Beliggaming (*Embodiment*)

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation, which I hereby submit for the degree Master of Arts in Drama and Film studies at the University of Pretoria, is my own work and has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at another university.

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DEFINITION OF TERMS

- Framing

Framing is regarded as a dynamic and adaptable process of applying knowledge structures, within the borders of which interpretation and designation of meaning can occur. In this study, the elements that form part of this structure are identified, based on a hypothetical framing model developed by Hill and Levenhagen (1995).

- Hyperreality

Within the context of this study, the term hyperreality refers to the way in which fictional signs of reality in media images represent the mediated domain in which these signs operate and have meaning. Signs of reality refer not to an external reality, but to the mediation of reality. In this way, signs of reality become wholly self-referential and paradoxical in nature.

- Public service announcement (PSA)

For the purposes of this study, this term refers to a commercial made for a charity or non-profit organisation as a form of social awareness, where a call to action is made to the viewer. The South African televised public service announcement in particular is investigated.

- Style of the television medium

In terms of this study, in accordance with Bordwell (1985:50), style refers to the systematic use of cinematic devices. Bordwell applies this term in the analysis of narration in film. It is argued that the systematic use of cinematic devices is pertinent to the television medium in general, and the construction of the televised PSA in particular.

- Symbolic modes

Metaphor and metonymy are regarded in this study as two primary symbolic modes of communicating meaning, and furthermore, may be regarded as the source for much of our understanding and conceptualisation in everyday life (cf. Lakoff & Johnson 1980). The presence of these modes is investigated in South African televised public service announcements as a means by which constructors of PSAs can guide the viewer to interpret the message within predetermined boundaries.

- Umbrella message

The term, in this study, refers to the overarching message of the PSA, encapsulating three aspects, namely, the objectives, the importance of the objectives and the actions required to meet the objectives of the organisation for which the message is created. It is argued in this study that these three aspects form the basis of the development of a suitable narrative for the PSA.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 Background

This dissertation examines public service announcements, hereafter referred to as PSAs, in the South African context, as ‘fictionalised’ representations of social issues highlighted in the media. It is argued that the television medium presents the viewer with images that ‘fictionalise’ the everyday reality on which it is based, often bringing what is regarded as public information or knowledge, into the private sphere of the viewer. Furthermore, television images and narratives are shown to combine fragments of reality and cinematic conventions to ultimately blur the boundaries mediated and authentic signs of the everyday. This is shown to be true of a variety of television formats, of which the public service announcement is one. Framing theory is applied as the basis of this examination. It is a method constructors of such messages can use as a guideline.

Framing elements based on an existing hypothetical model are identified, which can be applied by the constructor in the development of the public service announcement’s narrative and structure. The public service message construction is regarded as being ultimately subordinate to the response the organisation for which the message is constructed, calls for from the viewer. The constructor of the message must therefore identify a strong key message that defines the problem faced by the public service organisation for which the televised message is created. Framing theory and framing elements are identified as being instructive in this process. The constructor must also take the specific narrative development and cinematic conventions of the television medium into consideration. That framing, framing elements and the structured application of cinematic conventions can guide the constructor, is identified as a valid approach in the analysis of a range of South African public service announcements analysed in this study, wherein a variety of social dilemmas are highlighted. The aim in these messages is to address a particular social issue in a way that must invoke reaction and action from the viewer.

The Surgeon, for example, a public service announcement created for Arrive Alive, appears to be a ‘documentary’ style narrative that ostensibly offers a simple explanation of the possible consequences of speeding on South African roads. Close inspection reveals the extent to which the ‘documentary style’ is a vehicle to authenticate the mediated nature of the message and steer the message towards a final, focussed call to action. Many constructors of PSAs do not make an attempt to apply cinematic conventions that appear to authenticate the fictionalised nature of the narrative, but rather rely more heavily on stylistic cinematic conventions. This does not, however, seem to reduce the convincing nature of the message, as the *Christmas Puppy*, *Tomato Sauce* and *Reach out and Give* examples analysed in this study show.

The frame in which the PSA is packaged, acts as a socially accepted model of authenticity (cf. Baudrillard 1994), and not a mirror of an external reality. This model is based on *cues* of authenticity, collectively created interpretive strategies (cf. Fish 1980) and collaborative expectations of what is regarded as everyday reality. From a viewer’s perspective, actual experience of social issues such as smoking, drug abuse or rape should not be necessary in order to interpret and contextualise the message. The viewer holds certain assumptions about these issues that are often collectively accepted. The constructor of the PSA need not necessarily avoid applying existing and accepted frames of interpretation in the construction of the PSA. As will be investigated, framing the social issue in unfamiliar ways can serve to jolt the viewer out of complacency regarding the issue that is being addressed. While the Tuks Rag PSA and the South African National Blood Service¹ PSA affirm established framing, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals² PSA and the Arrive Alive PSA both successfully place the social dilemma in unexpected frames.

Although not analysed in detail, the controversial public service announcement created for the rape crisis centre, with Charlize Theron as spokesperson, is briefly investigated as a message that aims to reject established notions of rape and those responsible for its prevalence in South Africa. Constructors can therefore effectively manipulate the framing, the public service narrative and the stylistic conventions of the television

¹ Hereafter referred to as SANBS.

² Hereafter referred to as SPCA.

format, in service of the key message they aim to construct. However, an intuitive understanding of the organisation for which the message is created, and the ways in which the social issue is formally framed, can be instructive to the constructor. With this knowledge, the constructor can develop a narrative that forces the viewer to reassess the social issue dealt with.

In investigating the framing of the televised PSA, the constructor's approach to the framing of the narrative, and the form and style in which the narrative are presented, are explored as key concerns in this study. Metonymy and metaphor are investigated as symbolic modes that assist in cross-referencing (intertextuality), incorporation of new information into an existing frame, and adaptation of the message content to suit the needs of the organisation for which the message is created. Both metaphor and metonymy are therefore investigated as key elements in the construction of the PSA. In the analysis of existing PSAs, insight into the general background of the organisation for which the announcement is created, is instructive in understanding and identifying the key elements in the development of the narrative. The key message or official story (cf. Schank 1996) can be determined by taking these elements into consideration. In the examples analysed in this study, symbolic modes employed in the PSA serve to support the key message and often allow the viewer to make cross-references to other frames of interpretation, incorporated into the key message on a symbolic level.

Identifying the framing elements and symbolic modes found in existing PSAs, assisted in the development of the framing and narrative of a PSA created for Tuks Rag in 1998. In this case, personal involvement by the author in the creation of a televised public service announcement also allowed for the investigation of external factors in the development of the public service announcement. It is argued that this is an aspect that cannot be addressed in the analysis of existing PSAs, as the intentions of the constructor can only be speculated on.

1.2 Problem statement

Given the context outlined above, the following question can be asked: Can framing and framing elements, including symbolic modes, be applied as a basis for a structured approach to the creation of a televised PSA? In addressing this question, it is deemed necessary to identify and apply, in this study, both framing and symbolic modes in the analysis and development of televised PSAs.

1.3 Aim of the study

The aim of this study is to outline framing as a theoretical approach and identify certain framing elements that must be explored in the analysis and development of the televised PSA as a structured process. A hypothetical model forms the basis of the investigation of the narrative development of the televised PSA in general, which includes investigations of intuitive understanding, symbolic modes, formal framing and the call to action, as well as how framing is related to these aspects of construction. Symbolic modes are investigated as central elements in the framing process. Finally, the aim is to identify and apply a structured approach to the development of a public service message that takes various aspects related to the television medium, framing and symbolic modes into consideration.

1.4 Research objectives

- The identification of those general characteristics of the television medium that are particularly suited to the nature of the televised PSA
- The investigation of framing as a theoretical approach in the creation of televised public service messages
- The identification of framing elements that must be investigated as pertinent to PSA development as a structured process, particularly related to the needs of public service organisations and their messages
- The implementation of these elements in the analysis of televised PSAs
- The application of framing elements in the creation of televised PSA

1.5 Research methodology

A literature study was undertaken to identify a suitable theoretical mode for the investigation of televised South African PSAs. Based on the theoretical mode identified, certain assumptions were made and an in-depth analysis of a range of South African PSAs was undertaken. Close analysis of these PSAs was mainly based on own interpretation of the material, and personal interpretation also played a role in the documentation of the development of the PSA as a structured process.

1.6 Overview of chapters

The purpose of chapter two is firstly to show how television in general is closely aligned to the understanding and interpretation of events and occurrences in day-to-day life. This may be owing to the fact that television and technological innovations such as the Internet have accelerated access to information about a world viewers would otherwise have been denied access to, and returns reality to them in a mediated form. These technologies make information of the public sphere available in the private, and technology and the media inform the ways in which the information of the public domain is interpreted and understood, also arguably bringing with it a sense of social responsibility. A hypothetical framing model is adapted and applied as a means of identifying those elements that can be regarded as forming part of a framing structure. This hypothetical model forms the basis for the investigation of narrative development (that includes symbolic modes) and stylistic conventions of the television medium, based on the framing elements identified.

Chapter three examines symbolic modes as elements of the framing structure that can be employed by constructors of public service announcements to further simplify the interpretation of 'fictionalised' realities presented. Certain types of metaphors are identified that each form the basis of different theoretical approaches to the study of media and messages. Specific alternative theoretical approaches are highlighted here, particularly semiotics, an approach often followed in the analysis of televised messages. Certain assumptions held in this study, such as the evidence of framing cues, the importance of the style of the medium, and the use of metaphor and metonymy in the

creation of ideologically inflected imagery, are briefly touched on from both a framing and a semiotic perspective. It is argued that while semiotics is an influential approach to the analysis of televised material, framing as a theoretical approach brings other factors, particularly the adaptability of any interpretive approach, into play. In this chapter, metonymy and metaphor are framed as possibly being bodily based, with the embodied nature of these symbolic modes being one possible interpretation of the ways in which televised narratives are constructed and interpreted.

The objective of chapter four is to analyse PSAs for evidence of framing, narrative construction elements and symbolic modes as applied by the constructors of South African PSAs. Although the same criteria are applied to the analysis of all the PSAs, the same elements were not found consistently in all the examples analysed. Variations in the application of elements are noted, and possible reasons for the variations are discussed where relevant.

In chapter five, personal involvement by the author in the development of a PSA, from the identification of the frame and narrative development to application of symbolic modes and overall production, is outlined. Personal involvement in this PSA also allowed for the investigation of the external influences that needed to be taken into consideration, over and above the development of the frame, narrative construction and application of symbolic modes. The success of the previously identified framing elements as guiding principles for the constructor, is evaluated.

In conclusion, chapter six provides an overview of the key aspects explored in this study, and also highlights the ways in which the approach to framing and symbolic modes as investigated in this study can be regarded as instructive and significant. The shortcomings of the approach followed in this study are noted, and areas for further investigation are identified, related to the findings of this study.

CHAPTER 2

Framing and the televised PSA

2.1 Television technology and the everyday

Television technology has entered and become rooted as part of collective experience of everyday life¹ and is incorporated into our daily routines. The television medium, because of its socially extended nature, “gives us all, indifferent to time and place, a crash course in socialisation” (De Kerckhove 1996:3). The small screen and poor picture definition compared to cinema, makes the medium most suitable in bringing what is happening in the world around us into medium and close-up range. In this way, “television presents itself as a relay of what is happening” (Fiske 1987:22). According to Press “television may be unique among media in that its images are strongly positioned to be accepted unconsciously by viewers as presenting images of reality” (in d’Agostino & Tafler 1995:55). Attributes of the television medium that contribute to this occurrence, generally include references to its intimacy, size, immediacy, continuity and domesticity (Metallinos 1996; Press 1995; Silverstone 1994; Du Plooy 1989), that allow for the smooth integration of television and everyday life.

Buffree notes that one source of television’s influence lies in “its capacity to communicate directly with large numbers of people in intimate, comfortable surroundings, provoking from its audience an immediate, personal, socially orientated response” (in Du Plooy 1989:4). Television as a medium has always had a close connection with the everyday and while “[m]any criticisms of television reject the medium because of its relentless everyday ordinariness” (Ellis 2000:3) one could regard this ordinariness, as Ellis (2000:4) does, “as one of television’s founding strengths, which, future developments will, if anything, intensify”.

¹ Silverstone (1994:20) provides a definition of the everyday as a structure of patterns in time and space, into which television is easily incorporated:

The daily patterns of work and leisure, of getting up and going to bed, of housework and homework: the clock times, free and indentured, are themselves embedded in times of biography and the life-cycle ... Everyday life is a product of all these temporalities ... and time is secured in the equally differentiated and ordered spaces of everyday life: the public and the private spaces; the front-stages and the back-stages; the spaces of gender and generation, domesticity and community. Television is very much a part of the taken for granted seriality and spatiality of everyday life.

It could be argued that television is one of the older technical means developed for mass communication. Television's integration into the everyday, seems to have happened so long ago, that its impact can sometimes go unnoticed in the race to keep pace with newer and state-of-the-art means of global communication, such as the Internet. Yet, because of its almost seamless integration into our everyday lives, its influence and impact on a social and cultural level are all the more powerful. According to Graham and Davies (1997:28) this is indeed the case, as:

Television provides not only the hard facts but also the fuzzy categories – the social, Ethnic, psychological, etc. concepts within which we must make sense of the world. It also supplies a set of fantasies, emotions and fictional images with which we construct our understanding (or misunderstanding) of all those parts of society beyond our immediate surroundings. It is therefore part not just of how we see ourselves in relation to the community, or communities, within which we are embedded, but also part of how we understand the community – indeed part of where the very idea of community arises and is given meaning.

Technology and the media exert influence on the spaces² they occupy. In turn, they influence the way in which we perceive ourselves in relation to others sharing our spaces. The attributes of the medium such as its size and domesticity, and the nature of its narratives and genres, contribute to television's success in putting a world before the viewer³ that is made up of socially convincing and recognisable fragments of 'reality'. In this way, television as a medium can be said to be socially integrated, and a successful means of voicing and addressing everyday social concerns and dilemmas.

Media and technology have shrunk geographical borders and cluttered the spaces in which they exert an influence, turning the world into a 'global village' (McLuhan 1964:5; cf. Brooker & Brooker 1997; Gozzi 1996). Boundaries delineating the private and public sphere become 'fuzzy' or implode as technology and media become part of everyday existence. Television can be shown to not only keep pace with the vague boundaries between the public and the private, but also to influence the nature of the social dynamics within these previously distinct spaces. One example of this is "the

² Silber (1995:323) notes: "Within the last decade, specifically, sociological theory has been marked by the increasing currency of spatial (quasi-geographical) images and metaphors – such as, most commonly, 'fields', 'space', 'action-space', 'boundaries'". In defining the temporal and spatial place that television occupies in the everyday, reference to these and similar terms is inescapable. It is also an indication of the success of symbolic modes in defining what are often complex references.

³ In this study, in accordance with Bordwell (1985:30), the term viewer is taken to refer to "a hypothetical entity executing the operations relevant to constructing a story out of the film's [or television's] representations ... [The viewer] is active; his or her experience is cued by the text, according to intersubjective protocols that may vary". Interpretive strategies from the viewer's perspective, although referred to, are beyond the scope of this study.

placement of television in public spaces such as restaurants, malls and airports, [which] changes the nature of the social interaction and, consequently, the way individuals experience themselves in relation to others” (Grodin & Lindlof 1996:4). Not only is television placed in new spaces,⁴ but new spaces are entered by means of the medium. Often, these are public and private spheres we would have been denied access to in the past.

The much-debated Charlize Theron anti-rape PSA aired on South African television in 1999, is an example of how the natural integration of the public voice in the private space can become a tactic to confront viewers when and where they least expect it. In this example, a ‘home-grown’ international star addresses the viewer in a frank, direct manner, almost as if viewers are addressed personally, in their domestic, personal space. Many television genres reflect a similar vested interest in bringing the public mind into the private sphere. According to Press (in d’Agostino & Tafler 1995:55): “[a]s society becomes privatized, the images and ideas we consume in the privacy of our homes become increasingly numerous and influential, particularly with the growth of television as a medium that can bring the outside public world into the privacy of our homes”. Television becomes “a crucial part of the social dynamics by which the social structure maintains itself in a constant process of production and reproduction: meanings, popular pleasures, and their circulation are therefore part and parcel of this social structure” (Fiske 1987:1).

Television becomes part of society and social spaces because of the nature of the medium that keeps pace with the social dynamics of production and reproduction of everyday messages and their meanings. That this is the case, is traceable particularly in the fact that technological and media terminology influence everyday language, infiltrate vocabulary and influence the articulation of concepts with which the everyday is navigated. The creation of collectively applied metaphors such as ‘channel-hopping’ and ‘surfing the net’ indicate the way in which complex technological concepts are

⁴ The search for new and uncluttered spaces is nowhere more evident than in television advertising, and according to Goldman and Papson (1996:28): “There are already plans underway to beam ads into the space of the night time sky, where they will be reflected off orbiting satellites, as advertisers search for new and as-yet-uncluttered spaces”. One of the PSAs analysed in this study makes use of an alternative advertising space, namely the petrol station forecourt television circuit, which has an effect on the nature of the construction of the message.

condensed into easily understood abstractions to keep up with a rapidly changing world.⁵ According to Gozzi (1998b:438), “[p]eople encounter all technologies through a screen of metaphors which allow them to understand the unfamiliar in terms of the familiar. These particular metaphors, however, hide some aspects of the new technology and its effects [and] may keep people from appreciating just how new/strange some new technologies are and may blind people to certain potentials they should be preparing for”.

Infiltration of modern technology into the everyday, and the emergence of the ‘global village’ also have an influence on the nature of the fictional images with which we construct our perception of those parts of society beyond our immediate surroundings. This influence is particularly perceivable when investigating television and its narratives. Television is generally regarded as an “essentially realistic medium because of its ability to carry a socially convincing sense of the real” (Fiske 1987:21). Even if the amount of information we consume through the medium of television, with the advent of satellite television, and the spaces in which television is experienced are shifting, a sense of the real still permeates television as medium.

At the same time, the television medium has always promoted the packaging of ‘real’ social activity into contained narratives – for example in sitcoms or soap opera – or the packaging of narratives that emphasise the immediacy of information exchange – for example in news broadcasts (Press in d’Agostino & Tafler 1995; Du Plooy 1989). The rapid development of technology seems to have heightened these functions of the television medium and has influenced what is seen on television, and how it is shown.

⁵ The following paragraph is a good example of how quickly and successfully technology infiltrates language and everyday life. Although consisting of computer jargon almost in its entirety, it is still intelligible to those who are computer literate:

After a long day of number crunching, I go home to interface with the family in real time. Before I sign off at the office, I zap off an e-mail about my input for tomorrow’s meeting ... even when I’m finally playing with my kids, I’m multitasking, parallel processing, planning for tomorrow (O’Connell in McCune 1999:10).

This example might seem exaggerated, but McCune quotes Morse, president and publisher of the *Merriam Webster Dictionary*, who notes that 25% of new words from the 1997 dictionary sprang from technology (Morse in McCune 1999:10).

Although it can be argued that the emergence of the global village brings with it a growing desire for images of ‘reality’, images are still packaged as contained ‘stories’ that make meaning out of what is shown. According to Nichols (1994:ix) there is “a hunger for news from the world around us [which we desire] in the form of narratives, stories that make meaning, however tenuous, dramatic, compelling, or paranoid they might be”. It is argued here that television, in particular, has the ability to satisfy this new hunger for what could be regarded as ‘fictionalised’ images of reality.

Television narratives are therefore seemingly adapted in ways that convey an increasingly heightened awareness of immediacy and reality, while hiding the mediated nature of these narratives. This heightened awareness has an influence both on traditional genres, such as the documentary,⁶ and newly emerging genres such as Reality Television, for example *Big Brother* or *Survivor*. In the Reality Television format participants are constantly ‘watched’ by the camera. The camera invades private space, influences its dynamics, and packages images of reality as a ‘fictionalised’ narrative. De Kerckhove (1996:4) refers to this phenomenon as the “collective eye”; an eye that allows viewers to watch a reality, but it is a reality that is pre-processed for them. These television narratives are blurring previously distinct boundaries between private and public, fact and fiction, and suspending history in an “ever-expanding present” (Nichols 1994:55).

In Reality Television, an attempt is made to show an event or series of events as it happens, specifically focussing on raw emotions, as a way of showing ‘real people doing real things’. The “collective eye” also has the ability to maximise the voyeuristic possibilities of the television medium where seeing brings knowledge, and in turn, this knowledge brings power. Yet, the overwhelming amount of fictionalised images of reality available today brings with it visual evidence of human ills that we would have been denied access to in the past, which may be one of the “potentials” that Gozzi warns people are blinded to:

⁶ According to Nichols (1994:1): “Traditionally, the word *documentary* has suggested fullness and completion, knowledge and fact, explanations of the social world and its motivating mechanisms. More recently, though, documentary has come to suggest incompleteness and uncertainty, recollection and impression, images of personal worlds and their subjective construction. A shift of epistemological proportions has occurred. Documentary and fiction, social actor and social other, knowledge and doubt, concept and experience share boundaries that inescapably blur”.

We know more and have seen more of this century than the generations of any previous century knew or saw of theirs. The acceleration of communications has brought us word of so many events, so many peoples, so many places. We live in an era of information, and photography, film and television have brought us visual evidence. We know about genocide; we know about the calculation of death in the millions. We know about famine and absolute poverty. We know because we have seen the images and heard the sounds which convey them (Ellis 2000:9-10).

What McLuhan named the global village, seems to bring with it the knowledge of responsibility.⁷ “Electrically contracted, the globe is no more than a village. Electric speed in bringing all social and political functions together in a sudden implosion has heightened human awareness of responsibility to an intense degree” (McLuhan 1985:5).

In this section, the general characteristics of the television medium have been identified. Characteristics such as the socially extended nature of the television medium, the implosion of geographical as well as psychological boundaries, the packaging of ‘fictionalised’ narratives of reality, and the heightened awareness of human responsibility in the age of information have consequently been highlighted. In the following section these characteristics will be shown to be particularly beneficial to the constructor of the televised PSA as a socially orientated message. The PSA is a message that must elicit a public response, must package a narrative that is often not part of the viewer’s everyday surroundings using fictionalised images of ‘reality’, and must invoke a heightened sense of awareness of human responsibility in viewers. The television medium allows the constructor to address these viewers in their private space.

2.1.1 Television and the public service announcement

Part of the success of the PSA lies in television’s ability to bring what is outside the frame of the television screen, or outside an everyday frame of reference, into the private sphere. Viewers must respond or feel ‘part of’ events portrayed in the PSA, even though they are often distinctly, both physically and geographically, removed from what is shown. The blurring of boundaries between the private and the public, and the ‘real’ and the ‘mediated’, is therefore pertinent to the televised PSA format, in that a public

⁷ In this study, McLuhan’s (1964) notion of responsibility is understood as being related to the fact that the medium brings inescapable knowledge or awareness that calls for some form of involvement, reaction or action, as suggested by the Ellis quote above.

call to action must be taken into the domain of the private and must elicit a private response from viewers.

Televised PSAs in general must show that the myriad social dilemmas of the public space, such as rape or speeding, are ‘real’ threats to viewers in their private space. At the same time, any particular PSA message is a carefully reconstructed and mediated ‘fictionalised’ reality. The narrative construction of the PSA is ultimately subordinate to the response the organisation for whom the message is constructed, requires from the viewer. The PSA ultimately communicates that, what is seen on the television screen, is our problem, and it is our responsibility to feel, react or respond. We are sometimes implicated as part of the problem (see the *Real men don’t rape* and *Christmas Puppy* examples). Therefore, we must do something (and not just anything: we must donate or call or respond) now. Why? Because there is the threat that what now lies precariously on the boundary between reproduced and real, can always threaten to spill over into our domain. So say no to drugs *now*, stop child abuse *now*, call the help line *now*, and so on.

As previously mentioned, the television medium has a tendency to keep pace with concerns of ‘the present’ and ‘what is happening now’. Television narratives create a mediated world that is made up of authentic as well as invented interpretations of reality, and presents a packaged, ‘fictionalised’ reality in narrative form. In fact, television seems particularly adept at packaging and repackaging the ordinariness of the daily flux into narratives that sees “our reality returned to us in some kind of shape” (Wolmarans 2001:3). In this way,

the world put before us lies between one not our own and one that very well might be, between a world we may recognize as a fragment of our own world and one that may seem fabricated from such fragments, between indexical (authentic) signs of reality and cinematic (invented) interpretations of this reality (Nichols 1994:ix).

In the PSA, the reality faced by a public service organisation is returned to viewers in a kind of shape that is recognisable as being part of their world, but the PSA also employs cinematic interpretations of reality to convey its message. The message could be said to be framed by both indexical and cinematic interpretations of reality. Just as a physical frame around a painting creates a demarcated space within the borders of which

interpretation is invited,⁸ so the television screen creates a framed-in space which encapsulates the world outside that frame. However, as television production aims at projecting a ‘sense of the real’ and immediacy, the framed narratives of television can no longer remain fixed, but must be investigated as fluid and adaptable. As more and more images and ideas are created and consumed at an accelerated pace, the framed-in space of the television screen seems to have become porous and dynamic, always mutating in keeping with the concerns of ‘the present’, ‘what is happening now’ or ‘the world of today’.

The implosion of boundaries between the ‘real’ and the mediated, the private and the public, as well as the packaging of fictionalised realities, have been shown to be key concerns in the exploration of the television medium, and are specifically relevant to the investigation of the PSA. These concerns demand an approach of analysing the medium and its genres that takes the fluidity and changeability of interpretive acts into account. One such approach, and the approach that will be followed in this study, is that of framing. Framing will be shown as a fluid and dynamic process of both sensegiving by the constructor of the message and sensemaking by those interpreting the constructed message (cf. Hill & Levenhagen 1995:1057).

It will be argued in this study that the constructor of the PSA must investigate possible ways in which the narrative can be packaged, must eliminate those approaches which are not suitable or practical for whatever reasons, and must apply a process of ‘sensegiving’ in structuring the narrative that will assist viewers in the process of ‘sensemaking’ or interpretation. This is not only to make sure that the message is an apt reflection of the aims or mission of the organisation for which it is created, but also apt as a guideline for the viewer of the desired interpretive outcome.

In this section, certain general characteristics of the television medium were shown to be pertinent to the televised PSA in particular. The PSA frames a social reality to the viewer in a kind of recognisable shape, applying indexical and cinematic interpretive

⁸ In the study of painting, Derrida investigates the barriers between the *ergon* or work and *parergon* or by-work. The boundaries between the work itself and the ornamental extras in and around the painting are shown to be “porous”. Both the *ergon* and the *parergon* are dependent upon and are collaborative to the frame, so that there is constant “play between outside and inside, subject and accessory, centre and periphery” (Andrews 1999:7; cf. Derrida 1987).

cues. In the section that follows, framing theory is investigated as an approach to the analysis and creation of televised PSAs. Framing as theoretical approach is outlined in general and the way in which a framing approach can be instructive is illustrated with reference to a much-debated and controversial South African PSA.

2.2 Framing and interpretation

Framing has variously been referred to as ‘frames’, ‘social codes’, ‘schemas’ or ‘cognitive frameworks’, ‘scripts’, ‘narratives’, and ‘schemata’ across various disciplines that investigate the storing and organising of everyday knowledge (cf. Baron & Byrne 1997; Maclachlan & Reid 1994; Tannen 1993; Arbib et al 1987; Fiske 1987; Bordwell 1985). Framing is generally regarded as an active and dynamic process of applying “knowledge structures” (Schank & Abelson 1977:10; cf. MacLachlan & Reid 1994) that fix the borders within which complex interpretation processes can take place. Ultimately, framing is a process of sensemaking and sensegiving (cf. Hill and Levenhagen 1995).

Framing as a term attempts to capture the dynamic and changeable nature of interpretive acts (Browne & Yule in Maclachlan & Reid 1994:2) that cannot be inferred from the terms listed above. It is a useful tool to be able to process information and confine it to the borders within existing knowledge. This existing knowledge can easily be recalled and acted upon when faced with the interpretation of unknown information. In examining framing as the process of ‘sensemaking’ and ‘sensegiving’ that cannot be seen in isolation, but as a dynamic process, it is necessary to investigate related aspects that have an influence on this process. These include activities outside the borders of a frame of the message, and border vulnerability. These aspects are always pertinent to the investigation of the frame, although particular elements in the process of framing will be investigated in more depth. The *Real men don't rape* PSA, with Charlize Theron as spokesperson, serves to illustrate how activities outside the borders of the main message frame and border vulnerability have an influence on the socially orientated message.

In *Real men don't rape*, the framing of the narrative causes friction by at once being enticing and repelling. Basckin (1999:40) implicitly refers to this dissonance between the initial 'harmless' introduction ("People often ask me what the men are like in South Africa...") and the stinging final reproach:

You look at her and you just can't believe it. She's so beautiful, so international, so much the supermodel. The face is a background to eyes and mouth, the hair a statement of intent, the expression, well, I've already said supermodel, haven't I? She speaks and the excitement at meeting her, the illusion of desire, the I'm-gonna-get-lucky urgings of testosterone crash and burn...

South African men's dismissive attitude toward rape as a social dilemma is seen as an exacerbating factor to the high rape statistics in South Africa, and therefore the majority of South African men are implicated as being part of the problem. According to this PSA, 'Real men' would not hold what seems to be a dismissive attitude towards rape, and would become actively involved in addressing the problem, which, as the high rape statistics show, seems not to be the case. After a complaint was lodged with the Advertising Standards Authority by 'a group of concerned men' and one woman, the PSA was banned.⁹ However, to supporters of this PSA, this move only served to "prove the power of its message" (Basckin 1999:42). This duality in the way in which the message is interpreted, serves as an indication of the border vulnerability involved in the framing of any message, and a socially orientated message in particular.

The domestic nature of the television medium plays a role in the border vulnerability of this particular PSA. Charlize Theron addresses viewers in a frank, direct manner, almost as if they are addressed personally, in their own domestic, personal space. The bare stage, is devoid of the glitz and glamour normally associated with stardom, supports this candid, up-front delivery of the message (no lights, camera, action here), and supports the blurring of boundaries between public and private. Finally, the medium upholds the friction at the borders by airing a statement that begs a response, but leaves the addressed with no means to react, respond, or counter the argument made.

⁹ The banned message content reads as follows: "People often ask me what the men are like in South Africa. Well, consider that more women are raped in South Africa than in any other country in the world. That 1 out of 3 women will be raped in their lifetime...and that the rest of the men in South Africa seem to think rape isn't their problem. It's not easy to say what men in South Africa are like because there are so few of them out there". Note that the PSA included on the CD-Rom accompanying this study, shows a subsequent announcement, aired after the banning of the first version. The banned version of the announcement could not be obtained.

Or almost no way, except by lodging a complaint to have the ‘offending’ message removed.

The mediated reconstruction of reality is here created by a constructor who must be aware of the degree of congruency between ‘the real’ and its mediated reproduction in order to manipulate it. The stage set-up in the Charlize Theron PSA could be an attempt to signal that the message contains only bare facts about rape in South Africa and nothing more. Many PSAs similarly tend to keep the distinction between the real and mediated worlds blurred in an attempt to keep manipulation of the message hidden from view.

In the *Real men don't rape* PSA, activities that take place outside the borders of the main activity act as a source of interpretive framing information (Goffman 1974:201; Maclachlan & Reid 1994:51). The blonde, sex symbol image associated with Theron outside the frame of this particular message, was adapted. Constructors of the message reinvent Theron here as the serious, short-cropped brunette, the hair colour simultaneously bringing with it the associations of solemnity, and instantaneously toning down the blonde vamp image. This could be seen as an attempt by the interpretive community or constructors of the message, to assign new collaborative meanings to Theron as an anti-rape spokesperson. Previously established associations and expectations regarding Theron allows the viewer to question these meanings. This is one example of how the impact of ‘out-of-frame’ activities can have an influence on the meanings assigned to a message. The Theron PSA is also an indication of how ‘out-of-frame’ activity, such as the Hollywood star status and sex symbol iconography associated with Charlize Theron, could at least be partly responsible for the misframing, misinterpretation and misrepresentation of the true frame of the message, an act that Goffman defines as “frame-ups” (Goffman 1974:302-324; Maclachlan & Reid 1994:56-58). It is argued, however, that in this case, there is a deliberate attempt at blurring the boundaries between the framing of Theron as the desirable sex symbol and Theron as the voice of the conscience.

‘Out-of frame’ activities can perhaps be best contextualised by means of an example in theatre of an actor ‘corpsing’¹⁰ during a performance. An activity that counters the core frame directly would constitute a break in the frame. ‘Frame breaking’ (Goffman 1974:347; Maclachlan & Reid 1994:52) would be to expose camera equipment for the viewer within the visual frame of the television. This could, however, be an intentional action by which to heighten awareness of the frame itself. In Brechtian¹¹ theatre practice, for example, breaking the frame occurs intentionally in order to influence audience interpretation. This seems equally to be the case in Reality Television shows such as *Big Brother* where “the reality is not entirely unmediated. In fact, the processes of fiction are visible” (Wolmarans 2001:3). It is argued here that these processes of fiction must be visible to heighten awareness of the key concern of the show: the ability to watch. The cameras, not the ‘real people’, seem to be the stars of the show. Terms such as out-of frame activity and frame breaking ultimately serve to indicate the innate vulnerability and fluidity of framing structure and framing action.

Goffman’s approach serves as basis for much of the outline of framing notions and terms given above. It must be noted that Goffman’s approach focuses on framing applied by the individual, and in this study serves merely as background information. The fact that framing can be collectively applied is of central importance in this study, owing to the necessarily socially orientated nature of the PSA. It is argued in this study that collectively understood processes of ‘sensegiving’ (construction) and ‘sensemaking’ (interpretation) are not generated by the individual in isolation, but are collectively created, and that such processes could be related to what Fish (1980:14)

¹⁰ Corpsing is a theatre term referring to “a situation when an actor loses the façade of his/her character onstage. Whether it be by forgetting lines, laughing, or otherwise, they have caused the audience’s willing suspension of disbelief to grind to a halt. Suddenly, rather than *being* someone else, the person is *playing* someone else” (Brian 2001:sp, emphasis added).

¹¹ Brechtian theatre explores man as depersonalised entity, whose main function is as part of the collective whole. Man is shown to be controlled by external forces and not internal motivators or will. The Brechtian theatre practice is an attempt to present an objective view of man in society. The external principles fundamental to the theatre experience are exposed, such as plot-structures, lighting and stage equipment to show the external workings that creates the social experience. “Brecht suggests that ... [s]ociology, that is the scientific investigation of human behaviour, should replace the make-believe of art and the illusion that our actions are determined by character alone” (Bartram & Waine 1982:49-50).

refers to as the “interpretive community”¹². This is the case particularly when investigating interpretive strategies for the creation of messages with social relevance. In this approach, framing of messages can vary depending on distinct collaborative meanings generated by any one group of people that agrees upon and subscribes to the same framing cues¹³ for the ‘sensegiving’ process. The interpretive community and the viewer bring collaborative meanings to bear on the process of interpretation by means of “expectations and hypotheses, born of schemata [interpretive frames], those in turn being derived from everyday experience” (Bordwell 1985:32).

The above applies to the Theron PSA. A complex social issue is simplified in order to make a general statement about rape in South Africa. By quoting statistics, this message and its spokesperson are framed as merely delivering the facts. Yet the central dilemma in this PSA is related to collectively understood interpretations of the content. Dissonance between what the message ‘actually says’ and what it ‘means to say’, sparked off endless debate. It is here that the framing of interpretation is shown to be highly flexible, and dependent on collaborative meanings generated by an interpretive community and on the viewer who brings certain expectations and hypotheses to the interpretation of what is shown. Although the core message is based on statistics, the message ultimately frames the shockingly high rape statistics¹⁴ in South Africa as an indication that there are few ‘real men’ in the country, and that rape is a social issue that needs to be addressed by the community as a whole.

¹² According to Fish (1994:14), interpretive communities are made up of those who “share interpretive strategies not for reading but for writing texts, for constituting their properties ... [S]ince the thought an individual can think and the mental operations he can perform have their source in some or other interpretive community, he is as much a product of that community (acting as an extension of it) as the meanings it enables him to produce.” It is argued in this study that the interpretive community creates a frame or frames within which information is to be understood and interpreted, and the individual is encouraged to analyse or read a text within the boundaries established by that community. Fish applies this term specifically to the field of literary criticism and the reading or interpreting and creation of strategies to analyse the written text. In this study, the argument is held that any input or information, be it written, spoken, visual or in any other form, necessitates interpretation, no matter on how basic or complex a level, and such information indeed invites interpretation in the same way as a written text can.

¹³ Framing cues act as indicators to show what information must be attended to in the analysis of the meaning of experience, behaviour or events.

¹⁴ According to Hawthorne (1999:18), “the official annual figure is nearly 50,000, but rape-crisis researchers say only 1 in 35 is reported. That means that there are more that 1.6 million rapes a year – the highest incidence in the world, according to Interpol.”

Indicative to framing as a construct, therefore, is the acknowledgement that meaning is always subjective and alterable, depending on situational factors that surround the appropriation of framing structures to any given situation involving interpretation (MacLachlan & Reid 1994:1-18). In addition, because no definitive frames of interpretation exist, framing structures, and the framing cues that operate within them, are interdependent, and form part of a complex process of interpreting meaning collectively, in an ever-adaptable referencing network. (In the interpretation of the moving images of film and television,¹⁵ this is always the case. The images that precede, have an influence on the images that follow, and framing of the unfolding visual narrative must always be alterable and adaptable, depending on new information put to the viewer). Ultimately, the frame that constructors create for the interpretation of their message, forms delineated boundaries of interpretation, yet are still dynamic enough to prevent strict control over how the message is finally interpreted by the viewer. While this approach could allow misinterpretation of the message, creating boundaries within which interpretation is invited is advantageous in that it is flexible and can be collectively applied.

A general outline of framing as a theoretical approach indicates the ways in which this approach can be instructive, particularly in the analysis and creation of the televised PSA. In investigating the framing of the PSA in this study, attention must also be given to the possible framing elements available to the constructor of the message. In order to trace the development of the construction of a PSA as a structured approach, an example of a linear framing model is investigated. This framing model serves as an illustration of the elements the constructor of the message is likely to employ in the development of the PSA as an innovative process of sensegiving (construction) and

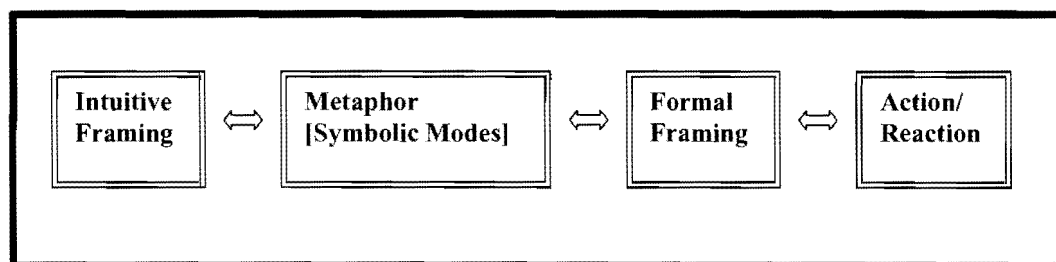
¹⁵ The correlation indicated here between film and television refers to the general similarities in application of stylistic methods in constructing the narrative, namely the use of the camera, camera angles and shots. McLuhan (1964) makes a clear distinction between film and television media. Film is regarded as a hot medium of high definition that allows for little or no participation on the part of the viewer, as most of the information needed for interpretation, is already supplied. Television, on the other hand, is regarded as a cool medium of low definition, where less visual information is supplied, thus requiring more participation from the viewer for the completion of information in order to frame interpretation (McLuhan 1964:22-32). It is argued in this study that the higher level of participation required by the viewer in interpretation of television is beneficial to the televised PSA format, a format that requires more participation.

sensemaking (interpretation). Development will be shown to progress from the intuitive understanding of the material on which the PSA is based, to the formal framing of the message and the action or reaction this message aims to elicit. It is argued in this study that symbolic modes remain central to this process, particularly in relation to the collective nature of framing.

Framing elements are pertinent to the development of the PSA as a structured process particularly related to the needs of the public service organisation. Particular framing elements that form part of a linear development process are identified in the following section. These elements can assist the constructor of the message to “establish images ... and an understanding of how things fit together [and to] articulate what is important and unimportant depending on underlying values, shared interests and common understandings” (Kiesler & Sproull in Hill & Levenhagen 1995:1058).

2.2.1 Linear development of the frame

The model below indicates how the development of mental models or frames can assist in “sense making and sense giving in innovative and entrepreneurial activities” (Hill & Levenhagen 1995:1057). In this way, the framing elements employed by the constructor of the message to ‘give sense’ are related or similar to the elements that the viewer will arguably employ to ‘make sense’ of the message. Ellis states: (2000:3): “[a]ny contemporary citizen in the developed or developing world will have access to far more information that can possibly be crammed into an explanatory framework”, and including this representation here is not an attempt to dispute this. The representation is regarded merely as a (mediated) very general guide to elements within the framing structure.



A model of the development of framing structures that assist in sensemaking and sensegiving in innovative activities (adapted from Hill & Levenhagen 1995:1060).

This representation of the framing structure or mental model presented by Hill and Levenhagen (1995:1058-1060) indicates the development of a frame from initial intuitive framing, followed by the articulation of suitable symbolic modes with which to more clearly define interpretation, while at the same time keeping interpretation open-ended, fluid and adaptable. This leads to the final incorporation of metaphors and ultimately formal framing, which guide individual and social behaviour and action. The term 'mental model' applied by Hill and Levenhagen is replaced in this study with the term framing model, to indicate its implied dynamic nature. The elements present in the construction of the frame will be investigated. Each of these units of meaning are interdependent, but at the same time act as progressive building blocks from intuitive framing, to the application of symbolic modes of expression and representation, to formal framing constructs.

Intuitive framing includes consciously and sub-consciously perceived information, gathered by means of slowly accumulated social perceptions and experience. This stage of framing development is largely open-ended, in that it encompasses vaguely held beliefs by the individuals and society in which the framing structure is operative. This phase of framing is often however, not clearly defined enough to have developed to the stage of verbal articulation. Intuitive framing is restricted in its use because of various constraints: "Not only are these intuitive models or belief systems selectively constructed by perceivers, they are also constrained by the capacity of the language, culture and context within which they reside ... Thus rich cognition may be generated but with comparatively few adequate words by which to describe them ... To cope with the lack of appropriate language require[s] the use of metaphors" (Hill & Levenhagen 1995:1059).

According to Cohen and Stewart (1995:10), in order to generate rich cognition in the everyday, it is necessary to simplify a complex world by applying the power of metaphor, or the ability to categorise similar objects or experiences together. In this way, metaphor is a powerful tool with which information can be understood as a unit in relation to other units of meaning. Metaphor could, however, be regarded as only one mental tool that gives the perceiver this power. According to Jakobson (in Rivkin & Ryan 1998:92): "The primacy of the metaphoric process in the literary schools of

romanticism and symbolism has been repeatedly acknowledged, but it is still insufficiently realized that it is the predominance of metonymy which underlies and actually predetermines the so-called ‘realistic trend’”. As the application of metonymy and metaphor is explored as modes of symbolic expression in the visual medium of television, this facet of these modes gains major significance in this study.

Formal framing begins once symbolical concepts are gradually developed and refined and symbolic modes used to articulate intuitive framing concepts, make way for formal framing of interpretation. Possible ambiguities contained in symbolic modes of expression and representation are replaced by direct, context-specific language (Hill & Levenhagen 1995:1063). Formal frames can come to be regarded as objective and stable descriptions of social events, actions and behaviour.¹⁶ This is also where the danger in formal framing lies. Left unchallenged, formal framing can hamper cognition and the incorporation of new information in the process of interpretation (Hill & Levenhagen 1995:1063). Finally, formal framing is less emotionally driven than symbolic framing, and requires “definitive specification of assumptions and objectives that delineate the framing process, thus narrowing the range of problem solving situations” in which it can be applied (Hill & Levenhagen 1995:1063).

Framing as a process ultimately stimulates some form of action or reaction, based on guiding principles contained within the operating framing model. The action can already be stimulated in the intuitive phases of framing, by ambiguous symbolic framing or formal framing models. Action leads to observable results that can serve to perpetuate existing models or lead to restructuring of the framing process. In the following section, correlation between the linear framing model identified here, and the development of the PSA narrative, are highlighted. These connections between the linear development of the frame and the development of the public service narrative will form the basis on which South African televised PSAs are analysed. The identification of a general narrative pattern that could be linked to the intuitive framing phase, are briefly explored. Identification of an umbrella message is investigated as a guiding principle in the

¹⁶ Although formal frames are regarded as stable constructions, the frame remains dynamic. The formal frame could therefore be seen as a process where the status quo is accepted regarding the dominant ideology expressed by the formal frame, both on a cultural level as the bearer of meaning, and on a social level as struggles for power, linking it to Gramsci’s notion of hegemony (Fiske 1987:40-41).

development of an intuitive understanding of the organisation for which the message is created. Out of what is referred to in this study as the umbrella message (cf. Radtke 1998), can develop an even more focussed narrative in the form of a key message. The key message is related to the symbolic phase in the linear model, as complex social issues must be simplified in order to be articulated. Finally, the framing of one of the key elements of the PSA, namely the call to action, is investigated, and is linked to the framing phase that involves some form of action or reaction.

The framing model outlined above will be applied as a guideline according to which the construction of the PSA can be investigated as an innovative activity, with particular attention being paid to the framing process employed by the constructor of the message. Intuitive framing is regarded as the first step in the development of the PSA. Once an intuitive understanding of the social issue and non-profit organisation is established, the application of symbolic modes in the narrative can begin. By employing novel approaches to symbolic modes applied, the constructor can frame the message effectively and still avoid the negative implications of formal framing as discussed above. Finally, the PSA must be constructed in such a way that it leads to reaction or action in the viewer.

2.2.1.1 Intuitive understanding and the development of the PSA narrative

In linear development of the televised PSA narrative, the constructor of the message must reach an intuitive understanding of the organisation and the message needed to be conveyed by the PSA. The constructor must accumulate knowledge of the public service organisation for which the announcement will be created. This knowledge accumulation can be based on gathered information and general perceptions about the organisation for which the message is created. Initial approaches to the social issue highlighted in the televised public service message are largely open-ended, and at this stage the constructor can still choose how the final message will be framed. In creating a narrative for a PSA on speeding, for example, there are various perspectives the constructor can choose to frame the message in, such as the perspective of law-enforcers

or of the families of those who died in motor accidents.¹⁷ A general narrative ‘pattern’, ‘imaginary construct’ or ‘story’ (Bordwell 1985) then begins to emerge, based on an intuitive understanding of the organisation.¹⁸

It is argued in this study that, in order for the constructor to choose an appropriate frame for the narrative, a general understanding of the possible varying viewpoints from which the message can be approached, must be explored. In the case of the PSA, the constructor of the message must gain a general understanding of the organisation for which the message will be created. Once this understanding of the organisation is gained, the constructor can begin to shape the narrative pattern in more particular ways. In this study, this structuring of the narrative pattern is based on elements of the ‘umbrella message’ (Radtke 1998:67).

2.2.1.2 The umbrella message as guideline in intuitive understanding

While the identification of a narrative pattern refers to a general understanding of the background out of which the constructor wishes to create a message, Radtke (1998) identifies certain narrative elements that are important to the development of the PSA in particular. These elements form part of what Radtke (1998:67) refers to as the message triangle, and begin the process of focussing the narrative to specifically serve the purposes of the organisation for which the message is created. This triangle consists of the three elements that, according to Radtke, form part of the construction of any effective public service message. These elements include:

- identifying the objective of the organisation for which the message is created
- the reasons why support for this particular organisation is important
- what request will be made that the viewer must respond to.

¹⁷ In the Arrive Alive PSA, the constructors chose what could be regarded as an innovative approach to the perspective of the unfolding narrative. The story is told from the point of view of a trauma unit surgeon who must try and save the lives of those involved in motor accidents.

¹⁸ This general ‘story’ that emerges is also referred to as the *fabula* (Bordwell 1985), which can be regarded as the general perspective the constructor applies in the narrative. The plot or *syuzhet* is based on the *fabula*.

The umbrella message, based on the elements outlined above, forms the basis for the universal message the public service organisation wants to convey, and is closely linked to the organisation's aims or mission (Radtke 1998:67). The umbrella message steers the narrative in a focussed single-minded direction, where the solutions offered by the message are necessarily limited and in line with the organisation's aims and objectives. Yet the identification of an official story (Schank 1995:32) or key message, supported by the application of symbolic modes, further defines the possible solutions to the problems posed and presents solutions as a packaged, 'fictionalised' reality.

2.2.1.3 Symbolic modes and the development of the key message

To further define the narrative beyond the intuitive understanding of the organisation and its message, the constructor must develop a strong core message that defines the problem or problems addressed by the public service organisation in a particular way. In this way, the constructor must begin to articulate a particular approach to the social issue highlighted that is directly relevant to the public service organisation, and develop an official story or what is referred to in this study as the key message. No longer merely general understanding based on a narrative pattern, official stories simplify complexities and frame social issues in such a way as to make this simplified version of the facts public. The narrative must be focussed, key elements must be highlighted and a central narrative must be articulated, and as is shown in the linear framing model, symbolic modes are often effective in these processes.

According to Schank (1995:32) the "overall intention of an official story is to make complex issues seem clearer than they otherwise might appear. When we don't have answers official stories give us those answers". One example referred to is that of a billboard showing a skeleton crawling into a body bag with the headline: "AIDS – It's a Hop in the Sack" (Schank 1995:32). In this example, AIDS as a complex social dilemma is simplified by means of symbolic modes that allow the transference of meaning. The word 'sack' is a metaphor for both a bed or a body bag. It serves as a striking reminder of the threat that AIDS holds. At the same time, 'hop in the sack' is an expression used to denote casual sex, and this framing cue would arguably be interpreted as such by the community at which the message is aimed. In the official

story, emotive and vivid symbolic language or symbolic modes are therefore employed to express the key message the organisation wants to get across, powerfully.

It is argued in this study that symbolic modes support the simplification of the underlying complexities of social dilemmas and can also act as linkages to the community addressed by the public service message. This is a major benefit of the application of symbolic modes in framing processes. Ultimately, however, there are cases where symbolic modes fail to resonate with the community to which the message applies. In these cases the community may have constructed alternate meanings or interpretations of the official public story. This may be the case in the South African example of the official story or key message regarding speeding, namely, 'speed kills'. This is a simplification of a complex issue for which many road users have alternate viewpoints, which they regard to be more believable. In such a case, people could tend to question the validity of this simplified message.¹⁹ Constructors of PSAs must therefore be aware that applying different interpretive approaches to the narrative can lead to different interpretive outcomes, which can confirm, reframe or refute the existing official story or key message.

When framing and symbolic modes do find resonance within a community, the results can be powerful and startling, as in the example investigated by Nichols (1994), namely the beating of Rodney King in March 1991. The beating and the subsequent trial of officers in the Los Angeles Police Department, is an example of different interpretive frames colliding, and leading to different interpretive outcomes regarding the unfolding narrative. It is also an indication of the power of symbolic modes as linkages with a community outside the framed-in space of the television set.

¹⁹ According to Crewe (1999), while there is a cultural shift occurring in South Africa regarding drinking and driving, with people designating drivers or staying over after parties, the same cannot be said of speeding. "Many otherwise responsible people, who are quite clear on the drinking and driving issue, still look for reasons and excuses to justify speeding". Crewe goes on to refer to ex-magistrate J Slabbert's views that the Arrive Alive focus on speeding is simplistic and diverts attention from more complex problems such as vehicle fitness, road rage, carelessness and drunken or inattentive pedestrian behaviour. Crewe also notes that "too many people when they think of speed, imagine the straight, empty, open freeway. Then they say: 'Hey, I'm not a cowboy. I'm in control. I can judge circumstances. 140km/h (or 160km/h? or 180 km/h??) is OK, so long as you know what you're doing ... [but] the faster you go the less reaction time you have measured in milliseconds which can mean the difference between life and death. In other words, absolute speeding is a problem" (Crewe 1999).

Regarding the framing of the Rodney King beating, for the prosecution the raw video material became “raw evidence ... an incontrovertible answer to a carefully formulated and often debated question: When are the police out of control? Answer: when they beat an errant motorist with metal clubs more than fifty times” (Nichols 1994:22). The defence, however, strove to place the video footage into a larger context that would negate the prosecution’s operating interpretive frame in totality. They argued that there were certain mitigating events that took place before the videotaping of the beating began, and that “[t]hese events could be interpreted to portray Mr. King as a dangerous suspect who required felony arrest. The video then demonstrates the determined, casebook efforts by well-schooled cops to arrest a potentially violent man without resorting to deadly force (chokeholds and the gun)” (Nichols 1994:23). Nichols shows the subsequent trials (the first of which resulted in a verdict of innocent), to be a struggle between these two frames for interpretive dominance.

According to Watson (1998:211), the Los Angeles Riots remained, for a vast majority of Americans, “a mediated experience in which ironically, the visceral imagery and voices of reason were part of a conceptual frame that ... primarily connotes amusement and entertainment”. Yet, for some “[w]hat the insulated world of television could not contain was Rodney King’s metonymic linkage to a far greater community. What was done to him had been done to others like him. Tele-atonement and grounded sensation could not contain the excess this metonymy invoked” (Nichols 1994:24). The Nichols example indicates the influence of metonymy on the framing of the circumstances surrounding the King case, in a way that allowed the mediated experience to lead to reaction and action. This example indicates that while the umbrella message guides the identification of the message content, symbolic modes such as metonymy can guide the framing perspective the viewer brings to the interpretation of the message that ultimately leads to action. In the televised PSA, symbolic modes can be visually expressed by applying the cinematic signs that are specific to the style of the medium. If the constructor can identify symbolic linkages that make the message relative to the greater community, the narrative can extend beyond the insulated domain of the framed-in space, to become socially relevant, as the Nichols example shows.

With reference to the televised PSA in particular, the constructor necessarily highlights a limited mediated representation of a social reality, narrowing the range of possible solutions to the problem highlighted in a focussed call to action. According to Radtke (1998:71), it is important to approach the construction of the PSA in innovative ways, and to “get rid of words that have been overused or that have no emotional punch, words that we have come to rely on too much”. This warning can be regarded as an admonition to generally avoid accepted approaches or formal framing of the public service narrative, in order to ensure the effectiveness of the message.

Framing of the call to action is investigated in the following section, as most, if not all PSAs, convey some call to action to the viewer. The constructor controls the framing of this call to action by packaging the narrative in a particular way and offering a particular solution to the problems posed. This aspect of the narrative construction is related to the action or reaction that is elicited by the frame, as indicated in the linear framing model.

2.2.1.4 Framing the call to action

The televised PSA mostly requires some form of action from the viewer, whether it be in the form of voluntary support, donations or other contributions to a cause. Sometimes the announcement merely requests the viewer’s urgent attention to the issue highlighted, as is the case in the SPCA announcement, where the viewer is requested to “give a thought before you give a pet”. At other times, a more specific request is discernible, as in the Arrive Alive PSA, where viewers are requested not to endanger their lives by speeding.

The constructor has a high degree of control over the element of sensegiving in the narrative, in choosing which units of meaning to show and in which way to portray them. By implication, a certain degree of congruency²⁰ must exist between the reproduction of the ‘real’ and the reality it portrays. Particularly in the case of the PSA, the constructor of the message must identify a strong message that defines the problem

²⁰ The degree of congruency between the mediation and the real can be divided into different phases, from reflection of reality to complete simulation, according to Baudrillard’s four successive phases of the image: the image as reflection of a profound reality, a masking of a profound reality, a masking of the absence of a profound reality or the image can bear no resemblance to reality whatsoever and becomes a pure simulacrum (Baudrillard 1994:6).

faced by the public service organisation. The initial framing of the message will dictate the solution suggested by the message. The framing of the message remains flexible, however, as approaches to public service issues change over time. The issue of smoking is a good example. Health risks associated with smoking and secondary smoke inhalation have come under social scrutiny only fairly recently. Yet although there is currently general public consensus that smoking does carry major health risks, various organisations that focus on this social issue, can frame their key message taking different aspects into consideration. According to Radtke (1998:60-61):

some people cast [or frame] cigarette smoking as a habit that is under the control of the individual – a health problem that only the individual can solve and for which the individual is responsible. Others make the point that cigarette smoking is a public health problem that should be looked at as the purview of policy makers – when cigarettes are taxed at a higher rate, people (especially teenagers) stop smoking because it is too expensive. A third way to look at the issue is that it is a problem that society must deal with by weeding it out of the popular culture as something attractive and sophisticated. This could be done by convincing businesspeople and artists who control popular culture to alter the portrayal of cigarette smoking.

Each of these messages frames the issue in a very particular way, and indicates specifically focussed solutions.

Finally, in developing a narrative specifically for the television format, the constructor must take into consideration the ways in which the narrative will be presented applying techniques specific to the format. The aspect of narrative framing as discussed above, is applicable to any medium, although the focus of this study is on the PSA narrative. The PSA narrative can be presented in a style²¹ that lends itself specifically to the television format. Although Radtke devotes time to the investigation of different vehicles for the portrayal of the message, what is of particular importance in this study is the framing of the PSA in the television format. As the constructor of the message chooses this particular format, it is important to take note of the specifically cinematic nature of the unfolding narrative of the televised PSA. Possible approaches to metonymy and metaphor as part of the television format will also come under attention, as important aspects of the framing of authentic and invented interpretations of ‘reality’.

²¹ Bordwell (1985:50) notes that, although there are alternative uses for the term style, in the context of narration in film in particular, the term style simply refers to “the film’s systematic use of cinematic devices”.

In developing the umbrella message and the key message, the television format requires the narrative to be expressed as a sequence of moving images. This sequence is compiled using specific cinematic devices such as the camera, actors, lighting and angles that, in terms of the television narrative, and the televised PSA narrative, are combined to create invented interpretations of social realities.

2.2.1.5 The style of the medium

In the televised PSA, style refers to the application of cinematic devices (cf. Bordwell 1985) such as camera angles and editing that form an important part of framing a televised narrative. In the narratives of moving images, “nearly every composed shot contains movement, and is quickly superseded by another shot and another in a mobile sequence” (Maclachlan & Reid 1994:37), so that the narrative is constantly in the process of unfolding before the viewer. The framing that guides the interpretation of the narrative is constantly cued and constrained by the images that preceded. In media that employ moving images, the viewer cannot “skip a dull spot or linger on a rich one [or] jump back to an earlier passage” (Bordwell 1985:74) as would be possible in the reading of a novel, for example. The constructor can therefore effectively manipulate time in a narrative unfolding as moving images. The constructor has control over the order in which these images are shown, the duration of different images on the screen, as well as the frequency with which the same images are shown, and has various cinematic techniques available for this purpose.

Images can be presented in chronological order, or by means of flashback or flash forward. The constructor can control the length of time or duration that each image is shown in a sequence, thereby controlling the pace of the unfolding narrative by means of editing, and indicating ways in which the narrative should be interpreted. A quick succession of images could indicate the building up of tension, for example. Events can be shown to happen simultaneously, by means of split-screen, an off-screen sound or overlap of images. In the application of cross-dissolves or cross-fades that imply a metaphoric link between the images shown, the order in which the images appear, is also of importance, as the properties of the image that precede are transposed to the image that follows.

Finally, while the duration of airtime for the televised PSA is rarely more than 60 seconds, and most frequently 30 seconds, the constructor can signal time lapses in the narrative in various ways. The general information showing the story or *fabula* perspective, as well as the condensed, arranged plot or *syuzhet* that is based on the *fabula*, can unfold simultaneously, or within different time frames. This would mean that while the plot must unfold within a maximum of a 60 second time lapse allowed by the format time frame of the PSA, it could be based on a story that spans either mere seconds, or several hours, years or even generations. In a hypothetical example, the constructor could show a car racing down the street and a child stepping in front of a car, as if the event is unfolding in real time. The constructor can expand aspects of the unfolding story, so that its screen time takes longer than it would in real time, for example in a slow-motion shot. Often, however, especially in a format with such a short time frame as the PSA, the constructor must condense the action by employing ellipses. Actual story time is effectively reduced by means of editing, fast motion or cut-aways, leaving gaps in the actual story narrative, but remaining structured by the plot, in order to fit the format time frame. To drive home salient information regarding the narrative, the constructor can increase the frequency that certain images are shown, or specific objects are focussed on. The constructors of the Arrive Alive PSA, for example, use the frequency and duration of images on screen highly effectively.

In media that employ moving images, not only the temporal, but also the spatial dimension is of importance. In the framing perspective, various ‘cues’ exist regarding objects, depth and continuity in the spatial frame. These cues are coded in terms of a specific medium. Bordwell (1985:103) notes that film, and by implication media employing moving images, applies more spatial cues than is possible in other media and allows the medium to appear more ‘realistic’ in nature. Other than painting, for example, media employing moving images have not only the spatial *positioning* of objects and perspective at their disposal as narrative cues, but also the *movement* within space. In analysing the spatial dimension of film, Bordwell (1985:113) investigates the shot space, the editing space and the off-screen space that make up “the imaginary space of fiction”. The shot space involves the arrangement of objects in the depth of the visual field. Certain objects occupy the foreground, midground or background of the shot space at any given time. Objects perceived as nearest to the viewer are referred to as

figure objects, while objects arranged to appear further from the viewer are referred to as ground objects.

What appears as figure objects or ground objects can be controlled by means of texture, atmospheric perspective, size, light and shade, colour, figure movement or camera movement. Textured surfaces come forward on screen, while smooth textures recede. Based on prototype frames for the sizes of people and objects, the smaller the object is in relation to its actual size, the further away it appears to be. Lighting reinforces figure/ground relations by suggesting surface texture and highlighting different planes; for example, distinct backlighting draws attention to this perspective plane. Regarding colour, intense, light colours appear to be closer than deeper, less saturated colours. Figure movement indicates the concrete layout of the space in which the narrative unfolds, while camera movement can modify this layout; for example, a panning shot can indicate the relation of an object to a wider spatial field.

The editing space allows the constructor the ability to control the continuity of the unfolding narrative. Images are normally edited to adhere to general continuity in the unfolding narrative. If, for example, a man leaves a room via a door to his left, the next shot must show the man entering the following shot from the left as well, in order to control the continuity from one shot to the next. Sound can operate spatially as well, with speech appearing to occupy the figure or foreground, while general noise occupies the ground. Muffled sounds becoming clearer indicates that whatever is producing the sound, is coming closer. The source of high-pitched sounds seems to be closer than lower pitched tones.

Finally, the off-screen space can be arbitrary and outside the imaginary world of the narrative (Bordwell 1985:99-130). Yet, when the off-screen space is included in the imaginary world of the unfolding narrative, it can be a key symbolic element, for example in horror films where the villain lurks just off-camera. There are various techniques available to the constructor to bring off-screen space into play, for example, the use of off screen sounds. In *The Surgeon*, sounds of off-screen monitors and background noise of the emergency room, authenticate the space in which the narrative unfolds. On a symbolic level, it could be argued that the off-screen space is employed to

signal the danger to the self as represented by the surgeon, whose face slips into the off-screen space at the end of the Arrive Alive message. These aspects will be elaborated on in the analysis of the message later in this study (see 4.3).

Framing social dilemmas, and posing possible solutions or interventions, is a mediated process. By selecting a frame in which the problem is shown, the creator of the message is necessarily highlighting the solution to the problem, if not completely eliminating other possible ‘ways of seeing’. It is argued here that framing of the mediated reality is simultaneously metonymic and metaphoric in nature, in that the constructor of the message can only select ‘part’ of the whole ‘reality’ on which the packaged narrative is based. To achieve this, the constructor of the message can employ symbolic references that extend those narratological principles that are pertinent to the message and compress those which are not.

However, it is argued in this study that the packaged narrative of reality presented by the constructor, is always mediated, and therefore not a mirror of an objective reality. Rather, elements of reality and elements of fiction are mapped, in order for blurring of boundaries to occur. This approach is outlined briefly in the next section.

2.3 The integration of television narratives and the everyday: mirroring or mapping?

The term ‘mirror’ conveys the objectivist notion that “the human mind makes use of internal representations of external reality, the mind is a mirror of nature, and correct reason mirrors the logic of the external world” (Lakoff 1990:xii). The construction of conceptual categories has for a long time been regarded as one of the main ways in which we make sense of experience. Traditionally, meaning and rationality, and the categories employed to reason and ascribe meaning, are regarded as independent of and transcendent beyond the organism that conceptualises and reasons. Traditionally, this process is also regarded as literal, and therefore devoid of imaginative symbolic modes. In this study, both ‘the real’ and ‘the mediated’ are regarded as constructed and reconstructed. Lakoff (1990:xiii-xiv) states that “thought [is regarded as] imaginative, in that those concepts which are not directly grounded in experience employ metaphor,

metonymy and mental imagery – all of which go beyond literal mirroring, or representation of external reality. It is this imaginative capacity that allows for abstract thought and takes the mind beyond what we can see and feel”. It is argued here that constructors of the mediated frame of the PSA can employ framing as process, narratological principles (and style in particular), and symbolic modes that negotiate the blurred boundaries between real and mediated, and between public and private.

The term ‘mapping’²² also implies that there is a conceptual source from which information is taken, which is then projected onto a target. In this sense, the ‘reality’ of social dilemmas faced by public service organisations, can be regarded as the source of cues for interpretation of the target, namely the mediated reproduction.

Possible elements in framing the indexical signs of reality as narratives, have been explored in an effort to understand the interweaving of television and the everyday. It is important to investigate how these framing elements are applied to the packaging of narratives in media with moving images, such as film and television, because

[i]t is only in our capacity to unpick the seams, and to understand the process of that incorporation – the interweaving of television and everyday – that we can begin to think critically about it. It is all very well ... to talk of the complexity of those relationships. The complex, like the seamless, returns the problem to where it began: it consigns it to the invisible (Silverstone 1994:160).²³

The televised PSA in particular is an example of a television format where the world the constructor puts before us must be recognised as a fragment of our own world, but employs cinematic interpretations of this reality in the approach to its narrative. By investigating a specific cinematic style, one can begin to identify the ways in which constructors of the televised PSA apply cinematic devices as a means of interpreting the reality that they wish to place before us. At the same time, it can be shown that cinematic interpretations can still be framed as fragments of a world that we

²² Baudrillard (1994:1) regards the map as a metaphor for the final phase of congruency, where the landscape represented by the map “is no longer that of a territory, a referential being, or a substance. It is a generation by models of a real without origin or reality: a hyperreal”. While this aspect of mediated representation is touched on in chapter 3, it is not regarded as the main focus of this study.

²³ Terms such as ‘interweaving’ and ‘seamless’ as applied by Silverstone, indicate the notion of the frame as related to ‘fabric’. This interpretation of the term frame correlates more directly with notions of fluidity and malleability with which it is associated in this study.

recognise as part of our own reality. In the next chapter, metonymy and metaphor will be indicated as symbolic modes that can be applied successfully as indexical and cinematic framing cues.

CHAPTER 3

Symbolic modes and their function in framing the televised PSA

In this chapter, it is argued that metonymy and metaphor as symbolic modes can be successfully applied by the constructor of the televised PSA in the navigation of the blurred boundaries between the private and the public and between the real and the mediated. Metonymically, the mediated reconstruction of the real is always based on the principle that the part must stand for the whole. Metaphorically, mediated reconstruction must extend or embellish certain aspects in the narrative that are pertinent to the message, but must also condense those elements that are not particularly relevant. These mappings are not only applicable on the level of narrational ‘story’ or *syuzhet* construction, but can also be traced as being embedded within cinematic style or form, as embodied framing elements.

Both metonymy and metaphor imply a process of matching or mapping – either a part of a concept is matched to a whole, or similarities between otherwise disparate concepts are matched. Ultimately, symbolic modes help to simplify the complex world we must try and comprehend and make sense of. In general terms, analogy, where one thing is understood in terms of another, creates the foundation for a rich network of cognition linked to the understanding of the frame as a knowledge structure (cf. Holyoak & Thagard 1995). Metonymy and metaphor have been extensively investigated as modes for transference of meaning that extend beyond their linguistic application.¹ Cognitive linguistic research, for example, has shown both metonymy and metaphor to act as links between basic physiological conditions and actions, and their manifestation as basic emotions, ranging from fear to joy, and anger to sadness (Ungerer 2000:322).

¹ This approach to figurative devices can be regarded as “constructivist” in nature as opposed to “non-constructivist”. These two approaches hold markedly different opinions regarding the importance of figurative language in general, and the metaphor in particular. “The constructivist approach seems to entail an important role for metaphors in both language and thought ... [b]y contrast, the nonconstructivist position has metaphors as rather unimportant, deviant, and parasitic on ‘normal usage’” (Ortony 1979:2). In keeping with the constructivist view, framing theory supports the notion of a constructed reality (in opposition with the “non-constructivist” view that reality is objectively describable in clear and literal terms), and therefore the metaphor is regarded as a mental device that is of key importance (Ortony 1979:1-2).

In this way, both metonymy and metaphor are shown to extend beyond their linguistic functions and become crucial elements in the process of cognition. It is argued in this study that, as framing elements, these symbolic modes allow the constructor, as well as the viewer, the flexibility needed to generate rich cognition or abstract thought.

As noted previously, the myriad examples of metaphors that are created with the arrival of new technologies and communication media gives some indication of how symbolic modes can be instructive in the articulation of unfamiliar concepts. According to Madsen (1994:57), “metaphors are frequently used in computer communications to express operations in terms that are familiar to human users. The processes are described by giving them characteristics usually found in other objects, whether animate, inanimate, human, or animal”. The use of symbolic modes, such as metonymy and metaphor, satisfies the need to articulate rich cognition, even in cases where existing knowledge or experience is lacking, as is the case when confronting new communication media.

It is this particular aspect of symbolic modes that is of importance in the investigation of the televised message. Although television is not a new communication medium, the televised message is necessarily mediated, so that direct experience is often lacking regarding that which is shown. The televised message is also primarily visual. It is argued in this study that both metonymy and metaphor can extend beyond their verbal functions as figures of speech, to be instructive in the interpretation of non-verbal acts as well (cf. Holyoak & Thagard 1995:213).

Symbolic modes allow the constructors of predominantly visual mediated messages the opportunity to articulate the key message in terms of imagery and symbolic modes familiar to the viewer. Holyoak and Thagard (1995:226) give an example of an American televised PSA where a metaphor was illustrated visually to articulate the negative impact of illegal drug use. A picture of an egg with the caption: ‘This is your brain’, was followed by a picture of an egg frying in a pan, with the caption ‘This is your brain on drugs’.

As this example illustrates:

[s]ymbolic representation ... can be a powerful source of meaning in texts of all kinds ... [and] are very useful to advertisers. Rather than the possible variations in meaning being a problem, they produce a useful fluidity. Loose associations are much more effective than watertight definitions. At the same time, symbols can be relied on to have predictable associations for particular groups, giving ... a sense of belonging and recognition (Goddard 1998:114-115).

Ultimately, symbolic modes make methods available for interpretation of the world around us in clarified and simplified terms (Meyrowitz 1999:44; cf. Cohen & Stewart 1994). In the next section, the role of symbolic modes is shown to assist the constructor in the promotion of interaction *in* and *with* the narrative. This interaction may lead to reaction or action, often based on indirect requests made in the commercial in general, and in the PSA in particular. Finally, symbolic modes can assist the constructor of the PSA in overcoming certain obstacles related to the television narrative.

3.1 Symbolic modes and the televised PSA narrative

In exploring the link between the function of symbolic modes and narration in general, it is important to note how Schank (1995:24) relates this narration or storytelling to a process of mapping. Stories are not told at random, but are selected by those who tell them. The gist of any story is expressed in ways that can leave out certain points and embellish others. The words chosen (or the method of narration) may depend on the audience to whom the story is told, and the ideas expressed may depend on “reinterpretation of past events in light of events that have occurred since the story being told took place” (Schank 1995:25). As already suggested, in television, the creation of stories often relies on a process of taking existing stories from one domain and using them in another. The stories in the domain of the everyday, become the material for the news broadcast, the talk show and the advertisement (Schank 1995:25).

Furthermore, all narratives can be regarded as fictions to one extent or another. According to Schank (1995:194-195), these fictions are, however, “based on real experiences and are our only avenue to those experiences. We interpret reality through our stories and open our realities to others when we tell our stories”. Stories, therefore, create strong bond between people who tell stories, and people to whom the stories are

told. Yet, “the fact that millions of people watch the same show at the same time [on television] is not lost on individual viewers. They can discuss what they saw with friends and co-workers the next day”, so that this strong bond can be replicated, even if it is not a person, but a technological medium doing the storytelling.

The selection of elements of the narrative, reinterpretation, and the shifting domains of narration referred to above, are all elements related to the functions of symbolic modes. That example above shows the collective process of interpretation, often supported by the application of communally understood symbolism. In applying symbolic modes, the constructor of the televised narrative selects the images that are to be associated with the message, even if these images are mediated or fictionalised packages of reality. As televised images move, there is a constant process of reinterpretation involved. Symbolic modes can also be shown to facilitate interaction *in* the narrative – for example, between written text and symbols in print advertisements – and promote interaction *with* the narrative – for example, by the viewer of the television show relating the narrative to others.

Symbolic modes of representation are not only important in the construction of televised images in general, but in the commercial in particular. The egg as metaphor in the anti-drugs campaign, is a good example of the way in which the symbolic mode encourages interpretation, not only in the narrative, but with it. The egg that stands for the brain forms the basis of the key message of the PSA, and allows interaction *in* the narrative. Once this metaphor (your brain is an egg) is established as the guiding principle, it can be embellished to incorporate new narrative elements that still employ the same base metaphor (on drugs your brain is a fried egg). How can the metaphor employed here promote interaction with the narrative?

Holyoak and Thagard (1995:226) note that, following the campaign against illegal drugs described above, a poster was put up with a picture of an egg frying in a pan with bacon, with the caption ‘This is your brain with a side of bacon’. In this example, the base metaphor prompted interaction with the narrative, with humorous results for those familiar with the initial frame as applied in the original PSA. This function forms part of the dynamic nature of symbolic modes that invites more open-ended interpretation.

As the example above indicates, in creating the PSA in particular, metonymy and metaphor can facilitate cross-referencing and the incorporation of new information into an existing frame both *in* the narrative itself, and *with* the narrative. Metonymy and metaphor aid the construction of any public service message and its persuasiveness,² and make it important enough to react to, respond to or at least acknowledge as a social dilemma that must be addressed by the constructor. According to Ungerer (2000:321):

There are several reasons why advertisements are particularly suitable for analysis in terms of metonymy and metaphor. Products advertised are never really present in the advert; a picture or a brand name represents them, which metonymically stand for the item in question. Similarly, the act of buying, which is the ultimate goal of consumer advertising, is never executed in the advert, but is at best approached by requests like Buy X. Go get X right away. More sophisticated adverts take pains not to address the act of buying ... and do not verbalize how desirable the purchase of the advertised item should be for the addressee. Yet there can be no doubt that this indirect kind of advertising works, indeed it is often more effective than the cruder more straightforward variants.

Just as the product is never present in the consumer commercial, so the ‘reality’ on which the PSA bases its message is never present in the public service message, but is used as a source for the narrative. The PSA does not necessarily show the act of supporting the organisation, but refers to indirect positive outcomes (of which the Tuks Rag PSA is an example), or avoidance of negative outcomes (of which the Arrive Alive PSA is an example).

It is argued in this study that metonymy and metaphor have the capacity to elicit a response in a viewer – who often gains experience of the PSA and the social issue it focuses on only vicariously (through the media). The application of symbolic modes can be powerful enough to overcome this obstacle. The increasing vicarious nature of our experience of the world is, however, not the only obstacle the constructor of the televised PSA is faced with. In any television commercial, obstacles in the construction of the televised narrative can often be overcome by the use of symbolic modes. Some of the obstacles faced by the constructor include:

² Rhetoric and rhetorical tropes or figures of speech such as metaphor and metonymy are regarded by “[m]ost contemporary semioticians ... as falling within the domain of semiotics. The study of what Saussure called ‘the role of signs as part of social life’ could not exclude the art of persuasion” (Chandler 1994:sp).

1. Time constraints: (televised commercials are normally 30, 45 and 60 seconds in length). Symbolic modes such as metonymy, metaphor and mental imagery allow the efficient transference of meaning between successive images, even if the images follow up at a highly accelerated pace (the Arrive Alive advertisement serves as one example).
2. Viewer constraints: it is argued here that the average television viewer does not pay specific attention to the commercial or the PSA, and therefore the commercial must be powerful enough on an emotive and sensory level to claim the attention of the viewer. It is argued in this study that the application of symbolic modes makes a richer narrative content that makes the message more engaging to the viewer (cf. Radtke 1998).

In this section, the ways in which symbolic modes are instructive in the construction of the PSA narrative have been shown. The narrative as a process of mapping has been outlined, with specific reference to the televised message. The application of symbolic modes have been shown to promote interaction *in* and *with* the narrative with specific reference to the televised PSA. Finally, symbolic modes can assist the constructor in overcoming obstacles related to the televised messages. In the next section, a brief outline of the role of metonymy and metaphor is given. In investigating metonymy, the main focus is on the relation between this symbolic mode and the nature of the television medium, with specific reference to the PSA. Metaphor as symbolic mode is explored with specific reference to ways in which metaphor allows the articulation of various approaches to the analysis of the television medium, including the framing of symbolic meanings as embodied in nature.

3.1.1 Metonymy and the nature of the television medium

Metonymy is regarded in this study as “an umbrella term for indexical links, as well as having a narrower meaning of its own (as distinct from synecdoche)” (Chandler 1994:sp). According to Barcelona (2000:4), “metonymy has received less attention from cognitive linguists than metaphor, although it is probably even more basic to language and cognition”. In this study, however, metonymy is regarded as ancillary to metaphor, as, other than in metaphor, only elements that are in some way associated, can substitute for one another (cf. Holyoak & Thagard 1995:213). Metonymy and the connection of elements by means of certain salient properties could also be regarded as the simplest form of metaphor where “metonymy often serves to create a kind of associative aura around a poetic metaphor” (Holyoak & Thagard 1995:213).

In accordance with Langacker (in Barcelona 2000:4), Barcelona regards metonymy as a “special case of activation. The metonymic mapping causes the mental activation of the target domain”. One aspect of a complex cognition stands as reference to the whole. In the sentence: ‘He loves the bottle’ the word bottle refers not only to alcohol, but also to the more complex cognition of drinking alcohol excessively. The metonymy that activates this cognition makes up only a part of the whole (the bottle, generally only the container of alcoholic drinks, stands here for alcohol and refers indirectly to the even more complex cognition of alcoholism as well). Yet the reference remains directly and rationally linked to the whole (or within the same experiential domain).

When making use of metonymy, the constructor of the message utilises a direct link, connection or association that exists between the part and the whole. This indexical relationship can be based either on “substitution by adjuncts (things that are found together) or on functional relationships”, connecting the part and the whole (Chandler 1994:sp). More specifically, “[i]n film study, metonymy means association of one object with another so that the meaning is transferred. The association can also be between an object and an action ... films [and television] have to rely on the external to reveal the internal. Metonymy, using connotation ... is a powerful mechanism for that” (Rudicell 1992:78).

The nature of the medium of television restricts the constructor in that only ‘part of the whole’ can be shown. Yet, because metonymy acts as a conceptual projection, where partially indicated units of meaning can activate cognition of the whole frame of reference, metonymy becomes a powerful tool at the disposal of the constructor. As is illustrated by the concept of framing in cognitive structures, there is always tension at the borders, attesting to the fact that what is left out of the frame, is equally instructive when deriving meaning, precisely because of its exclusion. Even the parts of the whole the constructor excludes from the message, are important in the conceptualisation of the message.

Metonymy is important to the constructor of the public service message as an organising element. The constructor of the message must select the parts that will evoke the whole, when choosing elements placed within the visual field or frame. Not all elements that could have bearing on the visual message can be included. In fact, any attempt at representing a social reality, must involve a process of selection, and therefore must involve some form of indexical or metonymic representation (Chandler 1994:sp). The constructor must identify key parts of the whole message that will aid conceptualisation and interpretation by the viewer of the commercial. In news broadcast, for example, only one or two scenes of destruction in a country at war, become indicators of a reality that the country at war is faced with.³ Each element in the frame must be directly related to the message. These elements must be arranged within fixed borders of the television frame and the frame of interpretation chosen by the constructor. The border around the frame is simultaneously restrictive and helpful to the constructor of the televised PSA.

Metonymy has been shown to be related to the nature of the television medium. Metaphor, however, is regarded in this study as one of the key symbolic modes that facilitate the cognition of rich imagery. Metaphor can be identified as a conceptual filter for the simplification of complex mental concepts and ideas. It has been noted that symbolic modes, metaphor in particular, allow the articulation of complex concepts in

³ This example shows the danger inherent in metonymic substitution, or what is referred to as the ‘metonymic fallacy’, “whereby the represented part is taken as an accurate reflection of the whole of that which it is taken as standing for” (Chandler 1994:sp).

simplified terms. The concept of ‘the media’ is one such complex concept related to this study, where the focus is on the television medium in particular. In the next section, metaphor as related to the analysis of communication media in general is investigated.

3.1.2 Metaphor and approaches to the analysis of communications media

The fact that metaphors can be applied in answer to the question: “What is media?” (Meyrowitz 1999:44) indicates the success of the metaphor as a tool for the simplification of abstract ideas. Three ‘images of media’ or metaphors identified by Meyrowitz (1999:44) are regarded to have an underlying influence on all current studies of communication technologies. The aim of an outline of these metaphors in this study, is twofold: it gives an indication of the different interpretive approaches to media, but it also highlights the key function of metaphor as a means of articulating rich cognition.

The first metaphor identified by Meyrowitz, “medium-as-vessel/conduit” highlights content analysis of media messages. The second, “medium-as-language”, highlights the application of structural codes and manipulation of elements in the creation of a medium-specific message. Finally, “medium-as-environment” focuses on the study of the environment in which the specific medium of communication operates. Meyrowitz (1999:47-48) notes that these metaphors can be successfully integrated to form an understanding of communications technology. Each of these will now be discussed as indicators of possible metaphoric interpretations of the media as it has come to be understood and interpreted in everyday life.

3.1.2.1 The medium-as-vessel metaphor

The medium-as-vessel/conduit metaphor forms the foundation of studies that examine any content related topics. This metaphor implies that media hold and send information that can be studied and analysed. Topics relevant to the medium-as-vessel metaphor could include the study of the way in which different media influence the message in different ways, studies of genre content, the identification of latent content structures such as ideology that inform message content, how media content is shaped by forces within the industry, and political or economical impetus shaping media content.

Message content guides individuals' social and natural responses to the media message. The first step in basic content analysis seems to be a general evaluation of whether the message is 'good or bad', or positive or negative. This is regarded as a primitive or intuitive response on which fast and accurate assessments depend. For the constructor of the PSA, the positive or negative framing of the message content is of particular importance, as it influences the way in which the viewer will perceive and react to the information in the message. Many studies specifically investigate the effect of negatively and positively framed messages on viewers of the PSA (cf. Levin & Geath 1988; Meyerowitz & Chaiken 1987). According to Reeves and Nass (1996:127), "negativity, mediated or not, is powerful, riveting, and memorable. And these effects are automatic, so important to survival that they don't require much thought or analysis". Most of the PSAs analysed in this study rely on negative framing to make the message powerful, riveting and memorable. *The Surgeon* is possibly the best example of the effect of negative framing, where the message targets the viewers automatic responses to negativity in order to promote 'survival on the road'.

3.1.2.2 The medium-as-language metaphor

The second metaphor identified by Meyrowitz (1999:45) is the medium-as-language metaphor. The focus in this metaphor is on the "grammatical" structure of media, or a structuralist⁴ approach to media analysis. The message is explored as a structure constructed in the same way as a sentence would be structured grammatically. Changing the units of signification in a sentence would lead to altering meanings in linguistic messages. Similarly, changing units of signification in the visual message (in the television medium, for example) will influence the meaning of the visual message. 'Grammatical' variables can include elements such as camera angles, editing elements,

⁴ Semiotics as a branch of the structuralist approach involves the study of signs and sign systems in communication. Framing of the message as a "grammatical" construct makes it possible to identify the independent "grammar" of different art forms such as photography and cinema. This approach makes it possible to analyse each form of communication based on its own structures of signification. In terms of film, or by implication television:

semiologists believe that the shot – the traditional unit of construction in film [and television] – is too general and inclusive ... The symbolic sign, they argue, is the more precise unit of signification. Every cinematic [or televisual] shot consists of dozens of signifying codes that are hierarchically structured ... semiologists decode cinematic [and televisual] discourse by first establishing what the dominant signs are, then analysing subsidiary codes (Gianetti 1999:459).

such as dissolves from one image to a following image, actors chosen to portray the roles of characters, or sound effects. Manipulation of these elements forms the central focus of the media-as-language metaphor.

Historically, the written word gained precedence over the visual (Kress & van Leeuwen 1996:18). Records of transactions formerly took on iconic form, for example, each notch in a stick representing objects traded and owned. Visual symbols developed that ‘stood for’ objects, and these symbols eventually became absorbed as letters of the alphabet. This illustrates the link that exists between the spoken word, visual image, and later the written word. Yet the written word gained precedence over other forms of representation in certain cultures and societies, with the result that verbal and visual representation gradually lost the potential as independent forms of representation. In these cultures, the image came to represent an “uncoded replica of reality” (Kress & van Leeuwen 1996:18), gradually weakening the independence of the image as a means of representation, so that today no commonly applied theoretical framework exists for the analysis of visual communication (Kress & van Leeuwen 1996:18).

Three main schools of thought influenced the development of semiotic theory: firstly the Prague School developed from work by the Russian Formalists, defining and applying systems of signs that could fulfil the same communicative functions across various communications disciplines ranging from linguistics to the study of art, theatre and cinema. Secondly, the Paris School incorporated terminology that defines semiotic structure. Semiotic terminology is easily recognisable to any student of media studies, with terms such as “signifier” and “signified”, “icons”, “indexes” and “symbols” that are widely applied as one approach to media and communications analysis (Kress & van Leeuwen 1996:5). Thirdly, in the study of social semiotics, although individual framing processes may influence personal signification, interpretation or appropriation of meaning has a fundamentally ‘social base’. In this study, visual communication is similarly regarded as an independently constructed form of communication that is always coded (Kress & van Leeuwen 1996:11-17). Social semioticians do not regard visual signification as unbounded, as a “message without a code” that needs the support of structures such as the linguistic message to fix the meaning of the image within linguistically analysable boundaries (Barthes 1977:17).

Although semiotics developed from the theories of different schools of thought, the central element in the study of semiotics is the ‘sign’ as a key element of analysis. In any given text⁵ there are certain signs that can be interpreted by means of an established sign system for the discipline in which the message is communicated. In keeping with the social semiotic approach, Carter (1990:67) regards semiotics as a means to illustrate the characteristic of human social life that requires the ability to communicate with the help of signs. Carter (1990:67) notes that this “general level of communication implies that human beings are able to lead an inter-subjective existence by being able to transmit information via the various languages available in a given culture ... [T]o communicate we do not simply engage in thought transference ... [I]t is the existence of codes and their material manifestation in signs, which enables the process of transmission to take place. Thus codes are, by their very nature, shared processes”. Carter also points out an important aspect of the semiotic theory, namely the collective nature of communication in general and the transmission of codes and signs in particular. In this study, the communal nature of interpretive processes is highlighted in its connections with the collective application of symbolic modes.

Social semiotics investigates visual communication or any “visual component of a text [as] an independently organized and structured message - connected with the verbal text, but in no way dependent on it” (Kress & van Leeuwen 1996:17). Lakoff and Johnson (1980) mention the fact that metaphor is mostly perceptible in its linguistic application. Therefore the metaphor does not only influence the way in which the individual and society communicate, but also influences behaviour patterns and daily cognition of experience. In this way, the metaphor extends its linguistic boundaries. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980:156), linguistic metaphors “have entailments through which they highlight and make coherent certain aspects of our experience. A given metaphor may be the only way to highlight and coherently organize exactly those aspects of our experience”.

This is perhaps one of the main reasons why framing as theoretical approach often uses references to linguistic and semiotic terms and constructs to explain its workings. The

⁵ The term text refers in this sense not only to written texts but to any “representations and communicative acts that cohere into [a] meaningful whole” (Kress & van Leeuwen 1996:14).

act of framing is widely applicable in any communicative process involving signification and interpretation of meaning, such as verbal communicative exchanges or visual signs (cf. Maclachlan & Reid 1994; Lehrer & Kittay 1992; Tannen 1994; Arbib 1987). According to Lehrer and Kittay (1992:4), frames are “either created by or reflected in the language”. The disciplines of framing and “interpretation [are, however] clearly more than just an application of the linguistic knowledge necessary to decode words and to make connections between them and the sentences in which they are imbedded” (Maclachlan & Reid 1994:3). Framing is linked to semiotics and language studies and the study of meaning in the context of communication and communicative exchanges. The association between linguistics and approaches to analysis of media, could be linked to “a sea-change in academic discourse [in general], which has been visible in many disciplines, has been dubbed ‘the rhetorical turn’ or ‘the discursive turn’. The central proposition of this contemporary trend is that rhetorical forms are deeply and unavoidably involved in shaping of realities” (Chandler 1994:sp). Finally, the identification of a “grammar” of visual images implies that the visual message can be read as a written text is read.

Nonetheless, Gozzi (1998a:351) points out several reasons why the metaphor that defines television content as ‘text’ is “arguably flawed”. According to Gozzi it is preferable to avoid the correlation between the reading of conventional text and the analysis of television content, because the metaphor hides a wide range of differences between the act of reading a written text and the act of watching television. The printed text is silent and requires the restructuring of the authorial voice as well as appropriate imagery in the mind of the reader (Ong in Gozzi 1998a:351). Television is an audio-visual medium that does not involve reconstruction either of narration or imagery. Written text “stands still” (Gozzi 1998a:351), while the television message is dynamic and moves on regardless of whether the message is followed by the audience or not. Reading is regarded as an acquired skill, whereas television does not require a great amount of learning in order to follow it. Finally, reading text requires greater levels of concentration (Gozzi 1998a:352). This assumption is confirmed by a study undertaken by Kubey and Csikszentmihalyi (1990:135) where adults evaluated various randomly assigned activities that formed part of their daily routines, over a two-week period. The results indicated that “reading is significantly more demanding cognitively: it is more

active and involves more alertness, more concentration, more challenges, and more skills than television viewing” (cf. Gozzi 1998a:352). Bordwell (1985:33), however, questions the assumption that reading is a more intricate achievement than, for example, the comprehension of images that move: “[i]t would be surprising if a film [or television programme], with its mixture of visual, auditory, and verbal stimuli, did not demand active and complex construction” on the part of the viewer. In this study, the viewer is regarded as an active participant in the complex construction of meaning in the televisual message.

3.2.1.3 The medium-as-environment metaphor

The medium-as-environment metaphor encompasses the analysis of how the application of a specific medium to portray a message, influences the meaning on a micro- and macro-level. On micro-level, environment influences the nature of the message; consequently, conveying a message through the medium of radio will have a different meaning than the same message on television. On macro-level, environment has far-reaching social implications. According to Meyrowitz (1999:46): “Television – in spite of its often conservative and reactionary content, perhaps even more so because of it – has made many people less willing to stay in their old places – physical and social”. The blurring of the boundaries between the public and the private sphere seems therefore to be related to the medium-as-environment metaphor.

The three metaphors identified by Meyrowitz serve as background to understanding how the cognition of the media is currently structured and simplified in order to facilitate analyses of the various media. In this way, metaphor is treated

as central to the task of accounting for our perspectives on the world: how we think about things, make sense of reality, and set problems we later try to solve. In this ... sense, ‘metaphor’ refers both to a certain kind of product – a perspective or frame, a way of looking at things – and a certain kind of process – a process by which new perspectives on the world come into existence (Schön in Ortony 1979:254).

The previous section gave an indication of how metaphor can be instructive in articulating various perspectives on communications media and the ways in which the media generate meanings that are analysable within the context of guiding metaphors. There is, however, another approach to media images and metaphor not touched on by Meyrowitz, which warrants investigation as it relates to the framing of meaning in particular, and could be explored in relation to the generation of meaning in the television message.

According to Johnson (1987:124), “[t]he fact of our physical embodiment gives a very definite character to our perceptual experience. Our world radiates out from our bodies as perceptual centres from which we see, hear, touch, taste and smell our world ... from our central vantage point we focus our attention on one object or perceptual field after another as we scan our world”. In this sense all meaning, imagination and reason have a distinct bodily basis. Metaphor in particular, and metonymy to a lesser degree, can be shown to be embodied expressions of bodily movements and perceptual interactions.⁶ In the following section, an approach to the style of the television medium, by framing of the mediated as based on embodied metaphors, is investigated.

3.2 Meaning based on embodied metaphors, and the style of the television medium

Bordwell (1985) shows that particularly when analysing a film narrative, the viewer brings to the act of interpretation certain schemata or frames according to which that which is interpreted, is arranged. The schemata or frame forms a “recurrent pattern” (Johnson 1987:29) on which the viewer bases inferences regarding the narrative. Johnson refers to this recurrent pattern as ‘embodied’ or ‘image’ schema.

In Johnson’s (1987:29) view, schema (or frames) form patterns of rich images or mental pictures and operate on a level of generality above that of concrete images. To illustrate this point, Johnson gives the following example: if one is asked to remember a specific

⁶ While Johnson’s (1987:30) approach also regards schema (or in the context of this study, frames) as “malleable, so that it can be modified to fit many similar, but different, situations that manifest a recurring underlying structure” and rejects the notion that schemas can be static, he regards the underlying structure as an embodied or image schema. Johnson (1987:19) specifically notes that this approach does not regard the schema (or for the purposes of this study, the frame) as a cluster of knowledge that provides a skeleton structure on which the elaboration of concepts are based. Instead he focuses on the embodied nature of experiential inferences of the world around us.

person's face, a *mental image* will form in the mind based on specific, detailed facial features. The image schema or frame operates on the more general level of basic facial features: lines for eyes and the nose, the general curve of the face, and so on. This image schema can be applied in a variety of contexts to identify a variety of faces. Johnson identifies a range of experiential image schema, patterns or in the terms of the study, the frames. What emerges is that these structures often seem to be kinesthetic in nature, thus related to movement, manipulation and interactions in space (Johnson 1987:29).

In order to show how embodiment relates to the media, and the television medium in particular, it is argued here that image schema or frames with an embodied basis for the interpretation of meaning, could also guide the interpretation of meaning in a mediated context. In this way mediated images could be regarded as being *embodied* with the body as centre and key basis of the experiential meaning, even if the meaning is inferred based on experience gained vicariously.

The body can act as “agent in its own world construction” (Lyon & Barbalet in Csordas 1994:48). In this way, the body forms the basis of interpretation of meaning in the everyday world. The body as basis for interpretation of the everyday operates both on metonymic and metaphoric levels. Metonymy is shown as referential in nature in that one entity can stand for another, for example: “we need good heads on this project” (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:36). A body part (the head) stands for a whole (a person), in this case, an intelligent one. Yet, it is not only the referential function of metonymy that guides the way we interpret meaning in the everyday. What is of importance is that one particular *embodied* characteristic of the individual, in the case of the example, intelligence, is associated with the head. Metonymy becomes a ‘gestalt perception’ related to the sense that the body is a whole with parts that carry different associations that goes beyond the literal (cf. Lakoff & Johnson 1980). It is illustrated in this study that embodied part-whole schemas or frames are equally applicable to interpretation of everyday ‘reality’ and interpretation of mediated reconstruction of the ‘real’.

Whereas metonymy is referential, metaphor functions on the principle that one entity is understood in terms of another entity, for example *time is (understood in terms of) money*. Metaphor can also allow the organisation of a whole system of concepts with

respect to another whole system. Lakoff and Johnson (cf. 1980) refer to these metaphors as orientational, with important emphasis on spatial orientation. The movement, orientation and function of the physical body in space as a system can act as a basis for interpretation of experience.

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980:17) this is indeed the case, as “most of our fundamental concepts are organized in terms of one or more spatialization metaphors”. It is suggested in this study that embodied spatialisation metaphors are equally applicable in the interpretation of the everyday and in the interpretation of a mediated reconstruction of the everyday. On a literal level, a waving hand on the television screen is still regarded as part of a body, even if it is a mediated representation. The constructor of the mediated reality can employ part-whole schemas or frames figuratively as well. A character with a wine bottle in his hand becomes one element in an unfolding narrative. If a character is shown in a restaurant with friends, the wine bottle could stand for festivity and celebration. If a character is shown lying on a pavement with the same wine bottle in his hand, the bottle could come to stand for the dangers of excessive drinking or alcoholism.

The camera becomes the point-of-view of the constructor of the narrative, the eye of an “ideal observer”. If the perspective shown is the eyes of an ideal observer, the camera movements “could be compared to bodily mobility: a pan or a tilt represented a turning of the head, a tracking shot corresponded to striding forward or travelling back” (Bordwell 1985:10). Essentially, the camera mimics or mirrors the actions of negotiating everyday life with corresponding moving images. In this way, one could regard the television frame as the periphery of the television screen itself. In the same way that the frame of a painting demarcates the picture plane from the periphery and the proscenium frames the stage, the camera becomes the device that fixes a perspective or ‘a point of view’ that is confined to its allocated frame, whether it be television or film.

These examples show that in media that employ moving images, different elements within the image can stand for whole concepts. In addition, the image that precedes is linked to images that follow it. Not only the images themselves, but the ways in which these images are linked, are instructive to the understanding of how they connect on an

interpretive level. An image sequence of a drunken man lying on the pavement, for example, could slowly fade into an image sequence of a young boy running in a vineyard. The slow fade would most likely indicate that the drunken man is dreaming or having a flashback to his youth, and that the young boy stands for the drunken man. If, however, the image sequence of the drunken man is cross-cut with an image sequence of a boy on the telephone, enquiring about his father's whereabouts, we might assume that the man on the phone is the drunken man's son. The relational link between images also has a narrational element, and links depend on the nature of the 'story' the constructor wants to tell.

Lakoff and Johnson (cf. 1980) identify the following orientational metaphors that indicate an embodied approach to spatial orientation:

- "in-out" orientational metaphors (containment)
- "central-peripheral" orientational metaphors (centrality)
- "up-down" orientational metaphors (verticality)
- "near-far" orientational metaphors (depth perception).

According to Johnson (1987:21):

Our encounter with containment and boundedness is one of the most pervasive features of our bodily experience. We are intimately aware of our bodies as three-dimensional containers ... If we look for common structure in our many experiences of being in something, or for locating something within another thing, we find recurring organisation of structures: the experiential basis for in-out orientation is that of spatial boundedness. The most salient sense of boundedness seems to be that of three-dimensional containment (i.e., being limited or held within some three-dimensional enclosure, such as a womb, a crib, or a room). If we eliminate one or two of these dimensions, we get equally important two- and one dimensional containment.

Bodily orientation in space becomes the source domain from which inferences are drawn about certain target domains. The movement of the camera within space can be shown to have implications as metaphoric meta-message, which is linked to the embodied nature of metaphor as based on spatial orientation.

The film or television frame defines the contained space that makes up the 'world' in which the moving images convey a narrative. The frame is a method of selecting and

delimiting the subject and editing out irrelevancies, presenting only a part-of-the-whole. The frame combines the materials it encloses and imposes order on them. The frame is essentially a technique that allows the constructor to confer special attention on those elements important to the visually unfolding narrative. The film or television frame can become a metaphor for other enclosures as well (Gianetti 1999:46). It is thus argued in this study that a correlation exists between embodied orientational schemas of the everyday, and the framing and spatial orientation of moving images within the television and film frame.

In keeping with the spatial metaphors identified above, central-peripheral spatial metaphors indicate centrality as an intrinsic centre of interest, for example, *Bill was the centre of attention*. According to Johnson (1987:124), “[i]n my ‘world’ some things, events, and persons are more important than others – they loom larger and are more central to my interactions. Others are relatively peripheral at a given point in time”.

Each of the major sections of the film or television frame can act as a meta-message that can be investigated as being derived from embodied spatial orientation. In this way, the centre of the frame is often reserved for those objects or characters that are central to the narrative of the constructor of the message. Objects placed on the left or right edges of the frame are the furthest removed from the central action and can suggest insignificance (Gianetti 1999:51). Spatial metaphors based on verticality indicate that ‘up’ is ‘good’ and ‘down’ is ‘bad’. This vertical orientation has an embodied basis. In the example *I am feeling down*, a drooping physical posture is associated with depression; similarly, the orientational metaphor *things are looking up* has its embodied basis in that the physically erect posture indicates happiness and health. Once again, the spatial arrangement of elements in the film or television frame follows this approach. According to Gianetti (1999:50), the placement of an object at the top of the frame can carry positive connotations such as power, authority and aspiration, while placement of an object at the bottom of the frame can carry negative associations such as vulnerability, or powerlessness.

Embodied schemas or frames indicate the notion that basic concepts for the understanding of the everyday emanate from the physical (or phenomenological) experience of ‘being in the world’, and can also be metonymically and metaphorically extended to communicate abstract meanings in mediated messages. A connection between the orientation of the camera within the frame and its metaphoric extensions of the everyday indicates the possibility that the camera does not merely mimic bodily movements. A link between orientational schemas of the everyday and orientational schemas applied to mediated images could indicate the possibility that the constructor of the mediated message is in effect applying framing techniques that become an extension of physical experience.

In this chapter, it was argued that we interpret reality through television’s stories and that television opens up new realities when it tells its stories. Furthermore, the selection, reinterpretation and interaction with these stories are related to the functions of symbolic modes. Television can also become an extension of our bodies: it collects stories from places where we cannot be or cannot go, bringing its public stories into our personal space, thereby blurring the boundaries between the public and the private. De Kerckhove (1996:4) notes how this medium has influenced and changed the nature of private space: “If books (especially the reading of novels) fostered and sustained the development of private minds in public space, television has done the exact reverse, namely to bring a public mind into private spaces. TV screens are collective extensions of our individual minds”. This is in keeping with McLuhan’s (1964:3) notion that “[d]uring the mechanical ages we had extended our bodies in space. Today, after more than a century of electronic technology, we have extended our central nervous system itself in a global embrace, abolishing both space and time as far as our planet is concerned. Rapidly we approach the final phase of the extensions of man – technological simulation of consciousness”.

The blurring of the distinction between the mediated and the everyday, between the public and the private, is in evidence in the investigation of various media in this image-saturated age. In the television commercial in particular, ‘reality’ has become a sign in itself, and advertisers purposefully modify these signs of ‘reality’ technically, in order to draw attention to the codes of media realism as a form of signification.

Reference has already been made to the role of the constructor in the choosing of elements that indicate an unmediated reality. In investigating this technical modification of the everyday, it is necessary to note that contemporary theorists regard this vulnerability as ultimately indicating a fusion into a state of hyperreality (cf. Baudrillard 1994), where what is real and what is mediated become indistinguishable. The heightened realism of hyperreality is not an attempt at authenticating the mediated reality in any way. Both the creators and participants in the hyperreal domain are fully aware of its constructed nature, leading to a

self-conscious [awareness] of its artificiality [that] opens numerous possibilities. Hyperreality is a place (or area, domain, field, etc.) where all the paradoxes meet and co-exist, side by side. The paradoxes are made obvious (apparent) through the media ... The media input enables people to see (and become aware of) themselves as others. The nature of contemporary technology (Netscape, film, TV, video) makes this imagery extremely widespread (especially in the “West”). It also makes all the paradoxes more apparent (Boskovik 1999: 3-4).

The awareness of the artificiality of media imagery that Boskovik refers to, does not necessarily negate the possibility that these media images can highlight social dilemmas or involve viewers to such an extent that it brings about action and reaction in them. Even obviously artificially created computer-generated imagery could act as technological extensions of man that could enter the sphere of social relevance and commentary. This possibility is well illustrated by means of the virtual character, Cassie Fenwick, who appeared on South African television in 2001. A fully animated and interactive character created as a promotional hostess for corporate events, she also featured as a presenter of the show *Cassie Live*, in which topics related to sexuality were discussed on a weekly basis (Lilje 2002). It is in this capacity that the virtual star is arguably best remembered. According to Lilje (2002), one of the developers of the technology behind the virtual character’s creation, various matters hampered the success of the television show such as mixed reactions regarding the show’s contentious subject matter and budget constraints.

More importantly however, Lilje (2002) notes that “from a guest point of view we found that Cassie was extremely easy to talk to. People do not seem afraid to bare their soul to a virtual character ... perhaps because they can be switched off!” The possibility of employing the virtual character in social intervention cases has been mooted: “There

are plans to use characters like Cassie in juvenile interrogation, e.g. in a child abuse case. Kids have no problem talking to something [sic] that can't hurt them" (Lilje 2002).

The social nature of the public service message is well suited to the medium of television. The communicator must create a 'zone' or frame that is fabricated from fragments of a recognisable world and fragments of cinematic invention, aided by many unique *instruments*, such as the camera and set, *material* and *techniques* (Tarroni in Metallinos 1996:167) that can be manipulated, to produce the desired message orientation. The creation of a frame that is grounded in the recognisable world, aids the blurring of boundaries between television technology and the everyday, which in turn blurs the boundaries between the public and the private, the real and the mediated. Finally, the application of symbolic modes is often employed to highlight certain everyday associations made between the message and its meaning, and hide those everyday associations that are not particularly relevant to the core message. In the following chapter, a general outline of each organisation for which the PSA under discussion was created, is given.

Three elements of the umbrella message are identified, which enables the investigation of the organisation's aims and objectives. This information could be regarded as necessary for gaining an intuitive understanding of the organisation and its needs, the core around which the umbrella message revolves. The structure of the key message and the identification of symbolic modes within the narrative structure that support the key message, can then be identified and discussed. In most cases, the PSAs analysed contain examples of what could be regarded as embodied metonymies and metaphors that are linked to an analysis of the style in which the narrative is portrayed (in the case of the televised message, this style is based on cinematic cues). Each PSA is analysed applying these criteria. The final PSA discussed, *Reach Out and Give* (see 5.1) is analysed from the perspective of personal involvement by the author of this dissertation in the construction of a televised PSA.

CHAPTER 4

Analysis of selected South African televised PSAs

Television's core focus seems to be on social events and activities. The PSA is an ideal television format, in that it is a socially informed message, focussing on specific social dilemmas to be brought to the attention of the general public, for the benefit of non-profit organisations. The fact that television has the ability to carry a convincing sense of the real is of vital importance for this format. This ability, in particular, makes it possible for the constructor to create a PSA of social relevance.¹

Regarding the nature of the PSA in particular, Radtke (1998:61) notes that social dilemmas such as crime, poverty and substance abuse are at the core of non-profit organisation activities and numerous frames on how these dilemmas should be approached and solved, exist. Certain social problems, such as rape, can occupy the collective conscience for a period of time, gaining precedence over other equally pressing problems because of heightened exposure of these social problems in the media. These foci are bound to change over time, however, placing other socially relevant problems under the spotlight. The non-profit organisation generally has control over certain framing factors, and has a core audience in the form of interest groups and individuals with high levels of issue involvement. Other framing factors, such as the social focus at a specific point in time or the economy that influences the willingness to donate to charities, are beyond the control of the organisation or the PSA constructor.

Knowledge of the television medium can, however, allow the constructor to maximise certain factors that are inherent to the medium, such as its socially orientated nature, its influence on the spaces in which it is found and the effective application of the cinematic style of the television format. More particularly, knowledge of, or an intuitive understanding of the organisation for which the message is created, will lead to the development of a key message built around the core aims of the organisation. In this study, certain key symbolic modes are identified that promote a particular framing of the

¹ Examples of PSA messages that can become socially embedded include such messages as "Just say no" or "Don't drink and drive". These socially informed messages are entrenched in certain cultural contexts to such a degree that one could argue that their meanings have become ideologically charged.

social issue highlighted. The symbolic modes support the context in which the narrative is placed and the core aims of the organisation. In this study it is argued that, in order for the constructor to successfully apply such guiding symbolic modes, an understanding of the medium is of key importance.

The first PSA analysed, *Tomato Sauce*, was created for the SANBS. A basic premise, namely the fact that blood supplies are running low, is the core message around which the narrative is developed. The narrative in this PSA depends almost entirely on the stylistic conventions of the television medium and a key metaphor based on the aims of the organisation. The frame in which the message is placed simply focuses the narrative content on the emptiness of the blood bank. *Christmas Puppy*, created for the SPCA, is a PSA where very specific elements of the organisation are focussed on to create a powerful message. The general domesticity of the television medium brings the social issue highlighted in this PSA, into the viewer's private space. Similar to the Charlize Theron commercial, the *Christmas Puppy* narrative draws the viewer in, only to finally issue a stern warning. The Arrive Alive PSA, *The Surgeon*, rather than simplifying the social issue it highlights, employs hyperreal techniques and muted symbolic modes to hold the viewer's attention. The message is imbued with a sense of urgency, immediacy and grittiness: elements that arguably make the world of the emergency room surgeon both fascinating and shocking. The final PSA analysed, *Reach Out and Give* (see 5.1), is a personal application of the elements investigated in the existing PSA, in the creation of a message for the Tuks Rag organisation.

4.1 *Tomato Sauce*: SANBS PSA (2000)

In analysing this PSA, the frame in which the message is placed, and the construction of the narrative are investigated. The message is community orientated in its approach, although no clearly defined call to action is made. The message will also be shown to be instructive to the interpretation of the narrative, particularly with reference to the use of colour and sound effects that emphasise the central narrative. Finally, the style is also closely linked to the key symbolic modes applied and the examples of embodied framing.

4.1.1 Intuitive understanding as basis for the narrative pattern

The information on the organisation for which the message is created, is regarded in this study as the starting point from which the constructor can frame possible solutions to the particular dilemma faced by the non-profit organisation. In the case of the SANBS, at the time when the commercial was made, blood reserves were low, and prompted the making of a message where this aspect of the organisation's work was the key focus.

Other focus areas of the organisation include the promotion of blood safety and obtaining blood donations from low risk blood donors (cf. SANBS [sa (a)]). General information regarding the organisation indicates a need not only to identify low risk blood donors, but also to encourage these donors to see blood donation as a vital contribution to the community, thereby promoting multiple donations (cf. SANBS 2002a:sp; SANBS [sa (c)]). This information is general, but forms a basis for the development of a narrative pattern and an umbrella message.

4.1.2 Development of the narrative: the umbrella message

The constructor of this particular PSA chose an interesting analogy to portray the official story, applying a metaphor that is accepted to such an extent that it could be regarded as being part of a formal frame supported by the mediated experience of 'blood' in films and television. Generally, television reframes the public and brings it into the private sphere of the viewer. In this case, however, an everyday domestic pursuit is reframed to make an appeal for community involvement in a public space well suited to this community-orientated nature of the call to action. Three elements of the umbrella message are investigated as it applies to the SANBS in particular:

- *What is the objective of the organisation for which the message is created?*

In this study, the aim of SANBS is identified as the promotion of voluntary blood donation by people who are identified as eligible, because "voluntary non-remunerated blood donors from low-risk populations who give blood regularly are the foundation of a safe and adequate blood supply" (SANBS [sa (a)], emphasis added). The SANBS also

promotes the donation of blood as a “service we owe to the community” (SANBS 2002a:sp).

The mission of the SANBS, therefore, seems to be twofold: the collection of blood from low risk donors and to maintain an sufficient blood supply. Regarding the first objective, the organisation notes that “HIV/AIDS poses a great risk to the safety of the South African blood supply... We do not disclose test results. Please do not donate blood to have an HIV/AIDS test” (SANBS [sa (b)]). The key message in the PSA analysed here is, however, based only on the second objective, namely the maintenance of sufficient blood supplies by means of donations from low-risk donors, and the indirect call to action made in this PSA is made on this basis only.

- *What does this objective mean, or why is the support for this particular social issue important to the viewer?*

Regarding the maintaining of adequate blood supplies, the organisation appeals simply to the donor’s sense of community involvement and service. The pamphlet handed out prior to blood donation, states that “people should only give blood because they want to help someone who needs a transfusion ... blood and blood products are used for the treatment of people who have cancer or leukaemia, for accident victims, for people who need surgery, or for a newborn baby” (SANBS [sa (b)]).

It is argued in the analysis of this PSA for the SANBS, that the reasons for blood donation outlined above are generally implicitly understood, particularly by existing donors. Various donors profiled in SANBS information booklets indicate the donation of blood as a way to “serve their community in [a] painless way” (SANBS 2002:sp). The fact that blood donation is understood as a means of community service could also partly be attributed to the fact that blood donation in South Africa is voluntary, and community service is therefore the only “reward” for the donation of blood.

The social understanding of the need for blood donation as a community contribution, is interwoven with the structure of the public service message itself. Interestingly, this PSA was screened in what could be regarded as an alternative commercial space that is

wholly community orientated, namely a petrol filling station forecourt television network. Messages and commercials screened here are often community-specific in content and are shown on a big-screen television that can be viewed by filling station customers. In this way, the space in which this commercial is screened, is firmly based in the community and can be linked to the understanding that blood donation itself is, or must be, regarded as a form of community service.

- *What must be done regarding the organisation's objective, or what is the request the viewer must respond to?*

Simply stating the fact that there is a low supply of blood at the SANBS, as is the case in the PSA analysed in this study, can be a powerful enough request or call to action. In a newsletter honouring a donor donating his 300th unit, donor Brian Robson regards the donating of blood as “a debt of honour” and notes that “if everyone adopted this attitude there would not be any blood shortages” (SANBS 2002b:sp). It is on this basis that the key message of this PSA is constructed. No explanations of a mission statement are given in a message that, at its core, simply indicates the fact that SANBS blood reserves are low. This then becomes a case where the ‘official story’ or key message is a simplification of the complex issues regarding blood transfusion, particularly in the South African context.

4.1.3 The structure of the ‘official story’ or key message

In the SANBS PSA, very few units of meaning, either visual or verbal, are employed to construct the message: no voice-over or text accompanies or supports the visual, except for the final text showing the organisation’s name and contact details. The reconstruction of the fictionalised reality is entirely based on the framing of tomato sauce as blood.

In the initial stages of this PSA, the actions performed by the actor seems merely to mirror an everyday occurrence of getting the last tomato sauce out of an almost empty bottle (frame 1). Yet, as the emptying of the tomato sauce bottle cannot be a message in itself, a mapping occurs here. Stories, or even simply cues, that belong to the domain of the everyday, here become the material for the domain of the mediated. The tomato

sauce must be understood as a metaphor for blood in order for the meaning of the message to be interpreted. Already in these initial stages of the commercial, certain framing cues are highlighted, while others are ignored. The emptiness of the bottle is of central concern, and this is confirmed by the fact that the hollow sound of the hand striking the bottle is one of the only cues the viewer has for the interpretation of the meaning of the message. This central notion is therefore directly related to the actions shown (frames 2 & 3). While these actions portray an everyday scenario of having to empty the last tomato sauce from the bottle, rather than emphasising the everyday, domestic nature of these actions, no other units of meaning support the interpretation of this action as domestic in nature. It is not performed in a deliberately domestic manner, such as showing the action performed in a reproduced private space such as the dinner table. This is a packaged ‘fictionalised’ narrative, guided by a key metaphor that frames the images as falling outside the sphere of the domestic. Stripped of framing cues, this message also falls beyond a particular temporal or time frame. It could be argued that this message can therefore be shown repeatedly over an extended period of time without influencing the way in which the message will be interpreted.

As mentioned previously, the key concern is the effective mapping from tomato sauce as source framing cue, to blood as the target framing cue. All other cues are essentially unnecessary and could hamper the mapping. The minimisation of framing cues allows for the mapping of the cinematic cue of tomato sauce to blood the moment the words “The South African Blood Service” appear on screen. In this way, the fact that the tomato sauce bottle is almost empty should be taken to indicate that blood bank reserves that are running very low. It is argued in this study that the entire message hinges on the dynamic nature of the interpretive frame and allows such transference of meaning to occur.

The metaphor *tomato sauce is blood* strongly supports this transference of meaning, particularly related to the style of the medium.² Therefore, the viewer is entirely reliant on the interpretation of the guiding visual metaphor that is employed in the PSA, in order to understand and interpret the meaning of the message. Rather than this being a shortcoming of the PSA, the lack of too many units of meaning could be regarded as advantageous in this specific instance. The lack of units of meaning, restricts the possible meanings that can be read into the text, and contains or limits the inferences that can be made. The central element in this PSA is the symbolic mode employed to frame the narrative, and is the basis for the development of the approach to the narrative and style of the PSA.

The central role of the metaphor *tomato sauce is blood* warrants further investigation. In the following section, this key symbolic mode and its relation to the framing of the message are explored. Supporting cues related to the mapping between tomato sauce and blood, namely colour and movement, are also discussed.

4.1.4 Identification of the key symbolic modes

As mentioned previously, the dominant visual metaphor employed in this PSA can be identified as:

- *Tomato sauce is blood*

The moment the organisation's name appears on the screen (frame 7), the mapping between the target and source in the metaphor *tomato sauce is blood*, can occur. In this PSA the general everyday action of shaking a tomato sauce bottle to empty its contents, transforms into a message about the state of SANBS resources. The mapping between the source and the target allows a transformation of the visual action of shaking the

² The fact that blood seen on television or in films, is often regarded as 'fake' is here turned on its head. In this sense the medium has established the framing of tomato sauce as 'fake blood'. In this PSA the boundaries blur so that tomato sauce stands for real blood. It is argued that the interpretation of tomato sauce as blood could be regarded as at least partly influenced by established narrative patterns, with reinterpretation taking place based on such a previously established interpretation. It is also an indication of how television can borrow interpretations from other media, such as films, with success.

bottle to incorporate more than one framing of the information, to guide the viewer in the understanding and interpreting of the final message meaning. This metaphor was not chosen at random. It embellishes certain points and leaves out others not relevant to the key message. It also enables a strongly visual or cinematic interpretation, which will be investigated in the following section.

4.1.5 Cinematic style in *Tomato Sauce*

There are various ways in which the constructor of this PSA applied cinematic style effectively. The colour red acts as an obvious cue for the transference of meaning between the cinematic or invented sign (tomato sauce), and the indexical or authentic sign it stands for (blood). As an intense colour, the red of the tomato sauce becomes the dominant element in the image sequence. Red is also successful metonymy, supporting the cueing of tomato sauce to blood.

The white shirt worn by the actor performing the actions ties in with the clinical setting (frames 4 & 6) that becomes apparent once the mapping occurs. The white, stripped space within which the action is framed, thus leaves the viewer with little option but to consider the possibility of a symbolic frame of reference being employed, rather than a dominantly natural or realistic one, even before the mapping occurs. When the words South African National Blood Service appear on the screen (frames 7 & 8), the connection between the action, the space in which the action is placed and the message content, becomes apparent. The message is framed to focus on the emptiness of the tomato sauce bottle, and the clinical setting becomes instructive in understanding the meaning of the message: the SANBS is low on blood supplies, which has implications particularly in the medical environment.

Movement in space is another strong unit of meaning in the framing of this PSA, in that establishing that the tomato sauce bottle is practically empty, is one key to the interpretation of the message frame. The tomato sauce bottle is first shown in close-up (frame 1), as it is shaken, and a special effect blurs the motion throughout the PSA, highlighting movement as a unit of meaning. The bottle is tilted, as if the person shaking the tomato sauce bottle is checking if he attempts at emptying the last drop of

tomato sauce are effective (frame 2). It is a clear indication that the emptiness of the tomato sauce bottle is of key importance. The movement is then intensified as the bottle is shaken more and more vigorously (frame 3). Then, in what seems to be a final attempt to release the last drops of tomato sauce, the bottle is turned upside down (frame 4),³ and the base of the bottle is tapped, to try and release the last drop of sauce (frames 5 & 6).

4.1.6 Framing the call to action

The implied call to action in this PSA is a request to donate blood, and the final drop of blood that falls when the contact number appears on the screen, could possibly be an indicator of this call to action. This drop of blood (frame 8) is functional in many ways. This final movement on the screen keeps the viewer's attention, the placement of the drop right under the contact number seems to underline the contact details and red, as the dominant contrast in these frames, leads the eye to focus on the contact number. It seems to indicate that this is the 'last drop', highlighting the idea that the blood bank is almost empty, and brings to mind formal expressions such as:

- *Down to the last drop of blood or Every drop counts.* These formal expressions supports the mapping of

- *The empty tomato sauce bottle equals the empty blood bank*

However, apart from the intentional interpretation of the narrative, there is the danger that a second, negative framing of the message is established with the drop shown as splattered or spilled onto the background showing the organisation's information, with the metonymy:

³ The brand name 'Heinz' appears in frame 4. The appearance of a brand name in the PSA is problematical, because it could lead the viewer to regard this as a commercial advertisement for the product shown. This could also be one of the reasons why this PSA is broadcast on petrol station forecourt closed television circuit, and not aired on commercial television channels. This particular PSA is effective without the need for a voice-over or music to convey the message, and would therefore be effective in this public sphere where background noise and distractions would make it difficult to interpret a verbally driven message.

- *Spilling stands for wasting*. Also, the expression:

- *The spilling of blood*

hold associations of violence and unnecessary loss. The way in which the drop splatters as it falls seems to maintain both the notion of loss or wastage, as well as the notion of violence. Moreover, these final drops are no longer the bright red of the tomato sauce in the rest of the PSA, but are darker in colour. Although the drop has functional value, this seems a forced move by the constructor. There seems to have been the fear that the mapping between the source and target might not occur, and that this cue should be added so that there is no mistaking that tomato sauce stands for blood. This seems to be an underestimation of the power of the metaphor employed, and has an opposite effect: rather than strengthening the original metaphor, it could obscure its interpretation. None of the associations mentioned above have a positive impact on the core message, and could discourage potential donors who already hold negative associations with the idea of donating blood (such as fearing getting hurt or a fear of needles).

4.1.7 Identification of embodied framing in the *Tomato Sauce* commercial

The negative associations with spillage of blood mentioned, could be related to embodied framing of the body that is regarded as a three-dimensional ‘container’. Taking this approach, a muted symbolic mode emerges in the construction of this narrative, where an analogy between the bottle as container of tomato sauce, and the body as container of blood is created. What is at issue here is the containment of blood as vital fluid within the body. Spillage spells risk to the one who is losing blood. Frame 8 focuses attention on the loss of blood, blood now *outside* the body, whereas the key message, if based on the intuitive understanding of the organisation, should be related to replenishment of blood and not the loss thereof. It is argued that if the spillage of blood in frame 8 were not included in the PSA, these negative associations could be avoided.

Taking embodied framing of meaning into account highlights the danger of possible misframing of the message as the viewer could struggle to isolate the meaning of the message because of the conflicting ideas shown. When so few units of meaning are

employed, and the responsibility of finding the meaning of the message lies so heavily on the participation in interpretation by the viewer, conflicting messages can diminish the impact and success of what would otherwise have been a more single-minded, powerful PSA.

Part of the reason why the next two PSAs analysed in this study make a strong impact, could be attributed to equally single-minded approaches to the messages. The PSA created for the SPCA, *Christmas Puppy*, turns a potentially complex message into a clear-cut call to action. Similarly, in the Arrive Alive PSA, *The Surgeon*, the single-minded approach to the message is what makes it powerful. The use of cinematic devices abound and the narrative structure is complex, but the innovative framing approach to a well-known South African road safety campaign makes this PSA difficult to ignore.



TITLE: TOMATO SAUCE (SANBS)



Frame 1
SFX: Sound of cap being unscrewed and falling to the floor (Note echo)



Frame 2
(No sound effects)



Frame 3
SFX: Sound of hand slapping against the base of the bottle



Frame 4
(No sound effects)



Frame 5
SFX: Sound of hand slapping against the base of the bottle



Frame 6
SFX: Sound of hand slapping against the base of the bottle



Frame 7
SFX: Background tone



Frame 8
SFX: Background tone

4.2 *Christmas Puppy*: SPCA PSA (1993)

The SPCA is concerned with the welfare and protection of all animals, with particular focus on the South African context, yet tries to influence other countries and is supportive of international campaigns for the protection of animals (Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals 1997:sp). This is a general and encompassing statement that would be difficult to capture in one PSA alone. In constructing a PSA for this particular organisation, one would have to focus on one or two aspects of the work undertaken by this organisation, as is discussed in the following section.

4.2.1 Intuitive understanding as basis for the narrative pattern

In the PSA analysed in this study, one focus area of the work undertaken by the organisation mentioned above, forms the basis of the narrative pattern. The announcement focuses on the organisation's policy regarding responsible pet ownership, and euthanasia in particular.¹ A stylised packaged narrative, the images of fictionalised reality are here structured and arranged according to strict guidelines. The stylised nature of the PSA supports the method of engaging the reader in the first section of the PSA, and once the attention is established, turning it into a shocking concluding message. It is one way of constructing an announcement that can successfully break through the clutter of television advertising and overcome the problems normally associated with television commercials, such as a general lack of viewer attention. Investigating the umbrella message offers insight into the organisation for which the announcement was created, into the nature of the appeal made, and the possible reasons why the public ought to respond to this particular message.

¹ The policy statements mentioned above, take specific subsections of the National Council of SPCA policy into account. The National Council of SPCA notes that "the subsections listed in this policy are not exhaustive and do not imply any limitation of the Council's concern in matters not specifically mentioned" and the web page where the information is posted "is an attempt to summarise the activities of [the] organisation whose mission is to prevent cruelty to animals" (Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals 1997:sp).

4.2.2 Development of the narrative frame: the umbrella message

In framing the key message orientation, it is useful to investigate the three elements of the umbrella message, namely:

- *What is the objective of the organisation for which the message is created?*

The policy statement of the SPCA includes specific subsections regarding both responsible pet ownership and euthanasia, issues that come under the spotlight in this particular PSA. According to the policy statement on responsible pet ownership, SPCA is opposed to “[p]et animals being offered as gifts and prizes” (Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals 1997:sp). Two other aspects could be deemed important for the framing of this PSA. The first is the SPCA policy of opposition against the “keeping of animals by those who do not have the facilities, time, financial means or level of interest necessary to ensure a satisfactory standard of care for their pets” (Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals 1997:sp). Secondly, regarding euthanasia, the SPCA policy is opposed to the “euthanasia of fit and healthy animals, but accepts the reality that humane destruction is necessary” (Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals 1997:sp).

- *What does this objective mean, or why is the support for this particular social issue important to the viewer?*

Although it could be seen as a harmless gesture by many, this PSA focuses on the fact that animals should not be given as gifts. The message indicates that this is ultimately not in the best interest of the animal. When giving an animal as a pet, the person giving the animal away cannot guarantee the welfare of the animal, or guarantee that interest in the animal will not wane once the animal matures. This could lead to the need for euthanasia of fit and healthy animals. Those who give animals as ‘gifts’ are indirectly implicated as thoughtless and irresponsible.

- *What must be done regarding the organisation's objectives, or what is the request the viewer must respond to?*

This PSA focuses on very particular aspects of responsible pet ownership, and therefore the request made is also very particular. It is simply that thought must be given to the thousands of unwanted fit and healthy animals that are put to sleep each year, and that the giving of an animal as a gift is one of the direct causes of this problem.

4.2.3 The structure of the 'official story' or key message

The key focus of this PSA is on the unnecessary culling of otherwise fit and healthy animals, due to unthinking and careless behaviour on the part of humans. Giving a pet as Christmas present is careless, as the person giving the gift could be delivering the animal into the hands of an awful fate. Although it may be considered a harmless gesture, the giving of an animal as a gift is therefore strongly discouraged.

This PSA was aired during Christmas time, and begins in a light-hearted tone, showing the engaging images of a playful puppy. The voice-over accompanying the commercial is the well-known song, *Have yourself a merry little Christmas* sung by Frank Sinatra. The PSA is structured in such a way to engage the attention of the viewer by showing a puppy playing with the Christmas wrapping it came in.

Unexpectedly, however, the PSA turns from joyful to shocking, and this swift change of mood could catch the viewer unawares. This could be regarded as a tactic to focus attention on the final request or appeal made in the PSA. Although the change of mood seems to happen suddenly, various elements are carefully constructed into the PSA to bring about this change, and are explored in the following section.

4.2.4 Identification of key symbolic modes

The PSA opens with a sequence showing a puppy playing with the ribbon and present lining, and biting the red bow with which the present was wrapped. Although the unwrapping of a Christmas present is never shown, there are various metonymic

mappings that imply that the puppy was given as a Christmas gift that has just been unwrapped. These include:

- *The ribbon and lining stand for unwrapped present*

The box in which the puppy is placed alone cannot indicate that the puppy was given to someone as a gift. The ribbon and lining inside the box act as metonymic cues that this is the case. In this way, the key element of the narrative, the fact that the puppy was a present, is foregrounded. Framing interpretations irrelevant to the message are countered, embellishing what is regarded as important to the frame, and hiding what is of less importance. Metonymic cues that this is specifically a Christmas gift, for example, include the soundtrack and the red colour of the ribbon, as opposed to any other colour, so that

- *Red stands for Christmas*

This colour is readily associated with Christmas decorations and festivities. The fact that this PSA was aired during Christmas time, acts as final confirmation that the puppy was a Christmas gift. This is a key element of the PSA, as Christmas is the time of giving and receiving gifts and a time of great optimism. At the outset of the PSA, the visual imagery combined with the soundtrack, exploits this optimism associated with Christmas time, so that when the narrative turns to the subject of animals meeting an awful fate because of people's thoughtless behaviour, the message is all the more powerful.

4.2.5 Cinematic style in *Christmas Puppy*

The narrative in this PSA unfolds chronologically. The editing pace of the PSA is relatively slow, so that fewer images are shown, giving each shot longer screen time, or duration. Unlike other examples of PSAs examined in this study, the visual images unfold at the pace dictated by the slow soundtrack, instead of a voice-over or sound effects. The PSA shows a single event as it unfolds in chronological order. However, various aspects of the 'story' (*fabula*) are merely implied, such as the fact that the

animal is put to sleep, and these aspects are condensed in the structuring of the *syuzhet* (plot), mainly by means of symbolism. The cues employed in this PSA therefore emphasise the fact that the narrative can be framed as symbolic in nature, and not merely as a single event unfolding chronologically, as was the case in the *Tomato Sauce* PSA.

In the first section of the PSA, the main action unfolds in midground (frames 1 to 6), apart from frame 2 where an establishing shot brings the puppy within the personal space range of the viewer. The placement of a second bow in the background throughout the PSA indicates depth of field. The action focuses exclusively on the puppy and the playful nature normally associated with small animals. Within the frame of the commercial narrative, the constructors could be focusing here on just how engaging a young animal's behaviour can be. This is important, particularly in view of the fact that this interest in the animal can quickly decline once the animal matures and no longer displays this youthful behaviour.

Frames 7 and 8 can be regarded as the closing shots of the first section of the PSA, focusing on the entertaining behaviour of the animal, and is positively framed. The puppy moves into the foreground (frame 7), and the close-up of the puppy in frame 8 brings the viewer within personal distance of the puppy, making the viewer directly involved in the puppy and its antics. Also, “[b]ecause the close-up magnifies the size of an object, it tends to elevate the importance of things, often suggesting a symbolic significance” (Gianetti 1999:11), as is true of the puppy in this example. The words of the soundtrack or text anchor the visual message. In this way, the images and corresponding words could be regarded as directing the positive framing of the first sequence of this PSA.

Frame 9 can be regarded as the first in the second section of the commercial. In this frame, the puppy yawns, indicating on a primary level that the puppy is tired and is about to fall asleep. On the surface, the frames showing the yawning puppy are still amusing and relatively light-hearted. On a symbolic level, however, the words ‘next year’ imply that the action of falling asleep is not only a current action, but is a forewarning to future events. In this way:

-Yawning stands for falling asleep (primary level) stands for putting the puppy to sleep (symbolic level)

Here, putting the puppy to sleep, refers to the euphemistic term for having a vet put an animal down. This secondary message is still kept relatively obscure, however. In the frames that follow, the secondary message becomes clearer, and a gradual change of mood becomes easy to detect. On the primary level the yawning puppy lying down stands for the puppy going to sleep. Frames **10**, **11** and **12** show the actions of the puppy as it lies down and falls asleep. Firstly, this sequence is shown in medium close-up, so that the viewer can even see the puppy slowly closing its eyes. As with the first close-up, the animal is brought within personal and intimate distance of the viewer, and the viewer could be forgiven for almost feeling as if the puppy were a personal or family pet. The close-up sequence seems to indicate both a sense of protective closeness and underlying danger at the same time. However, the tight framing of the puppy removes the red ribbon and Christmas lining out of the visual field. Without the dominant red colour in the frame, the puppy seems suddenly enveloped in ominous darkness (frames **12** & **13**). The dark colour of the puppy's coat further emphasises this fact, indicating that the viewer's closeness to the puppy does not safeguard it from danger.

In frame **13**, apart from the fact that the puppy lies in darkness, there are other cues that serve to confirm that the puppy is in danger. The puppy is shown lying at the edge of the box, and is spatially the furthest removed from the viewer that it has been throughout the PSA. The box in which the puppy lies, becomes a 'frame within a frame'. This is an example of tight framing where "the mise en scene is so carefully balanced and harmonized that [those] photographed have little or no freedom of movement" (Gianetti 1999:519). This is in direct contrast to the freedom of movement the puppy enjoyed in the first section of the PSA. This arrangement makes the puppy seem trapped, confined and vulnerable.

Other cues further reinforce this interpretation. The red bow lies discarded to the left of the box. As noted previously, the red colour is the dominant contrast in the frame, drawing the eyes to the left of the frame first. The bow seems to curl around the back of the puppy, leading the eye from the bow, to the puppy, and then to the empty space in

front of the puppy. This emphasises that the puppy is now isolated and ‘out of reach’. The camera looks down on the puppy as it lies, helpless. The words ‘(all our troubles will be) out of sight’ links the suspected danger the puppy is in, in frames **10** to **12**, with the next sequence, where the puppy disappears from the viewer’s sight. No longer playful and engaging, the puppy has become one of the troubles that has to be removed.

The sequence indicated in frames **14**, **15** and **16** is framed in such a way as to be interpreted as symbolic in nature. Two key metaphors can be identified as operating in this sequence, namely:

- *The shadow of death*

The box closes over the puppy from the top of the frame, throwing an ominous shadow over it, which on a symbolic level could be interpreted as being the shadow of death cast over the puppy.

- *The hand of fate*

The strong male hands gripping the edges of the box show the finality of the puppy’s fate: it will die (frame **14**).

In frame **15**, *the present box becomes a casket*.

This interpretation is reinforced by the sound effect of a heavy cover slamming closed over the animal. The box that stood for present in the first half of the PSA, in frame **16**, now stands for a casket. While the source of the metaphor is the same whether the box is a present or a casket, the target elements mapped, change. No exterior changes were made to the elements used whatsoever. This quick change from present to casket, from sleeping to death, occurs mentally, and could be an example where the frame of the ‘real’ and the symbolic blur seamlessly (frame **16**). Finally, a metonymic cueing also occurs in this sequence, in that

- *Hands stand for people*

This metonymic cue indicates that careless humans have a hand in creating this negative outcome for the puppy. In other words, people's thoughtless actions are to blame for this situation.

4.3.6 Framing the call to action

Titles appear for the first time at this late stage in the PSA (frame **17**, **18** & **19**). The words in the titles are carefully chosen to support the visual metonymies and metaphors employed in the PSA. In frame **17**, the word 'gift' supports the framing of animals as presents, established in the first section of the PSA. The word *silence* is euphemistic for the putting to death of unwanted animals, and corresponds with the falling to sleep standing for the 'putting to sleep' euphemism indicated visually. The statistics quoted (82,000 animals are put to death each year) are shocking enough so that the euphemistic approach does not lessen the impact of the message.

The word 'please' appears on its own in frame **18**, giving the word weight and intensifies the plea made by the organisation, which follows. In frame **19**, the titles remain in keeping with the puppy/Christmas/gift framing of the narrative with the words *give* and *pet*. They also include the direct plea made by the SPCA, which is also its call to action: think about the fate of animals abandoned by owners who do not really want pets received as gifts. In frames **17**, **18** and **19**, the SPCA logo appears for the first time. Enough screen time is allocated to the display of the logo. In this way, the viewer has enough time to make the connection between the narrative, the organisation and why these are linked to the request made in the final frame (frame **19**).

4.3.7 Identification of embodied framing in the *Christmas Puppy*

In keeping with the fact that the puppy is framed as symbolically significant, it is also possible to identify an embodied metaphor in shots **7** and **8**. The embodied orientational metaphor *good is up* (cf. Lakoff & Johnson 1980) is applied here, as the upward movements of the puppy show. The lyrics, 'be light', further reinforces the application

of this metaphor. The puppy moves to stand up on the side of the box in frame 7, and stretches its neck upward in frame 8.

The use of this positive embodied orientation, and its relative subtlety, are pivotal to the change in mood that occurs in the frames that follow, but go almost unnoticed at first. Understood on a symbolic level, the puppy lying down metonymically indicates the puppy being put down by a vet. Hence, the opposite embodied orientational metaphor '*down is bad*' is employed, and supports the overall negative feeling in the second section of the commercial that by this time becomes evident. It is argued that it is partly because of this embodied framing that the constructor can engage the viewer in the first section, only to refute the viewer's positive expectations of the puppy's fate in the second section of the PSA. The relatively slow pace of the narrative in this PSA still keeps viewer interest because of a deft twist of expectation.

In contrast to the slow pace of the narrative in this PSA, in the Arrive Alive PSA, *The Surgeon*, the narrative unfolds at a fast pace. At first viewing, this fast pace and almost overwhelming use of various cinematic devices could leave the viewer uncertain of the outcome of the narrative. It also serves to recapture the viewer's attention in subsequent viewings, because the pace prevents the viewer from untangling all the visual, aural and verbal cues contained in the message. *The Surgeon* is analysed in the next section.



TITLE: CHRISTMAS PUPPY (SPCA)



Frame 1
Soundtrack: *Have...*



Frame 2
Soundtrack: *yourself...*



Frame 3
Soundtrack: *a merry...*



Frame 4
Soundtrack: *little Christmas...*



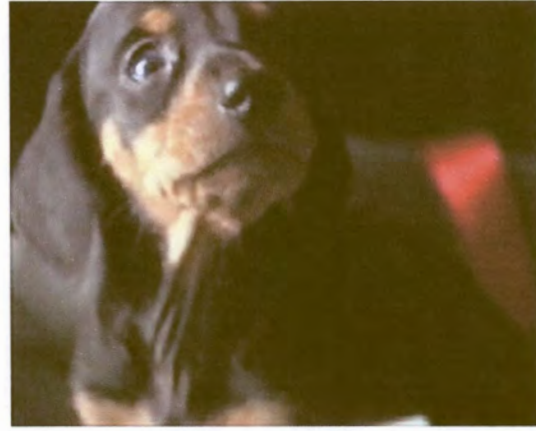
Frame 5
Soundtrack: *Let...*



Frame 6
Soundtrack: *your...*



Frame 7
Soundtrack: *heart...*



Frame 8
Soundtrack: *be light...*



Frame 9
Soundtrack: *Next year...*



Frame 10
Soundtrack: *all...*



Frame 11
Soundtrack: *our troubles...*



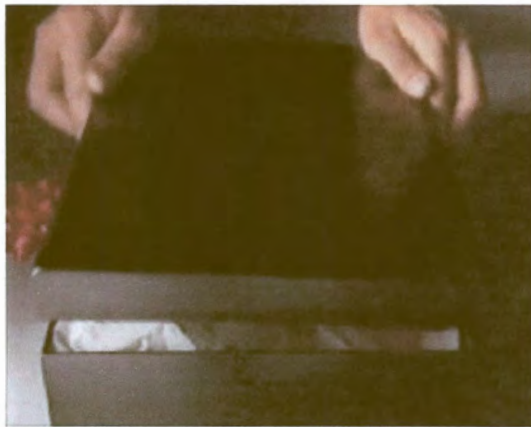
Frame 12
Soundtrack: *will be...*



Frame 13
Soundtrack: *out...*



Frame 14
Soundtrack: *of...*



Frame 15
Soundtrack: *sight.*



Frame 16
SFX: Sound of heavy lid closing (echo)



Frame 17
(no soundtrack)



Frame 18
(no soundtrack)



Frame 19
(no soundtrack)

4.3 *The Surgeon: Arrive Alive PSA (1999)*

Although travelling at high speed seems to be a common occurrence on South African roads, the reality of the damage caused by accidents that can result from such speeding, is a reality outside the frame of the everyday. As demonstrated in this study, television is a medium that can successfully bring what is outside the everyday frame of reference, into our private sphere, for us to react and respond to. This PSA aims to do precisely that, arguing that people need to see the damage done by a motor accident in order to realise the consequences of speeding.

4.3.1 Intuitive understanding and the narrative pattern

The road accident statistics supplied by the Department of Transport alone indicate road safety as a pertinent social issue in South Africa. The general public must be made aware of the dangers associated with negligent driving habits such as speeding and drinking and driving. The Arrive Alive initiative is a direct attempt to address these issues and bring the need for safe driving habits to the attention of the general public.

In the PSA entitled *The Surgeon*, created as part of the Arrive Alive campaign for the Department of Transport, the blurred boundary between the real and the mediated is exploited to maximum effect. The amount of damage a motor accident at high speed can cause, referred to in this particular PSA, is certainly ‘real’, and an everyday reality for a doctor working in a trauma unit, but is not something others generally ‘see’ every day. Although the reproduction of the reality of working in a hospital’s trauma unit is dramatised, it succeeds because it seems to ‘mirror a reality’ normally hidden from view in the everyday. However, further investigation shows the portrayal as a packaged narrative showing fictionalised, and in fact highly stylised, images of reality.

In this PSA, television cameras allow the viewer entry into a sphere that observers are normally denied access to. The television camera allows the viewer to roam the emergency room hallways, yet even here the precarious boundary between ‘real’ and ‘mediated’ experience can be observed. The viewer would be forgiven for likening this PSA to an episode of *ER*, a popular reality-based medical drama. The impact of this

message also lies in the apparent immediacy of the danger it shows: a danger not far removed, but laid out in front of viewers in their domestic space.

According to Crewe (1999:sp), “[d]eath or injury remains a real and present threat to every road user. It’s everyone’s problem”. On an intuitive level, the underlying message can be identified as follows: see the damage a motor accident at high speed can cause and realise that what you see is your problem. You have a responsibility to respond by practising safer driving habits – even if only out of fear of the horrifying consequences of a high-speed collision. The threat here is that the surgeon might also have to struggle to save your life after a road collision.

4.3.2 Development of the narrative: the umbrella message

The answers to the questions posed in establishing the umbrella message give an indication of the reasons why a specific approach was followed for this PSA narrative:

- *What is the objective of the organisation for which the message is created?*

According to the Department of Transport (2001a:sp), the central aims of the Arrive Alive campaign include reduction of the number of traffic accidents, and specifically the number of fatalities, by 5% when compared to the same period the previous year, improved observance of traffic laws, and improved working relationship between traffic authorities at various levels of government.

- *What does this objective mean, in other words, why is support of this particular social issue, important to the viewer?*

According to the Department of Transport (2001a:sp): “The problem of road safety is very simple: between 9,600 and 10,000 people die on our roads every year. Almost 150,000 people are injured in the approximately 500,000 crashes that occur each year”. The Department of Transport (2001a:sp) notes that these shocking figures hold various social implications: “Besides the traumatic emotional cost this has on the fabric of our society, the CSIR estimates that this costs R11,9 billion to the country’s economy”.

The big killers on South African roads are speed and alcohol, and speed alone is attributable to 75% of all the crashes on South African roads (Department of Transport 2001b:sp).

- *What must be done regarding the organisation's objectives or what is the request the viewer must respond to?*

This PSA is one example where the request made to the viewer is only indirectly expressed. The closest the message comes to a formal request, is the Arrive Alive slogan, appearing as titles in the final frames of the announcement: "Don't fool yourself, speed kills" (frame 50). Instead, the announcement employs material that acts as visual evidence of the vulnerability of the human body in a motor accident. This shocking visual evidence is a deterrent on two levels: it is a personal threat to people who regularly speed, because it could happen to them. Secondly, if one has seen the damage that can be done to the human body, condoning speeding seems almost criminal.

4.3.3 The structure of the 'official story' or key message

In packaging the narrative as a 'fictionalised' reality, the constructors of this message chose a surgeon as the main character delivering the message. The urgent, distracted delivery of the message promotes the feeling that this message is truly delivered by a doctor who works in a trauma unit, which indeed it is. According to the Department of Transport (2001c:sp):

In The Surgeon we went all out for shock value based on hard realism. We filmed in Grootte Schuur Hospital's trauma unit in order to graphically illustrate the physical effects on the human body of crashing at speed. And we used the controlled emotion of a real surgeon – instead of an actor – to emphasise the human experience of the daily struggle to save the dying and mutilated victims of road crashes.

On a primary level, this PSA shows the reality of work in a trauma unit. A surgeon, identified as Andrew Nichol by a text marker that could be associated with the introduction of an expert in a documentary, explains that many people involved in road accidents will never realise the damage a car accident can cause to themselves or others. He goes on to list general injuries caused by a motor accident (severe head injuries,

permanent brain damage, spinal cord injuries and internal bleeding), while photographs of seriously injured individuals punctuate his words in graphic detail. He ironically notes that although he sees these people ‘every day’, but many of them will never ‘see’ him. A hospital-green cover being pulled over an injured face confirms what the doctor is not stating, namely, that many die of these injuries.

Regarding the imagery of the PSA, there is a swift succession of visual images, conveying a feeling of urgency one would associate with a hospital trauma unit. The images show doctors working around an operating table, photographs of injured individuals, and general images and auditory input associated with hospitals such as x-ray plates and a heart monitor. Snatches of urgent exchanges around the operating table are heard. This PSA primarily seems to be mirroring reality.

As mentioned previously, however, closer investigation soon reveals evidence of manipulation of this mediated reality. Certain elements or areas are, figuratively speaking, embellished while others are left out, so that the ‘reality of the trauma unit’ is made to match the mediated pattern that the PSA narrative demands. Also, the fact that a ‘real’ trauma unit was filmed, does not change the fact that only part-of-the-whole is shown. One surgeon must stand for the medical profession and its associations with the medical discourse of power and knowledge. A few injured faces must stand for the many who die on South African roads each year.

4.3.4 Identification of key symbolic modes

While the umbrella message guides the identification of the message content, the symbolic modes guide the framing perspective the constructor wishes the viewer to employ. On the metaphoric level, the notion that seeing the real damage that a motor accident can cause, seems to drive the message in its entirety. According to Minister Maharaj (quoted in Department of Transport 1998c:sp, emphasis added): “[f]or all our efforts, we have not yet succeeded in convincing many of our drivers that speed – with or without alcohol – is the main killer on our roads. We need to challenge people’s illusions of control and invulnerability and **show them what really happens in a crash**”.

The following metaphor is identified in this analysis as the operative metaphor that drives the message in its entirety:

- *Seeing is believing/ knowing*

The statement is open-ended enough to allow the constructors of the message scope for an intuitive approach to the framing of the message. The notion of *seeing* the damage that can be done, is reinforced by the use of an experienced surgeon as spokesperson in the narrative. The doctor is male and a surgeon, and therefore stands for the authority that his status and title grant him. He is entitled to show the viewer the hidden world of a trauma unit, to pull back the curtain for the viewer, who is allowed a quick, horrifying glimpse at a reality many would rather not see. The knife becomes an extension of the surgeon, who, like the symbol of his profession, cuts through the surface to show a hidden reality underneath.

The viewer is almost ‘made to look’ because of the authority of the figure who insists that the viewer must see. At the same time, much remains unseen. When the camera moves close to the operating table, it seems to tentatively hover there for a brief second, so that only glimpses of the operation in progress can be caught: white gloves holding a bloodied shining instrument, protruding from the person being operated on, for example. Finally, the images of injured individuals seem also to be strictly limited to close-ups of faces. What this strict selectivity shows, is that the ‘reality’ is subordinate to the narrative, to the mediated message: just show enough ‘real’ injuries to support the message, no more. “This is the essence of all advertising: components of ‘real’ life, our life, are used to speak a new language, the advertisement’s” (Williamson 1978:23).

The use of cinematic devices is of great importance in this televised PSA, and is a good example of the use of various cinematic techniques to achieve a sense of heightened realism. This is observable in the use of obscure camera angles, textured images and the fast editing pace of many sequences, which will be discussed in the following section.

4.3.5 Cinematic style in *The Surgeon*

Arguably one of the most noteworthy aspects of this public service message, and what keeps the viewer engaged throughout even if the content is brutal, is the complex narrative construction that unfolds not chronologically, but within three different time frames, namely:

- the present, in which the doctor delivers the narrative in the hallway outside the operating room,
- the immediate past, where the same surgeon is shown in the process of trying to save the woman's life who is first wheeled into the operating theatre (frames **2**, **4** & **5**) and subsequently operated on, and unfolds as a series of flashbacks
- and the removed past, where still shots of victims form a visual archive of injury and death (frames **6**, **25**, **26**, **31**, **43** & **44**). This is an archive of which the dying woman of the immediate past, will become part (frame **48**).

There are key framing cues that indicate the transition from one time frame to the next. Sequences unfolding in the present and the immediate past are saturated in movement, while all archival shots of the removed past are still. The transition between the first two time frames is more difficult to distinguish from one another when viewed normally as televised announcement, as opposed to part of a frame-by-frame analysis. Frames **7** and **8** show Doctor Nichol leaving the operating room through a darkened doorway. He steps into the hallway, and in the process, steps out of the frame of the immediate past, where another road accident victim has just died, into the frame of the present, where the message he is about to deliver, might still have an impact on the living, the viewer. Another clear indicator of the first and second level narration is frame **32**, where the surgeon looks up from the operating table, into the camera, a look that confirms our worst suspicions for the victim under his hands.

Another important factor in this PSA is the density of the image sequence that necessitates the fast succession from one image to the next, so that the narrative unfolds at a swift pace. Few images dominate the screen space for any significant time, and those images that do, are mostly of pivotal importance in the unfolding narrative. The

speed at which the narrative unfolds holds various implications for the image sequence. The message is framed as a story of the reality of a trauma unit, and the speed at which the moving images are shown, corresponds with what could be regarded as a generally held belief that a hospital trauma unit is a space of accelerated action and unpredictability. On a 'plot' level, the speed builds tension into the narrative, giving the delivery of the message a greater sense of urgency. The cinematic style is adapted to suit both these aspects of the narrative with fast-paced camera movement, 'uncontrolled' obscure camera angles and an auditory cue of a high-speed collision, as the visual sequence progresses. Blurred visual effects further contribute to the notion of haste (frames **3, 4, 7, 15, 23, 28 & 36**). The uncontrolled opening speed is reined in by the first shocking still-shot sequence, reinforced by the auditory cue of a high-speed collision (frames **5 & 6**).

Fast pace becomes a pivotal narratological device as the doctors rush a severely injured patient into the trauma unit, and must act quickly to try and save this person's life. The first half of the message is therefore dominated by shots that indicate speed, while the still-shot sequences are less frequent and are edited to have little screen time. Still-shots simply flash before the viewer's eyes, before the pace is picked up again. Gradually, it becomes clear that the doctors are unable to save the person they are so desperately trying to keep alive. Sequences of still-shots become more protracted and their frequency increases as the message comes to a close (frames **48 & 49**). The little movement there is in the final shots, is much subdued. In this way, the unfolding of the story supports the style in which it is presented. The action is necessarily condensed, however. The actual process of trying to save the person is reduced by means of fast motion and cut-aways to and from the operating table, partly because of the time constraints of the televised PSA format (frames **4, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20 & 21**).

The framed-in space in which this narrative unfolds, is also dense with visual information. To enhance the 'realism' of the message, the arrangement of objects in fore-, mid- and background seems arbitrary. Foreground objects or shadows often obscure the view of the midground and background (frame **2**), and the speed at which the camera moves often allows visual information to recede into the background so

quickly that it is difficult to assimilate all the information in a first or second viewing (frame 3).

While the still-shots are all close-ups and appear to be in close proximity of the viewer, this arrangement could be regarded as a shock tactic. While the images are ghastly on paper, where each image can be scrutinised in all its horrifying detail, the most shocking of these are granted very little screen time, so that it has time almost only to convey the general feeling of horror (frames 25, 26 & 43). In the sequences involving operating, the aspect of intervention seems to be most foregrounded, with protruding instruments and gloved hands being most visible, showing the intervention by the surgeon (frames 12, 17, 21, 27, 28, 36 & 39). Otherwise, operating in progress is placed in midground, with the camera keeping its distance or moving away (frames 4, 37, 40 & 47).

Camera movement has been indicated as a key element in the unfolding narrative. The red blood is foregrounded against the mostly green background, and the importance of this *lifeblood* is made pertinent in the frame where it is shown in what appears to be a transfusion bag, in the foreground of the depth plane. Its presence is punctuated by a high-pitched (and therefore foregrounded) blip, which is heard when the blood in the bag pulses. This is one instance where texture is also important, although the textured graininess of authenticity is visible in various other frames.

Auditory cues play a very important role in this PSA by punctuating the action, for example from frames 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 onwards the fast-paced camera movement is accompanied by the auditory cues that simulate a speeding car. Auditory cues further reinforce this authenticity, with snatches of rushed ‘medical speak’ that occupy the figure space above background noises. When the still images interrupt the camera movement, the auditory cue simulates a car coming to a screeching halt. The lighting appears to come mostly from the sources found in the environment, such as the theatre lights or the florescent light in the hallway, although there is another, placed light source dramatically highlighting the surgeon’s face in the hallway. The movement of the camera in space is also significant in that it seems to be omnipresent and can move everywhere, but as previously mentioned, sometimes remains removed from the action, regardless of this fact. Sometimes the viewer is taken to where the action is, and is

shown quick close-ups of the doctors working on the patient. At other times, the camera hovers at the edges, unseen by those in authority, who are gathered around the operating table.

4.3.6 Framing the call to action

In general, the movement in space, from one point of action to the next, gives the viewer almost a quick ‘virtual tour’ of the trauma unit, and captures some of the essence of the space itself. The camera keeps pace with the surgeon who is catching his breath outside the hallway of the theatre (frame 9), but who nevertheless has no time to stand still. This forms the essence of the implied call to action, as mentioned previously, namely, to see the damage a motor crash can do.

The implied message correlates with the final frames of the PSA, where the woman the doctors were trying to save is shown, eyes closed, and about to be covered with a green sheet, indicating that she has died (frame 48 & 49). The titles appear as the sheet is pulled over the victim’s face with a final text message that is repeatedly used in Arrive Alive campaigns (frame 50). The font was chosen to complement the gritty, rushed nature of the PSA itself. In the final frame, the familiar Arrive Alive logo appears (frame 51).

4.3.7 Identification of embodied framing in *The Surgeon*

The constructors allow the images of the doctor to slip out of frame (frames 14, 18, 42 & 46). This is significant on a practical level, in that this framing reinforces the notion that the message is anchored in ‘reality’, but also on a symbolic level. Embodied framing that is related to this symbolic level of interpretation, is discussed in the following section. A character slipping off-screen often appears vulnerable to danger. The expressive and terse delivery of the narrative by the surgeon, and his face dipping off-screen at times (frame 14), gives the impression that he is vulnerable to emotion that he is not allowed to show (frames 42, 46). The implied danger of slipping out of the frame, could also have its origin in embodied experience that is related to the key orientational metaphor of containment.

The narrow hallway creates a frame-within-a-frame in which the surgeon is doubly bounded. The threat is therefore compounded by the fact that if the body of the surgeon is shown as vulnerable, the damaged patient whom he must save is even more so. By implication, if the viewer were in a motor accident, what is happening now to someone else, could happen to be him or her. Slipping out of the frame becomes a meta-message for a *life slipping away*, as the life of the woman whom the surgeon has just operated on, has just slipped away. This is central to the message, and finally the viewer is shown why it is better to be excluded from ‘the world of the trauma unit’.

The importance of frames 7 and 8 is similarly punctuated by their highly symbolic nature: going through the doorway is an established cinematic cue for a transformation in a character. The fact that the doorway is darkened is significant, however. Those who enter the trauma unit theatre are often *at death's door*, and the surgeon becomes a modern-day Charon, who is forever crossing the black river that separates the living and the dead (Bulfinch 1993:108). Nonetheless, the surgeon is mortal, and cannot bring everyone back to life. Even technology (frame 30, 38), acting as the embodied ‘master of ceremonies’ in these grim proceedings, bathing the operating room in hopeful luminescence,¹ is powerless. The doctors look up to the monitor in despair (frames 29, 37), but the system is no longer supporting life (frame 41). Doctors form a *circle of influence* and entering this space is *out of bounds* for the uninitiated, and a liberty that can only be granted by a *central figure* such as the surgeon. Here, more often than not, those who are initiated into its rituals, including the patients and the practitioners, must *stare death in the face* (frame 32). It is better for the emergency ward to remain shrouded in mystery of the unknown, rather than it being your body covered by the shroud (frames 48, 49, 50).

A structured approach was followed in the analysis of the three PSAs analysed in this chapter. The framing elements identified, based on the existing hypothetical model, were applied in order to investigate the development of the PSA structure and narrative, as one of the research objectives of this study. Strong key messages based on an intuitive understanding of the organisations for which the messages were created, led to the different approaches to framing of the various messages. In turn, framing the

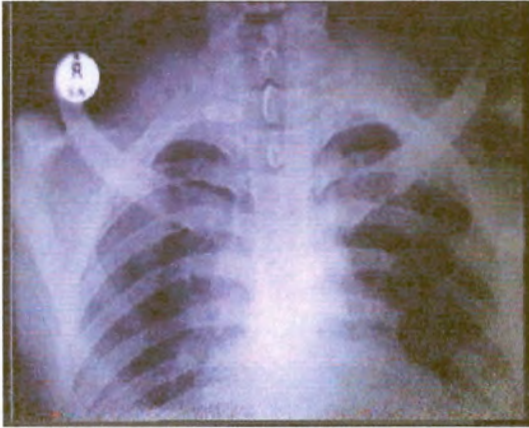
¹ Technology is an embodied player in this drama, and the light it emanates is of a physiological origin.

message led to the identification of suitable symbolic modes and cinematic style with which to portray the messages.

In chapter five, it is argued that personal involvement by the author in all the stages of development of the PSA brings a further dimension to the analysis process followed in chapter four. Although the same method is followed for the analysis of this personally created PSA, other factors needed to be taken in to consideration, including certain external factors that have an influence on the PSA development process. It is suggested that these ancillary factors are identifiable particularly because of personal involvement in the PSA creation process.



TITLE: THE SURGEON (ARRIVE ALIVE)



Frame 1
SFX: Suction of ventilator



Frame 2
SFX: Suction of ventilator (continued)



Frame 3
SFX: Door slamming



Frame 4
SFX: Background noise, talking in theatre
Soundtrack: Low tone and pulse throughout



Frame 5
SFX: Car slamming on breaks (monitor pulse)



Frame 6
SFX: Sound of car making impact (monitor pulse)



Frame 7
SFX: Background noise, opening of door



Frame 8
SFX: Background noise, entering room



Frame 9
VO: *In my job...*



Frame 10
VO: *I see a lot of people who...*



Frame 11
VO: *don't seem...*



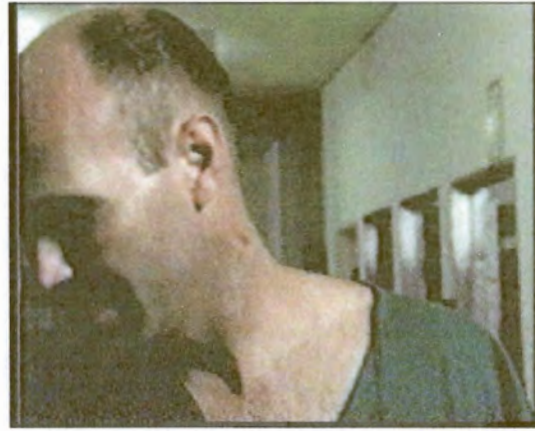
Frame 12
VO: *to...*



Frame 13

VO: *realise...*

SFX: Car slamming on breaks and impact



Frame 14

VO: *the amount of damage...*



Frame 15

VO: *that a motor crash...*



Frame 16

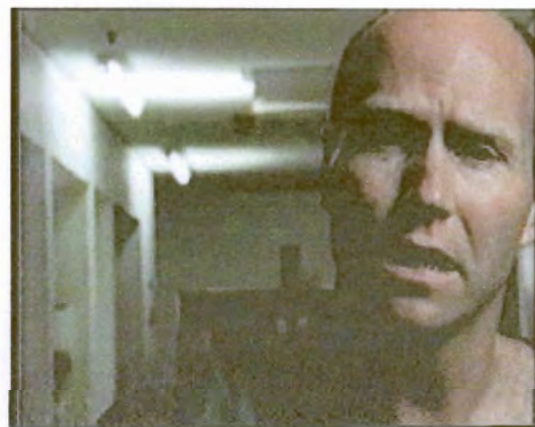
VO: *at high...*

SFX: Background noise, in theatre



Frame 17

VO: *speed can...*



Frame 18

VO: *cause...*



Frame 19
VO: *I see...*
SFX: background noise, monitor pulse



Frame 20
VO: *patients...*
SFX: monitor pulse



Frame 21



Frame 22
VO: *who...*



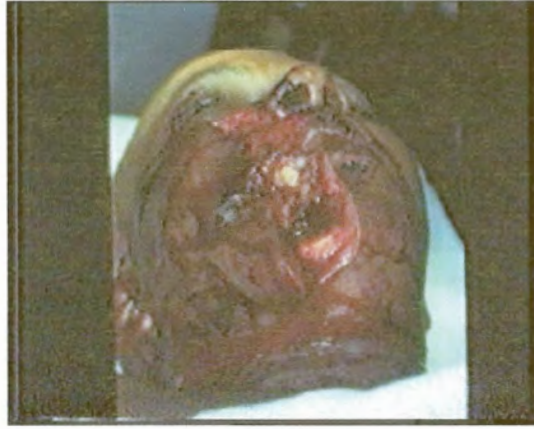
Frame 23
VO: *have...*



Frame 24
VO: *severe...*



Frame 25
VO: head...
SFX: Car making impact



Frame 26
VO: injuries,...



Frame 27
VO: permanent brain...



Frame 28
VO: damage,...



Frame 29
VO: spinal...



Frame 30
VO: cord...
SFX: monitor pulse



Frame 31
VO: *injuries,...*



Frame 32



Frame 33
VO: *and internal bleeding*



Frame 34
VO: *as a result of such...*



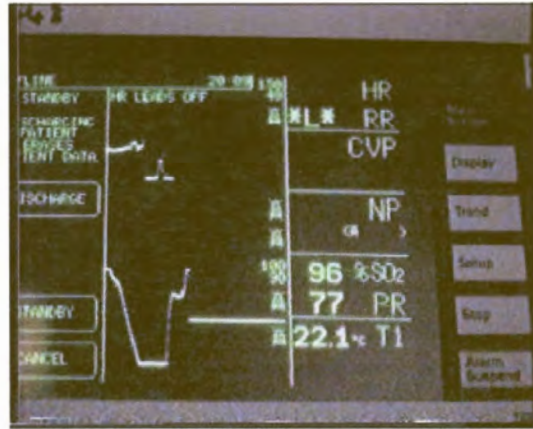
Frame 35
VO: *collisions...*



Frame 36
VO: *I...*



Frame 37
VO: *see...*



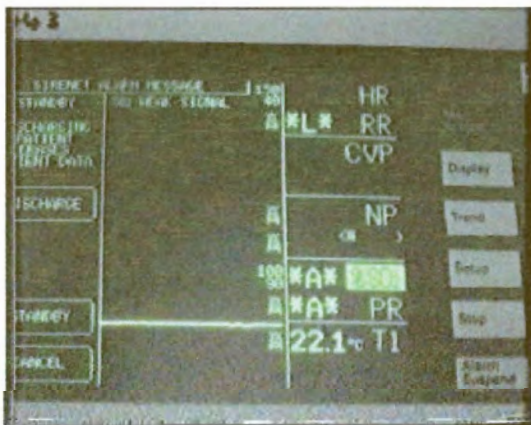
Frame 38
VO: *these...*
SFX: High-pitched, urgent monitor pulse



Frame 39
VO: *people...*



Frame 40
VO: *every...*



Frame 41
VO: *day...*



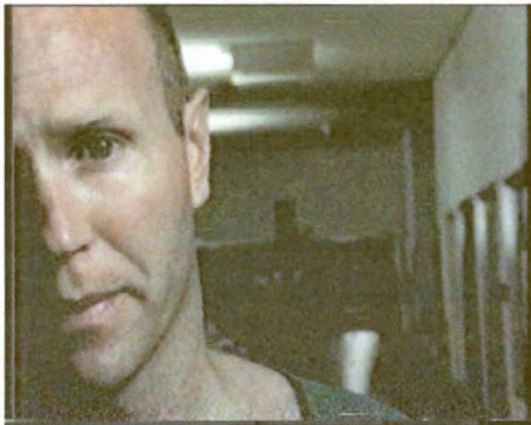
Frame 42
VO: *but a lot of them...*



Frame 43



Frame 44



Frame 46

VO: *will never get to see me.*



Frame 47

SFX: Background noise, in theatre



Frame 48

Soundtrack: dramatic build-up of low tone, (thunder?)



Frame 49

Soundtrack: dramatic build-up of low tone (continued)



Frame 50
Soundtrack: Dramatic soundtrack fade out



Frame 51

CHAPTER 5

Documentation of the construction of a PSA

In the production of the televised PSA, a raw social event is framed as a ‘fictionalised’ reality and presented in a narrative form. The viewer brings certain expectations to the interpretation of this narrative. At the same time,

in examining the relation between television and reality, one is by implication investigating human objectivity and bias in relation to the communicator’s interpretation of an objective event, its reconstruction as a mediated event and its interpretation by the viewer as a subjectively experienced event (Du Plooy 1989:47).

In this chapter, it is possible to examine the bias in relation to the constructor’s mediated interpretation of an objective event. One of the limited ways in which this bias mentioned by du Plooy can be investigated, is by documenting the construction process itself. That is the approach followed in the analysis of the *Reach Out and Give*, a PSA created for Tuks Rag in 1998.

5.1 *Reach out and Give: Tuks Rag PSA (1998)*

Personal involvement by the author in the construction of this particular PSA allowed participation in the development of the narrative, identification of the umbrella message and application of symbolic modes. It also entailed involvement in the production process in its entirety.

In the analysis of the PSAs in chapter 4, conclusions regarding the ways in which the narrative was developed, could only be based on general information available concerning the organisation for which the PSA was made. Symbolic modes and the framing of the call to action could be identified in the PSA, but uncertainty remains regarding the actual intentions of the constructor. It is argued in this study that personal involvement by the author in the creation of a PSA, brought greater insight into this aspect of PSA construction. Involvement in the entire production process also allowed insight into various external factors that have an influence on the development of the public service message. While the narrative construction, style, symbolic modes and framing of the call to action

are analysed in accordance with previous examples, the making of this PSA made possible the added investigation of external influences on the message construction.

In analysing existing PSAs, framing elements can be identified and elaborated on, but the essence of the framing process undertaken by the constructor of the message, can only be guessed at. By documenting the application of these elements as part of the entire construction process, the success of these elements as tools can be better evaluated. Although the same general principles are applied in the analysis of PSAs in chapter 4, each of the elements can here also be evaluated with the intentions of the constructor more precisely determined. The usefulness and applicability of the framing elements to the constructor, can therefore also be evaluated more accurately.

Personal involvement ultimately leads to a better understanding of the process of framing, the application of symbolic modes, and various other aspects that form part of the construction process, which are discussed in the following section. In analysing the PSA created for Tuks Rag, each element of framing of the message is documented, followed by an outline of how these elements were applied by the constructor. The organisation's aims and objectives are also identified, focussing on the elements that aided the initial understanding of the organisation and its work, and also the understanding of why support of this organisation is important.

5.1.1 Intuitive understanding as basis for the narrative pattern

An initial understanding of Tuks Rag as an organisation was based on a literature study, particularly of the material provided in the annual Rag magazines. The publication of these magazines forms the main part of the fundraising drive of the Tuks Rag organisation, with magazines being sold to the public in the first quarter of each year. It is an accepted practice, and the public is aware of the fact that the funds raised from the sale of these magazines will support charitable work undertaken by Tuks Rag. In general, the Rag magazine provides an outline of the various student organisations and activities at the University, with particular emphasis on Rag activities. The magazine can also be seen as an attempt to capture the essence of a fun-loving and spirited approach to student life.

Apart from the literature provided, informal discussions with the chairpersons, staff and interest groups were also a source of information regarding the organisation and its work. With the literature provided, discussions formed the grounds on which general understanding of the organisation was based, and formed the foundation for the development of the narrative. These informal discussions took place within the offices of the organisation, which made it possible to also observe the working environment of the organisation. The staff members are mainly university students. In this case, the development of the umbrella message was not based only on literature study of the organisation's aims and objectives, but on direct contact with the organisation's members. From the direct contact and informal discussions with the members of the organisation, the students working for this organisation were viewed as a tight-knit, vibrant and optimistic group. This intuitive understanding of the organisation helped to shape the development of the umbrella message, and finally the actual narrative content of the televised PSA itself.

Members of the organisation felt it important to ensure that the organisation's mission statement would be clearly reflected in the PSA. It was also necessary to identify the reason for the existence of the organisation, the particular need it fulfils in the community and the reason why the public should support the organisation. Indeed, according to Radtke (1998:67), the umbrella message should also reflect the values of the organisation. The televised message provides the opportunity to display the underlying values of the organisation without literally showing the work undertaken by the organisation in a documentary style. The following section shows the development of the umbrella message that finally allowed for the incorporation of symbolism associated with the organisation and its work.

5.1.2 Development of the narrative: the umbrella message

Based on the narrative pattern, the umbrella message was determined by answering the following questions:

- *What is the objective of the organisation for which the message is created?*

The formal mission statement of Tuks Rag reflects the organisation's key focuses of fundraising, student development and community service, and identifies the organisation's aim as: the advancement of students by channelling their youthful energy and search for fun into fundraising and community service projects (Jasweb 2001:sp). This mission statement can be regarded as a summary of the key objectives and aims of the organisation.

- *What does this objective mean, in other words, why is the attention to, and support of this particular social issue, important to the viewer?*

As a non-profit organisation, Tuks Rag is in the unique position of being able to utilise student volunteer groups in its projects for development, in order to reach the community. Students gain valuable experience that is generally work-related; in this way, psychology or social work students, for example, are exposed to situations that are related to their future professions. The mission statement makes it clear that students are in the position to undertake community projects with youthful enthusiasm and energy. Support for this organisation translates into an investment in community upliftment that benefits both those in need, and awakens a sense of social awareness in the students taking part in upliftment projects.

The community also benefits from Tuks Rag mainly because of the tremendous fundraising ability. In this regard, Tuks Rag is regarded as the biggest Rag organisation in South Africa (Tuks Rag first... 1998:8); for example, R2 million was raised for charity through this organisation in 1999 (Rademeyer 1999:15). These funds are directly reinvested into community development projects. In this way, a vast array of charities and community projects that are identified as being in need of funding or volunteer-lead initiatives, receive funding and/or student volunteer support from the Tuks Rag organisation.

- *What must be done regarding the organisation's objectives or what is the request the viewer must respond to?*

Tuks Rag is a student based non-profit organisation that offers unique and ongoing support in the community. It is dependent on the financial support of the community in order to undertake outreach programmes. Financial support is also required in order to support various projects undertaken by student volunteer groups and to launch study related community work projects in conjunction with the University of Pretoria.

The viewers of this PSA had to be able to recognise Tuks Rag as a powerful vehicle in effecting change and development in the community. Student participation, and the ability of the organisation to channel all funds raised during numerous fundraising events into community projects and charities, makes this organisation unique. The main fundraising event is the annual Rag procession, with floats built by student groups, through the streets of Pretoria, as well as the sale of Rag magazines and tin-can money collections undertaken by students. The PSA narrative aims to positively reinforce support of the organisation's aims, and further encourage viewers who support Tuks Rag fund-raising events or make donations.

Identifying the umbrella message and the ability to answer the questions relevant to it, was found to be a highly effective and structured way to gain insight into the organisation. It enabled the constructor to steer the development of the narrative in a direction that was suitable both to the constructor, from a creative point of view, and to the organisation as a means to determine whether its image would be portrayed correctly. It must be noted, however, that although input from members of the organisation is highly desirable, the fact that the members have a distinct notion of the organisation and its work can also hamper the process of framing the message. Members of the organisation seemed inflexible to accept broad interpretations of the role of the organisation. This leads to the constructor being severely limited in exploring possible framing possibilities for the organisation and its work that did not correlate obviously and directly with the ways in which members perceive it. The constructor is therefore restricted to limited framing approaches.

5.1.3 The structure of the ‘official story’ or key message

The key message reflects Tuks Rag’s need for public support. The message is mostly informative in nature, but also has a secondary aim of creating emotional involvement between the Tuks Rag supporter and the organisation by outlining how supporters’ contributions are used. In this way the key message aims to promote a positive image of student involvement in community projects, while also attempting to dispel negative associations with Rag as only being drunken student fun. This is a perception often perpetuated by negative press regarding drunk driving and accidents during Rag week (Momberg 1999:13; Studentepret 1999:8).

In order to show how supporters’ contributions are used, it was important to highlight the central functions of Tuks Rag as a unique student driven non-profit organisation that addresses a variety of social problems by means of funding or volunteer work in the community. These functions include:

- The promotion of growth and development in students:

This aspect of the organisation focuses on the personal growth of individuals during their involvement of the work of the Tuks Rag organisation. Student volunteers are framed as a group who grow toward a positive and lasting cohesion through their participation in Tuks Rag projects.

- Tuks Rag creates unique outreach opportunities:

Rag is an acronym for **R**each [out] **A**nd **G**ive. Tuks Rag can create outreach opportunities, because of the ready access to willing student volunteers and the funds that make upliftment projects possible.

- Tuks Rag allows the joining of hands between students and the community:

Over and above student development, the Tuks Rag organisation also focuses on community development. Therefore, student involvement in the community is mainly framed as

positive, not only for student development, but also for community upliftment. Students offer energy and positive input in the communities in which projects are undertaken.

It was necessary to identify a metaphor that is flexible enough to incorporate references to all the above functions of the organisation. The functions identified above, served as the basis for the identification of an operative metaphor on which the symbolic modes in the narrative could rest.

In hindsight, a better approach could have been to focus on one particular aspect of the organisation's work, of which *The Christmas Puppy* is a good example. Instead of the message aiming to incorporate all the functions of the SPCA in a broad-based message, this message focussed on one or two particular functions of the organisation. In the *Reach Out and Give* message, an attempt was made to incorporate references to fundraising, student development and community upliftment.

As mentioned previously, personal involvement by the author in the PSA creation process allows for a more accurate evaluation of the success of various framing elements employed in the construction process. It is suggested here that the key message was not identified effectively enough, and the framing of the message can be said to be positive, but that the key message lacks a strong focus.

5.1.4 Identification of key symbolic modes

The central concepts surrounding Tuks Rag were conveyed using symbolic modes. Literally showing how students learn, develop and grow as a result of their participation in the undertakings of this organisation, would arguably be more suitable material for a documentary approach. The following statement was identified as a key metaphor in the PSA:

Tuks Rag is a helping hand

Frame 9 most clearly indicates the Tuks Rag organisation in terms of a helping hand metaphor. The many hands are shown to come together to form a strong bond. It aims to show that the work undertaken by Tuks Rag brings people together. Student volunteers join forces with the community for the purposes of progress and development of the community and the individual. Images of hands are used throughout the PSA, based on the helping hand as key metaphor. In the ‘packaging’ or framing of the PSA, the use of hands is the thread that links the various (and sometimes diverse) aspects that the message had to focus on.

The general tone of this PSA is one of goodwill and support. The key metaphor emphasises this tone. The metaphor of hands for an organisation is often used. This metaphor, although highly applicable and relevant to the message, could be regarded as a formal framing of the organisation. This metaphor is less emotionally driven and is a more or less stable understanding of the organisation that does not invite further investigation or stimulate interest beyond that generated by the general tone of goodwill in the message. It did, however, support the overall positive framing and application of a very particular cinematic style, which is discussed in the following section.

5.1.5 Cinematic style in *Reach Out and Give*

In this particular PSA, the message is delivered as a voice-over accompanied by supporting visuals. The visual images cannot stand alone, and the cues for the various images are often derived from the verbal message. A male voice-over is used to balance with the light background music. The style of delivery is emphatic and reinforces the visual symbolic message. The voice-over is essential to bring the message across. The visual sequence must keep pace with the voice-over, and prevents the repetition of salient visual information, because the extent of the verbal message does not allow an increased frequency of images that are key to the narrative. This is one particular shortcoming of the Tuks Rag PSA. The amount of information given in the verbal message seems to overshadow the visual presentation.

Images often appear in the sequence corresponding to its verbal cue, as derived from the voice-over (VO), so that the text can be regarded as anchoring the visual images. From a semiotic perspective, “the text directs the reader through signifieds of the image, causing him to avoid some and receive others” (Barthes 1977:39). In this way, words of the voice-over and their corresponding images guide the viewer’s perception of the images. The voice-over also controls the duration that each image appears on screen, as the visual unfolding of the message must keep pace with the various verbal cues on which the appearance of the image relies.

Various metonymic symbols were also applied in this PSA. The light bulb could be regarded as a formally accepted metonymic sign for knowledge and learning (frame 4), and does not need verbal reinforcement. Rather, this image is the first in a sequence of images that refer to learning (frame 5), development and growth (frame 6). In this way, the image in frame 4 supports the symbols that follow, which are arguably less open to direct interpretation and must be guided by the verbal message to indicate their meaning. The seedpod in the cupped hand becomes a symbol of growth (frame 6), an interpretation guided by the verbal cue. In this section of the image sequence, frame 5 can be regarded almost as a pivotal image, with the child writing on the blackboard standing for learning, building on the image that implies knowledge that went before it, and the concept of growth that follows. Finally, an example of metonymic movement is shown in frame 7, relating not only to the direct voice-over accompanying the visual (‘in turn they touch the lives of those in need’), but also standing for the key to the message as a whole, directly showing the action of reaching out.

In this PSA, the narrative is presented episodically, with each image acting as a condensed comment on particular elements in the voice-over. The images are highly stylised in nature, and elements within the visual field are mostly arranged in the foreground. All the shots in this PSA fall within the close-up range, focussing mostly on hands, corresponding to the symbol chosen with which to convey the message. The focus on hands also limits movement within the visual field, and it was felt necessary to enhance movement in certain shots by means of special effect blurring (frames 1, 5 & 6).

In shots where faces were shown, an attempt was made to make these images emotionally charged, particularly by means of lighting. Lighting is employed throughout this PSA to create a warm ambience that suits the emotive nature of the message content (frames 7, 8 & 11). In both frames 7 & 8, however, the individuals' expressions combined with dramatic lighting, is an attempt to make these images strongly emotive. This seems to be the case in the separate captured frames, but it can be argued that the duration of these images on screen in the PSA itself, is too short. It is argued that, to a degree, the emotive nature of these images is lost. Regarding the innovative approach to lighting in frame 4, where an alternative light source shining directly onto the light bulb creates the impression that the source of the light is from the light bulb itself, creating a visually striking image. Frame 9 can be seen as another striking image, here directly related to the *helping hand* metaphor. It is also an image that most clearly portrays the notion that Tuks Rag is a organisation that supports cultural diversity, an implied aspect of the entire announcement.

Intense, light colours were employed in certain shots. These colours appear dominant in the shot composition, and therefore immediately draw the eyes to these objects (frames 6 & 10). In frame 10, the colours of the cut-outs are combined with the movement of the cut-outs unfolding in front of the camera. Audio input apart from the voice-over, include the sound of the shaking tin¹ in the first shot (frame 1), employed as a means of drawing attention as the PSA begins, and music accompanying the voice-over. A University of Pretoria music student composed the music for the PSA. One of the main reasons for employing a student composer was that using existing music would be costly because of the copyright fees payable. The music is a successful accompaniment to the advertisement. It does not distract the attention, and serves mainly to enhance the overall positive tone of the PSA.

¹ The can in the first frame represents the can used by the organisation to collect money, especially during the Rag parade in which floats built by students are displayed in a parade through Pretoria. (A new wrap-around was created for the can showing no branding, but displaying the organisation's name optimally). Many onlookers come to see these floats and it is an excellent time to collect money for Tuks Rag, because many of the onlookers are people connected to Tuks Rag in some way, or are interested in student affairs. This, in conjunction with the voice-over repeating the Tuks Rag name should make it clear that the public service announcement is for this organisation specifically. The simulated sound of shaking the can filled with money, is a sensory connection with the collection of money.

5.1.6 Framing the call to action

Whenever titles are shown in the PSA, they reinforce the awareness of Tuks Rag. The organisation's name is displayed in the first shot (frame 1) and also in the closing shot of the commercial, showing the organisation's motto and contact details (frame 11). This particular font was chosen, as it was perceived as unassuming and easy to read. The drop shadow on the letters combined with the white letters creates the impression that the words are lit up by the same light source that lights up the hands. The fact that the titles seem to be placed in the cups of the hands, reinforces the message that Tuks Rag is asking the community to make a contribution to the organisation. The cupped hands could hold negative associations with begging. The main focus in the image is on the opening of the hands, in an attempt to avoid this negative association.

No direct call to action is ever made in this PSA; the public is merely thanked for previous contributions to the organisation. The aim was to imply that further contributions are always necessary in order for the organisation to continue its work as outlined in the rest of the narrative sequence. The display of the organisation's telephone number and e-mail address is regarded by the constructor as reinforcement of the notion that more contributions from the public are welcomed and encouraged. The final frame has little screen time and could be too short for the organisation's details to be taken down on a first viewing. In editing the PSA, this fact was noted, and the screen duration of certain other images was shortened in order to lengthen the screen time duration of the essential final frame. Finally, it was argued that because Tuks Rag does not have an established and easily recognisable logo, the logo would not be displayed in the final frame. The final frames that encapsulate the call to action, are in keeping with the overall positive message content and aim to be uplifting and positive in their approach. As mentioned previously, the font chosen, as well as the lighting of the hands in the final frame by a strong light source, supports this positive framing of the final call to action. In the next section, the elements of embodied framing in this PSA are discussed. These examples are also mostly regarded as positive in nature.

5.1.7 Identification of embodied framing in *Reach Out and Give*

Frame **11** is regarded here as one of the strongest examples of embodied metaphor in this PSA. The titles are enfolded inside the hands, the aim being that this element should carry associations of containment and inclusiveness, first highlighted in the PSA in the direct address to supporters. At the same time the fingers are extended, the rationale being that this element should carry associations of *extending the goodwill and aid to the needy*, which is the main service that the organisation offers to the community. It also serves as a counter image to the image of hands shielding the face in frame **3**. In the construction of these final frames in particular, the constructor was fully aware of the possible embodied implications of the hands opening to display the contact information inside them.

The extension of the fingers was an attempt on the part of the constructor to promote the notion of the spreading of goodwill, and the construction of an image that generally held positive associations, while at the same time discouraging the associations of begging, was actively discussed and implemented. From a personal perspective, it must be noted that while some of the framing process did involve active deliberation on what could be regarded as embodied framing, this was not always the case. Embodied framing, because it can almost be regarded as a natural means of sensemaking and sensegiving, was not always actively deliberated, but rather sub-consciously incorporated. In this particular PSA, the embodied principle of centrality is followed almost throughout, unlike the other PSAs analysed. The images are placed in the centre of the frame to establish the importance and dominance of the elements in the images, for example the light bulb, the seedpod, and the child's face. There is a danger that the continual placement of important visual images in the centre of the frame, can also serve to dilute their significance. According to Gianetti (1999:47):

Since childhood, we have been taught that a drawing must be balanced, with the middle serving as the focal point. The centre then, is a kind of norm: We expect dominant visual elements to be placed there. Precisely because of this expectation, objects in the center tend to be visually undramatic.

It is argued, however, that the fact that the composition of these images is visually simplistic and striking each on its own terms, helps to overcome this particular problem associated with centrality.

It has been noted previously that personal involvement by the author in the development of the PSA can lead to insight into ancillary aspects to the process, not identified in the existing hypothetical model. The external considerations associated with the construction of a PSA are examined in the following section, and an indication is given of the impact that these considerations had on the construction of the PSA.

5.2 External considerations in the construction of the Tuks Rag PSA

It must be noted that in developing the public service message, practical considerations had an influence on the nature of the narrative. The target audience, the nature of the volunteer work with which the organisation is involved, the purposes and applications of the announcement, as well as the budget, had an influence on the construction of the narrative. The impact of external considerations became apparent only because of the personal involvement in this undertaking, and is often not considered as part of general analysis. A brief overview of these ‘external’ influences is given here, indicating, where possible, the nature of their impact on the narrative construction.

5.2.1 The target audience

Tuks Rag activities take place mainly in Pretoria and its surrounds. People involved with University of Pretoria, such as staff members, parents of students or other University of Pretoria interest groups, are the first group that come directly into contact with Tuks Rag activities and are in a position to contribute to the organisation. The message had to establish or maintain audience relationships with the organisation. It is argued that, if the contact is frequent the chances of audience response and involvement with the message are improved. The PSA was aimed at these audience members in particular.

The PSA must also make an impact on those who do not have direct contact with the organisation, to increase the likelihood of contributions from those not specifically targeted by the organisation as donors. The Tuks Rag website was displayed in the PSA, giving those with an interest in the organisation an incentive to access more information. Finally, one more aim of the PSA was to make viewers aware of Rag festivities in general, as different universities across the country host their own Rag festivities as a means of student

development, fundraising and community service projects. The PSA had to appeal to various target markets.

5.2.2 The nature of the volunteer work undertaken by the organisation

The showing of faces in the PSA was kept to a minimum. This is mainly owing to the constraint that individuals who are identifiable in the PSA must give their written permission to broadcast the material. Tuks Rag supports a vast amount of charitable causes, with many projects that include working with individuals for whom granting such permission is either difficult or impossible, such as street children or mentally handicapped individuals. In the case of street children, for example, the children are minors and therefore not regarded as competent legal entities. Permission necessary to film and interview these children, can only be granted by their parents or legal guardians.³ The choice was made that in cases where any doubt could be raised regarding consent to appear in the PSA, the material would not be used. The use of the hands-metaphor was therefore a logical approach on a symbolic as well as a practical level.

University of Pretoria Drama students participated in the making of the commercial on a voluntary basis. A female student volunteer and the pensioner she had visited as a community service project, are shown in frame 8 (although it is not stated in the commercial that this is the case). The child in frame 7, was accompanied by his mother. It is her hands that come to rest on his shoulders in the image.

5.2.3 The purposes and application of the PSA

This PSA was created as an entry for the Vuka awards in the Newcomer Awards 1999 category. This is a competition for aspirant filmmakers hosted by MultiChoice, service provider of M-Net and DStv (Vuka [sa(a)]:sp). While the cost of producing the PSA rests on the entrant, MultiChoice sponsor the airtime of PSAs entered.

³ See Kirby (2001:7) regarding the filming and interviewing of child prostitutes that raises the same ethical issues.

Tuks Rag sponsored the creation of this PSA for entry into the competition, but also required the PSA to be suitable for use as a promotional video clip, apart from the competition. Major firms and brands are involved in sponsoring Tuks Rag activities every year. Members of Tuks Rag expressed a need to use the PSA, which was made available to the organisation in video format, as a possible marketing tool in bids to secure the support of these sponsors. This need expressed by organisation members, showed that the public service narrative had to give a clear indication of the nature and extent of the work undertaken by Tuks Rag.

5.2.4 Budget constraints

This PSA was made on a shoestring budget, something not uncommon for non-profit organisation ventures for which the organisations themselves usually cannot carry the costs. The budget influenced the amount of freedom one had in the use of material for the PSA. The minimum of material was shot on location (most of it was shot in a studio), as studio work is cheaper and does not include travelling with expensive equipment. In addition, the costs involved dictated that the PSA be 30 seconds in length, although 45 and 60 second competition categories also existed.

The people who worked on the PSA did so mainly on a voluntary basis. The making of the commercial depended on the financial support of Tuks Rag. The budget plays an important role in determining the message, as televised advertising is expensive. The Vuka Awards hosted by DStv made the advertising slots (and therefore free airtime) available to the participants. It was only necessary to finance the making of the PSA itself. A full budget is included (see appendix) to show the costs involved in the making of the PSA for Tuks Rag. Costs were kept to a minimum because it was made as an internal project sponsored by Tuks Rag. The fact that it was an internal project made facilities at the University of Pretoria available at a lower rate.

In conclusion, the PSA created for Tuks Rag serves as a general interpretation of the organisation's social involvement. This social involvement is based on three main interwoven elements, also reflected in the mission statement, namely: student participation, community upliftment and fundraising. The Tuks Rag PSA was an attempt to highlight this

essence of the Tuks Rag organisation in a positive, symbolically orientated manner. Devising an umbrella message made a focussed narrative possible.

The elements employed to develop the narrative were useful and successful in the construction of a message that was relevant to the organisation and its work. The fact that the message was used to attract sponsors can be regarded as evidence of this. The message indicated the central aspects of the organisation, and the activities that the organisation is involved in. While the message was an attempt at projecting a sense of goodwill by means of a positively framed message, it is doubtful whether this one message could dispel all negative associations with a student organisation such as Tuks Rag.

The main success of the message lies in the fact that the organisation and its members regarded this message as a good reflection of their work and activities. From the perspective of a constructor, it would perhaps have been useful to investigate more divergent framing options that could have brought a more thought-provoking message to the viewer. If one considers the option of focusing more directly on one key aspect of the organisation's work, a documentary style testimonial from a person whose life was touched by the students and their work, would have been one possible approach. Even a testimonial from a student who worked for the organisation and who benefited from the community involvement such work brings, could have been considered. Such a testimonial from a student could possibly best capture the most striking aspects of this organisation, namely the youthful energy and enthusiasm this group of students displayed in their fundraising and community development work.



TITLE: REACH OUT AND GIVE (TUKS RAG)



Frame 1
VO: *A message to all Tuks Rag supporters...*
SFX: Shaking can and soundtrack intro



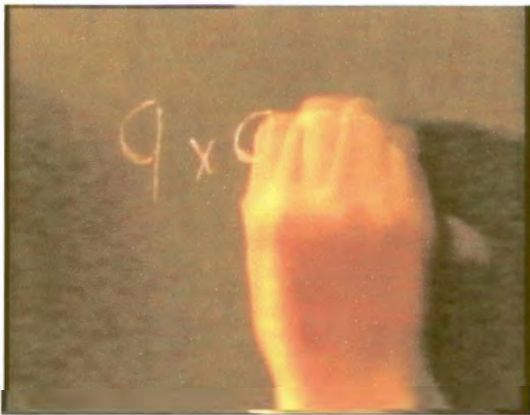
Frame 2
VO: *your contribution is changing hands this year...* (soundtrack throughout)



Frame 3
VO: *Changing blind ignorance into...*
(soundtrack throughout)



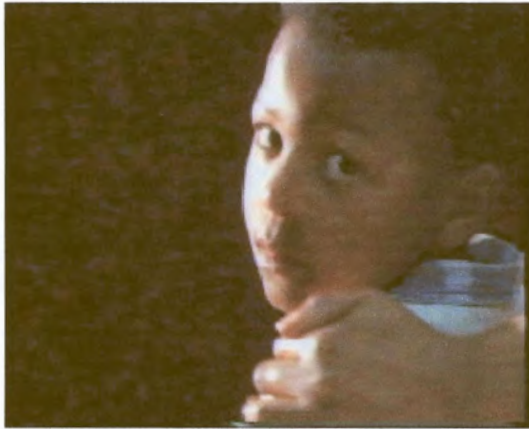
Frame 4
VO: *opportunities for students...*
(soundtrack throughout)



Frame 5
VO: *to learn*
(soundtrack throughout)



Frame 6
VO: *develop and grow...*
(soundtrack throughout)



Frame 7
VO: *In turn, they touch the lives...*
(soundtrack throughout)



Frame 8
VO: *of those in need.*
(soundtrack throughout)



Frame 9
VO: *By supporting Tuks Rag, you make it...*
(soundtrack throughout)



Frame 10
VO: *possible for students to join hands with the community...* (soundtrack throughout)



Frame 11
VO: *Tuks Rag can reach out and give, because you do.* (Note soundtrack tone as movement cue)

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion

In this dissertation, selected South African televised PSAs were investigated within the theoretical approach of framing. The aim of the study was to devise and follow a structured approach to the analysis and construction of the PSA message, with framing theory as a vantage point. In order to establish the foundations of such a structured approach, general characteristics of the television medium were investigated in relation to the televised PSA in particular. A hypothetical framing model indicating the linear development of the frame was identified and applied. Certain framing elements were then identified based on the model mentioned. These framing elements were regarded as applicable not only to framing in general, but also to the establishment of a structured framing approach particular to the televised PSA. Based on the framing elements identified, an exploration of narrative development and the application of cinematic devices in the process of developing a PSA, was undertaken.

Symbolic modes as framing elements were investigated in-depth, as being particularly pertinent tools in the overall construction of the PSA. It was argued that the constructor of the message must convey a focussed key message based on an intuitive understanding of the public service organisation and its work. Symbolic modes were shown to be instructive to the constructor, in that complex issues can be presented in simplified form that support the official story or key message. Metaphor and metonymy, as key symbolic modes, were also shown to be effective means of expanding the range of imagery and interpretive associations that could be made with this key message. At the same time, those associations that are less relevant to the key message were shown to be greatly reduced if the message was effectively framed. In this way, metonymy and metaphor were regarded as framing elements that assist the constructor in the delineation of borders within which interpretation is invited. It was argued that a focussed key message allows the constructor to frame the call to action in a way that directly relates the public service organisation's core needs to the viewer. Finally, in order to investigate why traditional cinematic style and symbolic modes can effectively delineate the borders of interpretation for the viewer, the framing of meaning was investigated as possibly being embodied. In following the approach outlined above, the research objectives set out at the start of the study can be regarded as having been met.

A literature study was undertaken in which a general background of the television medium was outlined. Not only was television shown to have the ability to blur boundaries between what is regarded as mediated images and what is regarded as ‘authentic’ images of reality, but it was also shown to bring these images from the public sphere into the private sphere, and vice versa. It was argued that these characteristics of the television medium, and the ability of the medium to bring public or social issues into the personal sphere of the individual, makes it highly suitable for the broadcasting of messages with the focus on social awareness. It was suggested that television in fact brings with it a heightened sense of social responsibility, even for those events that lie beyond the direct control of the viewer. Characteristics of the medium also indicated the need for an interpretive approach to the construction of its images and narratives that would take the necessity of adaptability of modern media into account. Framing as a theoretical approach was identified as a relevant mode that offered a basis for a structured analytical approach to televised PSAs. A central benefit of this theoretical approach was the fact that it recognises the malleability and adaptability of any interpretative act (whether from the constructor or the viewer’s perspective); this is an aspect of the interpretive process that is often left unconsidered in other theoretical approaches.

In order to identify and analyse the presence of framing elements in PSAs, a hypothetical linear framing model was investigated. An attempt was made to delineate a structured approach to the framing of a PSA based on this hypothetical model, while taking the specific cinematic style of the televised PSA into account. The aim of the analysis was an exploration of the process of framing of a televised PSA, particularly from the constructor’s perspective. The presence of certain framing elements in the PSAs analysed was regarded as an indication that framing could be applied as a structured approach in the PSA development process. It was argued in this study that the application of a structured framing approach ultimately allows the constructor to manipulate the mediated message. In manipulating the message, the constructor can use the characteristics of the television medium, such as the implied sense of responsibility, to the benefit of the public service organisation for which the message is created.

A detailed analysis of selected South African PSAs brought to light the prevalence with which certain framing elements are applied in socially orientated messages. In each of the three PSAs analysed, a range of framing elements was identified. These framing elements included exploration of the possible intuitive framing of the organisation for which the message was created, the narrative development that stems from this intuitive framing, and the application of a relevant cinematic style. The framing of a particular call to action and symbolic modes applied by the constructor were also investigated. Finally, the process of construction was documented in a fourth PSA. The framing elements identified in the analysis of PSAs were applied in this PSA construction, in which the author was involved throughout the production process. In this case, it was possible to identify not only framing elements that assisted in the construction of the message, but also certain external factors that influence the way in which the PSA is made.

In an attempt to apply a structured approach to the analysis and construction of the televised PSA, framing elements, including symbolic modes, were found to be both identifiable in the analysis of televised PSAs, and applicable to the process of televised PSA construction. The study was significant in that framing as an approach was outlined in detail, while noting certain strengths and weaknesses with regard to related analytical approaches, such as semiotics. Furthermore, televised PSAs were regarded as social messages that warrant in-depth analysis in the same way that various other television formats, such as the television commercial or Reality Television, do. This study was an attempt at an introductory exploration of the multi-faceted nature of PSAs as often overlooked televised messages. In the South African context in particular, PSAs sometimes form part of developmental projects, such as the Vuka awards. It was argued that these projects are aimed at increasing awareness of many social issues with viewpoints particular to the South African context, such as abuse of women, rape, or the high incidence of speeding on South African roads.

The conclusion can be drawn that framing as a theoretical approach can be applied in the establishment of a structured approach to the creation of a televised PSA and its major relevant facets. In the construction of a televised PSA, a number of aspects of the approach followed in this study, proved functional. As was argued in this study, the

approach to framing followed as outlined, allows the constructor to follow clearly set out guidelines and a systematic approach to PSA development. Framing was finally shown to be an effective approach for the analysis and development of socially driven messages in ways that are relevant not only to the constructor, but also to the organisation for which the message is created.

The simplification of the process of televised PSA construction into a set of ‘steps’ that can be followed, has various restrictions and must be considered as only one of the shortcomings of this study, which will be elaborated on here. Framing elements found in existing televised PSAs could, for example, not guarantee the success of the message in guiding the viewer’s interpretation of the narrative, or the success of its call to action to the viewer. This approach lacked the ability to incorporate the external factors that can hamper the constructor in the process of framing, although an attempt was made, in the analysis of the personally constructed message, to indicate the role of such external considerations in the construction of the message.

In the approach followed in this study, it must be noted that the application of framing elements in PSA construction is not always a conscious decision on the part of the constructor. The constructor also brings a subjective understanding to the framing of the socially relevant message, whether the process of creation is a conscious attempt at applying interpretive techniques in the creation of the message, or not. Just as subjectivity is inescapable in the message construction process, so it is also inescapable in the process of analysis. Specific framing elements were identified and applied in order to validate the analysis process followed in this study. The focus of this study was only on the identification and application of framing and framing elements, and this could have led to other pertinent aspects that fell beyond the scope of this analysis, being disregarded.

The ‘constructor’ was regarded in this study as a hypothetical reference to those involved in the process of framing. While this approach was regarded as relevant to the scope of the study, it could have diminished awareness that the construction of a televised message is a highly collaborative process involving various role players who ultimately have an influence on the final outcome of the message. Du Plooy (1989:38),

for example, refers to the constructor of the message as a television communicator that is part of a person-team institution. Du Plooy (1989:38) states that “television is characterized by a plurality of institutional variables that influence the communicator as an individual, as a member of a team and as a broadcasting organisation”. The analysis of the personal PSA did indicate the impact of collaborative input on the message construction to a limited degree, although this was not the main focus of the study.

In this study the ‘viewer’ was equally regarded as a hypothetical reference to those at whom the message is aimed. No attempt was made to investigate the implications of that which the viewer brings to the process of interpretation. There was therefore no investigation of the correlation between *evidence* of framing elements and the *success* of these elements in guiding viewer interpretation that is regarded as similar to the aims set out by the constructor of the message. This could, however, be regarded as a shortcoming in various approaches to the construction of mediated messages. In following a semiotic approach to message construction, for example, there is no guarantee that the codes and symbols identified by the constructors of the mediated message as pertinent, are also identified and decoded by the viewer in the same way.

In this study, only the televised PSA was investigated, although this is not the only medium that can be employed to create a powerful public service message. Focussing only on the televised announcement, removed the possibility of investigating a social awareness campaign as a whole, as these campaigns are often given coverage not only on television, but in various other media as well. The Arrive Alive commercial, for example, formed part of a comprehensive Arrive Alive campaign that included billboards placed next to highways and intensive campaigning at filling stations across South Africa’s most popular travelling routes during peak holiday periods. These are only two examples of other media available to constructors, in which coverage can be gained for the key social awareness message and the symbolism associated with it.

The televised PSA is a multi-faceted format that opens up many avenues for further investigation. Investigation of the construction of the public service announcement as a collaborative effort, as already mentioned, is one such avenue. These messages can be investigated not only in relation to the individual as constructor of the message (as is

one aspect of this study), but also in relation to the team that takes part in the construction of the message and in relation to the broadcasting institution. A study of the broadcasting institution in particular enables for the investigation of corporate structures, decision-makers and policy regarding the broadcasting of public service messages.

As noted in this study, development initiatives such as the Vuka awards hosted by DSTv, with a strong focus on community participation by means of the PSA construction, can also be explored. Broadcasting role players such as DSTv are creating opportunities for young film makers to become involved in the community through these competitions and similar initiatives. One avenue for further investigation could be to track the origins and development of such initiatives and their relevance in the South African context.

A public service organisation might wish to employ other media to gain exposure for its community work, in order to find an audience that will respond to its call to action. Other media can also be investigated for its relevance in the creation of PSAs. As noted previously, social awareness campaigns, similar to commercial campaigns, often employ various media simultaneously in order to get a public service message across to various audiences. Related to the investigation of the PSAs in media other than television, is the investigation of an entire public service campaign, where a central theme is given coverage in different media at the same time. In conclusion, this study hence outlined a structured approach to the framing of the public service message as an attempt at identification and implementation of elements that could assist the constructor of the public service message.

APPENDIX

This appendix shows the budget of the *Reach Out and Give* PSA created for Tuks Rag as a Vuka Awards entry. A breakdown of costs is indicated.

Vuka Awards		AA 041			
17/5	IN	AA 041 -3545	(ASN: 82020)		R 700.00
30/7	IN	AA 041 -3545			R 1,400.00
					R 2,100.00
Reconciliation: 30/7/99					
9/6			Cheque # 781496		R 100.00
21/5	Duplication of video material			DIV	R 10.00
9/6	Video			DIV	R 14.90
19/5	Miscellaneous			DIV	R 7.00
5/5	Miscellaneous			DIV	R 5.90
5/5	Miscellaneous			DIV	R 4.95
24/5	Miscellaneous			DIV	R 3.75
11/6	Internet usage			DIV	R 7.10
11/6	Telephone costs			DIV	R 15.00
18/6	Petrol			Travel	R 20.00
					R 88.60
		Payment into AA041-3545			R 11.40
	Diverse				R 88.60
	Production costs				R 1,428.88
24/8	Music composition				R 402.21
					R 1,919.69
				Balance:	R 180.31

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