

# Advertising the Archive: Nostalgia and the (Post)national Imaginary

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In theorizing the emergence of a “global cultural economy,” Arjun Appadurai relates a postmodern, commodity sensibility based on nostalgia to a “complex transnational construction of imaginary landscapes.”<sup>1</sup> He is concerned with the cultural flows that move between and across national boundaries in a newly globalized world and comments on the possibility of “nostalgia without memory.” This locates the Jamesonian nostalgia mode, understood as a form of pastiche, in a culture of world image systems. Appadurai suggests that: “The past is not a land to return to in a simple politics of memory. It has become a synchronic warehouse of cultural scenarios. . . .”<sup>2</sup> One consequence of the past existing in this way, as a cultural style within advanced global capitalism, is the possibility for people around the world to consume images that belong to a cultural past that has no relation to their own. With images circulating in a newly heterogeneous and transnational public sphere, Appadurai suggests that nostalgia can be experienced for a past that has never been lost in any culturally specific or referential sense.

Appadurai is one of a growing number of critics who theorize globalization as an interactive socio-cultural process. In his argument, this entails a substantial weakening of national communities and the creation of a decentered transnational global system. The imagination is central to this system; Appadurai argues that a new kind of deterritorialized community is created, or imagined, in a world of

global image flows and electronic mediation. Imagined national communities have been replaced, one might say, by imagined worlds. In Appadurai's argument, this is a portentous sign, an indication of the end of the nation-state and the emergence of a complex and borderless global economy. Although sharing many critical sympathies with Appadurai, Frederick Buell is more cautionary, believing that globalization is "still substantially managed by the official mind of nations and by transnational, as well as national, entrepreneurial mentalities."<sup>33</sup> While inclined to see globalization in cultural terms that go beyond theories that understand it as a narrative of capitalist penetration and integration, Buell examines the status of "nationalist postnationalism." More specifically, he looks at a process that in the 1990s saw the "reconstitution of American national identity for postnational circumstances."

This essay explores how the reconstitution of American national identity has taken place in the context of global advertising. It will concentrate, in particular, on the currency of nostalgia, and the construction of a (post)national past, in two black-and-white brand campaigns by Apple Computer and by clothing merchandiser The Gap. David Harvey writes that: "Advertising and media images have come to play a very much more integrative role in cultural practices and assume a much greater importance in the growth dynamics of capitalism."<sup>34</sup> If images promote structures of desire and inform economies of taste, they can also legitimate forms of authority and power. Focusing on Apple's award-winning "Think different" campaign, I want to show how, while serving specific business needs, brand advertising has also functioned culturally in the negotiation of nation. Critically, this essay provides a case study of global advertising, placed in the context of debates about postmodern nostalgia and, from the vantage point of globalization theory, set in relation to what Buell has described as the "reconstitution of U.S. cultural nationalism in an interesting postnational form."<sup>35</sup>

### **Back to the Future**

In August 1993, Pablo Picasso, Muhammad Ali and Amelia Earhart were among twelve celebrities whose black-and-white portraits were used in global advertising by The Gap to sell its famous khakis. The so-called "Who wore khakis?" campaign lasted for six weeks and used a series of original monochrome photographs of cultural figures, including Arthur Miller, James Dean, Gene Kelley, Chet Baker, Ava Gardner, Norma Jean, Miles Davis, Rock Hudson and Jack Kerouac. They were all pictured wearing khaki trousers. They were not wearing Gap khakis, but this was hardly the point. In the bottom corner of each portrait was the distinctive Gap logo and the assurance that Picasso, or whoever, "wore khakis." Association was enough.

In September 1997, Picasso, Ali and Earhart were back again. They appeared once more in black and white, but this time they were selling the corporate philosophy of Apple computers. The global "Think different" campaign by Apple used over forty individuals, including Gandhi, Ted Turner, Buzz Aldrin, Thomas



*Courtesy of Apple Computer, Inc.*

Edison, Jim Henson, Rosa Parks, Albert Einstein, Bob Dylan, Richard Branson and Martha Graham. Monochrome portraits of a diverse pantheon of “heroes” and mavericks appeared around the world in news magazines, on billboards, wrapped around forms of public transport and pasted imposingly onto hoardings and walls. The campaign was an ambitious marketing strategy aimed at reinvigorating the flagging fortunes of the Apple brand. It was no doubt pleasing to agents of The Gap that Picasso and Earhart were still seen wearing their khaki pants.

While Gap lauded “legendary writers, actors, adventurers with style,” the ad agency TBWA Chiat Day created for Apple a paean to “the crazy ones . . . the ones who see things differently.” Both companies sought to construct a tradition for the particular values associated with their brand; archival celebrity portraits gave a historical pedigree to their respective versions of corporate *esprit*. For The Gap, monochrome “legends” galvanized its selling of the fashion classic. The “Think different” campaign was less product-driven than geared towards a symbolic reclaiming of company values. Misguided investments, quality control mishaps, poor inventory management and unfocused marketing had, by the mid-1990s, caused a defection of Apple customers to the Windows/Intel platform. Between 1993 and 1997, Apple’s market share dropped from 12.1 percent to 3.5 percent. In 1997, losses totalled \$1.5 billion, leading *Business Week* to profess gravely the “death of an icon.” Drastic measures were required to prevent calamity and, inspired by the return of Steve Jobs as interim CEO in July 1997, this led to a new communications strategy. “Think different” heralded a branding blitzkrieg that tried to re-establish connections between computer technology—in particular, Apple’s new iMac—and the creative individual, values that had defined Apple ever since it launched the Mac in 1984. Versions of individuality were central to

both campaigns. Mobilizing a concept of individualism participates in a long advertising tradition whereby the consumption of standardized and mass-produced goods is figured as an expression of unique selfhood. What made the two campaigns (visually) arresting in the context of 1990s advertising was their specific appeal to—and coding of consumer individuality through—an archival, black-and-white nostalgia.

John Berger suggests that: “publicity is, in essence, nostalgic. It has to sell the past to the future. It cannot itself supply the standards of its own claims. And so all references to quality are bound to be retrospective and traditional.”<sup>6</sup> The nostalgic past has shaped commercial imagery at various points in the history of American advertising.<sup>7</sup> The appeal to an authentic past in corporate promotion is nothing new. Within recent consumer literature, however, several theories have been used to explain the *proliferation* of nostalgic themes within contemporary advertising. While Barbara Stern suggests that promotional nostalgia responds to “the double whammy of an ageing population confronting a century in its final years,”<sup>8</sup> Andrew Wernick provides a different perspective, relating nostalgia in contemporary advertising to a “sea-change in values.” He speaks of a “phase-shift in capitalist culture” where the progressive future has lost its ideological force and “the arrow of time has been reversed.”<sup>9</sup> This is a more suggestive explanation for the popularity of the past in contemporary advertising, moving away from Stern’s rather simplistic assumptions about the nostalgic experience within personal and historical life cycles. Nostalgia, in Wernick’s case, is set in a cultural moment where the past has developed a particular discursive power. In a time when metanarratives of history and progress have been severely undermined, and when the past has become increasingly subject to cultural mediation, textual reconfiguration and ideological contestation in the present, memory has become a new locus of both cultural identity and commercial style.

Writing about the imbrication of heritage and tradition in contemporary taste regimes, Jim Collins suggests that “temporality has become perhaps the most significant priority in the determination of style values in the nineties.”<sup>10</sup> Both the Apple and The Gap campaigns can be seen in relation to this particular taste economy. Specifically, they drew upon a tradition of hip consumerism—what Thomas Frank relates to the idea of cultural and creative rebellion used within advertising codes of the 1960s—and linked it visually to the capital (and memory) of cultural celebrity. The temporal locutions and monochrome memories of the Apple and The Gap campaigns are, of course, stylistic effects within a vast promotional repertoire. They may in this way be deployed or discarded according to the changing dictates of corporate imaging. For both companies, the black-and-white campaigns were superseded in the late-1990s by promotions where products and logos (in color) were off-set by clinical white backdrops. Monochrome memory is a variable style in corporate promotion, but it was expedient to Apple and The Gap in the 1990s in framing a heritage of commodified hip. With its genesis in sixties San Francisco and its reference to the “generation gap,” the clothing retailer originally tapped counter-cultural values of simplicity and

personal authenticity. These have since informed the concept of The Gap style, of enduring fashion “basics” that contrast with the fickle and over-designed fads of the larger clothing industry. Apple has also built its reputation on values of independence and simplicity. Ever since its famous “1984” commercial—a television ad devised by Chiat Day and directed by Ridley Scott which, playing upon George Orwell’s *1984*, saw a young woman smash the looming screen image of a male face (“big brother”) addressing a standing mass of hypnotized followers—Apple has positioned itself as a voice of innovation and individuality in a world of lumbering technological conformity. If, as Thomas Frank suggests, hip has become the basis of a pervasive commodity logic where products exist “to facilitate our rebellion against the soul-deadening world of products,”<sup>11</sup> Apple and The Gap framed this rationale—invoking rebellion as an imperative for brand loyalty—within narratives of corporate/cultural tradition.

The Gap developed a promotional currency in the 1990s based on the fashion “classic,” referring specifically to the khaki and denim wares that have become the mainstay of The Gap’s fashion pedigree. Offering “the perfect balance between updated classics and seasonal styles,” a host of celebrity individuals were used in the nineties to endorse The Gap fashion, from the boxer Evander Holyfield to the singer Anthony Kiedis. The 1993 “Who wore khakis?” campaign was a *historical* figuration of The Gap’s more general promotional vocabulary. American cultural “legends” such as Chet Baker and Humphrey Bogart were able to provide an alternative set of individuals through which The Gap could market its brand language of personal authenticity. In so doing, the campaign catered to a slightly different, somewhat older, target audience. Monochrome signified designer style but gave a mytho-historical dimension to its selling of individualism and the fashion (khaki) classic. There was no similar promotional context or generic precedent for the black-and-white Apple campaign; “Think different” was distinct within computer/Apple promotion for its archival and overtly temporal structure. If advertising has increasingly become a matter not simply of persuading consumers to buy particular goods, but, as Pasi Falk argues, a battle for recognition in a complex, intertextual, mediascape—a semiotic terrain where advertising is just one category in a wide range of experiential media products—“Think different” used the archival celebrity portrait to create a historical aura vital to the rebranding of Apple’s corporate identity.<sup>12</sup> It is this campaign that I want to consider in some detail.

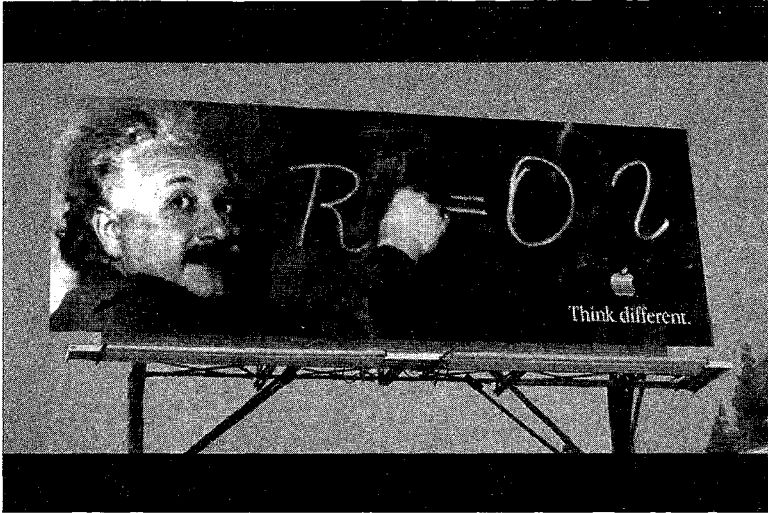
In 1998, a list composed by *Advertising Age* of the two hundred biggest brands in America placed Apple 169th, between Nicorette chewing gum and Huggies disposable diapers.<sup>13</sup> This was indicative of the sagging fortunes of a company that was losing its hold in a market that, during the 1980s, it significantly helped to create. Returned to Apple’s managerial helm, Steve Jobs took immediate steps to repair the ailing brand identity. In 1997, he sacked Apple’s advertising agency, BBDO, and appointed TBWA Chiat Day, the firm that made the acclaimed “1984” commercial that launched the Mac. The agency was given responsibility for implementing a \$60 million brand campaign that would

position Apple more distinctly in a global market, anticipating the “second digital revolution” of the Internet. With dominant sales in education and desk top publishing, Apple sought to extend principles of simplicity and creativity that would attract new consumers and refresh the loyalties of established converts. The result was the black-and-white “Think different” campaign.

Strategically, “Think different” established an attitude; it identified the “distinct sensibility” of the Mac user. A combination of creativity and independence of thought were the values that Apple hoped would distinguish its product in a world market dominated by the Windows-operated PC. Steve Jobs said that: “Think Different celebrates the soul of the Apple brand . . . that creative people with passion can change the world for the better.”<sup>14</sup> It was necessary to transform Apple’s difference in the computer market—an integrated system of software and hardware with its own applications and support servicing—from a potential liability into a positive virtue. All the time that Apple seemed to be in jeopardy, new consumers would be deterred, made anxious by the prospect of buying a computer that had no future. By associating Apple’s difference with a certain character of mind, however, a renegade spirit in the tradition of Muhammad Ali and Martin Luther King, Apple could stand for something more than risk. The new brand campaign focused on the achievement and genius that *comes from risk*, a tactical sleight that turned beleaguered market share into a matter of creative independence. The Mac user was identified with those who are “not fond of rules” and have “no respect for the status quo.” Apple defined itself against the PC norm in such a way that buying Apple could be a statement of character in tune with a rich legacy of modern cultural heroes.

Creativity has been integral to Apple’s brand image since the launch of the Mac in 1984, and creativity was a powerful value in reasserting Apple’s brand identity in the global marketplace. It was something that could appeal, in the words of Apple’s worldwide head of advertising, Allen Olivo, to “people who don’t care so much about what a computer does as what they can do with a computer.”<sup>15</sup> This reversed a trend in Apple advertising that, since the early-1990s, had either focused upon corporate rivalry—expounding the difference between Apple computing and the mere cosmetic benefits of Microsoft—or had developed its profile through product placements in films like *Mission Impossible* and *Independence Day*. No clear marketing message emerged through these strategies, however. “Think different” was an attempt to renew focus on Apple users and key markets, including the prospective market opened up by the Internet. By celebrating a selection of widely admired “misfits,” “rebels” and “troublemakers,” the suggestion in “Think different” was that Apple exemplified and, at the same time, enabled the creative energy of historical innovators. By establishing a tradition of revolutionary freethinkers, Apple sought to locate itself within, and sell its wares upon, a history of maverick creativity.

This market strategy was seen within the company as a philosophical homecoming. In 1996, the summary paragraph of any Apple press release described the company as a “recognized innovator in the information industry and



*Courtesy of Apple Computer, Inc.*

leader in multimedia technologies, [creating] powerful solutions based on easy-to-use personal computers, servers, peripherals, software, personal digital assistants and Internet content.” By 1997, the tone had changed, becoming less descriptive and more promissory. Apple proclaimed that it was “*re-committed to its original mission*—to bring the best personal computing products and supports to students, educators, designers, scientists, engineers, businesspersons and consumers” (my italics). The “Think different” campaign signaled a return, a symbolic reclaiming of the values that launched Apple in the 1980s. Allen Olivo said that “Think different” expounds “exactly the same message as when we launched the Mac back in 1984. If you look at the ‘1984’ commercial, it’s about one individual taking control of the situation and saying, “I can change things.”<sup>16</sup> The archival pastness of “Think different” symbolized, in part, a strategic nostalgia for Apple’s early brand values, re-establishing connections between technology and creative individuality. This relationship was something that had been lost, according to Olivo, when Apple started marketing itself as “a computer box company rather than a creative, thinking company.” Apple’s new communication strategy was based on the construction of a corporate, as well as a cultural, sense of the historical past. “Think different” used the aura of tradition to galvanize a maverick company soul and to suggest a return by Apple to its founding principles. In so doing, Apple directed its appeal to a “uniquely defined group of people whom we understand on an emotional level.” As a campaign, “Think different” addressed a target audience of established and first-time computer users ranging, in age, from the young “twenty-something” to the middle-aged baby-boomer: a stratum of consumers in the domestic, educational and desk top markets seeking easy-to-use, not to say chic, Internet technologies.

Steve Jobs once said that the great thing about the Mac was that the people who designed it were musicians, poets, artists, zoologists and historians who also happened to be the best computer scientists in the world.<sup>17</sup> The Apple “revolution” of the 1980s saw technical invention riding a crest of idealism, a utopian, some might say “hippy,” vision of new technological possibility. The Apple family were the informally dressed, creatively unorthodox, flower-children of the computer industry, compared with the corporate Goliath of IBM and, later, the Machiavellian maestros of Microsoft. The “Think different” campaign drew upon the admixture of creativity and empowerment that had originally fired the Apple brand; it literally pictured the poets, artists and musicians that Jobs associated with the Mac, and with Apple’s (hip) negation of conformity. Before becoming a member of Apple’s executive board in 1997, Lawrence Ellison, the chief of software giant Oracle commented that: “Apple is the only true life-style brand in the computer industry. It’s the only company people feel passionate about.”<sup>18</sup> “Think different” sought to capitalize on this, to re-invigorate the brand philosophy that had done so much to inspire Apple’s loyal following. Some market analysts saw a risk in trying to sell computer hardware through “lifestyle” advertising, the contextualization of commodity advertising in market strategies that attempt, at some level, to transgress the commercial realm. The campaign was only the first part of a larger strategy, however. Indeed, “Think different” cannot be seen apart from the \$100 million campaign used in 1998 to promote the futuristic iMac.

The iMac campaign focused on a particular product and became the biggest marketing launch in Apple’s history. With its striking blue shell, the iMac was aimed at a consumer market wanting speed, simplicity and, most important, access to the Internet. Steve Jobs explained that: “iMac does for Internet computing what the original Macintosh did for personal computing. Macintosh let anyone use a computer and iMac lets anyone get on the Internet quickly and easily.”<sup>19</sup> Memories of the Mac were invoked to sell the capacities, and market significance, of the iMac. The iMac was new, innovative, and by Apple’s own definition, part of a company tradition. The iMac and the “Think different” ads ran simultaneously at the end of 1998, selling the monochrome past and the color future with a common admonition *to think* (from the proverbial “Think different” to the more philosophical “I think, therefore iMac”). People from the past and machines of the future were the basis of a broad image strategy used to reposition Apple. It was, at once, archival and anticipatory, based on tradition and innovation. A visual nostalgia was used in combination with a cool futurism, authenticating the brand name with marketing that moved backwards and forwards in time. Lifestyle values and corporate soul mean very little in the computer industry without (the marketing of) genuine technological difference. With the return of Steve Jobs, however, selling a soul and marketing a machine became a mutually reinforcing task.

Within Apple’s global advertising strategy, a new, and rationalized, product line came to embody a maverick creativity that was associated with the company



tradition, but that also belonged to a larger history of rebel innovation. The monochrome “Think different” campaign established a broadly cultural, and implied a specifically corporate, sense of heritage. The past was the authenticating cornerstone of Apple’s new future, and the campaign served a necessary function in repositioning the Apple brand as stylish, innovative and different. As an aesthetic, black and white was *visually* different within computer advertising. Of course, the “meaning” of any advertising campaign does not exist, and cannot be examined, in isolation from the visual and commercial culture in which it circulates. “Think different” must be understood in relation to other campaigns, not only in terms of Apple’s own iMac promotion or, intertextually, with other black-and-white media products/advertising campaigns, but against corporate rivals like Microsoft and Intel. Both of these companies have figured brand identities based on the future (Intel’s spacemen) and the empowering possibilities of the present (the Microsoft logo, “where do you want to go today?”). What distinguished Apple in the general marketing of information technology was an unusual recourse to the historical archive. “Think different” sold not the future or the possibilities of the present, but a heritage of cultural rebellion. Thomas Frank suggests that there are “few things more beloved of our mass media than the figure of the cultural rebel, the defiant individualist resisting the mandates of machine civilization.”<sup>20</sup> In reinvigorating the value, or “intellectual property,” of the Apple brand name, “Think different” inventively *sold* machine civilization through an archival history of defiant individualists.<sup>21</sup>

The “Think different” campaign is the complex result of contemporary taste values and specific market strategies. It has a promotional context and commercial genesis, and it should not be used metaphorically to draw sweeping conclusions about global advertising, postmodern historicity or anything else. The articulation of cultural heritage in the campaign does warrant attention, however. “Think different” gathered an eclectic mix of cultural icons and gave them patrimonial value. “You can praise them, disagree with them, quote them, disbelieve them, glorify or vilify them. About the only thing you can’t do is ignore them. Because they change things.” So went the ode to the “crazy ones.” Apple’s brand advertising, vital to its more direct product-oriented marketing, developed a concept of heritage based on the unorthodoxy of purposefully diverse cultural icons. Steve Jobs said: “The ‘think different’ campaign set out to honor our heroes.”<sup>22</sup> This begs two immediate questions: who exactly are “our” heroes, and what does it mean for these “heroes” to be used in a black-and-white campaign selling computers in the global marketplace? I want now to look more closely at the question of nostalgia and the construction of heritage—*our* heritage—in the “Think different” campaign.

### (Post)national Nostalgia

My own first exposure to the “Think different” campaign was in Copenhagen. A giant monochrome poster of Alfred Hitchcock appeared one morning, draped

from a building at Radhuspladsen, the central town square. Another poster, possibly 30 feet in length, hung beside it. Instead of one single image, it had three separate black-and-white portraits, Einstein among them. In the corner of each poster was a colored apple and the words "Think different." They each remained in the town square for several weeks, something of a relief, certainly a contrast, from the hypnotic neon dazzle of the corporate slogans and business logos that blinked relentlessly from the electronic ad space enclosing Radhuspladsen. I had two other encounters with the campaign: once on television with Robert Duvall's earnest recital of "the crazy ones," the second time in Copenhagen airport.<sup>23</sup> My parting image of Denmark after a three month stay was orchestrated by the ad folks of TBWA Chiat Day. Eight, equally spaced, black-and-white portraits hung beside each other, dangling above the length of the check-in counter. Jim Henson, Gandhi and Amelia Earhart were among the individuals pictured. I recognized most of them but two escaped me. I later discovered the mysteries to be Martha Graham and Thomas Edison.

While anecdotal, my experience may suggest something significant about the Apple campaign. Simply put, it didn't require recognition of each and every individual. It established instead a principle of commonality *between* individuals. "Think different" was not about any single person but the invented tradition to which they all belonged. To the *New York Times*, the interpellation of disparate icons within the promotional strategies of a multinational corporation like Apple made the campaign seem "audacious."<sup>24</sup> "Think different" made unlikely, if not opaque, connections between people who were identified quite simply as "the round pegs in the square holes." The Apple campaign was seen around the world, its version of maverick heritage consumed by West and East alike. Certain disputes emerged from the representational politics involved. In Hong Kong, for example, Apple bowed to Chinese pressure to withdraw a monochrome "Think different" image of the Dalai Lama. The endorsement of maverick political "individualism" may have been safe using images of Gandhi and Martin Luther King, but not for those who remain central to ongoing, and unresolved, ideological disputes. For less political reasons, Apple was refused permission by the family of Jacques Cousteau to use an image of the celebrated diver. With the iMac unable to perform under the sea, Cousteau was a hero that Apple could surely do without.

As these disputes might suggest, the representational content of the campaign is not without cultural significance. However, issues of representation cannot be seen apart from the non-representational effects of "Think different." By this I am referring to the campaign's "black and whiteness." Black and white is an idiom that can mark but, in the same instance, flatten time. Monochrome suggests temporality but is often described as "timeless." By draining the historical, chromatic, specificity of an image, black and white is able to create an aura of temporality. Images are *of* time but not always specifically *in* time. Black and white was serviceable to Apple by creating a terrain of tradition in which individuals with no discernible connection could be summarily linked; mono-



*Courtesy of Apple Computer, Inc.*

chrome established a visual relationship between people brought together in a hypothetical commonality, exemplars of a brand value. In accounting for the visual aesthetic of "Think different," I would suggest that monochrome helped bring the Apple mavericks into a realm or economy of *affective nostalgia*. The nostalgia of the campaign was not rooted in a sentimental regard for any specific memory or cultural history. It was instead free-floating and abstract. It did not stop and rest with any one individual, any especial place or moment. It ranged across the surface of time and fame, creating a particular, or potential, "nostalgia without memory." Writing of the new global system, David Morley and Kevin Robins suggest that "what corporate manoeuvres and machinations are seeking to bring into existence is a global media space and market."<sup>25</sup> If transnational advertising has become part of a process of "standardizing everything into a common global mode," the Apple campaign sought to create a common global heritage based on a cumulation of individuals, set within an aesthetic of the archive.

As a global advertising campaign, "Think different" can be characterized in two ways. Firstly, it exemplified what Arjun Appadurai has called "the fetishism of the consumer." He writes: "Global advertising is the key technology for the worldwide dissemination of a plethora of creative, and culturally well-chosen, ideas of consumer agency. These images of agency are increasingly distortions of a world of merchandising so subtle that the consumer is consistently helped to believe that he is or she is an actor, where in fact he or she is at best a chooser."<sup>26</sup> Based on a concept of maverick individualism, "Think different" framed unconventionality as a consumerist value. Narratives of agency were rooted in market-based ideas of creative freedom, expressed in both the choice and use of goods

linked to a specific brand. Secondly, the campaign figured an imagined postnational past. In marketing terms, this was practical in giving “Think different” global reach. It was defined by its visuality (rather than textuality) and used a large number of international icons; the campaign was a demonstration of multinational efforts to overcome the borders of national community and address the prospective “global” consumer.

This “address” was evidenced in the very dissemination of the campaign. While the print campaign was largely carried in international magazines like *Time*, *Business Week*, *Rolling Stone* and *Wired*, and located within “non-places of global deterritorialization”<sup>27</sup> such as airports, the television campaign aired during internationally syndicated cable shows like “South Park” and “Seinfeld” and during major network premieres (in America, the first television airing of “Think different” appeared during the premier of *Toy Story*, a film made by Steve Jobs’s animation company, Pixar). These forms of print and televisual advertising—suggestive, in themselves, of Apple’s youthfully hip and, also, professionally mainstream target audience—accompanied massive billboard campaigns that saw giant “Think different” posters appear in metropolitan city centers from Houston to Helsinki, from Atlanta to Hong Kong.<sup>28</sup> One might say that “Think different” was located within global space; it addressed passengers, pedestrians, commuters and consumers within the circuits of transnational capital and international media flow. Nigel Turner, vice-president of marketing for Apple Europe, said that “Think different” was conceived as a global campaign from the very beginning. It was centralized through the advertising channel of TBWA Chiat Day and did not bend or adapt to local markets. (By comparison, previous Apple marketing used different ad agencies in trying to cater to local markets. To many Apple insiders, this made the company message piecemeal and lacking in cohesion). Turner said: “the world has moved on these days and those companies which have global brands must manage them on a global basis.”<sup>29</sup> Transforming itself from a computer box to an Internet company, Apple deployed a synchronous world campaign that, in some sense, was commensurate with the form and discourse of global connectivity associated with the cultural (and economic) prospects of the Internet.

As a market, the Internet has become linked to the promise of international information flow. While critics have shown that the structure and basis of our current global economy can trace a history that far pre-dates the recent (usually post-Cold War) markers that are often taken to designate the “global era,”<sup>30</sup> it is only more recently that a *discourse* of globalism has taken hold within strategies of transnational corporate promotion. (This was typified in 1992 by the launch of Time-Warner’s new corporate motto, “the world is our audience”). With patterns of social interaction and information flow increasingly occurring across national borders, and with communications at the center of current global restructuring, Anabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi suggests that: “large corporations have not been slow to recognize the positive public value attached to the notion of ‘globalization’ as a unifying process of recognition of a common humanity, and

coolly to adopt it for their own purposes.”<sup>31</sup> Apple’s “Think different” campaign can be seen in this context. While previous Apple campaigns, such as “1984,” functioned in the global marketplace, “Think different” was forged with principles of global commonality in mind: it developed an “ecumenical fantasy” rooted in a shared heritage (“our heroes”) of free thinking “difference.”<sup>32</sup>

“Think different” addressed a global audience. Ideologically, however, it was rooted in the values of America. This is significant if one is to trace, from a broadly cultural perspective, and in the context of media representation, the way that national identities can and do reconstruct themselves in the transnational sphere. The Apple campaign is an example of what might be called *nationally nuanced* transnationalism; the campaign’s international figuration of heritage was organized around an implicit idea of American national genius. With a statistical preponderance of American “heroes” in the campaign, and tapping the association of cyberspace as something that derives from, and is being scientifically propelled by, American technological initiative, Apple helped construct a maverick inheritance of a particular kind. (The fact that the textual tag, “Think different,” remained in English/American around the world gave this cultural disposal some shape, perhaps linked in kind to the adoption of American as the universal language of computer technology and the Internet).

I do not want to suggest that the campaign was received uncritically, or uniformly, around the globe. Indeed, a different kind of analysis might look more closely at the reception of the Apple campaign in specific local contexts. One should be careful not to overdetermine the popular “meaning” of “Think different” as a market campaign; its cultural decoding will depend on numerous contextual factors (those of nation, generation, class, gender, occupational culture) that relate to, and bear upon, Apple’s, and indeed America’s, status and presence in the global marketplace. While acknowledging the critical salience of audience response, my conceptual emphasis is on the discursive context of the campaign’s production. In this regard, I contend that “Think different” can be seen in the context of attempts in the dominant media to articulate a reconfigured sense of American national identity. The campaign was, in Frederick Buell’s terms, part of a process of reconstituting “U.S. culture within the disorganizing forces of current globalization.”<sup>33</sup>

Buell maps a shift in American globalist discourse during the 1990s. He suggests that while globalization initially produced a set of anxieties about lost national foundations, the movement of the “global economy” into mainstream discourse gradually turned the global into the basis for a new national “recovery narrative.” This involved a reinvention of national culture, accomplished by the Clinton presidency, but it was also helped by “neoliberal politics, corporate policy and public relations, the media, and even a variety of the newer intellectual and social movements.”<sup>34</sup> One of the main sites through which this reconstituted national culture came to be articulated was the information industry. While U.S.-based corporations have long dominated world positions in the market for information-based commodities (generating over 50 percent of global revenues),

it was in the 1990s that the global information economy garnered a particular discursive weight. If, as Edward Comor contends, “American private and public sector interests have come to recognize that future U.S. hegemonic capacities depend on the internationalization of liberal ideals and consumerist practices,” the information and communication industries became a prime site of ideological investment.<sup>35</sup> Computer technologies, in particular, were central to a global information revolution that America was both seen, and positioned, helping powerfully to shape.

Buell suggests that during the 1990s the democratic and interactive possibilities of cyberspace were celebrated in libertarian ideological terms in much of the corporate culture based in and around the computer industry. Apple was no different in this regard. The “Think different” campaign established a global history of free thinkers and creative innovators; its libertarianism was expressed through recourse to a corporate-cultural maverick heritage. Apple strategists were, of course, hoping to capitalize on the global capacities of the Internet with the iMac. It was therefore apposite that Apple’s maverick past should be figuratively borderless. Using “heroes” from France, Britain, Germany, India, America and Spain, “Think different” had a polycultural dimension. There was never any real doubt about the gravitational center of the cultural heritage at stake, however. “Think different” expressed a legacy that was nominally global but clearly American. Apple purveyed a cultural inheritance that reinforced the ideological position of the United States at the center of the wired global system. Buell writes: “The information industry would be a crucial place for the corporate restructuring of American identity.”<sup>36</sup> By developing the concept of the “maverick”—a term that integrates American individualist and anti-institutional traditions—Apple stitched together a postnational heritage using a distinctly American fabric.

By focusing briefly on the global cultural economy, I want to highlight certain ways in which the Apple campaign helped construct national, as well as corporate, identity. This possibility has been underexamined by commentators who concentrate upon, and then lament, the campaign’s ahistoricism. To its critics, the randomness of “Think different” is the main point of issue, namely the means by which Apple devoured the contextual specificity and cultural significance of its various “crazy ones.” A *New York Times* article said: “Apart from their accomplishments, what the 20 or so famous figures have in common—and their relationship if any to computers—is unclear.”<sup>37</sup> Writing in *Time*, Salman Rushdie was especially critical of Gandhi’s image being used, suggesting that his “thoughts don’t really count in this new incarnation. What counts is that he is considered to be ‘on message,’ in line with the corporate philosophy of Apple.”<sup>38</sup>

The Apple and The Gap campaigns both illustrate the commercial appropriation of personality, and the means by which historical images circulate in contemporary visual culture. To Fredric Jameson, this kind of corporate rummaging through the iconic past, where archival photographs form the basis of contemporary brand campaigns, is indicative of postmodernism’s “crisis of



*Courtesy of Apple Computer, Inc.*

historicity.” In his theory of pastiche, Jameson contends that: “Nostalgia art gives us the image of various generations of the past as fashion-plate images, which entertain no determinable ideological relationship to other moments of time: they are not the outcome of anything, nor the antecedents of our present; they are simply images.”<sup>39</sup> He suggests that the production of glossy “pastness” in postmodern culture is incommensurate with “genuine historicity”; it demonstrates the inability in contemporary life to imagine the past as radically different. Judged in these terms, the Apple campaign would illustrate how the past is now compressed within an overwhelming and depthless present.

If, as Jameson suggests, the past has become “a vast collection of images, a multitudinous photographic simulacrum,” it would not be hard to see the Apple campaign substantiating his point.<sup>40</sup> History is used in the campaign as a storehouse of images, a selection of texts that seem to function randomly with little or no sense of connection between them beyond the relationship established by Apple. There is something postmodern about Apple’s sense of the past: the way that images from different times, of different generations, circulate seamlessly in the selling of a brand identity. And yet, the lament for “genuine historicity” does not do justice to the way that advertisers incorporate what Andrew Wernick calls surrounding “moods, codes and cross-currents” into the semiotic and rhetorical basis of their market campaigns.<sup>41</sup> I suggest that the “Think different” campaign structures a principle of heritage, the cultural significance of which cannot be reduced to postmodern, historicist crisis, but that must be seen in terms of the dominant reconfiguration of American national identity at home and abroad.

We might focus here briefly on the representational content of the campaign. The individuals that carry Apple's "Think different" message are diverse but not random or indiscriminate. Different kinds of heritage are figured along overlapping racial, gender, generational and professional axes. This helps create a canon of distinguishable heroes. These include black heroes (Martin Luther King, Muhammad Ali, Rosa Parks), female heroes (Amelia Earhart, Maria Callas, Martha Graham, Rosa Parks), political heroes (Gandhi, Martin Luther King), entrepreneurial heroes (Ted Turner, Richard Branson), modernist heroes (Pablo Picasso, Albert Einstein, Alfred Hitchcock, Frank Lloyd Wright), postmodernist heroes (Jim Henson, Jerry Seinfeld), scientific heroes (Thomas Edison, Albert Einstein), national heroes (Buzz Aldrin), countercultural heroes (John Lennon, Bob Dylan) and many more configurations between them. Apple provides an over-history that accommodates a plethora of historical figures within a basic framework of maverick individualism. The underlying corporate aim of this, as I have said, is to foster notions of consumer agency based upon narratives of creative choice and achievement.

Apple's sense of tradition gestures towards diversity. The "crazy ones" are male and female, black and white; there are representatives from high and popular culture, art and science, politics and commerce. "Think different" creates a tableau of tradition through which multiple histories emerge and play off one another. A "Think different" advertisement in *Wired* can illustrate the point. It carried a page of nine small monochrome portraits, symmetrically organized in three by three columns, so that the ad appeared like this:<sup>42</sup>

PICASSO	EINSTEIN	GANDHI
HENSON	GRAHAM	ALDRIN
ALI	HITCHCOCK	EARHART

The top row conveys three non-American icons from the early decades of the twentieth century—Picasso, Einstein and Gandhi. Depending on how the eye moves from one picture to the next across and down the columns, however, many unlikely histories can be made. Pablo Picasso, Jim Henson and Muhammad Ali in one, Amelia Earhart, Buzz Aldrin and Gandhi in another. Apple presents the maverick past as varied and without hierarchy. In this sense, it reflects the steady breakdown of barriers between high and popular culture, and the challenge to older prescriptions of cultural inheritance that have taken place in American society in the last few decades. In some sense, the campaign adopts multiculturalism as an exportable, (post)national identity, supporting Frederick Buell's contention that multiculturalism had become by the late-1990s "a new, powerful official culture for the U.S. in a global world."<sup>43</sup>

In her work on global media and local culture, Ien Ang suggests that people who live in a media-saturated culture have to be active in their response to the



overdose of contemporary images in order to produce any kind of meaning from them.<sup>44</sup> Reciprocally, advertising must engage with the values, norms, goals and dreams of those to whom it is addressed. Drawing upon the international capital of cultural celebrity, the Apple campaign created a pregnant space for consumers to connect and project linkages between a diverse range of cultural, political and scientific icons. The campaign relied on the visual literacy and interpretive skill of a sophisticated consumer audience that would respond to the particular fusion of advertising and art discourse (in this case, black-and-white portrait photography), and that could also find connections between the Apple icons. While inviting a degree of associative free-play in the latter case, it would be wrong to suggest that “Think different” was entirely without an organizing frame of reference. Indeed, narrative links had to be forged between icons who were contextually corralled in Apple’s rhetoric of craziness and difference, but that have also, in each case, become heavily embedded within the capitalist marketplace. The image of certain individuals, like Picasso and Einstein, have become floating signifiers, constantly sold and reprocessed in contemporary visual media to support a host of corporate and cultural meanings. Others, like British entrepreneur Richard Branson and American media mogul Ted Turner, literally help to maintain the basis of multinational capitalism upon which Apple clearly depends. Bob Dylan has by now been fully incorporated within establishment histories, and Jim Henson and Jerry Seinfeld both made fortunes selling their products to corporations like Disney and NBC. While the “crazy ones” may have been controversial in their own time, their maverick messages have been neutralized through the cultural refashioning of their iconoclasm. “Think different” thought about difference only if, and insofar as, the particular rebels used by Apple were culturally sanctioned. The campaign was designed to elicit a narrative of rebellion but within the discursive confines of legitimated insurrection.

Focusing especially on educational, creative and home users in the international PC market, “Think different” established a flexible heritage that sanctified the autonomous individual as maverick/consumer. Unlike previous Apple campaigns that carried detailed technological claims about the speed of its Pentium chip or that negatively advertised rivals like Microsoft, “Think different” helped weld together a transnational consumption community based on the semblance of a shared past. Different audiences may, of course, read into the campaign different kinds of meaning, the likes of which may be highly resistant and critical. While Salman Rushdie laments Gandhi’s incorporation within a campaign that largely figures America as the maker and custodian of history, the rejection of Cousteau as an Apple icon may suggest a certain anxiety about the co-optive Americanization of national heroes. Advertising messages are never stable, secure or consistently successful. However, on the evidence of Apple’s market performance after the “Think different” campaign and the attendant iMac launch (its global market share rising from 3.5 in 1997 to 13.5 percent in 1998), there is reason to believe that “Think different” successfully appealed to its target audience of young and professional computer/Internet consumers. This appeal

was not only based on the campaign's use of cultural celebrity and its economy of visual nostalgia, but also perhaps on its absorption of what Christopher Newfield and Avery Gordon have called (in the context of America) an "assimilationist grip on a multicultural ideal that is rapidly being adopted by the state, the corporation, the military, the arts council, the university."<sup>45</sup>

To situate "Think different" in the cultural and discursive context of the late-1990s, one might relate and compare it with the figuration of heritage in the earlier Gap promotion. Unlike Apple, the Gap campaign utilized the past to sell a focused generational nostalgia. "Who wore khakis?" specified the identity of the individual as set within a particular historical period. All of the figures reached the pinnacle of their fame before the 1960s: namely Humphrey Bogart, Jack Kerouac, Sammy Davis Jr., Arthur Miller, Norma Jean, Rock Hudson, Ernest Hemingway and James Dean. In each monochrome portrait, it was made clear who, exactly, "wore khakis." The individuals had significance in their own right; the campaign developed a more obvious nostalgia for the cultural "legends" of America's past.<sup>46</sup> In marketing terms, the campaign appealed to an older target audience, developing an *icon*-ography that tapped a particular generational nostalgia, or at least sold the idea of a specific American generation. In promoting a fashion "classic," The Gap appealed to a sense of classic—which in this context meant pre-1960s—America.

"Think different" was broader in scope; it ranged across place and time and was both transnational and multicultural. It is tempting to use the two campaigns to mark a cultural shift in the corporate construction of American identity during the 1990s. The Gap's campaign appeared in 1993 and Apple's campaign in 1997. This was roughly the time that saw the discursive transition outlined by Frederick Buell, a rhetoric of endangered national foundations and traditions giving way to a national "recovery narrative" set within a global context. While selling different products and engaging different ideas of "America," neither Apple's nor The Gap's campaigns can be entirely divorced from the cultural climate in which they evolved. One might argue that the discursive transition from a sense of having lost "authentic" America, to the reconstitution of "America" in global terms, had a contextual (if never a causal) bearing on the two campaigns. The Gap's campaign appealed fundamentally to a pre-1960s nostalgia. This, of course, distinguished much of the prevailing culture war rhetoric of the time, with battles fought over the legacy of the 1960s and the compromised nature of American tradition. "Think different" emerged when these debates had all but run their course. The late-1990s, rather than bearing witness to cultural anxiety about the loss of tradition and the clouding of "authentic" American identity, saw an investment in a more globalized and multicultural form of nationhood. The Apple campaign inscribed brand values through the articulation of a plural (post)national past. It was perhaps this which gave "Think different" the cultural appeal that deepened its claim for, and helped it win, the 1998 Emmy for Outstanding Commercial.

"Think different" must be understood, primarily, in the context of American business culture and in terms of the beleaguered state of the Apple brand at the

end of the 1990s. I argue that its promotional and visual strategies reveal certain taste values and cultural tendencies within 1990s image culture, however. “Think different” was part of, but at the same time seemingly beyond, contemporary promotion. It was lifestyle advertising based upon the transcendent virtues of cultural heritage. Drawing specifically on the market niche for black-and-white celebrity portraits—monochrome images ministering to a “youthful and culturally dissident” public according to Raphael Samuel, who dates the entrance of black and white in the high-street poster market to the mid-1980s<sup>47</sup>—the Apple campaign married a concept of tradition with modern style values. The articulation of heritage in the campaign was responsive to contemporary notions of taste but it also contributed to cultural constructions of (post)national identity. By using the aura of the archive, Apple claimed a “tradition” that, while transparently invented, positioned Apple and America at the technological and ideological center of the global information revolution. Apple classified a tradition of innovation through recourse to the “multicultural” maverick. Heroism was judged in American terms and, drawing upon a principle of diversity, used a large majority of American examples. Monochrome memory and the celebrity icon became the basis for a brand campaign that established a global heritage of common heroes that Apple and America were seen to inherit and embody, and whose spirit and legacy they would mutually carry forth.

John Tomlinson has stressed the importance of thinking about globalization in its cultural dimension. He suggests that “the huge transformative processes of our time that globalization describes cannot be properly understood until they are grasped through the conceptual vocabulary of culture.”<sup>48</sup> By considering a particular case of brand advertising, this essay has been concerned with globalization’s impact on American culture, or, more specifically, its impact on corporate constructions of American national identity. While international media and transnational capitalism may be driven more by market opportunity than national identity in today’s global economy, there remains an internal tension between the neoliberal global marketplace and a residual, and patriotic, attachment to the idea of national culture. According to Frederick Buell, the reframing of globalist discourse that took place in American culture during the 1990s led, crucially, to the articulation of a new national identity, one “that is, much more transparently than ever before, produced with global forces and a global audience in mind.”<sup>49</sup> Strategically conceived in terms of global marketing, “Think different” can be seen in this context. Tailoring a past that could overcome national boundaries, but that also retained America as the main symbolic and ideological locus, the aestheticization of heritage in the Apple campaign is one example of how U.S. national culture is being *representationally* restructured for a postnational world.

## Notes

1. Arjun Appadurai, “Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy,” *Public Culture* 2, no. 2 (1990): 4.

2. *Ibid.*
3. Frederick Buell, "Nationalist Postnationalism: Globalist Discourse in Contemporary American Culture," *American Quarterly* 50, no. 3 (1998): 551.
4. David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Oxford, 1989) 287.
5. Frederick Buell, "Nationalist Postnationalism," 551.
6. John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London, 1972), 139.
7. Jackson Lears and Michael Kammen both point to the conflict between nostalgia and progress in nineteenth-century commercial culture. The past was commonly invoked but usually to ground a sense of modern improvement. It wasn't until the Depression that progressive idioms were seriously challenged by the value attached to tradition. Lears suggests that in the 1930s "advertisers began an unprecedented effort to associate their products with the past." The rediscovery of folkish imagery and the validation of heritage was a response to economic crisis, a new "pseudotraditionalism" creating a mythic version of the American past that could, it was hoped, restabilize confidence in modern business. See Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York, 1994), 383; and Michael Kammen, *In the Past Lane: Historical Perspectives on American Culture* (New York, 1997), 125-142.
8. Barbara B. Stern, "Nostalgia in Advertising Text: Romancing the Past," *Advances in Consumer Research* 19 (1992): 388. See also Barbara B. Stern, "Historical and Personal Nostalgia in Advertising Text: The Fin de siècle Effect," *Journal of Advertising Studies* 21, no. 2 (1992): 11-22; and William J. Havlena and Susan L. Holak, "The Good Old Days: Observations On Nostalgia and Its Role in Consumer Behavior," *Advances in Consumer Research* 18 (1991): 323-329.
9. Andrew Wernick, "Resort to Nostalgia: Mountains, Memories and Myths of Time." In Mica Nava, Andrew Blake, Iain MacRury, Barry Richards, eds., *Buy This Book: Studies in Advertising and Consumption* (London, 1997), 207-223.
10. Jim Collins, *Architectures of Excess: Cultural Life in the Information Age* (New York, 1995), 158.
11. Thomas Frank, *The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counterculture, and the Rise of Hip Consumption* (Chicago, 1997), 229.
12. Pasi Falk, "The Benetton-Toscani Affair: Testing the Limits of Conventional Advertising." In Mica Nava et al., *Buy This Book*, 64-83.
13. Cited in Matt Toor, "Different Strokes," *MacUser* 14, no. 8 (1998): 69. In measuring brand profile and size, *Advertising Age* focused upon the amount of money companies from Coca-Cola to Sony spend on brand advertising each year; its list was not a measurement of company profit or annual turnover in the form and tradition of *Fortune 500*. Within the computer industry, the biggest investors in global advertising in 1998 were IBM (\$500 million), Intel (\$400 million) and Microsoft (\$300 million). This compared with the more limited \$100 million budget that Apple had at its disposal.
14. "Apple Launches Brand Advertising Campaign," [www.apple.com](http://www.apple.com). 29 Sep. 1997.
15. Cited in Matt Toor, "Different Strokes," 64.
16. *Ibid.*
17. See Robert X. Cringely, *Accidental Empires* (London, 1992).
18. Cited in Cathy Booth, "Steve's Job," *Time* 18 Aug. 1997: 38.
19. "Apple launches its Largest Marketing Campaign Ever for iMac," [www.apple.com](http://www.apple.com). 13 Aug. 1998.
20. Thomas Frank, *The Conquest of Cool*, 227.
21. "Intellectual property" is a corporate and legal term for the hidden dimension, or "intangible asset," a company may own (specifically its brand name) that can produce higher quality earnings. For a discussion of brand identity from an industry perspective, see Paul Stobart ed., *Brand Power* (London, 1994).
22. "Apple's Think Different Ad Wins Emmy for Outstanding Commercial," [www.apple.com](http://www.apple.com). 31 Aug. 1998.
23. The ode to the "crazy ones" accompanied the television commercial of the "Think different" campaign—a monochrome montage showing archival footage of various Apple mavericks. The ode went as follows: "Here's to the crazy ones. The misfits. The rebels. The troublemakers. The round pegs in the square holes. The ones who see things differently. They're not fond of rules. And they have no respect for the status quo. You can quote them, disagree with them, glorify or vilify them. The only thing you can't do is ignore them. Because they change things. They push the human race forward. And while some may see them as the crazy ones, we see genius. Because the people who are crazy enough to think they can change the world are the ones who do."
24. Stuart Elliot, "New Apple Ad Lifts Off From Disney Land," *New York Times* 29 Sep. 1997: 13.
25. David Morley and Kevin Robins, *Spaces of Identity: Global Media, Electronic Landscapes and Cultural Boundaries* (London, 1995), 15.

26. Arjun Appadurai, "Disjuncture and Difference," 16.
27. I take this phrase from John Tomlinson, *Globalization and Culture* (Cambridge, 1999).
28. On a point of comparison, The Gap's "Who wore Khakis?" campaign relied on print mediums and inserts within magazines such as *Time*, *Newsweek* and the *New Yorker*. It has been hard to ascertain the exact means by which the campaign was globally disseminated but, from a British perspective, The Gap's campaign seemed exclusive to billboards and magazines. It never appeared in airports, on television, or in many of the other contextual media and locations favored by Apple.
29. Cited in Matt Toor, "Different Strokes," 69.
30. See, for example, Roland Robertson, *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture* (Sage, 1992); and Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Stanford, 1991).
31. Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi, "The Global and Local in International Communications." In James Curran and Michael Gurevitch, eds., *Mass Media and Society* (London, 1996), 183.
32. For a discussion of ecumenical fantasies in global advertising, specifically those of Benetton and Coca-Cola, see Pasi Falk, "The Benetton-Toscani Effect," 73-75.
33. Frederick Buell, "Nationalist Postnationalism," 577.
34. *Ibid.*, 552.
35. Edward A. Comor, "The Re-Tooling of American Hegemony: U.S. Foreign Communications Policy from Free Flow to Free Trade." In Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi et al., *Media in Global Context: A Reader* (London, 1997), 195. Comor relates his analysis to initiatives in foreign communications policy directed by the American state. This is part of a broad argument about the nation state as a "mediator of globalization." He suggests that: "Rather than its relative decline, I believe that what is underway is a shift in the *form* in which the nation-state relates to transnational developments."
36. Frederick Buell, "Nationalist Postnationalism," 566.
37. Stuart Elliott, "New Apple Ad Lifts off from Disney's Land," *New York Times*, 13.
38. Salman Rushdie, "Mohandas Gandhi," *Time* 13 Apr. 1998, 71.
39. Anders Stephenson, "Regarding Postmodernism," in Douglas Kellner, ed., *Postmodernism/Jameson/Critique* (Washington, D.C., 1989), 60.
40. Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (London, 1991), 18.
41. Andrew Wernick, *Promotional Culture: Advertising, Ideology and Symbolic Expression* (London, 1991), 45.
42. *Wired*, Dec. 1997, inside cover.
43. Frederick Buell, "Nationalist Postnationalism," 563.
44. See Jen Ang, *Living Room Wars: Rethinking Media Audiences for a Postmodern World* (London, 1996).
45. Christopher Newfield and Avery F. Gordon, eds., *Mapping Multiculturalism* (Minneapolis, 1996), 109.
46. The one exception in terms of nationality was Picasso, although his international capital as the twentieth-century artist has given him a symbolic place in American, as well as European, cultural life.
47. Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London, 1994), 353. For further consideration of the visual status and discourse of "blackness and whiteness" in contemporary image culture, see two articles by Paul Grainge, "Time's Past in the Present: Nostalgia and the Black and White Image," *Journal of American Studies* 33, no. 3 (1999), and "Reclaiming Heritage: Colourization, Culture Wars and the Politics of Nostalgia," *Cultural Studies* 13, no. 4 (1999).
48. John Tomlinson, *Globalization and Culture* 1.
49. Frederick Buell, "Nationalist Postnationalism," 554.

**Editors' note:** Apple's "Think Different" campaign, and, in particular, its use of billboard (and larger) photographs of Albert Einstein, Mahatma Gandhi, and Martin Luther King have been the subject of a full-page critique titled "The Internet and the Illusion of Empowerment" in the *New York Times* sponsored by Turning Point Project, an umbrella coalition of 80 non-profit organizations "that favor democratic, localized, ecologically sound alternatives to current practices and policies." See *New York Times*, July 10, 2000, A13.