ADVERTISING AND COMMODITY FETISHISM: PRAXIS IN A PERIPHERAL THEATRE OF CONSUMPTION. A STUDY OF ADVERTISING IN NIGERIA

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by

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ABSTRACT

This is a study of the advertising institution in Nigeria aimed to providing insights on the workings of foreign institutions introduced into traditional, pre-capitalist societies through the course of imperialism, in the general process of international capitalist expansion. This study then, represents a specific instance in what is essentially a diverse and complex process of assimilation into a world capitalist economy. In choosing advertising as a suitable medium for the analysis of such a process this study recognises the centrality of the advertising institution in advanced market economies; its increasing operations in developing countries; and the recognition of its role for the sustenance of the constituent consumer culture. The central contention in this work thus, is that modern product consumer advertising represents one of the most useful institution through which we can observe important social changes taking place in society. For Peripheral market economies like Nigeria, with a history of Imperial domination, advertising communication is a useful medium through which the process of cultural assimilation into the twentieth century consumer culture can be observed.

In view of this recognition, this study follows the recent approach (in the study of advertising), to place the study on the twin pillars of history and culture in order first, to understand the dynamics of the wider dimensions within which society as a whole, and cultural practice in particular, operate; and secondly, to understand how the nature of these wider dimensions impact upon the workings of society and culture. This study then, involving analyses of Nigerian advertisements as a cultural form and, examination of the wider political economy of the Nigerian society, reveals evidence of social-cultural changes in the traditional patterns of social relations; how these have come about,largely as a result of Nigeria's historical link with international capitalist expansion; the role of local protagonists; and the ways that the nature of a peripheral market economy (including the role of local actors), forster cultural homogenisation particularly through the neglect of culture in National policy orientation, finance and administration.

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INTRODUCTION

One major contention form the cornerstone upon which this whole work rests - that modern consumer product advertising in a Peripheral society like Nigeria represents one of the major institutions of social communication through which important social changes taking place in society is readily observable. Particularly for a society where traces of traditional social relations can still be found that have not yet been suffused under the relentless encroachment of capitalist relations of production, the advertising institution represents a forum through which the ensuing changes from the conjunction of capitalist/traditional modes of production can be observed.

Advertising has emerged , in the twentieth century, as possibly the most influential institution of socialisation in Western society. Perhaps of more significance is the growing evidence that advertising has been enjoying a creditable recognition as an institution that is an integral part of modern economy even in the bastions of Socialism in Soviet Union and China. In many Third World countries advertising is a highly visible institution which in some cases such as obtains in Brazil and India command as much financial outlay as some developed economies such as Belgium (James and Lister 1980). The centrality of advertising in advanced market economies, and its increasing prominence in other parts of the world forces a new approach in the way we think about advertising's role in society.

Until fairly recently, it was fashionable in the discourse about advertising for writers to view advertising as the 'cause' of other things (effects). Within this orientation, advertising was either a progressive or disruptive, corrupting force in society. Either way, there was, and still is, a dazzling array of materials deployed in the quest of validating or discounting notions about advertising's effects on society. Advertising has been seen as leading to greater market shares, as encouraging socially beneficial practices, as being a catalyst to economic development. Also, it has been seen as unhealthy for society, having unwholesome effects on children and everybody else in society; frustrating people by idolising products and objects of industry and then enjoining people to possess those things in order to realise their being without much consideration for their ability to own those things. And so the arguments rage on from both critics and defenders of advertising alike. William Leiss and his colleagues, in their 1986 study of advertising raised an important question when they asked - "should we consider advertising and its effects on us (whatever they might be) as important issues?". More importantly they asked, "Does advertising in fact have a significant and **measurable** impact on our basic attitudes and behaviour patterns?" (emphasis mine). These questions are quite germane to the discourse about advertising because criticisms of advertising are usually carried on with the presumption that it does have such an impact; equally there are refutations from defenders of advertising that there is no proof to support the claim of critics. Perhaps the most confounding part of the whole controversy lies in the characteristic equivocality replete in the defences of advertising. At one point (usually when practitioners want to justify the staggering amount expended on

advertising), defenders argue quite convincingly about the effectiveness of advertising to facilitate the sale of goods (which invariably corroborates the claim of critics about advertising's impact on people); and then at another point (usually when defenders want to refute allegations of the negative effects of advertising), they argue just as passionately that advertising does not possess the kind of power that critics ascribe to it.

The circularity of the arguments involved in the discourse about advertising has cast such limited framework for analysis that some of the more important considerations in the discourse about advertising have been excluded until recently when other writers started to lead the way out of the maze. In **Social Communication in Advertising** (William Leiss et al), the authors suggest that perhaps the least important aspect of advertising's significance for modern society is its role in influencing specific consumer choices be it wise or unwise, about purchasing products. A great deal can be learnt from analysis of advertisements about the way society has changed over a period of time, and how it is changing in the present. This sort of observation is particularly important when it is linked with developments in other vital areas of society such as the media, technological developments and the way that people are responding to these changes which represents a substantive shift in patterns of living. The approach taken in this work is in accord with this proposition.

There is no denial here of the function of advertising in terms of providing information about products in order to make consumers want to buy the product, and it is quite reasonable to assume that such information in some way influence some of the

decisions that people take in acquiring goods and services. Once the argument however ventures beyond this it dissolves into a string of speculations and crypto-introspectionism about how people are influenced by a specific agent.

In recent years, fortunately, there has been a spate of studies that has brought in a welcome renewed vitality into the discourse about advertising such that while contentions about advertising's effects on society remain as confounding as ever, and no decisions can yet be made as to what (if anything), should be done about advertising, we are better able to grasp the important dynamics of this major institution of the twentieth century. Among these recent studies are Daniel Pope's **The Making of Modern Advertising** (1983), which is an extensive historical study that initiated the move to connect the industry's development with broader currents of change in society; Michael Schudson's **Advertising, the Uneasy Persuasion** (1984), which involved a wide ranging commentary on major cultural and social issues while supplying a wealth of references to relevant literature; Stephen Fox's **The Mirror Makers** (1984), which provides a historical study of the industry; William Leiss, Stephen Kline and Sut Jhally's **Social Communication in Advertising** (1986), and Sut Jhally's **Codes of Advertising** (1987), both of which provide a comprehensive study of advertising showing how it encompasses the three most influential domains of modern living - industrial technology, popular culture, and mass media. Importantly, for our understanding of the workings of advertising and its relevance to Peripheral societies, Sut Jhally's work, through the extrapolation of Marx's theory of Commodity Fetishism connects advertising's social role to a very essential human need - the quest for meaning in our daily lives which makes for stability in our social

relations and experiences. This is a universal human feature that is as germane to social experience in advanced market economies as much as in peripheral societies, capitalist as well as socialist economies. Jhally's extension of Marx's theory of Commodity Fetishism into the analysis of Twentieth century market economy and of advertising provides a useful theoretical and analytical framework for the study of advertising in Peripheral capitalist economies because the common feature of both advanced and Peripheral market economies is the capitalist relations of production and the consumer culture that it engenders. While there are differences in the specific articulations of the capitalist social relations between the Metropolis and the Periphery, the underlying logic is the same and it is this that lay the structural imperative for the emergence of advertising.

The usefulness of this theoretical approach is worth noting against the position of liberal writers such as J.K.Galbraith (1957, 1967), Vincent Norris (1966), James Carey(1960), David Potter(1954, 1960), Charles Sandage (1960, 1973), who, in their institutional analyses of advertising, had located its emergence and sustaining power in an 'abundant' stage of market economy. This liberal perspective is unable to account for why and how advertising thrives in countries still grappling with basic problems of poverty, shortage of food supplies, etc.

In adapting Marx's theory of Commodity Fetishism to the study of advertising we are forced, in a very important sense, to widen the range of issues that need to be considered in any comprehensive study of advertising to include interconnected relationships such as person and object, use and symbol, symbolism and power, and communication and satisfaction.

The recent literature, including those already mentioned,

seek to set the serious study of advertising firmly within the wider dimension of history and culture. The relevance and usefulness of this new approach is reflected, historically, in the consensus that the implications of present day practices are best grasped by seeing how they were composed and put into place over the course of time. Here, the works of Ewen (1976), Pope (1983), Pollay (1979), Fox (1984), Schudson (1984), William Leiss , S. Kline and S. Jhally (1986) reflect this conviction - that 'older advertisements are a treasure house of fascinating and often amusing illustrations of how people and products used to look' (W. Leiss et al, 1986 p.6).

Robert Atwan and his colleagues remark in their study of ads spanning this century, **Edsels, Luckies and Frigidaires** (1979), that "advertisements tell us in miniature a great deal about an entire civilization, its actual material life and interlocking collective fantasies." The creative endeavours of modern advertising involves the appropriation and transformation of a vast range of symbols and ideas which are recycled and recombined in various forms through the networks of social interactions. In this connection, advertisements provide an invaluable historical material for scholars who are keen to studying the gradual process of acculturation of traditional societies through their acquisition of the values and logic of market economy.

Further, one of the most engaging controversies in all Peripheral societies involves the concern about 'development' which has often been characterised by a lot of confused ideas not only regarding the best line of action needed to speed up development , but also what actually constitute 'development'. Usually, ideas concerning development strategies in most Peripheral societies have often meant the replication of Western

models of development in these countries - an approach which had its roots in the sixties, aided by the prevailing dominant intellectual tradition of 'modernisation theory'. The establishment of institutions with structures exactly like those of the Metropolis without due regard for the different socio-cultural setting of recipient society is one major example of this parrotic development strategy. The development of advertising agencies in Nigeria for example illustrates the way in which institutions are established and endowed with structures similar to those in the metropolis such that the important question seem completely lost to local actors as to the possibility of an alternative method of achieving desired objectives. Inevitably, the product of such establishment as the ad agency - the content of advertising messages- must reflect this structural orientation, hence the range of symbols and ideas in advertisements in Nigeria reflect alien cultural frame of reference.

The relevance and usefulness of the approach to set the study of advertising within the wider dimension of history and culture is equally reflected, culturally in the fact that a great deal of the controversies about the real or imagined effects of ads on specific aspects of attitudes and behaviour are informed by our knowledge of our cultural traditions. These include sex-role stereotyping, interpersonal relationship, family structures, and generally the wider issue of the decline of traditional ways of life and cultural decay. This is of particular concern to many Peripheral societies where people worry about the decline of traditional values and way of life in the wake of industrialisation, the emergence of the machinery of modern Statehood and the process of assimilation into a twentieth century

'consumer culture'. One useful insight that can be gained from the current literature on advertising based on the new approach is that the real issue is not so much that advertising "causes" a particular "effect". Rather, advertising is as much an "effect" as other elements of a system of social relations characterised by the subsumption of use value by exchange value. This point is helpful in broadening our understanding about the advertising institution beyond the traditional proclivity to see it as a causative factor, a sole agent responsible for the decline of traditional social values and cultural heritage.

Importantly, for Advanced Western societies and Peripheral societies alike, it is useful to understand that a great deal of what may be unsatisfactory about the conditions of modern living involves an understanding of the change from traditional ways of living to what seem to be an evolving uniform international consumerist culture. In a nutshell then, as was mentioned earlier, advertising is not just a business expenditure undertaken to expedite the sale of merchandise. It goes beyond this and is an integral part of modern culture. In respect of the centrality of advertising in this whole scheme, the study of advertising must go beyond the traditional concerns of critics and defenders alike relating to claims of effectiveness on attitudes and behaviour.

It is in this connection that Marx's theory of Commodity Fetishism becomes invaluable. Thus, to the real question, what is the role of advertising in society? and, given its institutional importance in modern society, from where does it derive its power? Insights gained from the current discourse about advertising through the approach of locating the discourse within the twin pillars of history and culture provides us with the understanding that the vital role of advertising in society is to provide

meaning to an essential area of human living that has been emptied of meaning, that is, the person-object relationship. Advertising's power then, derives not from the ingenuity of advertisers but from the need of people for meaning in their daily interaction with the world around them. An important element of that world is the objects around them, the goods produced through the appropriation of nature (an essential, natural human activity needed for the sustenance of life).

These answers would however not be complete without adding that there is a specific form of relations of production (capitalist appropriation) which gives rise to the type of social relations (market economy), which empties the meaning in the person-object relationship, thus laying the structural imperative for the institution of advertising. Consumption is the mode of living of modern capitalist society. In pre-capitalist social formations a large part of the meaning of objects was derived from the knowledge of who produced them, how they are produced and what they are used for. Objects were embodied with the spirits of the producer and there was thus an organic unity between people and their goods. In capitalist society however, this organic unity is severed in the process of production and so little meaning can be derived from this sphere. Given the centrality of objects in the constitution of human existence, a system of production that severs the organic unity between people and the object of their labouring activities throws them out of sync with the ritual of living experience, with their culture. If, as Douglas and Isherwood (1978) note, goods are ritual adjuncts and, rituals "make visible and stable the categories of culture" then, advertising and the meaning it provides is indispensable for the stability of capitalism given the novel social relations that

capitalism hoists on the supplanted traditional social relations. For Jhally, the real ideological role of advertising is not to create demand to affect market share or even to dispense ideology. It is to give us meaning.

This work follows the new approach of locating the study of advertising within the wider discourse on history and culture. With regards to the study of advertising in a Peripheral capitalist society like Nigeria we contend that Marx's theory of Commodity Fetishism, particularly its extension and adaptation to twentieth century market economy to account for advertising's social role in advanced market economies is equally valid as an analytical framework for an understanding of advertising's social role in a non-affluent market economy like Nigeria. In order to establish this connection we argue that the whole Nigerian economy and society had suffered alienation from its traditional system of social relations (feudalism, communalism) through her encounter with capitalism via European mercantilism and imperialism. In this encounter, whole ways of life were disrupted by the introduction of novel values, practices, and institutions to replace the autochthonous ones.

For instance, traditional farming which catered to local food requirements gave way to plantation agriculture which catered to foreign industrial requirements, while there also developed industrialisation which involve technologies that are completely alien to the indigenous labour and industrial products that are equally strange to the indigenous population. This is generally the process within capitalist system which bring about alienation of people from their goods and it is an experience that is as relevant to Peripheral societies (even more so in terms of the factors of foreign domination and experiential currency), as it is

to advanced market economies. In the imperialistic experience of Peripheral societies like Nigeria there is also the fact of the establishment of institutions which for all intents and purposes were replicas of the ones in the Metropolis. These constitute the machinery of administration through which the process of acculturation was entrenched and forstered, and advertising represents an important part of this machinery. In adopting the current approach to the study of advertising in a Peripheral society like Nigeria this study combines two elements - the study of advertising as a cultural form, and linking this with analysis of the wider socio-political and economic setting within which it functions, in this case Peripheral capitalism.

Focusing on the specificity of the cultural realm forces us in an important sense, to treat it on its own terms, rather than treating it hurriedly as an adjunct of some other more important concern. In this way we can learn things that can be quite easily overlooked if it were treated as an adjunct. Particularly, for our purpose, the content of advertisements - the symbolisms and cultural references woven into its messages - is as important for our understanding of advertising's social significance , and even more so, as is, say, its economic significance in terms of the percentage of Gross Domestic Product it represents for the economy.

However the cultural realm does not operate within a vacuum. It is essential thus, to recognise that while we can gain a lot of insights from studying advertising as a cultural form our knowledge of it is incomplete without connecting its operation to the specific nature of the social formation within which it operates. Here, we take a closer look at the term 'capitalist economy' with regards to the Nigerian society. We suggest that it

is useful to distinguish between Metropolitan capitalism and Peripheral capitalism and argue that it would be more appropriate to regard Nigeria as exhibiting traits of Peripheral capitalism. Essentially the difference lies in the fact that Metropolitan capitalism has evolved gradually through various stages particularly from competitive capitalism to monopoly capitalism. The competitive stage marks the period of growth and development in new products, efficient production processes, new technologies and general advancement of society through improved standard of living. In Peripheral capitalism however, the impetus for change was externally determined and importantly Peripheral capitalist economies skip the competitive stage of capitalism thus missing the advantages derivable from this stage. It is usually characterised by a process more akin to primitive accumulation, whereby the extraction of surplus is done in such a way that little or no advantages accrue to the economy from the process of appropriation. However, since there is no uniform process of development, different societies go through different experiences of Peripheral capitalism. It is thus important to restrict our analysis to the specific experience of the Nigerian political economy.

By connecting analysis of a cultural form (i.e. advertising), to the wider political-economy of a society (in this case Peripheral market economy as a specific social formation), within which it operates, we can get a better understanding of the nature of cultural practice under, not merely capitalism but, Peripheral capitalism. In this way we are better equipped to answer questions such as why do we have such a high degree of cultural invasion?, what is being done about it (if anything)?, why is the solution not effective?, what is the nature of the relationship between the

mass media and advertising, and between the mass media and the State?, Why is there such a neglect of the cultural realm and a preference for economic and political concerns?, etc. The insights that we gain from analysis of the nature of Peripheral capitalism in the specific instance of the Nigerian social experience, linked with our analysis of a specific cultural form (advertising) can equip us with a better acceptation of the constituent problems of a traditional society in the process of development through the capitalist option. It can also be useful for the formulation of policies concerned with the issues of development particularly in the much neglected areas of communication and cultural policies.

In following the orientation outlined so far, this work will run through the following order. In chapter 1 we shall examine the development of advertising in Nigeria noting the close relationship between its emergence and development, and Nigeria's encounter with foreign political, economic and cultural domination through mercantilism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. We shall also examine the way in which the imperialist encounter set the framework for the development of institutions (of which advertising is a notable example), which constitute the machinery of administration and social 'development', such that the process of 'institution building' was inevitably a process of replicating the institutional structures of the Metropolis and predictably, their role in the recipient society is limited to aligning their tastes, values, and practices to those of the Metropolis.

In chapter 2 we shall examine the relationship between the mass media and advertising. We shall review the development of the modern mass media noting the involvement of advertising in that development and the impact of such on the mass media in Nigeria.

We shall also analyse the issue of State run media system as an alternative to commercial media and examine the implications for society particularly in connection with development concerns such as how well the media can perform its role for society.

In chapter 3 we shall widen the scope of the study by examining some fundamental issues relating to advertising such as its origin, and its essence. We leave the Nigerian setting at this point to examine the emergence of modern product consumer advertising in its place of origin - the US. This is in accord with the approach to set the study advertising within the twin pillars of history and culture. An analysis of the way it has emerged and developed in the Metropolis can provide a useful insight about the pattern it will follow in a Peripheral society, the sort of social changes that can be anticipated. These can be useful to both practitioners, researchers and policy makers in formulating guidelines for its practice, and to determine relevant research concerns with regards to the way advertising is emerging in a Peripheral society.

We shall also open up the discourse to examine works on related concerns such as the institutional analysis of advertising provided by liberal scholars. We shall examine anthropological concerns such as the person-object relationship and the issue of symbolism, power, and satisfaction as constituents of human social relations and compare the way these differ in traditional societies and market economies. Also in this chapter we shall lay the theoretical foundation of this study by examining Marx's theory of Commodity Fetishism and its relevance for the analysis of both twentieth century advanced market economy and peripheral market economies.

In chapter 4 we examine relevant works from scholars and

other writers who have written on concerns about advertising and mass society and its culture. Importantly, we shall examine how theoretical perspectives determine methodological approaches to the study of advertising and the relevance of these for our purpose.

Chapter 5 represents the empirical chapter for this study. Here, we shall attempt two things - to analyse the symbolism of Nigerian Newspaper advertisement in order to be able to determine the cultural frame of reference from which they are drawn and its relevance to the traditional society and cultural heritage; and also to observe the gradual process of social change particularly in tastes, values, habits, etc. that has been taking place in Nigeria since her encounter with international capitalist expansion. Secondly, we shall operationalise the theory of Commodity Fetishism in Nigerian society through an analysis of the informational content of Newspaper ads.

In chapter 6 we shall summarise the whole work, synthesise the issues and contentions raised through the course of the study, with the results of the empirical work, and further extend some of the issues, such as the nature of Peripheral capitalism, the concept and theory of Fetishism and its relevance to the study of advertising in general and to the Nigerian experience in particular.

CHAPTER 1

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ADVERTISING IN NIGERIA

What is Advertising?

In it's broadest term "advertising' simply means publicity (G. Murdock,1982). It would refer to the myriad of ways by which people draw attention to whatever it is they have to offer. Gillian Dyer refers to 'advertising' as 'drawing attention to something', or 'notifying or informing somebody of something(Dyer,1982). In this broad sense therefore it can be safely said that virtually all human societies have a long tradition of one form of advertising or another. It would seem that advertising is a pretty normal human activity which has been in practice as far back as the existence of human societies. Why is it then that advertising has generated so much controversy in the twentieth century ?

The answer seem to lie in the other meaning of 'advertising'. A narrower sense in which, as Murdock explains, advertising is restricted to the "above the line' money spent on advertising in the mass media, including the cost of creating the advertisements themselves and of buying the space or time to display them. This definition or delineation of advertising is what is now commonly regarded as the commercial consumer or product advertising. It involves a great deal of money, media time and space, and a lot more professional skill than any other type of advertising. Like most works on advertising in recent times, it is this type of advertising that is the focus of this work.

1.2 ADVERTISING IN COLONIAL NIGERIA

Modern advertising in Nigeria has emerged out of her colonial and Imperialist experience much in the same sense as it can be said that advertising in the industrialised Western countries developed inevitably from the structural dictate of the market economy.

As scholars such as Weinstein(1973), Janus and Roncagliolo(1979), Schiller(1976), Baran and Sweeny(1966), and others have observed, patterns of production ultimately determines patterns of consumption. The logic of mass production entails mass consumption and the pervading logic of capital being expansion, not only did advertising become indispensable to modern industrial production, industrialisation in the West soon got to a point where the entrepreneurs had to look beyond their shores for further expansion. The coterminous incidence between the expanding manufacturing sector and the establishment of advertising and public relations industry was well noted in Weinstein's study of transnational operations in Mexico. He noted that the fact that both the manufacturing sector and the advertising agencies have set up their international networks during the same period is not fortuitous. It is a calculated management strategy that has characterised international business in the age of monopoly capitalism (Weinstein,1973).

This pattern in fact provides a suitable backdrop in understanding the origins of modern advertising in Nigeria. The emergence of advertising in Nigeria is coterminous with the advent of colonialism and consequently, imperialism and transnational corporations.

In what Immanuel Wallerstein refers to as the 'modern world

economy' , the developmental process is viewed and applied as the means by which the class structure of the core is replicated in the periphery (Wallerstein,1974). With the advent of colonialism in Nigeria came a novel political, economic and social structure. Cottage industries and traditional trade gave way to mercantilism and industrialisation. As it was noted in "Fifty Years of Lintas in Nigeria", a paper presented to mark the fiftieth anniversary of Lintas in Nigeria by the agency's management, "As far as Nigeria is concerned, trade and mercantile activity influenced every single thread of Lintas' tangled and turbulent history". In tracing the development of advertising in Nigeria it is essential to examine the developmental path through which the country has evolved with an aim to showing the structural imperative which gave rise to modern advertising in Nigeria.

1.3 ADVERTISING IN AN IMPERIALISTIC DEVELOPMENTAL STRATEGY.

In tracing the origins of dependence, Samir Amin (1972), identified four stages namely pre-mercantilist period; mercantilist period; colonialism; neo-colonialism and imperialism.

During the period of mercantilism major European countries had divided Africa into exclusive zones where they had rights of trade with the native people. In 1849, John Beecroft had been appointed 'Her Britannic Majesty's Consul for the Bights of Benin and Biafra' and by 1861 an administration had been imposed on the Colony of Lagos (Ajayi & Smith,1964). In the 1870's, increased rivalry between France, Germany and Britain in the Niger Basin, and the hostility of Nigerian traders and peasants, forced Britain to despatch a George Dashwood Goldie Taubman to Nigeria. By 1879, he had formed the United African Company(U.A.C.) from an

amalgamation of four major trading companies and later formed the African National Company in 1882 to force the French out of business. This was achieved in 1884, after concluding a series of thirty-seven 'treaties' with local chiefs. The formation of the Protectorate of Niger Districts in 1885 was thus enhanced by merging government and trading interests as a firm basis for the colonisation of Nigeria. The Oil Rivers Protectorate was proclaimed for areas under the Consul in 1887, and in 1893 became the Niger Coast Protectorate (Onimode,1982). By 1886 the Royal Niger Company was granted a Charter after the Berlin conference of 1884-5 for the balkanization of Africa. This gave the Niger Company political authority over territories where it's agents had procured treaties. The company then went on to establish its headquarters at Asaba complete with it's own constabulary and High court of Justice (F.G. Davies,1957). The company then monopolized trade to the exclusion of other foreigners and Nigerians who were required to pay between 50 and 160 pounds to it for permission to trade.

Through a series of violent wars and confrontations with local dynasties the whole of the Nigerian hinterland was opened up for trade thus laying the ground for full colonial administration in Nigeria. In order to beat back French and German competition who had colonized surrounding States of Togo, Dahomey (now Benin Republic) and Cameroun, Lugard founded the West African Frontier Force(WAFF), which was a mixed British-Nigerian colonial war machine based at Lokoja. By 1900 the Royal Niger Company's Charter was abrogated in order to facilitate formal colonization.

By this time trading had expanded considerably. A complex hierarchy of traders developed, linked to one another and usually to the mercantile firms by ties of credit and clientage. By the

1920s UAC controlled nearly half the markets, and could dictate the policies of it's major competitors.

One major observation that can be glimpsed from the foregoing is that free trade imperialism in Nigeria between 1860 and 1960 was indeed motivated basically by trade expansionism. It is important to note that the period after 1900 when formal colonialism was established and when the hinterlands had been considerably opened up for increased trade, mining and extraction of agricultural produce, also marked the establishment of the first modern advertising outfit in Nigeria.

1.4 TRANSITION OF THE NIGERIAN TRADITIONAL SOCIETIES TO THE FOLD OF WORLD CAPITALISM

The distinctive feature of colonial economy is not marked so much by its foreign domination, but by the ascendancy of the socioeconomic formations introduced for social production. In Nigeria the main colonial economic activities were agriculture, mining, trade, finance and shipping(Onimode,1982,p.36). The means of production were labour, land and merchant capital and the four categories of Nigerian labour were:- peasant producers; petty traders; forced labour mobilized by the imperialists for military purposes in the colonization process; civil engineering construction, mining and imperialist plantations; and wage labour, especially after 1920. Until 1937 when land labelled as 'Crown Lands' were sanctioned for plantations and for oil exploration, land was owned largely under communal and family tenure. The social organisation of production involved private proprietorship particularly in peasant production and petty trading. The colonial state financed the development of railways and harbours to enhance

the extraction of agricultural and mining produce. It rationalized the currency and encouraged the use of money. It abolished the trading monopolies of coastal principalities, internal tolls, and the arbitrary interference, from the perspective of the colonialists, of African rulers.

The increased demand for export crops at this early period encouraged firms to advance credit for the purchase of cash crops which consequently financed the sale of imported consumer goods. The expansion of export production and the increase in the money supply in the form of produce advances increased opportunities in trading, in craft production, and in the production of food for the local market (G.K.Helleiner.1964). This surface benefit of colonialism, of increased production helped to reconcile Nigerian elites to colonial rule, though not quite eliminating resistance to the imposition of colonial authority over the country. The colonial experience in Nigeria supplanted the traditional society with wholesale unilateral integration into world capitalist system.

As Rosa Luxemburg (1968) noted, the nature of capitalist expansion depends largely on the conjunction of the capitalist mode of production and the non-capitalist mode of production, which may be communal, slave, Asiatic, peasant economy or the independent mode of production. As the capitalist mode develops extensively, it confronts the non-capitalist mode, initially through military aggression. Later, it forcefully transforms the alien country, it's land, resources and products into commodities for the international capitalist system. The mechanism for such a process involves organized violence and military spending for colonization, exchange of products manufactured in the capitalist metropolis, foreign investment and loans to the colonized country,

exploitation of cheap local labour through the proleterianization of the peasantry, and the utilization of the other local resources through the break up of traditional landholding. This transitional interface is a two-stage process. First, the imperialist power or capitalist mode wages a violent struggle against the native economy, for non-capitalist mode, for colonization. Second, there is an economic struggle where market forces such as unequal exchange, wage labour, commercial agriculture and other such devices, and the leverage of the State involving tribute extraction by taxation, forced labour, decree, etc., are mobilized to destroy the non-capitalist economy. The outcome of this will depend on the existing mode of production. In Nigeria where the extant mode of production was slave trade feudalism and communalism, the interface of the mode led to it's integration to the international capitalist system at the level of exchange.

In the Nigerian context the interface gave way to capitalist penetration through British missionaries, private capitalist enterprises like the Royal Niger Company now the UAC, (United African Company), the British imperial State and Nigeria's aristocrats. Colonialism in Nigeria created a peasantry subordinated to the requirements of the metropolitan market. They depended for the realization of the value of their labour on the exchange of commodities in markets whose terms they could not control. This enabled mercantile companies, and subsequently the State and indigenous capitalists to appropriate the surplus value of their labour. The development of the produce trade created opportunities for the intermediaries through whom the mercantile firms bought good from and sold goods to the customers.

The period between 1900 and 1929 is usually regarded as a boom period for Nigerian exports and trade in general. Colonialism

had held sway and opened up the whole hinterland for trade. Not surprisingly, this also marked the advent of modern advertising in Nigeria.

In the early days of mercantilism advertising existed in Nigeria in the form of enamelled tin plates, posters and leaflets. Trade information was simple and direct. As most of the merchandise involved in mercantilism involved shipping, shipping lists told literate consumers (mostly expatriates) when their wares were due in port. As trade increased in the region changes were bound to take place in this simple informational structure. By the 1920's modern advertising in the form of specialised agencies arrived the advertising scene in Nigeria. Three advertising agencies - D.J. Keyner and Co. Ltd., Bunting Advertising Services, and West African Publicity Ltd., had established business in Nigeria, none of them indigenous. It is of course no coincidence that the arrival of modern advertising agencies in Nigeria came at a period of increased trade and colonial activities in Nigeria.

In dependency studies scholars have observed that Capitalism as a growing process must continually seek to expand into new areas not already engulfed in the logic of capital. The central characteristic of capital is growth or accumulation. In the West at this period , Capitalism was already undergoing fundamental transformation in the realisation that direct coercion of the working class and subjugated people must begin to give way to ideological manipulation. In these emerging relations, the mass media and other 'Ideological State Apparatus' were the essential tools and advertising in particular was a useful tool to be deployed in the new strategy. Scholars such as Stuart Ewen(1969), Schiller(1976,'73), Weinstein(1974) ,Mattelart(1974),

Hamelink(1977,'83) Janus and Roncagliolo(1979) have expressed similar views on this development- that advertising is an ideological apparatus being used to perpetuate consumerism in aid of expanding capital. Janus(1979) argues that the process of transnationalization of consumption and the creation of a new consumer culture is not usually the harmonious process the transnational companies would like it to be. The shift of local consumption habits toward the logic of consumerism often require deliberate and strategic investments in advertising and other marketing tactics.

Thus, the very first modern advertising outfit in Nigeria, West Africa Publicity Ltd., actually started out as a division under the commercial canopy of the United Africa Company (the same UAC that was founded by the imperialist George Taubman in 1879). West Africa Publicity officially started operation in Nigeria on August 31st,1928 under the leadership of a Welshman named Gwillym I. Lloyd. Initially, the objective of this outfit was to rationalise the poster business in West Africa, which because of widespread illiteracy at the time was the only medium of any real influence in the region. The strong connection between the advertising outfit that is W.A.P. and the parent body, UAC and the intentions behind its set-up can be glimpsed from the account given in the **Fifty Years of Lintas in Nigeria:**

> "During the first five years when W.A.P. had been set up locally in Accra and Lagos, the operation was controlled by a European manager who in turn bore responsibility to UAC's general manager..."

Meanwhile the boss of the outfit, Lloyd was based in London drawing clientele from companies such as Raleigh and Ovaltine who

had trading activities in the region. Having drawn out a strategy by identifying the most effective means of advertising in Nigeria at the time as the 'Three Ps'- Poster, Press and Pamphlet, the poster was chosen as the most effective medium. By 1931 W.A.P. had contracted for more than 300 sites on the Nigerian railway system together with hundreds of others at post offices, market places and road junctions in towns all over the country. At the same time W.A.P. had also managed to have a stronghold with the existing Press by acquiring the sole advertising rights of most of the important local newspapers. These were the Nigerian Daily Times with a circulation figure of 5000; the Nigerian Telegraph (circulation unrecorded); and the Lagos Daily News(under 1,000). This combination of advertisement placement acquisitions easily made W.A.P. the biggest and most influential advertising agency in Nigeria as far back as the 1930's.

Indeed, since the advent of W.A.P. on the advertising scene in Nigeria until the 70's when indigenisation decree enforced foreign companies to open up the top management positions in their respective organisations to Nigerians, the history of advertising in Nigeria is very much the history of WAP. As a house agency for the parent company UAC, all the manufacturing concerns and consumer items imported from abroad by UAC were the exclusive preserve of WAP to advertise. And to consolidate it's hold on the advertising business it acquired the 20th Century Press where all the pamphlets and posters were made exclusively for WAP.

During the second world war all business activities came to a lull consequently affecting the fledging advertising industry. After the war a couple of factors brought increased vigour into the advertising industry in Nigeria more than ever. First, resumption of normal business activities meant new business for

advertising agencies. Second, between 1947 and 1948, the London Daily Mirror acquired the Nigerian Times and changed it's name to the Daily Times. This marked a new stage in the development of newspaper production in Nigeria especially with regards to quality and style of presentation. It is noteworthy that this development was also to take advertising in Nigeria to even higher heights. According to Phil Harris, WAP's manager at the time:-

> The arrival of the Mirror on the Nigerian scene meant that press advertising took off because the first thing the new management went for was mass sales on a National basis(Fifty Years of Lintas...).

With a quality newspaper in production and the increased business activities, WAP's advertising activities also grew and soon the outfit was faced with the need to expand both it's staff and technical competence. By 1955 the Export Advertising Services in London sent a Mr. R.E. Browne as technical expert to assist WAP in setting up a real Art studio for the production of all its works including visualising and graphics. On resuming duties in Nigeria Browne started recruiting talented Nigerians who could be groomed for advertisement arts requirements. One of such recruits was Erhabor Emokpae, a young artist working for the Ministry of information. This marked the beginning of the incorporation of Nigerians into the skilled manpower level of the advertising industry in Nigeria.

As press and billboard advertisements grew, advertising activities was diversifying its mode of presentation and medium. By 1951, WAP introduced the first Neon light ad for Hercules bicycles. The share novelty of the concept which involves scintillating lights and moving parts which gave impression of real motion of the cyclist took the unsuspecting and largely

illiterate locals by surprise. Advertising became 'magic' and all of a sudden, everybody wished for a Hercules bike.

By the mid-fifties to the late fifties, WAP management had begun to have a rethink on their role as outdoor media contractors due to a couple of factors. First, ever increasing advertising activities in other media especially new quality newspapers was putting a strain on WAP's resources and they felt a need to concentrate on a particular sector of the media. Also another international ad agency, Graham & Gillies, arrived on the ad scene thus making competition keener. Thirdly, and most importantly they foresaw the impending arrival of radio and television and the advantages the new media presents for advertising. Consequently, it was decided that the agency relinquish it's interests in outdoor advertising and pass them on to some other concern specialising in its development. This signified another landmark in the development of advertising in Nigeria as, for the first time advertising was becoming specialised along the line of media and requirements. No longer was advertising conducted under a single concept by an agency and then simply put out through all available media. Specialisation was emerging where different specialised organisations provide ancillary services for the advertising industry.

Having arrived at the decision to relinquish outdoor advertising, WAP handed over this sector to two other UAC affiliated companies - Mills & Rockley, and Franco Signs of Britain who jointly formed **Afromedia** which till today is the largest outdoor advertising agency in Nigeria. Afromedia's terms of reference covered exhibition construction, window display, point-of-sale devices and sign writing. During this period of re-organisation, WAP also gave up its contract for cinema

advertising thus creating an opening for yet another foreign concern, Pearl & Dean.

It is salient to recognise that the reorganisations taking place in WAP and the transformations happening to the advertising industry in Nigeria runs parallel to increased economic activities in Nigeria and in the world at large. During 1860-1900, imperialist preoccupation with the objective of 'pacifying the natives' hindered any major opportunity for economic development. In the boom years marking the advent of modern advertising in Nigeria, 1900-1929, about six industries including tanning, oil milling, rubber processing and cotton ginning were established. By 1917, the Miller Brothers had established a sawmill at Koko on the Benin River thus becoming the first company to engage in organised industrial production in colonial Nigeria. By 1935 this venture was acquired by UAC. In 1925 Lever Brothers established the West African Soap Company Ltd. at Apapa. The rest of the period between 1929-45 continued to be dominated by export trade with the establishment of just one other manufacturing concern. In 1973 the British-American Tobacco Company started a cigarette making factory (Onimode,1985).

The period after the second world war marked another era of boom in business both internationally and nationally thus providing an impetus for the further growth of advertising in the country.

1.5 INTERNATIONAL EXPANSION OF CAPITAL AS A CORRELATE OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF ADVERTISING IN NIGERIA.

It is germane at this point to examine the activities in the metropolis which gave rise to the reorganisations and development

of advertising in Nigeria from 1945 onward.

Modern advertising as it is today was created in the United States only spreading to other parts of the world (first to Western Europe) after many decades of development within the US. Advertising has played a fundamental role in the industrial growth of the US even more specifically with the expansion of the manufacturing sector, particularly with the introduction of automation at the Ford car plant(S. Ewen,1976). Since the production of goods requires a system of marketing, the growth between 1910-29 of the manufacturing sector and advertising in the US run parallel. As Janus and Roncagliolo observed more of today's big advertising agencies were founded during this period than any other (Janus & Roncagliolo,1980).

The origin of advertising in general terms coincided with that historical period in the US characterised by a shift from competitive to monopoly capitalism, a dominant role in international trade, and the birth of the 'consumer society'. Although this development started between 1900 and 1929 it was not until after the second world war that the world witnessed a real boom in the growth of advertising.

At the end of the second World War the US, having emerged virtually unscathed, being so far from the main battle grounds in Europe, became economically and politically stronger than the rest of Europe and the world. It was an auspicious time for the US to engage in it's age long desire to break the monopoly of Europe in world trade and communications. In January 1946, the US Government's position was outlined by William Benton, the Assistant Secretary of State thus:-

> The State Department plans to do everything within it's power along political or diplomatic lines to help break down the artificial barriers to the

> expansion of private American news agencies, magazines, motion pictures and other media of communications throughout the world...

By this time it had become well known that communication was an integral part of the capitalist system. Since the 13th Century West Europe trade routes and communication route have overlapped. Goods traffic and communication flow developed closely together and the mercantile organization of the communication flow rendered communication a precious commodity (Hamelink,1977 p.6).

After the second World War the transnationalization of business interests was radically increased especially by US industry. The advantages accruing from using communications to aid industrial growth was well noted by Kent Cooper, executive manager of the Associated Press(AP) when he spoke of the significance of Britain's domination of the Oceanic cables:

> The cable brought Australia, South Africa, India, China, Granada and all the British world instantaneously to London on the Thames... Britain, far ahead of any other nation, concentrated on the cable business. First it tied it's Empire together. Then it stretched out and tied other nations to it...The news that went through this vast network of cables gave lustre to the British cause (Schiller,p.346,1979).

The communication element of this expansion was vital because the transnational distribution of economic goods and services and the transnationalization of the marketing industry went together. The effort to rebuild the war torn economies of Europe and to encourage imports from the underdeveloped countries proved to be quite profitable for the US corporations and marked the beginning of the intensive transnationalization of the US economy.

Using the excess resources generated within their unravaged home economy, US corporations moved large amounts of finance capital to Europe to buy into and rebuild the industrial infrastructure. This was further enhanced by the initiative of the US under the Marshall Plans which allowed US firms to establish and maintain a strong presence in Europe. But the growth of productive capacity within the US and the rebuilt infrastructure of Europe surpassed the demand for the goods produced. It became inevitable that further expansion of transnational corporations required a shift of emphasis from production to marketing. The large corporations then turned to the same tool that had proved helpful to them in the US - advertising.

In dependency studies it has often been noted that the process of imperialism involves the transfer of values and systems of the imperialist to the recipient country. The development of advertising industry in Nigeria, not surprisingly, has been a reflection of the activities taking place in the international capitalist system of the period. After the second World War development of manufacturing sector and trade was on the upsling. Between 1900 and 1945 colonial Nigeria only experienced the establishment of two manufacturing concerns. In the post-war boom, four new industries and seven new industrial establishment or branches were founded between 1945 and 1950 alone. By 1949, Nigerian Brewery had started producing 'Star' beer in Lagos; two textile companies had been started in Lagos and Kano. The period between 1950 and 1960 ushered in further industrial expansion by mostly foreign or transnational concerns. In 1954 Van Den Berghs(Nig.)Ltd started production of magarine. By 1957 Nkalagu cement factory had been commissioned, jointly owned by the Federal and State regional governments, the Eastern Regions Development

Corporation, Colonial Development Corporation, Tunnel Portland Company Ltd.,and F.L. Smith and Co.

A third new plastics industry was established by Western regional Development Corp., and UAC to produce tubes, pipes and household utensils. Other new industries established during the period included Lafia Canning factory at Ibadan in 1954, Kaduna textiles Ltd..(Onimode,1985).

Table 1
COLONIAL INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENTS IN NIGERIA: 1860-1960

	1860-1900	1900-1929	1929-1945	1945-1950	1950-1960	1860-1960
NEW INDUSTRIES ESTABLISHED	-	2 SAW-MILLING (1917) SOAP MAKING (1924) OIL MILLING, TANNING, GINNING, AND RUBBER PROCESSING.	1 CIGARETTE MAKING (1933)	4 TEXTILES (1949); FOOD CANNING (1949); BEER BREWING (1949); BOAT-MAKING (1950)	3 MARGERINE (1954); CEMENT (1957); PLASTICS (1957)	10
NEW INDUSTRIAL BRANCHES	-	2	2 CIGARETTE MAKING AT OSHOGBO AND IBADAN	7 TEXTILES (2) BEER BREWING (1) FOOD CANNING (1) BOAT-BUILDING (3)	11 MARGERINE (1) CEMENT (2) TEXTILES (1) BEER BREWING (1) FOOD CANNING (2) CEMENT (2) PLASTICS (1)	22
INDIGENOUS INDUSTRIAL BRANCHES	-	-	-	2	-	
FOREIGN INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES (SOLE & JOINT OWNERSHIP)	-	2	2	1	9	14

SOURCE: BADE ONIMODE, 1982 IMPERIALISM AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

The production of goods, the advertising to encourage their consumption and the media structure to carry the message to consumers reflect three structures that expanded in a process of reciprocal support. As was earlier noted, this period also marked the establishment of the first modern daily newspaper in Nigeria . Local newspapers in existence before the arrival of the Daily Times in 1947/48 were mostly involved in matters of politics and nationalism. Also the 1950's generally referred to as the era of television saw the establishment of Africa's first television station in Nigeria. By 1960, commercial radio started transmission in Nigeria. All these developments were well anticipated by WAP, the advertising arm of UAC and by far the dominant ad agency in Nigeria. Which is no wonder that the major re-organisation of the agency coincides with this period of economic growth in Nigeria and abroad and the development of the electronic media and more modern press in Nigeria.

1.6 TRANSNATIONAL ACTIVITIES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ADVERTISING IN NIGERIA

The development of the colonial political economy laid the foundation (the material and institutional) for the development of the neocolonial political economy. As Nigerian producers became integrated into the international exchange economy, the local market expanded to the point where the development of capitalist manufactures can be sustained. The establishment of the produce Marketing Boards provided the institutional means for the State appropriation of the surplus value of peasant production. The expansion of formal education, especially after World War 11,

produced the indigenous cadres to man the administration, direct the affairs of government, and provide middle-level management and semiskilled manpower for international firms. Colonial rule thus gave rise to indigenous business and administrative classes committed to a regulated market economy, and a strategy of development based on technologically advanced forms of production, a complex administration of government and productive enterprises which would inevitably ensure the country's continued dependence on metropolitan capitalism.

The transition from colonialism to neo-colonialism took place in the context of changes in the international political economy arising from the end of World War 11. As was noted earlier, the US emerged from the war as the dominant international power and promptly took advantage of the situation to redress her lack of formal external colonial possessions. It opposed the protective character of British economic policy in favour of "open-door" policy and 'self-determination for all colonized peoples'. These were of course not selfless, humanitarian designs but measures to ensure the breaking-up of the colonial empire in which the US had no stakes and which it wanted badly. These policies marked the framework of political and economic strategy to penetrate the world capitalist system.

The war initiated a period of rapid technological development and economic growth. While strategic war materials remained important, the market for simple manufactured goods, such as textiles, was supplanted by competition for markets for more expensive luxury goods, and for the sale of intermediate and producer goods. With the arrival of the US after 1945 to the World Capitalist System came the giant transnational corporations(TNCs) which emerged as the dominant agents of imperialism, especially

after the decolonizations of the 1960's(Dymsza,1972).

The move from direct colonial occupation to imperialist domination through TNC's was brought about by four post-war developments. First, the weakness of European imperialists after the war meant that the age of political and military empires was no longer feasible as the resources for sustaining such empires had dwindled with the war commitments. Moreover, what financial and material resources that was left was directed at rebuilding the war-torn economies of Western Europe.

Secondly, the emergence of the US after 1945 as the leading World power gave her an enormous opportunity to satisfy long-nutured imperialist ambitions. The 'New Deal' diplomacy was a strategy to move swiftly against colonial possessions of Britain and other European imperialists.

Thirdly, the structural changes in the class alignment of the imperialist countries also facilitated the neo-colonial development. With the declining power of the bankers and industrialists, whose leadership of metropolitan ruling classes dominated the era of colonialism, the owners of the TNCs who constitute the new leadership of the imperialist ruling classes organized their imperialist activities around their corporate empires (Baran & Sweezy,1966).

Fourth, there developed a petty-bourgeois ruling class in the peripheral countries who facilitated the penetration of corporate imperialism within their countries.

These changes in the structure of international capitalist system brought about changes in their regions of operations. Thus the dominant mercantile firm in Nigeria and West Africa, the UAC was integrated into the transnational Unilever empire. The acquisition of UAC by Unilever also led to changes in the

advertising scene in Nigeria. Unilever's London advertising agency, Lintas was called in to assess the position of West Africa Publicity. This led to the acquisition of WAP and by 1964 became a subsidiary of the Lintas international chain.

The period between 1960 and 1975 marked an era of massive transnational activities in Nigeria which merely slowed down during the civil war between 1967 and 1970. In the run-up to independence in 1960 Nationalist agitation among Nigerian elites had given way to their need to secure local bases of power. The sustained expansion of the colonial economy in the forties and fifties had increased commercial, bureaucratic and political opportunities, thus appetising the aspirations of the Nigerian bourgeoisie. The strategic withdrawal from merchant trading, in favour of establishing manufacturing industries in Nigeria had been designed by the colonialist to create a protected area for the development of African commercial activity and secure the domination of metropolitan firms over Nigeria through their control of the resources necessary for capitalist development,rather than through metropolitan control of the levers of State power (Kilby,P.,1969).

The divisions among the indigenous ruling elites and politicians along sectional and primodial concerns structured and nutured by the colonial-feudal conjuncture of the Nigerian system complemented the international strategy of capital expansion. Immediately after independence in 1960, the indigenous ruling elites in their drive to 'develop' the economy embarked on strategies which were laid down by the imperialists and buttressed by the prevailing western intellectual theory of 'development'. State policy protected and subsidized industrial investment by protective tariffs, tariff rebates on imported machinery, tax

holidays and the provisions of services and industrial estates. The federal and the regional governments competed amongst themselves, and with other neo-colonial States to attract foreign investment by a combination of subsidies and protection, and by promising profit repartration. The dominant institution of neocolonial capitalism - the transnational corporation took prompt advantage of the lax economic climate in order to gain, extend, or protect their access to the Nigerian market (Williams,G.,1980). The productive, distributive,and financial activities of the corporation are vertically integrated. They invested in capital intensive and technologically advanced industries in the import substituting sector, where State protection guarantees their markets. In Nigeria since 1960, transnational activities has dominated such critical economic sectors as petroleum and mining, manufacturing, banking and insurance, construction, import-export trade, transport and communications (including advertising), as well as agriculture. Control of these sectors by TNCs is based either on full foreign proprietorship, or on joint venture with private indigenous entrepreneurs or with the State (Onimode,1979). The following tables illustrates the presence of transnational activities in Nigeria.

Table 2: ASSETS AND PROFITS OF MAJOR OIL TNCs IN NIGERIA(1963)

COMPANY	ASSETS (million pounds)	PROFITS (million pounds)
STANDARD OIL OF NEW JERSEY	3,800	240
ROYAL DUTCH/SHELL(SHELL-BP)*	3,300	180
GULF	1,700	120
TEXACO	1,700	140
SECONY-MOBIL	1,500	68
STANDARD OIL OF CALIFORNIA	1,200	100
BRITISH PETROLEUM	900	65
COMPANY FRANCAIS PETROLEUM(C.F.P.)	600	42
OTHERS	1,250	45
TOTAL	16,550	1,000

* B.P. was nationalized in 1979 for it's collusion with apartheid Sout Africa.

Source: S.A. Aluko and M.O. Ijere(1965) 'The Economics of Mineral Oil' Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies,7:210.

Table 3:
MANUFACTURING ENTERPRISES BY OWNERSHIP AND COMMODITY,1970

Type of commodity sold	Total No. of Enterprises	No. of Enterprises Foreign owned	No. of Enterprises Nigerian own
CONSUMER NONDURABLE	46	32	14
CONSUMER DURABLES	9	6	3
CAPITAL EQUIPMENT	12	10	2
INDUSTRIAL SUPPLIES	14	13	1
GOODS FOR EXPORT	1	1	0
MIXED COMMODITIES	41	41	0
TOTAL	123	103	20

Source: Central Bank of Nigeria,1970.
The transnationals in these sectors are led by United Africa Company (the same UAC of the colonial era), Lonrho Group and Unilever.

Table 4
UNITED AFRICA COMPANY(UAC)NIGERIA LTD.:Subsidiaries and Associated Companies,1974.

COMPANY	YEAR OF INCORPORATION
1. African Timber & Plywood(Nig.)Ltd	1952
2. Niger Motors Ltd.	1931
3. Finets Ltd.	1935
4. G. Gottschalk & Co. Ltd.	1937
5. UAC Technical Ltd.	1947
6. G.B.Ollivant(Nig.)Ltd.	1954
7. Pan Electric Ltd.	1937
8. Kingsway stores(Nig)Ltd.	1959
9. Green Lam Plant Hire(Nig) Ltd.	1961
10. A.J. Seward(Nig.)Ltd.	1961
11. West Africa Cold Storage Co.(Nig)Ltd.	1961
12. Bordpark Ltd.	1962
13. Kingsway Chemist(Nig.)Ltd.	1962
14. Premier Packaging Ltd.	1965

Source: Daily Times(1974).

Patterns of production determines patterns of consumption. As industrialisation in Nigeria invariably became synonymous with transnationalization of the whole economy there was an increasing need for a marketing strategy to ensure the consumption of transnational production. The emerging socioeconomic pattern in Nigeria after self-rule became increasingly aligned with those of metropolitan values. Transnational manufacturing activities were only involved in light to intermediate import-substitution consumer goods. In order to generate enough market for such goods which are usually initially alien to local consumers, transnational corporations deploy a plethora of marketing strategies to assist in aligning local tastes and values with the production pattern of the TNCs. Here, advertising, particularly transnational advertising play a very vital role.

Between 1960 and 1975 in Nigeria the advertising sector had grown from a sector largely dominated by the singular activities of WAP(West Africa Publicity-Lintas) to a very lucrative economic sector where other transnational ad agencies had established affiliations and subsidiaries while also sporting a large number of indigenous ad agencies. During this period Ogilvy & Matha had opened shop in Nigeria with a third indigenous partner thus forming Ogilvy, Benson & Matha. Others include Grant Advertising International and Admark Nigeria Ltd. Indigenous ad agencies that had started operation during this period include ROD Publicity Ltd., Adsell Ltd., Pal Nigeria Ltd., Promoserve Nig. Ltd., and many more.

The massive growth of the Nigerian economy in the period

Table 5:

A List of Advertising Agencies Operating in Nigeria Between 1960 and 1985 showing those with Transnational connections.

AGENCY	TRANSNATIONAL CONNECTION	TRANSNATIONAL AFFILIATE, SUBSIDIARY
Insight Communications	Yes	Ted Bates
Lintas Nigeria Ltd.	Yes	S.S.C.& B_Lintas International.
Ogilvy,Benson & Matha	Yes	Ogilvy & Matha
Grant Advertising	Yes	Grant International Advertising
GeoComm	Yes	Burnett
Admark	Yes	

Source: Author's Research

between 1970 after the civil war and early 1980s marked an era of massive transnational activities in the country. This was enhanced by the oil wealth which were being exclusively exploited by transnational oil companies. Correspondingly, advertising activities during this period was on the upsling. By 1975 Nigeria was ranked third among Third world countries in advertising expenditure.

Table 6 TOP THREE THIRD WORLD ADVERTISING EXPENDITURE(1975)

COUNTRY		AD EXPENDITURE
Brazil	... ...	$12,727,000
South Africa	... ...	11,881,000
Nigeria	... ...	7,759,000

Source: Advertising Age 1975

Lintas which is the first modern advertising outfit in Nigeria and which had grown gradually with the economy recorded it's best performance and growth during this era as the following table shows.

TABLE 7 LINTAS BILLINGS OVER THE 1970s

YEAR	BILLINGS
1971	2,393,000*($3,673,255)
1972	3,286,000($5,044,100)
1973	3,800,000($5,814,000)
1974	4,132,000($6,748,382)
1975	4,823,000($7,688,600)
1976	6,600,000($10,362,318)
1977	9,300,000($14,500,000)

*Figures in Naira
Source:FIFTY YEARS OF GROWING-Story of Lintas:Lagos

During this period Nigeria had become the largest spender on advertising in sub-Saharan Africa. Advertising in Nigeria had reached the point where it's practitioners felt the need for establishing an association to regulate its practice and provide a formal organization for the industry. On March 8,1973 at the first Annual General Meeting of the advertising practitioners in Nigeria, the AAPN (Association of Advertising Practitioners in Nigeria) was founded. At this time 22 agencies were represented none of which were transnational agencies (Doghudge,C). A year earlier in 1972, in an effort to resolve the conflict between indigenous businessmen and transnational corporations over the terms of their relations, the government had promulgated the indigenisation Decree which reserved large areas of economic activity for Indigenous business men including advertising and public relations. Among the issues considered at the inauguration of the AAPN were: (1) Membership drive. The need to bring in more agencies within the fold in order to give the body a viable and

creditable position as a body representing advertising practitioners in Nigeria. This drive sought to enrol the foreign owned agencies into their fold; (2) preparation of a constitution; (3) the preparation of membership certificate and (4) the defence of members against hostile acts by other organizations and individuals.

By 1985 there were 55 member agencies within the AAPN and it is thought that there could be as many outside the AAPN fold. As the AAPN was yet to get State recognition by way of a statutory law establishing it as the sole body regulating the practice of Advertising in Nigeria it was not mandatory for agencies to be a member in order to operate in Nigeria. The AAPN has continued it's fight for such a recognition and by 1989 government passed a decree establishing the Advertising Council of Nigeria.

Table 8 TOP TEN ADVERTISING AGENCIES IN NIGERIA 1982/1985

	ADVERTISING AGENCY	YEAR	BILLINGS*	YEAR	BILLING
1	LINTAS	1982	18.8	1985	12.6
2	INSIGHT	"	-	"	12.4
3	GRANT ADVERTISING	"	12.6	"	7.2
4	O B M	"	12.8	"	6.4
5	ADMARK	"	8.4	"	4.9
6	ROSABEL	"	3.2	"	4.7
7	PAL	"	3.1	"	4.0
8	PROMOSERVE	"	2.9	"	2.8
9	CANNON	"	2.7	"	-
10	IAS KADUNA	"	2.5	"	-

*Billings in(Naira)millions

Source: Thisweek Magazine August 11,1986

Table 9 Major Clients of the Top Eight Ad Agencies in Nigeria 1988.

AGENCY	TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATION CLIENT
LINTAS	GUINESS; LEVER BROTHERS; UNITED AFRICA COMPANY(UAC)
INSIGHT	SONA BREWERIES; UAC, CADBURY; CHESEBOROUGH PRODUCTS INLAKS; CAPL; BRITISH CALEDONIA
GRANT	FOOD SPECIALITIES; COCA-COLA; BEREC; BERGER PAINTS; UTC; ROCHE; UNITED DISTILLERS.
OBM	BEECHAM; TRACTOR & EQUIPMENT; UBA; CADBURY
ADMARK	CADBURY; A.C.CHRISLIEB; PARA BEAM; MAY & BAKER; AFRICAN PETROLEUM(FORMERLY B.P.)
ROSABEL	NIGERIAN HOESCHT; OVALTINE; UNIPETROL;A.J.SEWARD; RANK XEROX
PAL	ROYAL EXCHANGE ASSURANCE; INTERNATIONAL BREWERIES AFRICAN PAINTS; NAL MERCHANT BANK
PROMOSERVE	PFIZER; PEPSI-COLA;

Source: Advertising in Nigeria, Author's survey

The general decline in billings of 1985 compared with those of 1982 is an indication of the declining state of the economic activity in Nigeria by this time. The world-wide oil glut coupled with the mismanagement of the economy during the boom era had started to take it's toll on the Nigerian economy. One notable feature of table 8 is that the top five agencies have transnational connections. As table 9 also shows, all the big agencies including the fully indigenous derive their income mainly from transnational business concerns in Nigeria. In 1982 gross agency billings was 92 million Naira with gross media being 58.5 million Naira while gross production weighed in at 33.5 million Naira.

Of these billings 48% or 44.2million Naira is accounted for by the top three transnational agencies - Lintas, Ogilvy Benson & Matha and Grant Advertising. Despite the economic depression of the 80's, Nigerian advertising industry continues to swell in number and by 1988 there were sixty member agencies registered with the AAPN.

CHAPTER 2

ADVERTISING AND THE MEDIA SYSTEM IN NIGERIA

Like advertising, the development of the mass media in Nigeria is directly related to the pace and development of trade, imperialism and the colonial experience. Before 1850, communication in Nigeria meant informal transference or oral communication between individuals and formal transference between government and the people. In the traditional set-up this was achieved largely by the use of town criers and interpersonal means of information dissemination from the traditional rulers to the chiefs and to heads of communities and families. It is still a matter of controversy whether the British introduced reading and writing to Nigeria as there are claims that the Moslem North had earlier been exposed to Arabic influences in religion, culture, reading and writing (Duyile, D, 1979).

In terms of formal newspaper establishment though, the first known Nigerian newspaper to be published was by a British Missionary and all the early newspapers published at this period before 1900 followed the British tradition. As noted in the previous chapter modern advertising in the early days in Nigeria existed in the form of enamelled tinplates, posters and leaflets. As mercantilism, colonialism and literacy advanced, the form of advertising adapted and kept pace with the economic, sociopolitical development of the country.

The first newspaper in Nigeria, **Iwe Irohin,** was founded in December 1859 at Abeokuta by the Reverend Henry Townsend. It was a

fortnightly paper published initially in Yoruba language and later became a bilingual publication in English and Yoruba. Initially the objective was to spread Christianity through education and literacy. The newspaper's contents at the early days were devoted entirely to missionary activities (Elegalem, P.O., 1985). As with other business enterprises, newspapers need money for sustained productions. It was not before long that this newspaper broadened its content to embrace non-ecclesiastical matters like commercial news and the arrival and departure of governors or their deputies to and from the colony of Lagos. The paper soon became a forum for anti-slavery and other political comments which led to it's temporary stoppage following the expulsion of Europeans from Abeokuta by the Egbas in 1867.

By 1863, a Lagos newspaper, The Anglo-African, was launched by Robert Campbell, a West Indian businessman who had settled in Lagos. Like most other newspapers set up during this period, the Anglo-African did not last long, ceasing publication in 1865. The 1880s marked the period of resurgence for newspaper publication. Several newspapers emerged in Lagos during this period and by the end of the century a total of about eighteen newspapers had been established in the country, none of them daily. They were monthly, fortnightly, or weekly (Coker, 1968,p.7). Since the early days of newspaper production in Nigeria, the history of the press had been one of short-lived publications. Newspapers were in circulation for only months, and even so, publications were not always regular. The reason for this is economic. The Nigerian press had been exposed to the essence of commercialism since it's inception. Newspapers need finance to run smoothly. In the early days, most of the newspapers established by indigenous entrepreneurs were

political in nature, serving as the medium for nationalist protests. Unfortunately, the very low level of literacy ensured low circulations. For instance, even after some fifty years of newspapers in Nigeria total weekly circulation of newspapers in 1913 was only 2000. By 1923 it had gone up to 7800 and to about 14300 in 1937 (Omu, 1978).

Under such a condition newspapers can only survive ,if they had strong financial backing elsewhere or make enough money through advertisements. Locally established papers had no such advantages. They had no financiers and could not hope to attract advertisements because of their political orientations. Only those papers which were liberal or pro colonialists drew enough advertising patronage to sustain publication. For instance while the Lagos Weekly Record, a nationalist newspaper with a circulation figure of 700 made a profit of 350 pounds in 1914, The Pioneer with a circulation figure of 500 grossed between 500 and 900 pounds all from European advertisements (Onyebuagu, 1983). Like other countries, the press was the first medium of modern mass communication to be established in Nigeria and it's development can be divided into four main periods (Duyile, 1979, p.105).

The first period runs between 1859 (marked by the establishment of "Iwe Irohin") to about 1915. Newspaper production during this period was erratic and with the exception of the "Gazette", no paper during this period survived. The publishers of this era did not have the experience of running a newspaper outfit. At this time it only took a zeal for "spreading the word" to get into newspaper production. Literacy was at it's lowest and

publications were geared only towards missionary or political concerns. The few that had any protracted run appeared in four-page format and production was sporadic. Newspapers of this period contained very little advertisements and such advertisements were mainly announcements of ship movements to and from West Africa, bank statements, and various patent medicine recommendations. Technically the quality of newspapers of this era was poor, offering very little or no pictures at all. News coverage was mainly foreign to the virtual exclusion of local reports. There were no special interest sections such as sports news, women's affairs or the like, and news and opinions were indistinguishable.

The second period of press development in Nigeria may be said to have run between the end of the first world war to the early 1930's. This period marked a resurgence of missionary activities in West Africa. As part of their strategies to win converts to their various churches, most missionaries had their own denominational journals. This period also saw the establishment of secular newspapers that were more concerned with political and social issues. This period marked the establishment of the first advertising outfit, West African Publicity (WAP) in Nigeria in 1928. On setting up an advertising outfit, WAP studied the Nigerian situation and immediately identified the three most effective media through which it could do business - Posters, Pamphlets, and Press. Some of the newspapers which started production during this era are amongst the longest surviving newspapers in the history of the Nigerian press today. WAP had quickly established a strong presence with newspapers such as the Nigerian Daily Times (founded in Lagos in 1926) and still

publishing today under the new name Daily Times.

Religious journals founded during this period included "Leisure Hours", published by the Church Missionary Society in 1917; the "African Church Gleamer" sponsored by the African Church Organization also in 1917; the "African Hope" in 1919 by the same church; "The Nigerian Methodist" was established in 1925 by the Methodist Mission and others such as the "Catholic Life" appeared in 1936.

Secular newspapers established during this period included, as mentioned earlier, the "Nigerian Daily Times" (1926); the Daily Service (1933), both founded in Lagos. In the eastern part of the country there was the "Nigerian Eastern Mail" (1935) and the "Observer" at Port Harcourt. In the North there developed a vernacular newspaper titled "Gaskiya Ta fi Kwabo" (Truth Is Worth a Penny) published in the Hausa language by the Gaskiya Corporation at Zaria with a circulation of about 15,000. Another vernacular paper, the "Akede Eko", was founded in 1927 by Isaac Thomas.

During this period, formal colonialism had been established and the whole of Nigeria had been opened up for full colonial exploitations. The Lagos Protectorate had been merged with the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria in 1906 marking the entrenchment of the colonial state. Between 1906 and 1912 Nigeria witnessed a rapid penetration of cultural colonisation through the evangelistic and educational activities of Presbyterian, Protestant, and Baptist missions. By 1914 the southern and northern protectorates were merged. During this period trade, the

church, and the gun went together so effectively that it marked the entrenchment of the British colonial economy in Nigeria.

The quality of printing improved during this second period of Nigerian press evolution. Politics and local news became more prominent. As a result of increased trade through the consolidation of the colonial economy, there was noticeable increase in advertising volume. Although newspapers of this era provided more pictures than in the earlier period, advertisements at this time were still very simple, involving merely information on available goods and services. Usually it was the publishers who went about in search of advertising revenue to support the cost of production. By this time, the secular newspapers in the country had constituted themselves into a potent opposition to the British administration in the country. The papers were often filled with vitriolic comments on the policies of the administrators (Sobowale, 1985). This did not go down well with the colonialists who consequently enacted a series of repressive laws to stem the growing power and popularity of the press. Such laws included the Seditions Offences Ordinance of 1909, The Criminal Code Ordinance of 1916 and the Newspaper Ordinance of 1917. The Newspaper Ordinance required any prospective publisher wishing to set up a newspaper to register the names and addresses of the proprietor, publisher, editor, and printer. It also required swearing an affidavit and paying a deposit of 250 pounds sterling or providing two sureties in addition to entering into a bond (Elias, 1969). This political posturing also determined how much advertising revenue newspapers could attract as the main advertisers were foreign merchants who would not patronise any paper seen as anti-establishment. Generally, advertising in this era was not

enough to sustain any of the newspapers. Newspapers of this period depended for their survival on sales and to increase readership among the few literate at the time meant to have a strong political opinion against the colonial establishment. Further, the world-wide depression of the 1930's took it's toll on Nigerians. Many people were dismissed from the civil service. Since government was the largest employer of the city dwellers, this meant widespread unemployment among the literate. This situation enhanced the sociopolitical agitations of this period and it was through the newspapers that the people expressed such agitations.

Up to the mid-1930's, journalism in Nigeria owed its success more to the eagerness of its readership and the causes for which it fought than to any professionalism or expertise on the part of its practitioners.

By 1934, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe returned to West Africa from the United States of America where he had studied amongst other things, journalism at Columbia University. After a brief stay in the Gold Coast (Ghana) he returned to Nigeria in 1937 and founded the West African Pilot (Arikpo, 1967, p.59). This marked the beginning of the third period of the press history in Nigeria, extending to about 1947. As with the previous era, newspapers of this era continued to be highly political and more importantly, during this era most of the papers with the exception the Daily Times which was owned by the Daily Mirror Group of London, were owned by political parties or largely identified with political parties.

The fourth period began at about 1947 when the pace-setting

trend of the Pilot started to decline. In 1948 the Daily Times was acquired by the Mirror Group in London and revolutionised newspaper production in Nigeria. The share quality of print and pictures was dazzling and unrivalled. It was just the thing advertisers had been waiting for. The reception that the arrival of such improved printing and pictorial quality in the newspapers got from advertisers has been well illustrated in the previous chapter by the manager of West African Publicity. There is also the fact that the takeover initiated a commercial drive which aimed at mass circulation all over the country. For the first time, advertisers had a newspaper which could carry their message across the country and not restricted to a region as the other papers were before the advent of the Mirror Group takeover.

During this period, the second world war had just ended and economic activities were picking up again, more Nigerians had returned from studies abroad to participate in the struggle for nationalism at home in Nigeria, some regional governments had also established their own newspapers such as the Nigerian Review in Lagos; the Eastern Outlook and Cameroun Star ,in the East, and the Echo in the Western Region (Duyile,p.113). The Daily Times, after its takeover, took on a new brilliant banner, with each issue having between 8 to 18 pages covering both foreign and local news. With the technical and financial backing of the Mirror Group behind it, the Daily Times soon boasted the largest advertising volume in the country. By 1955 its circulation was put at 62,578 by the Editor and Publisher Year Book of 1956. It also published the only Sunday paper in the country, with a 1955 circulation of 56,686 and had an advertising rate of $1.05 per column inch (Duyile,p.114).

After the Nigerian independence in 1960, Nigerian newspapers continued to be highly political in orientation and this came to a head during the self rule era following independence. Petty jealousy afflicted the newspapers as their owners and editors continued to operate within the narrow confines of party ideologies and ethnic boundaries (Sobowale, 1985). As these tendencies vitiated against efforts of the federal government to get its activities adequately covered by all newspapers it was forced to establish its own newspapers - a trend which has continued till the present times. This created problems of a different nature usually majority of the staff of these papers, particularly at the key editorial section, were often civil servants drawn from federal and regional ministries of information These people often lacked the expertise of the professional both in terms of production and news judgment. Consequently, they often took decisions or followed policies of politicians that were inimical to the growth of their papers. The upshot of this was that these papers lacked the integrity they needed to have wide readership.

By the mid-60s the country was plunged into a maelstrom culminating in a civil war in 1967. Because the press has always been closely involved in the political skulduggery that led to the war, they were considerably affected by the events of the time. In each of the regions in the troubled areas, particularly in the West and in the East, legislation was passed to prohibit the circulation of opposition papers. In the West, circulation of the Daily Times, the Morning Post, and the New Nigerian was banned. In the East, circulation of the Daily Times, Daily Sketch, the Post, and the New Nigerian was banned (Sobowale,p.33). All these

developments affected advertising because it denied agencies a national coverage of their advertisements. Besides as most newspapers of this era were more like political organs, their main concerns were ideological, political, and ethnocentric. As such, papers were either funded by regional or federal governments and political parties, they were substantially protected from the immediate concern about revenues from commercial advertising. There was not much concern for technical improvements on print and picture quality, or newspaper content and diversity to capture as large a readership as they could.

In 1967, just before the outbreak of the civil war, the military government split the country into 12 states. This led to a proliferation of new papers, radio, and television stations in later years as the state governments felt the need to have their own media systems. In 1976, the country was further divided into 19 states and, predictably, all the new states embarked on establishing there own media systems. As at now there are 22 states in Nigeria plus Abuja, the federal capital territory. All but the two newly created states have their own media systems. In the mid 1970s there were only four independent newspapers left in Nigeria. Of the four, the West African Pilot was already a spent force and finally disappeared in 1978. The Daily Express ceased publication in 1979, leaving only the Nigerian Tribune and Punch as strong private newspapers. The 1980s has been a period of boom for private newspaper establishments. During this period some of the most outstanding and glossy papers in the country have emerged. These include, the Guardian, the National Concord, the Vanguard and many more regional and vernacular papers. The Concord is reputed to be the largest newspaper organization in the country

and this claim can very easily be justified. Not only do the National and Sunday Concord have a national coverage, the distribution network is better than most others, (surpassed only by the Daily Times). Besides, the Concord publishers also have vernacular papers in each of the three main languages - Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba - in the country and also publishes community newspapers. These not only open up the readership beyond the few literates who have traditionally benefited from newspapers published in English, but has also afforded small local advertisers like retailers, craftsmen, blacksmiths etc. the opportunity to be able to advertise their products and services to the relevant consumers.

Magazine production has not been a very successful business in Nigeria. Like newspapers, magazine production has been very sporadic, but unlike newspapers it has suffered more from lack of a large literate society. The amount of sales generated from magazines simply does not make them profitable for the publishers and since in most cases such publishers do not have substantial financial backing, they quickly give up their venture into magazine production. This has stalled the development of special interest magazines particularly in the areas of leisure and hobby. The only magazines with any prolonged publications have been those involved in news, international events, and economics. Usually, such magazines try to include other interests such as leisure and sociocultural events. In the sixties general interest magazines such as Drum, Spear, and one or two women's magazines were in production up to the early 70s. Of these, Drum had the longest existence. Attempts at publishing glossy magazines that would have been attractive to advertisers have been largely a fiasco. In the

mid-70s one of such magazines was Orphelia. It stayed in production for less than a year. Again in the 80s another attempt to publish such a magazine called "Metro" also met with similar fate. The cost of publishing such glossy magazines with good colour production was simply too much and not enough advertising was available to make it possible for the publishers to bare the cost of production. Such magazines can only survive with fairly large sales which was not available given the low level of literacy in the society. A large proportion of the adult population in Nigeria is illiterate (Third National Development Plan, 1975-80, p.231). This makes the work of reaching a majority of the people a lot more difficult especially for the magazine publishers.

Like newspaper production though, the 80s has witnessed a period of explosion in news magazine publication. In recent years there has been a rash of general interest magazines, a few special interest magazines and many newsweeklies such as Newswatch, African Guardian, African Concord, NewBreed, The President and This Week. Because of the lack of a strong tradition in magazines, advertising in Nigeria is not as segmented as in Europe and North America. Advertising agencies simply use any available media for displaying their campaigns. Our observation shows for instance that advertisements in a woman's magazine contain the same range of products that would be found in any other medium such as a newsweekly or a newspaper

BROADCAST MEDIA

2.2

In 1933 the Post and Telegraphs Department built a station

which monitored the BBC and experimented with wired broadcasting. The experiment proved encouraging and by December 1935, wired broadcasting was commissioned in Lagos and became known as the Radio Distribution Service (RDS). This only relayed BBC programmes at certain times of the day. Later the service was extended to other parts of the country at Ibadan in 1939 and Kaduna, Enugu, Jos, Zaria, Kano and other major towns in 1949 (Elegalem, 1985).

By the end of world war II the government considered seriously the idea of establishing a full fledged radio service and by 1952 the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation (NBS) was established. Radio broadcasting at this early period was solely provided by the NBS and financed entirely by government grants. The real boom to the advertising industry came in 1959 with the establishment of the first television station in Africa at Ibadan by the Western Nigeria Broadcasting Corporation. Right from its inception it was meant to be largely financed by commercial advertising. A year later in May 1960, the first commercial radio station was established in Western Nigeria. Advertisers had long waited for this development and they were quick in taking advantage of the new media. Radio in particular had been so useful and indispensable for advertising in Nigeria because it overcomes the problem of communication due to widespread illiteracy. It is important though to note that this commercial radio station was only regional and therefore had limited coverage and consequently limited opportunity for advertisers in the country.

The first advertisement to reach the people as soon as radio was set up in Nigeria was placed by the West African Publicity (now Lintas) and was sponsored by the transnational Lever Brothers

for their detergent OMO. The use of the radio as a medium of advertising particularly in the years before the 80s had been much less than was anticipated by the advertising industry. The introduction of broadcast media into Nigeria has been a government business from start. Given the nature of politics in Nigeria, which is largely characterised by regional rivalry, radio is more of a propaganda machine for both the federal and regional and later state governments. By 1982, all the nineteen states of Nigeria had their own radio stations, most of which were hurriedly established to serve political ends. Although the state radio stations allowed advertising, the stations were not dependent completely on revenue from commercials but also, largely on subventions from the various state governments.

In the mid-seventies, a restructuring exercise of the federal radio corporation of Nigeria actually abolished advertisements on federal radio stations. Any advertiser who wishes to place advertisements on federal radio for a national coverage would have to go to each of the state radio stations in the country to achieve that purpose as only the state radio stations accepted advertisements.

Despite the constraints, radio remains the number one advertising medium in Nigeria because all the state radio stations devote a sizeable broadcast time to broadcasting in various indigenous languages thus reaching more people than any other medium in Nigeria. Furthermore, the cost of producing a radio commercial is far cheaper than the other media in Nigeria. Advertisements on Nigerian radio stations come in spot announcements of 15, 30, 45, and 60 seconds. The advertising

industry realises the advantages that radio presents for them and quickly availed themselves of the opportunities. In 1960, total revenue accruing to all commercial stations from advertising was about $85,000 (N 170,000) and ten years later in 1970 total advertising revenue generated by radio stations was over N2.4m climbing even higher to some N3.6m by the mid 70s. By 1982, it is estimated that advertising revenue accruing to radio stations in the country is in excess of N6m per annum (Moemeke, 1982).

The development of radio advertising slowed down when in 1976 a restructuring exercise abolished advertisements on all Federal stations which transmit on short wave and limited state radio stations to 10Kw transmitters in the medium wave band thus limiting their reception to areas within state boarders. Recent developments have indicated that protection of radio broadcast from advertising is at best an interregnum. The current economic difficulties in the country has forced the federal government to have a re-think on its involvement in most parastatal institutions and the government is now actually encouraging establishments like radio and television stations to look for alternative means of generating income. This in turn has forced the stations to open their doors to advertising on an even more elaborate, if not desperate scale.

The revised constitution of 1954 removed broadcasting from the federal exclusive list thus making it possible for regional governments to own radio and television stations. Like the development of radio, the history of television in Nigeria has been closely intertwined with politics. The revised constitution which made it possible for regional governments to run broadcast

media was itself prompted by the political wrangling of the time. When the green light came for regional broadcasting, the Western Region which was at the centre of the wrangling quickly seized the opportunity and established the Western Nigeria Broadcasting Corporation (WNBC) and the Western Nigeria Television (WNTV) in 1959. From the onset, the Western Region government had determined that in setting up a television station it would have to engage in commercial broadcasting to limit the financial burden of running the station. By October 1959 the first television station in Black Africa commenced broadcasting. In the same year the federally owned Nigeria Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) drew up a proposal to introduce a national television service. The ministry of information at the time found the proposal feasible and contracted with an American company, the National Broadcasting Company International Ltd., to run the service as managing agents for five years. By April 1962 this service started transmission under the name of Nigerian Television Service, Channel 10 (NTS). Two years earlier in 1960 the Eastern Nigeria Television (ENTV) had also been established, and in 1963, Radio-Television Kaduna was also established. With the creation of 12 states in 1967 more radio and television stations were set up by the state governments and by 1976 all the television stations were merged into in a body known as Nigerian Television (NTV).

A year later in 1977 a new decree established the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) to take charge of all the television stations in the country. Presently, there are 32 television stations in the country, all owned by the federal or state governments. There is as yet no law permitting private ownership of broadcast media in Nigeria.

As with the other media, the advertising industry quickly jumped at the opportunity to advertise on the new medium. The first commercial to appear on the television in Nigeria in 1960 was for Star Beer. The agency responsible for the advertisement, West Africa Publicity arranged an hour long entertainment programme interspersed with spots of Star Beer and Krola commercials. Television is the second most popular medium of advertising in Nigeria after radio. The following figure shows an estimation of media usage by the Nigerian Advertising Industry.

Table 10 **MEDIA USAGE BY NIGERIAN ADVERTISING INDUSTRY**

MEDIUM	% OF NATIONAL BUDGETS ON ADVERTISING
RADIO	30 - 35%
TV	25 - 28%
OUTDOOR	18%
NEWSPAPERS & MAGAZINES	15 - 17%
CINEMA	5 - 7%

Source: Chris Doghudje,Advertising in Nigerian Perspective, 1987.

The popularity of television as an advertising medium in Nigeria can be further seen in the performance of the top agency in the country, Lintas. In 1960, the year that advertisement first

appeared on Nigerian television, Lintas booked spots totalling N615,000.00. By 1982, twenty-two years after, the billings had rising to N2,413,000.00 representing a growth of 43% or an average growth rate of about 2% per annum (Doghudje, 1987).

The WNTV being a commercial station from its inception has been more attuned to the demands of advertisers and the requirements of its audience than any other television station in the country. Although the figures shown in this section represent only those for Western Nigeria, the experience of WNTV as a commercial station can throw a useful insight into commercial broadcasting in Nigeria. As far back as 1967 it had commissioned the Nigerian Institute for Social and Economic Research (NISER) to undertake an audience survey. That survey showed that the station had 51% viewership. By 1968, the Nigerian Radio-Vision Society was formed to conduct from time to time research studies on the habits, preferences, and general disposition of radio and television audience in Nigeria. In one of such surveys conducted in 1972 in both the Lagos and Western states, a massive 67 to 69% of the audience enjoyed watching advertisements on television. This is hardly surprising. In the early years of the introduction of radio and television in Nigeria, the technology itself was a marvel, particularly in a developing society. Commercials, for the masses of the people were very much seen as part of the entertainment the new media had to offer. This unsuspecting attitude toward commercials as entertainment has possibly contributed in entrenching the values of consumerism in the Nigerian society. This sort of audience research is helpful to advertisers as it shows which programmes people watch the most as the following figures show.

Table 11: **AUDIENCE VIEWERSHIP OF TWO NIGERIAN TELEVISION STATIONS**

PROGRAMME TYPES	% OF LAGOS AUDIENCE	% OF WESTERN STATE AUDIENCE
News Bulletin	96	99.2
Music & Light	95.6	90
Entertainment		
Drama/Folk Plays	92	-
Sports	90.4	81.6
Current Affairs	90	90
Detective Films	86.8	83.2
Local Comedies	84	84.8
Children's Programmes	82	81.2
Religious Programmes	78	70.8
Educational	73	70
Adventure Series	69.6	-
Advertisements	67.6	67.6
Documentaries	55.2	64

Source: 20th Anniversary of WNTV, 1979

2.3 THE FINANCE OF BROADCAST MEDIA IN NIGERIA

Broadcasting systems in Nigeria are usually financed with revenue from a combination of the following sources:

(a) Licence fees

(b) Commercial advertisements

(c) Government grants

(d) Private donations.

Revenue derivable from licence fee in Nigeria is fraught with problems one of which is the problem of collecting the fees. The fee itself is fixed in such a way that it does not bear any commensurate relations with the services provided by broadcasting, or the cost of operating the broadcasting system. By 1970, a fee of 10 shillings was payable on a radio set and on a television set. In 1965-66, fees collected by the Federal Ministry of Communications was $77,000. Considering the estimated number of radio and television sets in the country then, over one million pounds should have accrued from this exercise yet the actual amount collected represented only 7.7% of possible revenue. Besides, Broadcasting Houses did not receive any direct benefit from the fees.

WNTV derived most of its revenue from sale of air time. As was noted by its management, this source of revenue carries with it the problem of pressure from advertisers on the nature and character of programmes. Further, there was the problem created by reduction of advertisement budgets on the part of private firms. Television advertisements are expensive to make and the business culture in the country is such that not many firms (especially indigenous businesses) are yet prepared to spend a lot of money on advertisement.

Government grant is also fraught with long-term planning and other bureaucratic bottle necks. It also often carries with it government control, overt or covert. Broadcasting has never really attracted the level of attention or financial support from

government as other sectors like agriculture, industry, transportation, and manpower development. Only occasionally like when there is a coup-de-tat or election do governments take broadcasting seriously. Once they have settled down in office broadcasting takes a backseat in the priority list of government.

Private donations by indigens is not a very common feature in Nigeria. This is partly due to the general poor state of the economy and of majority of Nigerians; and (also) due to the fact that the few Nigerians who have been able to amass wealth have a different idea of spending it. Donations, grants and technical aids come mainly from overseas foundations, Governments, and International Agencies to develop some specific aspects of broadcasting; usually education. Such aids include U.S.A.I.D's Modern Aid to Education Project conducted with Nigerian Ministries of Education to expand and evaluate the use of radio and television in the schools of Nigeria (1963-68); Canadian Aid to Western Nigeria Broadcasting Corporation on the study and system designs for sound broadcast and television coverage extension facilities (1965).

The two major sources of revenue for Broadcasting then in Nigeria have always been advertisements and government subventions of which the latter is by far the largest source for most of the media organisations. In 1964, advertising revenue amounted to about 29% of total revenue for WNTV. By 1970-71 this situation had changed dramatically and advertising had accounted for 76% of its revenue. By 1972, advertising revenue accounted for 84% of recurrent revenue. During this same period, government subsidy steadily waned. The particular case of WNTV is however due to its

commercial orientation from its inception. Other broadcasting organisations have had to make do with poor state subvention supplemented by advertising revenue. But because they are not well orientated towards commercialisation they lack the managerial and marketing organisation which has made the WNTV so popular with advertisers.

Table 12: **TOTAL ADVERTISING APPROPRIATION AS % OF GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT IN NIGERIA**

YEAR	PERCENTAGE
1970/71	0.35%
1971/72	0.26%
1972/73	0.38%
1973/74	0.43%
Average	0.34%

Source: History of WNTV

2.4 INFLUENCE OF ADVERTISING ON THE MEDIA SYSTEM IN NIGERIA

The issue of whether or not advertising influences the media programming and specifically how they are influenced has always been controversial. For sure, media practitioners have always been quick at denying any such influence. But as Curran remarked in his study of the mass media system in Britain, this situation has arisen because of the rather narrow definition of advertising influence in terms of overt attempts by advertisers to influence media content to their advantage by withholding or giving advertising favours. In an attempt to broaden the debate over advertising influence on the media Curran has suggested a look into alternative ways in which advertisers may influence the mass media other than by overt attempts to influence its content. Particularly, attention needs to be focused on ways by which advertising as a concealed subsidy system has shaped the mass media, and on how the media have adapted to the marketing needs of

advertisers in order to compete for advertising subsidies (Curran, 1986).

Bearing these in mind, and even in the face of a dearth of detailed data on the operations of the media system in Nigeria over a long period of time, some useful general observations can be made on the way advertising (along with other factors exogenous to purely media matters) have shaped the Nigerian media system.

The Nigerian media system, starting with the earliest, the Press have been exposed to the influence of advertising right from the early days of their development. As it has ben chronicled in the preceding pages the need to sustain a newspaper publication in a society with a large illiterate population has meant a search for alternative sources of revenue other than sales alone. This is coupled with the fact that the low per-capita income of the small middle level income group who constitute the reading public, newspaper publications have had to be sold at rates that do not cover the cost of production of the papers. Newspapers have had to rely on advertising revenue to sustain production. In the early days, this was not forthcoming partly because modern advertising itself was virtually nonexistent until the 1920s. As was noted earlier on, the Nigerian Daily Times (later Daily Times) which was established about this period remains the oldest paper in the country today. Other newspapers established around the same time also enjoyed much longer life-span than newspapers of earlier period. Right from its inception, the Daily Times had been involved with the West Africa Publicity which incidentally was the first modern advertising agency established in the country and also remains the oldest and biggest agency in the country.

Going through the various stages of newspaper publications in Nigeria one can easily observe that successful newspaper publications have been possible only during the period of increased advertising activities made possible by increased economic investment in Nigeria. As was noted earlier in this chapter, from 1960 after independence to the end of the civil war in the early 1970, newspaper production was seriously hampered as the existing ones were mostly involved in the political turmoil of the times. But since after the war and with the rebuilding of the national economy buttressed by the oil revenue, more publications, especially private publications have sprung up and by 1987 there were no less than twenty-three daily newspapers published in English excluding magazines and vernacular newspapers, some twenty-nine weekly newspapers and other publications. This figure continues to rise and although a number of these publications fall by the wayside there is still such vibrancy in the newspaper publication business in Nigeria that can only be possible through advertising patronage giving the relatively low readership level in Nigeria. Most newspapers in Nigeria including government owned publications derive a sizeable part of their revenue from advertising. A research conducted as far back as the 1960s by Coker on the revenue sources of some national newspapers showed that all were substantially dependent on advertising revenue. Newspaper sale accounted for about 40% of the total income and advertising revenue was considerable for the vernacular weekly, representing 50% of the total income.

Direct control of the press by advertising has not been unusual in the history of advertising in Nigeria. The colonial government of the early days knew too well how important

advertising revenue was to sustain newspaper production and used it as a weapon against nationalist newspapers whenever it felt the need. In 1938 European firms conspired to force nationalist press critical of their cocoa buying practices to beat a more moderate line by withholding advertising patronage. Again in 1945 the colonial government used the same strategy against newspapers critical of government policies (Coker, 1960 p.85).

Up to the late 1950s when electronic media were established in Nigeria the channels for advertising were the press, posters, and mobile films. The press was by far the largest medium of advertising and only those papers which offered superior technical qualities of production and appeal and consequently a wider audience attracted a sizeable proportion of advertising patronage, a factor which has helped the Daily Times through the most trying periods of its history. Although the development of the various media in Nigeria has been more of a sociopolitical factor, advertising patronage has helped tremendously in determining which media establishment is viable enough to remain in production. Strong government involvement in most media establishment makes it difficult though, to determine the precise role of advertising in the evolution of the Nigerian mass media. The emergence of the electronic media (radio and television) shifted the bulk of advertising allocation between the media to radio (which remains the largest beneficiary of advertising revenue) and television. The broadcast media were preferred by advertisers because they overcome the problem of reaching most Nigerians due to illiteracy. Although private ownership of the electronic media is still not permitted in Nigeria, their establishment by the various state governments and the federal government have to do with political

considerations. Consequently, the various governments have very limited interest in these organizations after setting them up. Financial support given to these media organizations have not been substantial enough to let the stations run as efficiently as they need to and they have all had to turn to advertising revenue to make up for running cost. The belief by advertisers that the electronic media have greater potential for advertising than for any other media have helped in the shift of advertising allocation from the press and other media to radio and television. Although radio and television are government owned in Nigeria, the case of the WNTV-WNBS stations provide an opportunity to examine more closely the implications of commercial media. Right from its inception the WNTV-WNBS was a commercial station as the then Western Region government that set it up had determined that the station must be self sustaining. Starting in 1959, at the beginning of the fifth year the station had begun running on advertisement receipts. It had become consumer oriented from an early point in its establishment and had commissioned several audience research studies which according to its executives, helps them to determine audience preference and to identify viewership character for its advertising clients. Such research as advertising executives admitted, help to lower cost of advertising campaign by focusing such campaigns on programmes that are mostly watched by people and by what type of people. This may not necessarily be a pernicious influence as is mostly assumed in such cases. Going by the experience of the WNTV-WNBS which later became part of the Nigerian Television Authority network, audience surveys have constantly revealed a preference for local drama over foreign films and by attracting more advertising patronage to these programmes the station has been able to retain their

production over the years. In recent years as noted earlier, stringent economic measures have led to further cut backs on government subventions. As other stations throughout the country begin to turn towards advertising for their revenue, they would be forced to engage in research to determine what their audiences prefer to watch. And if the experience of the existing commercial stations is any thing to go by, it is likely to be a move towards providing more locally made programmes.

CHAPTER 3

3.1 ADVERTISING AND SOCIETY: FUNDAMENTALS & THEORIES

In chapter one, an attempt was made at illustrating the development of modern advertising in Nigeria by placing the development within the wider dimensions of the political-economic history of the country. Also in chapter two by illustrating the development of the mass media system in Nigeria I have tried to reveal the relations between the advertising institution and the mass media again within the framework of the political-economy of colonialism and neo-colonialism.

With the formal establishment of colonialism came the transference of values, practices and institutions of the Western world to the colonised countries. Advertising is an important part of these assimilation process. In a study aimed at describing the presence of an institution in a society, and at understanding the significance of such presence in society, it becomes necessary to look at the institution within the context of it's foundation in order to fully understand it's logic and dynamics. This need is made necessary by the evidence that in the colonial and imperialist experience, values and institutions that were imposed on colonised societies remain largely intact even long after gaining independence. In fact a central contention in development theories is that such values and institutions were instrumental in dislocating the recipient societies from an independent developmental path (A.G.Frank,1969;Walter Rodney,1972). Further, in the numerous political-economic studies of developing societies the prevalence of such values and practices have been observed to be one of the major obstacles to achieving meaningful development.

One important theme in the discourse about underdevelopment is that of dislocation. The contention that societies that are not developed have become and remain undeveloped because their process of development had been interrupted by and replaced with values and institutions of the colonisers. It has been argued in the preceding chapters that the advertising institution in Nigeria and its emerging supportive relations with the media system in the country are inevitable given the nature of the wider political-economic dimensions within which it operates. If the colonial/imperialist experience constitute the structural imperatives that have given rise to the institution of advertising in Nigeria, it becomes necessary to shift our focus to the Metropolis from where modern advertising has emerged. This is necessary in order to understand why and how modern advertising has emerged and what sort of impact it has had on the workings of the developed societies. The insights gained from such a study can then form a useful basis for, (1) making comparisons about the role(s) of advertising in individual societies, and (2) predicting what directions advertising is likely to go in a developing society like Nigeria and what implications these might have for development plans and for society in general.

3.2 FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES RELATING TO ADVERTISING

It is fashionable in traditional criticisms of and discourse about advertising generally to view advertising as the cause of other things(effects). Invariably, in the numerous literature dwelling on the subject, advertising is either benevolent or malevolent. Thus advertising has been seen as leading to greater market shares, as encouraging socially beneficial practices, as

being(or having the potential to be) a catalyst to economic development.

From another perspective advertising is seen as unhealthy for society, having unwholesome effects on children and indeed on everybody in society. Advertising frustrates people by idolising products and objects of industry and then enjoining people to posses those things in order to realise their being without concern for the ability to possess these things. Advertising has been accused of being the cause of higher prices, as leading to concentration of market forces and many more which I shall look at more closely in the next chapter.

In all, it is possible to discern three enduring patterns in these apriori (arguing from effects to cause) studies of advertising. First, there are those who argue in favour of advertising by concluding that advertising's effects on society, particularly the economic, is positive. Secondly, there are those who conclude on the other hand that advertising's effects, particularly social, is mainly negative. And thirdly, there are those who attempt to study advertising clearly removed from the polar divisions of its negative or positive effects, who are more interested in discerning the influence of advertising on a myriad of economic and social variables usually ending up exclaiming its complexity.

Furthermore, all the studies of advertising within the orientations outlined above have been carried on from either the economic, social, or ideological perspectives, the economic and social being the more prevalent.

It is not unusual that these predominant trends should emerge. One cardinal purpose of the social sciences is social order. As Charles Sandage and his colleagues observed in their study of

advertising, there is an ongoing psychological tendency for individuals to seek structure(order) in areas of their lives in some way important to them. Given advertising's complex inter-relationships with the social, economic, and communication systems in society it becomes inevitable that advertising should mean different things to different people -"an ambiguous stimulus field capable of many differing interpretations..."(Sandage et.al 1976). The supporter of advertising for instance (presumably motivated by his employment in the business) and the critic (often motivated by a sense of "cause") can understandably approach the subject of advertising and take out of it entirely different structures and interpretations ranging from the highly negative to the highly positive. On the other hand, the dispassionate observer, devoid of any such vested interest or fire of reform is understandably more willing to faithfully report all the complex details observed.

There are benefits derivable from study of the three orientations outlined above with the first two providing the issues while the third enables the clarification of the issues generated. These approaches will be further investigated in an attempt to understand the role of advertising within the society from which it originated. But first this work must set out on a different premise. It would attempt to unravel the study of advertising from an aposteriori (arguing from cause to effect) orientation, that is, looking at advertising from the "effects" end of the discourse rather than as a "cause" of other things in society. The need for such an approach becomes obvious considering that the debate over advertising's role in society has reached an impasse particularly because of the polarity of "good" and "bad" that have traditionally been the framework for studying

advertising. Writers (both critics and advocates of advertising) have deployed a dazzling array of arguments to support their contentions regarding the issue of whether advertising is good or bad for society. As was noted earlier this boundary within which the discourse about advertising has taken place has been too narrowly framed and has reached a stalemate .

Moreover this approach is the logical follow-up to the argument that was set out in the opening chapter - that the emergence of modern advertising in an undeveloped country like Nigeria is the effect of certain political, economic, and historical experience, in this case mercantilism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, in short capitalist expansion. In attempting to investigate advertising by tracing its development back to its source (i.e.Western society), while recognizing the benefits of established practice to study advertising as a causative factor, (i.e. as something that causes certain effects),the approach taken in this study, in consonance with the orientation started in chapter 1 will be to attempt to understand the social role of advertising by starting from looking at it as an "effect" of other factors . Thus, one needs to look into the relevant institutions of the capitalist system and the intellectual orientations which may have engendered them.

3.3 THE NATURE OF INSTITUTIONS

Vincent Norris(1966) suggests that institutions represent "those patterns of behaviour upon which the society depends for the orderly handling of problems deemed important to physical and cultural survival." The germane question then must be what sort of "patterns of behaviour" have given rise to modern advertising in

Western society and why ? In an analysis of the American economy, Ralph Nader(1971) concludes that:

> For most of this century there has been declared a national consensus in favour of competition, as well as numerous laws designed to encourage it...

We need then, to investigate why "competition" has been chosen as the bedrock of American and Western economies. As Charles Sandage et al (1976) observe, although the words "competition" and "freedom of choice" refer to an economic institution - the market," they represent more basically nothing less than a series of assumptions about human nature itself". It is the intellectual orientations of the ruling class that holds the key to what path society follows in organizing its concerns. As James Carey(1960) also suggest:

> ...institutions are the embodiment of ideas, for when a society decides how it shall manage its activities... it bases this decision on some perspective or notion of the nature of man, of society, of the moral order, and of the meaning of life in general(pp.3-17).

Heilbroner(1961) has observed that throughout history societies have developed only three major economic institutions to deal with the basic problems of existence - what to produce, how to produce it, and to whom to distribute it. These are Tradition, Authority, and the Market. As Carey(1960) suggest each of these represents "the embodiments of ideas" about human nature. Some of these "ideas" have evidently been more compatible to the development of advertising in the economic scheme of things than others.

A society which deals with its economic problems by tradition

tales to the order of the status quo, usually for religious reasons. In this situation individuals are assumed to be performing roles that have been preordained. Thus, roles are passed on by a system of ascription rather than achievement. Individual social and economic mobility is discouraged and "destiny" is the guiding philosophy of living in such a society. Here, the notion of competition and freedom of choice have no place.

All societies, to varying degrees throughout history have relied on some degree of authority to deal with their economic necessities. The institutions of the planning boards, development plans, and various forms of treaties and charters provide good examples of the presence of authority in economic planning. Behind this orientation are assumptions about human nature which tend to place less faith in the many and more in the few, with such functional correlates of embodiment ranging from total control of dictatorship, to laws guiding the most basic of human activities. Implicit in such orientation is the idea that only a select few such as the 'Vanguard' or 'Politburo' in socialist economies (at least until the recent events in Eastern Europe), are rational and capable of determining what is good for the rest. While there is growing evidence that advertising can still exist under such socioeconomic dispensation, generally it is a system that is largely hostile to advertising.

Logically, it is the last of Heilbroner's typology, the Market, that holds the best perspective for understanding advertising's acceptance as part of the normal way of life. If the market system nutured the development of advertising it becomes essential to investigate how the market could come to be seen as an acceptable solution to persistent economic problems. To do

this, the starting point of our investigation would have to be to understand 'classical liberalism", the intellectual foundation which Sandage refers to as "that revolutionary collection of ideas that even today reveals itself in the words of corporation executives and consumer advocates"(p.7). This is necessary because a lot of the views and assumptions that are still held today about how things ought to be are rooted in the ideas of classical liberalism.

3.4 IN SEARCH OF CAUSES - THE CLASSICAL LIBERAL WORLDVIEW

Girvets(1950) contends that classical liberalism was crucial to the "epic transition of the Western world from an agrarian, handicraft society to the urban mechanized civilization of the present century..." It was an attack on the traditional feudal order, and an assertion of basic concepts about man and society that are still enshrined in the US and fervently followed by all who believe in , and participate in the market system. So what are these ideas about the nature of man ?

Rotzoll, Haeffner and Sandage(1976) elucidate on this issue when they identified egoism, intellectualism, quietism, and atomism as the supporting ideas which together culminated in the worldview of classical liberalism.

The concept of "egoism" is traced back to the ideas of Thomas Hobbes(psychological egoism) and Bentham(psychological hedonism). Briefly, the egoistic interpretations of human nature held that man was by nature self-seeking. Consequently all of man's actions could be interpreted as being motivated by self interest. In this dispensation, the end justifies the means and there should be no moral judgment of man's actions.

While classical liberalism held that man was motivated by self interest it also credits man with other attributes which lift him from the jungle. The most salient of these was "intellectualism". This notion held that man was "rational". Contrasted to the instinct-driven brutes of the animal world, the behaviour of man was thought to be deliberate and calculating. Thus the self interest instinct of man is constantly mediated by his rationality and any self-interested action would not necessarily be seen as appropriate unless it has been so declared by man's reasoning faculty. As Girvetz explains:

> Reason looks to the consequences, carefully balances one promised pleasure or pain against another, and then...delivers the verdict. The verdict having been rendered, conduct follows automatically. If the verdict should prove to be wrong, this will be because of imperfect education or inadequate information(p.15).

Intellectualism then provides the structural frame of "economic man", which as Rotzoll et al observe forms the basic rationale for public education and more relevantly, one of the more persistent arguments behind the consumerist's call for more informative advertising content.

The proposition of "quietism" adds a necessary dimension to the idea of self-seeking, calculating man. The assumption that effort is painful also entails the reasoning that an individual will remain phlegmatic unless motivated, that he will expend energy only when there is some definite promise of reward, on deliberation, seems worth the effort. The implication of this being that man is involved in various activities only as a means to an end(pleasure), and not so much because he desires activity for itself. In the event that there is no stimulus to

self-interest, the individual will remain "quiet", apathetic and phlegmatic. The relevance of quietism to advertising is captured in a well quoted expression from Winston Churchill:

> Advertising nourishes the consuming power of man. It creates wants for a better standard of living. It sets up before a man the goal of a better home...it spawns individual exertion and greater production. It brings together infertile union those things which otherwise would never have met(Watson and Barban,1974 p.5).

In contrast to contemporary social psychologists who use the expression 'society in man', classical liberalism states 'man in society'. Borrowing from the concept of nature by scientists from the time of Newton, classical liberalism extrapolates the theory of atom (as the building block of nature) to society and locate man as the smallest unit that make up society hence, the essential element of society. Comes in "Atomism" - the notion that society is no more than the sum of its part (sovereign individuals). Again in Girvetz's writing we find the relevant projection of this concept:

> ...social institutions are created by the fiat of self-contained individuals; they are instruments, even expedients, which the individual can employ or discard without fundamentally altering his own nature(p.23).

So the concepts egoism, intellectualism, quietism and atomism constitute the psychological crucible of the classical liberal worldview. As the market has so evidently proved to be the institutional orientation in which advertising seems to flourish it is essential to see how these classical liberal concepts have shaped the market institution.

3.5 ADVERTISING AND THE MARKET ECONOMY

The market system as a system of resource allocation is involved in certain fundamental economic problems - What will be produced ?, To whom will it be distributed ?, and how will it be assumed that the work of society will be done ?. Under an economic system governed by Tradition economic roles are established by custom and are sustained from generation to generation. The goods produced in society are provided within the self-sustaining household. Any surplus is distributed in accordance with status hierarchies in a vertical order - more for the feudal lords at the top and less for the serfs.

Under "authority" economic priorities and the life chances of the workers in the society, can change depending on the whim of the authority structure - planning board, dictator, etc. Whatever captures the attention or desire of people in authority gets the priority and the whole productive mechanism is redirected to meet this new goal.

In the "market" system however, it is held that the priorities of the society should be determined not by the web of customs or the directives of the few, but rather by the aggregate of individual decisions - all individuals. As would be seen later in chapter 4, a lot of these assumptions about how the market system operates is questionable. For instance the idea that the market system provides an environment where one individual has as much chance another in attaining their goals in society is challenged by the real nature of monopoly capitalism where power and economic advantage is increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few individuals.

In practical terms the market system emerged from pressures from entrepreneurs of 17th and 18th century Europe and England on government to permit their profit-seeking activities to be carried on without undue restraint. But also the market as an articulate system also emerged deductively with the supporting ideas of classical liberalism - egoism, intellectualism, quietism and atomism. This worldview rings through in the classic work of Adam Smith. As Heilbroner contends, Smith was living in a time(the 18th century), and place(England), when the division of labour was becoming a dominant economic fact. The decline of self-sufficiency formed a major current of his work. In it, Smith assumed that men were self-seeking by nature(egoism). Consequently, an individual buying goods would attempt to acquire those that brought the greatest pleasure at the lowest price and, while in the labour market, would strive to perform as little work as possible for as much money as he could get. The producer would also set out to attempt to sell the lowest quality merchandise at the highest possible price. At this point it would seem society was destined to anarchy. Herein, the most salient of man's attributes takes over to save the situation. Intellectualism holds that man is rational, deliberate and calculating. For the self-seeking individual, stimulated from his aparthy(quietism) by an appeal to gain(egoism), will quickly realize that the reward for which he has exerted effort will not be achieved unless he modifies his behaviour to some reasonable degree. Thus the producer who wishes to sell a poor quality good at a high price will have to face the reality that the deliberate and calculating consumers will not purchase his offerings if more "rational" choices are available.

One major snag in these set of assumptions lies in another assumption - that economic power will be fragmented among many

buyers and sellers(atomism). With many suppliers, it is assumed that some will attempt to seek their self-interests by offering a better economic and/or qualitative value than their competitors. With many potential self-seeking labourers, it is certain that some will work longer hours than others for less money. Unless this fragmentation exists, it is easy to predict (within the confines of classical liberalism) that those with some degree of power would follow their self-interest by through the exploitation of others. In order then, for the market mechanism to perform its task of resource allocation with utmost efficiency, individuals must be stimulated to work in pursuit of self-interest, they must be deliberate and calculating in that pursuit, and there must be a sufficient number of buyers and sellers to ensure that power is not concentrated in the hands of a few. By this classical liberal view, the reward of such an arrangement- the market system, goes to the efficient. It is the efficient consumer who stretches his earnings by buying the best quality at the lowest possible price. It is the efficient wage earner who expends appropriate effort to maximize his return. Also it is the efficient producer who can offer the highest quality good at the lowest possible price hence, rewarded with the patronage of the efficient consumer. With all these background hypotheses and assumptions it is now necessary to see how the pressing economic questions - what will be produced ? To whom will it be distributed ? and How will what needs doing get done ? - are resolved or are assumed to be resolved in the advent of the market system.

In the market system, what will be produced is determined by what sovereign individuals, in their self interest, wish to buy. As Heilbroner notes, the market "has no goal orientation , save to existing demand." Supply and production shifts within the market

according to the dictates of consumers' demands. There is no need for directives from authority for this self regulating mechanism to work as aggregate demand determines the types and quantities of what is to be produced.

To resolve the problem of distribution in the market system is also deemed unproblemmatic. The output of the system goes to whomever has money to pay for it. There is no welfarism built into the system.

On the issue of How will what needs doing get done ?, there is the crucial assumption that the labour force is geographically mobile whereupon self-seeking individuals will seek employment wherever wages are highest. Thus, workers are attracted to those areas of production that are currently high on the economy's list of priorities.

It should be noted that the market, as articulated by the classical liberals, was seen as a system harmonious with the natural laws of society. If supply should fall short of demand, the laws of the market would naturally be set into motion to correct the deficiency. The implication of such a position is that the market, being a self-contained, self-adjusting, complex mechanism, must be left alone(laisiez-faire) to follow its natural course. Government control and concentration of power by producers or consumers are its only impediments. In an atomistic market, it was assumed that the participants would follow only one overriding law - do what is best for their own monetary interests. The atomistic force of competition(producers, labourers, consumers) would take care of the rest. It was reasoned that in the process of naturally seeking his own self-interest, the individual contributes to the good of the whole(society). These ideas still run through much of the debates today over the social

responsibility of advertisers. So the sovereign individual - particularly the industrious and efficient would be the beneficiary in the market. As production increased, so would division of labour and the varieties of goods and services offered in response to aggregate demand. As Girvetz sums up:

> The market thus determines how society shall invest its resources, human and material. It decrees when, where, and how men shall labour. It determines the disposition of capital. The market becomes the regulator of what shall be produced, its quality, and price. The market is truly called sovereign(p.117).

3.6 IN SEARCH OF CAUSES: INSTITUTIONAL VIEWS OF ADVERTISING

As noted earlier in this chapter institutions may be seen as "representing a convention, an arrangement, an answer to a problem considered important by the society"(Rotzoll et al p.17). Moreover. the solutions that various societies opt for in dealing with the same fundamental problems (for instance what to produce) can, largely be attributed to their differing epistemological orientations - their assumptions about "human nature". In this case the institution of the market(with its peculiar emphasis on resource allocation through the action of many self-seeking individuals) was seen to be most compatible with the worldview of classical liberalism (with its emphasis on the sovereignty and rationality of each individual). It has also been noted that only within such a system of assumptions and orientations has it been possible , even necessary for modern consumer advertising to emerge and flourish. it is then necessary to investigate closely some of the classical liberal intellectual orientations that has been extended to the explanation of advertising as an

institution of the market system.

Advertising as a persuasion process has come to be accepted as a systematized way of affecting people's thinking and behaviour toward a certain objective - purchase. An institutional analysis then provides us with a vision of the whole structure of this system. As Hamilton(1932) notes of institutions:

> As it crystalizes into reputable usages an institution creates in its defence vested interest, vested habit and vested ideas and claims allegiance in its own right(p.37).

At its inception an institution may be merely utilitarian - e.g. to provide information about products in order to make people aware of the product's availability - but as it develops and draws to it individuals whose vested interests lie in its sustenance and ennoblement, an ideology and apparatus emerge to support it(Sandage 1973). An institutional analysis then affords us the opportunity of understanding both defences of and attacks on a particular institution. Some of the more enduring of the institutional analysis of advertising will be explored here.

3.7 ADVERTISING AS MARKET INFORMATION

In his 1960 essay James Carey attempts to search for the ideas and institutions which favour the development of an economic system in which advertising becomes a part of the very logic by which commerce is carried on. He rooted the "idea" in the liberalism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries , and particularly in the influence of Newton ,Locke and Smith.

> For our purposes the ideas that were of fundamental importance in justifying the new economic order (the market) were the notions that all was mechanistic, that natural

> law governed the physical and social world, that the world was characterised by fundamental harmony, that man possessed reason and conscience, that men were equal and endowed with certain fundamental rights - life, liberty, and property (p.10)

Thus institution is seen as the market system and particularly the institution of property rights. From this classical liberal premise an individual expresses the rights to his "property" - anything with which he has mixed his labour in the free market place, wherein other individuals participate in the same pursuit. Carey contends it is within this system that the institutional importance of advertising becomes evident. In practical terms the classical liberal assumptions underlying the theoretical analysis of competitive markets, and the notion of economic market is that participants have a perfect knowledge as regards prices of goods and alternatives available. In purely competitive markets, the responsibility for supplying relevant information rests solely on the market mechanism itself. Market -supplied information concerning supply and demand represented the interactions of many buyers and sellers concerning their property rights which in turn led to the "natural" value of the goods offered.

Carey suggest that it is in the supply of relevant information that advertising's institutional emergence can be found. While advertising of this sort differs from today's advertising in content. He writes that it still correctly places advertising's origins as a supplier of relevant information in a market economy in proper perspective. Modern advertising, Carey notes, developed as markets began to lose their interpersonal nature. As production became more centralized, as branded

merchandise developed, and as the number of competitors dwindled, the function of supplying market information shifted from the market itself to the participants (firms) in the market. The erstwhile interpersonal relationships in the marketplace was displaced by newer relationships mediated by mass communication facilities. The shift in responsibility for information supply bore peculiar consequences. When firms took over this function, economic power shifted and became increasingly concentrated in the hands of certain sector of the market - the self-seeking firms who desired market information only for persuasive purposes.

Under the assumption that man is rational, this would be deemed appropriate for man will be able to detect truth in the clashing views of self-interested individuals. The fact however, that the information is now supplied by interested parties in the process meant that the self-righting process which yielded the "true value" of goods had been upstaged by the concentration of economic power in individual firms. Carey writes that modern advertising still performs the traditional function of disseminating market information as a logical corollary of a market system, but they also now act as an agency of social control providing norms of behaviour appropriate to current economic conditions. Thus, as marketing is concerned with the development of demand in an abundant society, advertising is called upon not merely to "sell" but also to "create and develop" demand for a host of products and services well beyond any traditional definition of "necessity".

In summary then, Carey contends that the issue of advertising basically concerns controversy over who shall supply the necessary market information, what type of information it shall be, and to what ends it should be directed.

3.8 ADVERTISING AND MARKET SUPREMACY

In his account of the institutional analysis of advertising Vince Norris (1965) notes that "institutions are the rules according to which social life is carried on, consequently our understanding of the life of any society is limited by our understanding of those institutions" (p.60). Norris argues that to understand advertising as an institution does not require a journey to some millennium. More relevant, for Norris, is the perspective that the emergence of advertising as an institution started when some 'sizeable segment of the population (namely the business class)came to look upon advertising not as an emergency measure to be used sporadically, but as the routine manner of solving an omnipresent problem (i.e. the profitable conduct of business)

Norris writes that only in the last thirty years of the nineteenth century in America did advertising emerge as a "full-fledged" institution. During this period advertising volume increased tenfold, importantly because an entirely new form of advertising - the advertising of producers, not retailers had taken place. He challenged the prevalent view of advertising as resulting from industrial revolution brought about by technological advances. Norris notes that this view was an oversimplification of the matter because (a) centralised supply had existed for centuries for instance with the Phoenicians, without advertising; (b) the nature of nineteenth century commerce was essentially a seller's market where there was no incentive to advertise for reputational reasons; and (c) the prevalent view ignores the role of the wholesaler.

Norris contends that as producers began to satisfy the demand of their local market the problems of how to distribute their goods to other cities, towns and villages arose. At the time, for most producers wholesalers performed this role by serving as the link between a limited number of producers and a much larger number of retailers. As branded goods were still unavailable at the time wholesalers reaped all the economic advantages by buying from that supplier that would offer him the lowest possible price. In this way, since the supplier needed the wholesaler more than he needed each of the suppliers, he was able to play one against the other. This worked well for the wholesaler but not so for the suppliers.

The ensuing price competition during the period of wholesaler domination brought the revenue of the manufacturers down very close to the cost of production. It was the effort to break this domination and to gain bargaining power that made manufacturers, toward the close of the nineteenth century, to resort to branding their product and advertising it over the heads of the wholesalers to the consumers. If the consumers can be induced to request for a specific brand from the retailer, the retailer would then order it from the wholesaler who in chain reaction, would be forced to buy it from the manufacturer and no other.

The growth of national advertising then, is not due to the problems of selling per se for, the producer could sell all he could produce providing he was willing to accept the wholsaler's price. The sole purpose of national advertising in its early days, Norris notes, was to avoid competing on a price basis. This change within the market, Norris contend, marked an important moment which bore great import for the market institution. The emergence of national advertising and branding meant that competition

became much less "perfect" and had certain positive and negative consequences. On the negative side it meant that (1) resources were no longer distributed only to the most economically efficient market entrants; (2) competition was no longer solely on the basis of price; (3) there was a tendency for a firm with some market power to withhold production somewhat, thus leading to a "waste of resources".

On the positive side it meant (1) control over product quality, packaging, and innovation shifted from the wholesaler and retailer to the producer; (2) "Pure" profits provided funds for research and development; (3) concentrated industries could be considered more progressive than their more atomistic counterparts.

For Norris then, the market control intrigues between the manufacturers and the wholesalers that characterised the latter part of nineteenth century marked the structural imperative for the emergence of national consumer advertising.

3.9 ADVERTISING: THE WAGES OF ABUNDANCE

In his 1954 book, **People of Plenty**, David Potter contend that abundance was a major force in American history which had been grossly underestimated if not overlooked altogether. He noted that unlike other major forces such as democracy, religion, and science, abundance had not been considered as having developed its own distinctive institution comparable to representative government and the clergy for instance. Potter writes that modern American advertising had its origin in the peculiar abundance that characterise American society:

> If we seek an institution that was brought into being by abundance,

> without previous experience in any form...an institution which is peculiarly identified with American abundance rather than abundance throughout Western civilisation, we will find it....in modern American advertising (p.18).

Like Norris, Potter notes the considerable growth of advertising in the latter part of nineteenth century, particularly producer advertising. He also shares with Norris the notion that advertising initially started as a marketing strategy to make consumers brand loyal and thus forcing distributors to stock products of the producer; and that advertising eventually moved on from merely influencing purchasing habits for existing demand to creating demand per se. The result of this, for Potter, is that the nature of advertising changed from an informational to a persuasive type. Potter contends that the growth of advertising was enhanced by intensified product differentiation and over-productive capacity of the industrial system. The vital factor which laid the structural imperative for advertising, for Potter is over-production - a situation where potential supply exceeds existing demand. A condition of abundance.

Why should there have developed an institution like advertising under this condition and what would be its role ? Potter contends that in a situation of abundance it was necessary for consumers to be educated to learn their role as a consumer, particularly as a consumer of nonessential goods. As this was a novel phenomenon, it required the resources of an institution. Advertising simply filled the role. For Potter, advertising is not merely an economic tool, it is also an instrument of social control which serve to "guide the life of the individual by conceiving of him in a distinctive way and encouraging him to

conform as far as possible to the concept" (p.25). Potter compares the institutions of church, school and industry with advertising in terms of how they conceive of the individual and consequently what they appeal to. He concluded that while these other institutions have tried to improve man and to develop his being towards higher social values, advertising has attempted none of such. Potter then identifies his bone of contention with advertising as its lack of institutional responsibility and lack of "inherent social purpose to balance social power" (p.26).

To illustrate the extent of the social power that the advertising institution enjoys, Potter notes that more money for instance, is expended on the education of consumers (that is, advertising) than is spent on formal education (schools). More worrying, he writes, is advertising's influence on the media and invariably on the public. He noted that as publishers and broadcasters found advertising revenue more and more attractive, their products became gradually less ends in themselves and more a means to an end, in this case getting more audience (potential customers) to be treated to an onslaught of advertising campaigns. This then leads to a kind of middle-ground approach wherein non-advertising content of the media avoided controversial themes in search of a common ground that would please everybody. The result of this , Potter declares, is "to enforce already existing attitudes, to diminish the range and variety of choices and , in terms of abundance, to exalt the materialistic values of consumption" (p.34).

3.10 LITERACY IN THE AGE OF CONSUMERISM

Charles Sandage actually set-out to defend advertising in his

1973 essay when he declares from the outset that an institutional perspective can enable the practitioner to respond to criticism by appreciating the true nature of advertising and focusing on its positive values. He writes that it is first necessary to distinguish between the institution (advertising) and the instruments (advertisements). Sandage noted that much of the criticisms and defences of advertising is really about individual parts of the larger whole. He then offers an explanation of the true nature of the whole.

Sandage writes that advertising has been given the responsibility of assisting society to achieve abundance by informing and persuading members of society with regards to products, services, and ideas. He further adds that 'education in consumerism - the development of judgment on the part of consumers in their purchase practices", is an increasingly significant role that has been assigned to advertising (pp. 6-7). Once these larger functions are understood, Sandage suggests we will realize that a great deal of the criticism of advertising is really criticism of such basic concepts as abundance, persuasion, and freedom of choice. Sandage adopts a classical liberal perspective that is evident throughout his essay. For instance on the issue of freedom of choice he declares:

> In a free society the nature of consumption is determined primarily by consumers themselves. They decide, through their actions in the marketplace, how many people will be employed to supply them with tobacco, clothing, homes...They decide, too, how much of their purchasing power will be spent to support preachers, private schools, research foundations, art galleries and symphony orchestraa...(p.7)

If people do not seem to be making choices that is deemed to be in their best interests, Sandage argues, the solution does not lie in legislation or in establishing a new government department to guide consumers, rather the solution lies in raising the level of education in consumerism. Advertising thus, should serve to "implement freedom of choice" by "supplying consumers with adequate and accurate information about all of the alternatives available to them" (p.7). Sandage then suggests that this essential flow of information can be achieved through two processes:

(1) through the ongoing conflict of ideas in the marketplace - for instance a smoker is not only exposed to the appeal of cigarette ads but also to the discouraging warnings about the dangers of smoking.

(2) through complete disclosure, with competition available to provide knowledge of alternatives. This suggests that each message will provide full disclosure of product characteristics that are important in evaluating its ability to meet a need or want. Sandage contends that by performing these two functions, advertising actually is involved in socially beneficial activities.

Earlier on in this chapter it was noted that one major advantage of an institutional analysis of any social phenomenon is to understand the complexity of the phenomenon by taking all the social processes involved into view. It is appropriate to examine what these four institutional view of advertising can offer not only in understanding advertising per se but also how we can relate the functions already ascribed to it to its role in a peripheral society like Nigeria.

First Carey offers an understanding of advertising as a process of market information. If the provision of information is essential for the proper functioning of a market system, then the nature of that information would vary in content and frequency depending on whether the information is provided by the producer or the market itself. As the producer is a self-interested and calculating entity he would provide information that is beneficial to his goals. As the nature of the market changes whereby the producer requires to provide information not merely to inform consumers about the attributes of his product, but to generate demand the information changes in nature and frequency to a persuasive and aggressive type. In such a situation the information provided may or may not include all the relevant information that might be necessary for the rational consumer to make a proper decision.

Consumerists and other critics for instance complain that the informational content of much advertising is not adequate to achieve that purpose, while advertisers believe that it is. As will be shown later, other writers have in fact argued that what constitutes information in advertising has been defined too narrowly. A lot of the criticisms about advertising in the underdeveloped countries for instance concern the deceptive nature of advertisements such as when a baby food is offered to a largely illiterate public as better for babies than natural breast-feeding. In such a situation it would seem plaudits of advertising would find safe shelter under classical liberalism's notion of "rational man". It can then be rationalised that people in underdeveloped societies, irrespective of their level of literacy are expected to be able to judge the veracity of such claims.

The first point worth noting here is that the argument that advertising performs a socially beneficial function as an information purveyor is uncritical in its acceptance of this notion without noting the essential nature of the information that is being provided. The second point is that the concept of "free marketplace of ideas" where information is freely and widely available such that people are at liberty to choose that which is best for them is chimerical. It overlooks the structured nature of specific social formations particularly capitalist social formation and the way this structure places different people in different positions within the whole system. It overlooks the reality of access and exclusion to specific types of information and to power and material resources as a whole. It assumes that people are equally placed in society to seek and get what information they require to make the right decisions about what they need etc.

Norris defines the institutional function of advertising in terms of its economic consequences. He suggests that a better understanding of the institutional role of advertising can be found in adopting a narrow analytic scope - that is seeing the institution of advertising in terms of a dominant type of advertising - in this case producer advertising. The major question he poses then is whether advertising's effects on the nature of the market system are , on balance, positive or negative. He observed that the market system in the US changed dramatically with the emergence of national advertising in the quest for market domination. Norris then identifies some of the positive and negative consequences of this change. To reiterate, on the positive side he finds that (a) advertising enables the

producer to achieve "pure" profits that can in turn be flowed back into product improvement, research and development, etc.; (b) advertising as an expression of property rights, is an efficient form of communicating the advantages of the producer's product to a large number of people; (c) concentrated industries could be considered more progressive than their atomistic counterpart.

On the negative side Norris identifies that (a) resources were no longer distributed only to the most economically efficient market entrants; (b) Competition was no longer solely on the basis of price. Advertising enables a producer to manipulate the price of his good to his own advantage. The price thus has little relationship to the "real" market value of the product; (c) advertising enables the producer to operate at less than full capacity for their own advantage, thus leading to waste of resources.

How then, has Norris' institutional analysis of advertising clarified our understanding of advertising's role in a peripheral society. Norris has chosen to view advertising's function from an economic perspective. Thus it is possible for advertising's role to be either positive or negative to the economy, or to combine both such that which ever side dominates in an economy will depend on the specific workings of a particular economy. An analysis of the Nigerian economy has been provided in chapter 1 particularly concerning its subordination to international capitalist expansion. It would seem that because of this nature of peripheral economies it is the negative effects of advertising's role in the economy that dominates.

On Norris' first positive observation that "pure" profits provide funds for research and development there is little evidence of this in Nigeria. Once we realise that the producer

here is usually a transnational enterprise , other foreign business concern, and local petty bourgeoisie whose interests are in alignment with those of the metropolis, this point can be easily appreciated. There is numerous documentation regarding the practice of transnational enterprises in peripheral countries. Whatever profits transnationals make in these countries is repartriated to the metropolis through both legal and smart means. Such practices include **transfer pricing** or **double accounting** (G. Frank, 1967); the protection of patents (Tugendhat, 1973); the calculation of equity capital (Magdoff, 1969); control over market and market conditions (Sweezy, 1972); control of exports and organisation of the overall production process (Hoogvelt, 1976).

Norris' analysis of advertising's function for capital is based on the notion of competition. In this case producers are inclined to invest their profit in research and development so as to improve their production , reduce the cost of production by devising new technology and production techniques, create new, possibly improved products all of which will give the producer an advantage over his competitors. As would be shown later in this work this advantages do not accrue to the Nigerian economy for the simple fact that in its subordination to international capitalism, capitalism in the metropolis had already reached its monopoly stage and it is the features of this monopoly stage that is reflected in Nigeria's economic development. In any case the whole contentions about advertising's economic role must be put within the wider framework of the nature of the whole social formation. As will be seen in chapter 4, other writers have in fact argued that the significance of the economic role of advertising is sometimes misleading ,sometimes exaggerated considering

the fact that product advertising involves only a segment, albeit important, of the whole of economic activity in society. Thus Norris' analysis while useful for the insights it provides on the economic structural imperative that gave rise to advertising, must be seen as providing only a partial understanding of advertising's role in society, particularly a peripheral society like Nigeria.

Potter and Sandage proffer what might be viewed as "abundance" theories but in so doing diverge in their respective views on the implications for society of advertising as an institution of abundance.

Potter locates the emergence of the institutional function of advertising in the transition from a "producer's culture" to a "consumer's culture". He argues that advertising teaches us to be consumers and that in this capacity advertising shares with a few other institutions (schools, the church, the business system) the privileged role of social control. With such a privileged position comes a high expectation of social responsibility. Advertising, Potter regrets, unlike these other institutions does not possess this responsibility. Potter is one of a few liberal writers who had begun to question some of the fundamental assumptions of classical liberalism, particularly the concept of "human nature". By implication Potter seem to be questioning the concept of rationality in man - that man will not be able to resist the sophistry of advertising in his determination of wants even in the presence of other competing information offered by the other institutions he offers for comparison. Which is why Potter calls for less self-interest and more social-interest on the part of advertisers. As regards information which others such as Norris

and Carey hold as the key element in the perfect functioning of the market system, Potter expands the discourse by arguing that in the course of providing information, advertising in fact only corrupts the media system. Incidentally these views are similar to those of Marxist writers who have written on advertising and the consumerism as a whole as we shall see later. In however locating advertising's emergence in the theory of abundance his analysis cannot offer much explanation for how advertising thrives in peripheral economies with no such abundant features as obtains in Western capitalism.

Sandage on the other hand views abundance as socially desirable and advertising equally beyond reproach in its performance to aid in the achievement of abundance. For Sandage, the sovereign consumer is in charge of the system. It is his decisions that determine everything, from what is produced, in what quantities, to who can produce. Thus, the market system is unproblemmatic as it has its built-in corrective mechanism. Sandage's analysis is an unabashed acceptance of the classical liberal world view even in the face of growing evidence that in our contemporary world, a lot of these views have become highly questionable. Again Sandage's analysis denies the reality of how individuals are constituted within capitalist social formation. For him all individuals are equal, they have equal access to economic and political power and to information. His analysis ignores the reality of social relations of production in a capitalist social formation, and fundamentally he assumes that the sort of information provided by advertising are the right type needed to guide the individual in making the right decisions.

The classical liberal assumptions which forms the bedrock of the analyses of the writers examined above need in fact to be re-examined in light of contemporary experience.

Norris asserts that the struggle for market power between the producer and the wholesaler leading to the triumph of the producer had produced some positive outcomes particularly because it has allowed for concentration of industries and these were seen as more progressive than their atomistic counterpart. Contemporary experience however denies this optimism. The tendency toward concentration of market power has not been as positive as Norris would have us believe. In the US, this tendency, rather than provide diversity and choice in the market as classical liberalism predicts has in fact limited those choices. Thus, only those with substantial market power can produce goods for society. This undermines the classical liberal assertion about market democracy whereby people, through their demand, decide who produces what. In contemporary experience this decision is taken not by consumers as such but by the powerful conglomerates who have the economic advantage over other smaller producers and can force them out of business, or buy them over and absorb them into the bigger outfit. In fact one the central contentions of Galbraith (1958, 1967) is that the presence of advertising indicates that "wants" cannot be said to be independently determined.

At the international dimension the massive growth of US industries, culminating in the transnational phenomenon has been shown to limit the choice of nations in determining their own production requirements, media systems, and social-cultural identity. This is particularly important with regards to underdeveloped countries which possess very little bargaining power and technological lever through which they can participate

in the "world market system" (Wallerstein 1974) as equal partners. As Schiller (1971) noted, the conventional wisdom of "Trade is good", "Cultural exchange create understanding", "Free flow of information', are all chimerical because they gloss over the underlying advantages accruing to the concentration of power in only a few of the participants.

> Actually this view of beneficial and pluralistic international communications is about as realistic as the economists' model of free competition and the self-adjusting market economy... Domestically , the giant corporations...make a shambles of the notion of a free market of countless uninfluential producers and consumers. Internationally, the multinational corporation...now dominates similarly the global economy and has become the chief organiser and manufacturer of the international flow of communications (1971 p.52)

Schiller further asserts that the international community is being inundated by a stream of commercial messages that derive from the marketing requirements of mostly American transnational companies. This has resulted in the structure of national communications system and the programming they offer to be transformed according to the specifications of international marketeers. In chapter 1 it was shown how the development of advertising in Nigeria has grown hand in hand with the development of imperialism in the country. Josiane Jouet (1984) in a similar study illustrated the development of advertising in Kenya through the development of an imperialistic economy. Likewise, Anderson (1980) has illustrated the development of advertising in Indonesia as a function of imperialistic activities.

In summary then the quest for an understanding of

advertising's role in society, particularly in a peripheral society like Nigeria has led to an examination of the institutional analyses by the liberal scholars discussed above. While Potter rightly questions some of the classical liberal worldviews associated with the development of market economies, leading to a state of abundance and repudiates advertising's role in such economies , in locating advertising's essence in an "abundance" state of capitalism his analysis is at best partial for it cannot explain how advertising thrives in economies with capitalist features but which have not reached a state of abundance.

Norris' narrow analytic framework locates the emergence of advertising in the stage of market development when the market was dominated by producers rather than wholesalers thus giving rise to producer advertising. His institutional analysis of advertising was more concerned with whether advertising's effects on the nature of the market system are on balance, negative or positive. His judgement necessarily was based on the US economy but is useful for analysing other market economies for the questions it raises. Thus while Norris asserts that advertising has enabled the producer to achieve pure profits that can in turn be flowed back into product improvement, it was argued that this advantage does not hold for Nigeria which has a market oriented economy for, the period of its assimilation into the world market system was during the monopoly stage of capitalism and this is reflected in the structure of its economy. Consequently, Nigeria has not been able to enjoy the advantages of competitive capitalism before embracing a monopoly structure. In practice this meant that producers in Nigeria in the early days of industrialisation had no need to improve on their production techniques or quality of their product

as they had monopoly in the various areas which they invested. This is an element of colonialism and imperialism discussed in chapter 1.

Norris also claim that advertising as an expression of property rights, is an efficient form of communicating the advantages of the producer's product to a large number of people. In this sense Norris, like Carey and Sandage fail to investigate the very nature of the communication content of advertising. By and large, Norris' location of the emergence of advertising in a competitive stage of capitalism provides only a partial understanding for our purpose to explain the role of advertising in a peripheral social formation which exhibits a monopoly rather than competitive characteristics.

Sandage and Carey in their analyses of advertising locate its essence more directly in its informational role. Again, they both seem to accept unquestioningly that advertising performs that function quite well without any recourse to examine the nature of the information that advertising is supposed to be providing. As would be argued later in this work, the liberal writers whose works have been examined here are right to locate advertising's function for capital in it informational role, but the analyses they provide constitute a partial explanation of advertising's social role because of the vital elements of that "information" which they fail to examine.

Perhaps attempting to understand advertising's role in society from an institutional perspective necessarily forces us to overlook some of the more basic but important issues for, at bottom, advertising is really concerned with the marketing of goods. If people make goods in society why then do they need a separate institution to tell them about the goods, the products of

their labour ? Pedantic as this question may seem it lies at the heart of any thorough investigation of modern consumer advertising for, at the very basic level, discussion about advertising involves the relation between people and objects. It is this relationship that we must now examine.

3.11 THE COSMOLOGY OF PEOPLE AND OBJECTS

Advertising has emerged in the twentieth century as the central institution of socialisation in modern society(Jhally 1987). Its ubiquity is evident - in the streets, in public places like theatres, shopping centres and recreation facilities, every where it is present promoting goods and services. Stuart Ewen (1989) writes that advertising creates and enforces a vision of life which either imply or actually say that satisfaction reposes in possession of goods. The logical extension of this vision implies that people are what they own; that a man's worth is and ought to be measured by his ability to own objects. Certain products are presented as the symbols by which people achieve financial, professional , or personal power over others. Other ads encourage people to look upon their bodies with scathing scrutiny in the hope that any imperfections can be altered by the use of industrial products. In the magical world of advertising, Ewen continues, people undergo magical transformations transcending their innate limits and achieving projected ideals of femininity, masculinity, of power, influence, and pleasure. These images, abounding in both advanced market economies and peripheral market economies alike, reach us through television, radio, the print media, on billboards, moving vehicles, through our letter box, all over.

Jhally writes that advertising structures mass media content; is actively involved in the construction of gender identity; has an impact on the relation of children and parents in terms of the mediation and creation of needs; is heavily involved in creating strategies for political campaigns and in public policy issues concerning energy, environment and social consciousness; and also controls some of the most important cultural institutions such as sports and popular music. The enormous presence of advertising in such diverse realms of modern society, Jhally cautions, must not be allowed to obscure what it is really about. At bottom, at the material, concrete and historical level advertising is "part of a specific concern with the marketing of goods". It has emerged in modern society as a "discourse through and about objects". Any analysis of advertising must take this basic fact into perspective. In particular, this discourse concerns a specific, seemingly universal relationship - that between people and objects. Further, rather than seeing this relationship as a superficial feature of life, it begs to be seen as a salient , even definitional component of human existence.

The import of this perspective is the more significant in the anthropological summation of culture as - the sum total of the relations between men and, those between man and the cosmos. It is the extent to which people in all societies have been able to evolve these dual relationship that determine their quality of life. It bares evidence in human interaction with nature in the form of objects that surround us - shelters, cars, clothing etc.,and activities such as agriculture, hunting, etc.; and interaction between people in the form of institutions, organisations, wage labour, and societies.

The relations between people and objects has been described

as one of 'objectification' - the view that we objectify ourselves and our lives in the materiality of the concrete world; that we continually appropriate nature in the service of our daily existence. This process of objectification, Herbert Marcus (1972) explains, is not merely a small part of what constitutes the human experience, but is its deeper foundation. Indeed the process of objectification lies at the basis of a distinctive human experience - "the mediation of human need through objects" (Jhally 1987 p.2)

In the quest to locate the essence of advertising an examination of texts in the field can be confounding. While some writers see advertising as emerging in antiquity with notices for runaway slaves, others see its origin with the town criers of medieval Europe, or the popular press of eighteenth century England. Generally though, the genesis of modern advertising is usually traced to the advent of the industrial revolution, with its specific mode of production. The social debate concerning advertising has diverged considerably on the contemporary person - object relationship.

While neo-liberals and Marxists share a lot of similarities in their criticisms of advertising namely : that national consumer product advertising arose as an economic necessity as modern society progressed from a competitive to a oligopoly situation; advertising's function is to create demand among consumers to ensure that the goods produced in large numbers by mass production techniques are bought in equally large numbers, so that owners of the factories producing them can secure adequate returns on their investments; advertising is a manipulative tool, controlling the market by creating false needs in consumers; advertising extols a

general ethos of consumption whereby all needs come to be fulfilled through the purchase of goods in the marketplace; that the overemphasis on consumption of goods as a means of satisfaction for needs leads ultimately to general feelings of dissatisfaction rather than to happiness, because goods simply cannot deliver the happiness promised by advertisements - there is a major point of divergence in the positions taken by neo-liberals and Marxists.

The neo-liberal critique is that the market cannot be trusted to make good decisions about allocating resources, because advertising distorts the composition of needs and wants which producers are engaged in satisfying; that the market economy should be modified to accommodate a more rational planning institution (Galbraith 1957). The Marxist critique contend that advertising is a response to the needs of advanced capitalism for a solution to the 'crisis of realisation' (Baran & Sweezy 1967); that advertising is a **sine qua non** for the continued existence of capitalism in the perpetuation of its inhuman social system. It is argued that advertising achieves its goal through technological manipulation (Packard 1957), and false symbolism (Ewen 1969). Not all liberal and Marxist writers necessarily subscribe to all or any of the criticisms mentioned so far in their work on advertising and consumerism in general, but these views represent a major current in the works of these two schools of thought which we shall have cause to look into later in this work. For our purpose however, a more germane contention by one of Marxist's most prominent critic Raymond Williams need now to be brought into our discussion so far.

3.12 IN SEARCH OF CAUSES - USE, SYMBOL AND POWER

In his 1962 essay Williams writes that the social and symbolic significance conferred upon goods by advertising show us as being too materialistic, as putting too much emphasis on the possession of goods. To the contrary, Williams argues that people are in fact not materialistic enough:

> If we were sensibly materialistic, in that part of our living in which we use things, we should find most advertising to be of insane irrelevance....It is clear that we have a cultural pattern in which the objects are not enough but must be validated, if only in fantasy, by association with social and personal meanings which in a different cultural pattern might be more directly available (p.185).

Williams draws a distinction between a rational use of goods based on their utility alone and an irrational use of goods based on what they symbolise. For Williams, rationality is based only on utility, or the objective performance features of the product and any symbolic system is irrational.

To the extent that modern capitalism provides social and personal meanings through the consumption of goods that were more directly available in previous modes of production and in traditional societies, Williams' contention on this point remain valid. But to conclude that without advertising and in a rational society, goods would only be seen as things which are practically useful but socially meaningless is problematic. Jhally contends that this perspective has in fact limited an adequate critical perspective on the role that advertising plays within modern consumer societies - "the contention that goods should be important to people for what they are used for rather than their

symbolic meaning is very difficult to uphold in light of the historical, anthropological and cross-cultural evidence" (1987 p.4)

In all cultures at all times, Jhally notes, it is the relation between use and symbol that provides the concrete context for the playing out of the universal person - object relation. The present radical critique of advertising errs in its perception of the proper or rational relation between use and symbol. This weakness, for Jhally, is one of "commodity vision" - wherein the problem of capitalist commodities has not been sufficiently distinguished from the problem of objects in general. Thus, while the person - object relation has been set within the context of power, the critique in its current orientation has lost the link with culture and history. To redress this imbalance there is need for the recognition of the basic symbolic aspect of people's use of things and this must be the minimum starting point for a discourse that concerns objects - advertising. In this regard, the prevailing distinction between physical and psychological needs must be supplanted.

Sahlins (1976) notes that all utility is framed by a cultural context - that even our interaction with the most mundane of objects in daily life is mediated within a symbolic field. Also Sikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1981) not that:

> Even the use of things for utilitarian purposes operates within the symbolic province of culture. The most 'utilitarian' objects in the home, such as running water, toilets... were all introduced into general use no more than 150 years ago... all considered luxuries when introduced. Thus it is extremely difficult to disentangle the use-related function from the symbolic meanings in even the most practical objects (p.21).

William Leiss (1976) notes the dualistic nature of human behaviour and argues that human needing through all its facet has both symbolic and material correlates, and that even our basic physiological need - foods, shelter, and clothing have always been rooted in a wealthy web of symbolic mediation (p.65).

Equally, writers within marketing and business circles recognise the symbolic essence of person - object relationship and have in fact used it in arguments to justify advertising. Theodore Levitt for instance equates advertising with art. He noted that art presents by definition a 'distortion' or interpretation of reality with the aim of influencing an audience to think in a particular way - over and above functionality to abstraction. In like manner, he asserts that advertising uses similar means and so should be evaluated by the same noble criteria as art. Geertz (1973), in his study on culture declares the "Homo sapiens, as a species, was a cultural animal before being physically fully formed". Children, according to Geertz, learn what their absolute needs are through the prism of a given culture.

Sociologist, Lee Rainwater (1974) suscribes to this notion when he noted that people judge themselves by the extent to which they can engage in 'validating activities' that are both personally and socially confirming. He contends that people seek not social superiority but social membership. They want "those attributes and resources that go into the construction of a virtual social identity for persons in their society' (p.35). Schudson (1981), in his critique of 'puritanical' critics of advertising notes that needs are socially relative in any society and that the true - false distinction is a difficult one to sustain. He contends that the real issue is not 'false' symbolism, but the direction that symbolism takes in any society.

Such defence of advertising however are just as lop-sided as the criticisms of advertising. While they recognise the symbolic element in all human needing, they fail to offer any account of the dimension of power or of the social effects of advertising. Schudson for instance observe that while the anthropological approach have broadened and enlightened the discourse on consumerism through their enunciations on symbolism and culture, they fail to identify what fundamental features of culture and social structure produce both a consumer society and its 'propaganda of commodities'. But Schudson then betrayed his own bias when he concludes that: "since the anthropologists present rather articulate views on consumerism without reference to advertising, they make it unlikely that we can find in advertising a devil, or prime mover of the consumer society" (1984).

As Jhally contends that just as it is valid that the symbolic mediation of human needing is a vital feature of human existence, so it is just as true that power also clouds and influences all social relations. Goods, for Jhally, always mean something within a social context where different interests are being played out.

The World of Goods by Douglas and Isherwood (1978) is of particular importance in that they included the dimension of social power in their work. Observing that traditional economics dote on two main assumptions about human needs - materialism and envy - Douglas and Isherwood suggest instead that an anthropological approach would regard consumption as part of the cultural pattern in any society. Using the anthropological concept of Ritual - the process whereby dominant social meanings are given shape and substance - in conjunction with the theory of consumption, they offer an illuminating analysis of consumption in their work. They contend that "rituals serve to contain the drift

of meaning". Thus, any society that operate without some form of ritual must be without a shared collective memory. They further contend that while ritual can take a verbal form, it is more effective when tied to material things. In this process, goods are seen as adjuncts of ritual and consumption is a ritual process whose basic role is to give meaning to the labyrinth of fleeting events. Goods are used in the negotiation of social life, and act as meaningful 'markers' of social categories.

Importantly, they observe that the precise form that this takes is framed by both cultural and economic relations (social power). The use of goods as social markers has been extensively documented in the anthropological study of traditional societies (Leiss, 1978; Rey and Dupre, 1973). In such traditional societies, there is usually a two tier socioeconomic arrangement split into prestige and subsistence spheres. The subsistence economy includes those materials related to food, clothing, and shelter, and are fairly easy to obtain. The prestige economy comprise readily available, but socially scarce goods whose possession in ritual settings translates material values into abstract values of prestige, reputation and status.

From the anthropological evidence then, we are shown that goods are both communicators about social ideas and power, and satisfiers of human needs. While evidence from anthropological studies have shown this process to be a universal practice, it is essential to examine the different social forms in which these dimensions are operationalised, or as Leiss (1983 p.2), puts it, the various modes of representation for it that correspond to qualitative differences in forms of social organisation. In modern times the market is the arena, the context within which the person-object, use-symbolism, and symbolism-power relations

discussed so far are represented.

While traditional societies have separate spheres of economic relations, it is claimed that modern society has collapsed its separate spheres. Douglas and Isherwood however contend that there is little difference between the two contexts and that the modern market in fact works to produce separable spheres of activity.

> That which disguises itself as a disinterested, friendly, hospitable consumption sphere in practice draws up dividing lines between those in control and those they are excluding. The ethnography suggest that we will find these consumption spheres, distinct and ranked, here as well as among the Tiv and the Yurok, and that these should yield a basis for discerning groupings among goods (p.150).

In his contention that social differentiation in modern societies has similarities with distinctions in older societies, Sahlins (1976), calls on the concept of **totemism**, defined as the "symbolic association of plants, animals or objects with individuals or groups", in his analysis of western society. Levi-Strauss in his exposition writes that the essence of the concept consists in the almost universal tendency of cultures to divide nature into different groups of species and things and to correlate these with differentiations in the social world of people. In Sahlins' account, modern society has simply substituted manufactured objects for species, with exchange and consumption acting as the means of communication of the totemic order. In these expositions, neither Sahlins nor Douglas and Isherwood locate advertising as a powerful actor in the cultural process of modern society. Which is good enough for Shudson when he declares that such omission is evidence that advertising is not the prime mover of consumerism.

But not so for McCracken and Pollay (1981) who observe that:

> If goods have a symbolic aspect it is largely because advertising gives them one. They plainly do not spring from the factory fully possessed of their ability to communicate. It is advertising that enables them to assume this ability...It is advertising that makes goods 'communicators'.

Jean Baudrillard (1975,1981), also places the concept of symbolic code at the centre of his analysis of advanced capitalism. He contends that for there to be a relevant and up-to-date analysis of advanced capitalism, Marxist scholars have now to transcend the work of Marx for it no longer offer an adequate description of advanced capitalism. This, he contends is because society has gone through a radical transformation since the nineteenth century. Marx, he observes, analysed a capitalism where only 'material production' was alienated in the exchange of political economy. In modern times however, virtually everything (virtue, love, knowledge, consciousness) fall within the realm of exchange value (market). This latter stage constitutes not merely an extension of the first but a radical departure from it. Thus, traditional Marxist concepts such as reification are not sufficient analytical tools, because society has moved from a phase where the commodity form was dominant, to one where the sign-form dominates. Baudrillard further notes that consumption today is concerned with the 'systematic manipulation of signs' within the workings of a broader behavioural code.

This position is similar to Sahlins' - that the manipulation of a symbolic code is the most important feature of advanced capitalism. Objects lose any real connection with the basis of their practical utility and instead come to be the material

correlate (signifier) of an increasing number of constantly changing abstract qualities. They both identify this logic of signification as the true essence of advanced capitalism. Baudrillard argues that in an important social change, monopoly capitalism has shifted the focus of control away from production into consumption, with control over demand and socialisation by the code (in which advertising play a leading role)

> The monopolistic stage signifies less the monopoly of the means of production than monopoly of the code...The form-sign describes an entirely different organisation: the signified and the referent are now abolished to the sole profit of the play of signifiers, of a generalised formalisation in which the code no longer refers back to its own logic... The sign no longer designates anything at all. It approaches its true structural limit which is to refer back only to other signs. All reality then becomes the place of a semiurgical manipulation, of a structured simulation (p.127-128).

For Baudrillard then, it is the control over demand and symbolism, rather than contradictions in production, that characterise advanced capitalism. This is achieved through control of the symbolic code such that commodities can be given any meaning that bare no relationship whatsoever with what they are used for, by the manipulation of their relationship to other signs.

3.13 ADVERTISING, GOODS, CONSUMPTION, AND SATISFACTION

The idea that good are communicators and satisfiers is based on a relational view of consumption, not as a private affair but a social activity. Thorstein Veblen (1953) offers an insight on this perspective. He writes that because consumption is socially based

(and Judged), it describes relative rather than an absolute activity. Consequently, the satisfaction that people derive is also relative. Satisfaction is measured against a social scale, or an average standard. As a society gets richer and more goods are available to a wider group of people, so the average standard also rises and the 'level' of satisfaction remains stable. The numbers above and below the average standard remain unchanged.

In another study aimed at finding correlates between wealth and happiness, Richard Easterlin (1974), found among other things that although there was a substantial rise in incomes for all groups, the proportion of the total population in the US who considered themselves happy remained relatively stable. He then explains these results using a 'relative income' model by which people judge their subjective level of happiness in comparison with what others within society at the time have (p.112). Easterlin contends that there is a consumption norm which exists in a given society at a given time, and which enters into the reference standard of virtually everyone. This then provides a common point of reference in self-appraisal of well-being, leaving those below the norm to feel less happy and those above the norm, more happy. Easterlin however does not account for what role advertising play in the constitution of this consumption norm.

Tibor Scitovsky , in **The Joyless Economy** (1976), set out to debunk the traditional economic theory of rational behaviour and consumer sovereignty. This theory comprise four propositions: (1) what the consumer choose to do is an accurate reflection of his tastes, i.e. his behaviour is revealed by his preferences and vice-versa; (2) the consumer develops his own tastes and preferences independently of those of other consumers; (3) without sufficient means to satisfy all of his desires, the consumer must

"keep unsatisfied margins on all his needs and desires", in order to insure that "any extra dollar he spends on one thing yields him as much satisfaction as the extra dollar would if he spent it on any other thing".

Scitovsky challenges the prevailing economic thought on this theory by claiming that it is unscientific in its portrayal of human psychology. He contends that the accepted theory simply cannot account at all for the obvious fact that the individual's preferences change over time, or more precisely, that it cannot show why or how preferences change, as they obviously do. Scitovsky notes that these changes are discernible only in relation to a social process of interpersonal relationships. Further, there is a reciprocal relation between changing preferences and changes in the sense of satisfaction derived from any particular activity. He argues that the dominant paradigm overlooks the possibility that the same influences that modify our tastes might also modify our ability to desire satisfaction from the things that cater to our tastes.

Scitovsky's analysis attempts to explain why the expected correlation between greater happiness and rises in real income does not occur with four posers: (1)satisfaction is derived from relative social ranking and status as measured against a consumption norm; (2) work provides satisfaction and this is likely to be more rewarding and stimulating the higher one's position on the income scale; (3) satisfaction is derived from novelty and stimulation in consumption, but capitalist production tends to homogenise experience and stress standardisation instead; (4) comfort, resulting from consumption, is addictive and since we take it for granted it ceases to be a source of stimulation and thus satisfaction for people.

> The doctrine of consumer sovereignty is a gross oversimplification, especially in an age of mass production, when almost nothing gets produced that cannot be produced in the thousands...Even if we accept this promised claims, it leaves some of the most important questions unanswered. There are millions of consumers. Are all of them sovereign? Are they equally sovereign? And, if not, what determines their relative influence on the nature and quality of goods and services produced ? (pp.7-8)

Scitovsky further contends that if the market can truly be seen as voting machine then, it will most reflect the 'choices' of those who have 'most to spend'. Thus, consumer sovereignty at one level is a rule of the rich. However, there are countervailing forces such as the economies of scale which ensure that the things bought by many can be produced more cheaply than those bought by only a few. The buying-power of the rich (financial wealth), and demand-power of the masses(their sheer number) are therefore twin features of the capitalist marketplace, both struggling for prominence. It is within this contradiction that Scitovsky locates the essence of advertising.

Because the profitability of producers rests largely on the latter - i.e.demand-power of the masses - a situation arises where the public's average taste is pulled down because the desires to which the producer must respond in this context is "the primitive, unsophisticated desires, or variants of desires, which the most simple-minded segment of the consuming public shares with the rest" (p.9). Thus mass production caters to conformity (predominant desires) and the role of advertising here is to ensure concord among the mob as to the nature and quantity of the limited number of things that are to be mass produced.

Consequently, advertising does not create demand but moulds it and directs it along the path that work to the advantage of producers.

Scitovsky's real concern is with the effects of mass production on consumer satisfaction and his bone of contention is that consumption of the same product at different times can lead to either stimulation or comfort. In his view, traditional economic theory cannot explain this change and diversity of consumer tastes because of the prevalent view of the consumer as someone with set tastes, who pursues conscious actions, limited only by resources to satisfy them. For Scitovsky, not only is this approach inadequate, but it has prevented a consideration of the influences that mould the dominant lifestyle and push people toward accepting and adopting it.

So far in this section, in advancing the discourse about advertising beyond the liberal thoughts examined earlier in this chapter, it has been necessary to transcend the institutionality of advertising, and to look at more fundamental concepts such as the nature of objects and their relationship to people, symbolism and power,and consumption and satisfaction. While a number of the scholars whose works were examined above locate advertising's role within these relations they fail to show how advertising actually function within the market system characterised by these set of relations, and how it is able to achieve the desired result in its assigned role. For these we must turn to Marx's work on fetishism of commodities. It would however, be necessary to first investigate the concept of "fetishism" and see how it has come to be used in Marxian theory as an analytical and conceptual framework for the study of advertising and twentieth century consumer society in general.

3.14 FETISHISM IN ANTHROPOLOGY

The word "fetishism" has itself been a subject of much debate in terms of its definition and origin. Marx's use of the word to describe the mystification of exchange-value was in fact not the first use of the term as Jhally noted. Marx himself derived the term from early anthropological writings. Fetishism derives from Portuguese, being a corruption of **feitico** , meaning an amulet or charm. In the African Portuguese colonies in the late nineteenth century, it was used to describe a maker of charms, as well as the more modern meaning of sorcerer or wizard. W. Hoste(1921), defines fetishism as 'margically active' while another anthropologist Edward Tylor writes that it derives from the Latin **factitius** and means 'margically artful'. Tylor explains that during the European 'voyages of discovery'(1441-1500), when the Portuguese found the natives apparently 'worshipping or paying reverence to objects, they termed these **feiticos.**

Major serious study of the meaning and origin of the word came from scholars who needed relevant examples to illustrate various theories on the origin of human culture, and religion. In 1760 de Brosse wrote that fetishism was the first stage of general religious development, with monotheism being the second and last stage. de Brosse defines a fetish as 'anything which people like to select for adoration'. Importantly, he believed that these fetishes were worshipped on account of the powers that they were believed to possess in and of themselves alone.

August Comte slightly modified de Brosse's theory and located fetishism as the first of three stages in the development of religion (followed by polytheism and monotheism). In this case

fetishism describes a necessary stage in the development of all religion, in which all material bodies are supposed to be animated by souls essentially similar to our own. By the middle of the nineteenth century Tylor (1871, p.230) proposed that Comte's theory should more properly be labelled as animism and that the term 'fetishism' should be restricted to the 'doctrine of spirits embodied in, or attached to, or conveying influence through certain material objects'. Tylor attempts to distinguish the spirit and the material object in which it is located. Thus fetishism is seen as the practice by which objects become the temporary home of some spirits which if worshipped and appeased can have a beneficial influence on the worldly existence of the owner of the fetish. Essentially, there is nothing intrinsic in the object that qualifies it as a fetish and the imposition of a spirit takes place within a religious and ritualistic context by the performance of a priest or fetish man. Once the spirit is installed in the object it is then treated as being able to see, hear, understand and act. If however, the fetish fails the test of experience it will be discarded, hence it is not a matter of blind faith.

Herbert Spencer (1879), further extended the concept of fetishism when he wrote that fetishism be considered an extension of ancestor worship by which the spirits of the dead inhabit objects and places of 'striking or unusual aspect'. Other explanations of fetishism include its description as the capture or embodiment of natural forces in an object, whereby things such as an eagle's talons and other animal parts become valuable fetishes because one may avail oneself of the powers inherent in them.

As can be seen so far there is a lot of confusion over the use of the word 'fetishism'. The use of fetishism has in fact caused such a conceptual muddle that later works on anthropology following the recommendation of an 'anthropological committee' have limited its use for a 'limited class of magical objects in West Africa'(Parrinder 1961,p.9). The term 'fetishism' as used by Marx and in subsequent literature on consumerism does not refer to a total spiritual belief system, but merely a part of a much larger one (Jhally,1987 p.55). It operates at the level of everyday activity. In societies where the term has applied there are different levels of spiritual belief and an acceptance of the powers of the fetish does nor fore-close the possibility that its user may also have belief in a higher spiritual power, such as a supreme being.

Thus, there is no denial of God but only a feeling of remoteness to Him as regards the conduct of everyday life. It is the various lesser spirits and gods in the air that affect physical human conduct and it is to their influence that attention is directed. Rattray (1927,p.23) thus defines a fetish as 'an object which is the potential dwelling place of a spirit or spirits of an inferior status, generally belonging to the vegetable kingdom'. The location of one of these lesser spirits in an object is the result of ritual and religious activity.

To the question what specifically does the fetish do? Rattray writes that it is 'directly associated with the control of the power of evil of black magic, for personal ends, but not necessarily to assist the owner to work evil since it is used as much for defensive as offensive purposes'. Tylor(1871,p.245) provides an array of the uses of the fetish which include -

guarding against sickness, bringing rain, catching fish, catching and punishing thieves and making their owners brave. Hoste(1921), writes that fetishes serve many ends: they protect against evil spirits as well as detecting them; they cure disease; they are an incentive to affection; and they predict when to do certain things (such as journeys). Nassau(1904) also provides an interesting chapter on the fetish in daily life and its role in hunting, fishing, planting and love-making. The latter is of particular relevance to the use of the word fetishism in advertising. The fetish then, takes place at an everyday level. Its effects are short-lived and immediate relating to the practical welfare of its owners.

3.15 FETISHISM IN PSYCHOANALYSIS

Freudian psychoanalytic theory is however the area in which the most substantial body of literature on fetishism has been sustained. The clinical usage of fetishism has its basis on Freud's theory of ego development and infantile sexuality. The theory of fetishism from this orientation is actually part of the theory of 'sexual perversion' in general. It is strictly a male phenomenon and refers to situations whereby sexual satisfaction is impossible to obtain without a non-genital part of the body or some inanimate object being present and attended to. Fetishism is regarded as a 'perversion' - an abnormal development of the sexual instinct. Freud(1953) enunciated an intimate connection between infantile sexuality and the development of normal sexuality at, or following puberty. Infantile sexuality is the transformation of an instinct through various developmental stages in the early years of life. The particular instinct that Freud refers to is the

'libido', which in the early years is connected with other functions of life.

Breast feeding represents the first occurrence. While this period is essential for nourishment, the infant however repeats this when there is no need for nourishment and this 'pleasure sucking' is the first form of sexual satisfaction. This is followed by the second stage - the anal stage which is connected with the process of excretion. The third period is the phallic stage and it is here that the first differentiation between the sexes occurs. For the male in this period, the sexual urge towards his mother increases and the boy's love for her becomes incestuous. Consequently he becomes afraid of his rival, the father. This Oedipal stage is characterised by castration anxiety whereby the fear is that the father will remove the offending sex organ of the boy. The boy then represses his incestuous desires for his mother and his hostility to his father and the Oedipus complex disappears. This represents the normal model of heterosexual development of which fetishism is a deviation or perversion.

Freud's 1927 essay states that the fetish of adulthood is a penis substitute, a denial of reality where the man is in constant trauma of his infantile believe in his mother's phallus which he does not wish to let go but which really does not exist. The fetish is activated by the trauma of seeing the female genitals and is an attempt to ease the castration anxiety this causes. The fetish is the penis that the mother must have if the anxiety is to be resolved (Freud 1953). In the psychoanalytic literature, fetishism is treated as strictly an adult male phenomenon which manifests the traumas of childhood. Its major effect is that for

the fetishist any kind of sexual activity with females is impossible to engage in without the fetish being present, for it is only that which prevents the outward manifestation of the castration anxiety that would be caused if the reality of the penisless female were to be directly perceived. Without the fetish, the fetishist cannot engage in heterosexual activity, for it represents the lost phallus of the mother by which the castration anxiety is overcome.

Thus the fetish has no power, it does not do anything. It merely completes the scene wherein it becomes a sign without which the semiological consummation of sexual activity is literally impossible. Social relations thus are mediated through the fetish. It makes possible the continuance of social life. Freudian theory then, offers a theory of fetishism that is connected to the development of sexuality in all the early oral, anal, and phallic stages and especially to castration anxiety in the Oedipal period. While all male go through this process, there can be differences in the way they emerge - as either a healthy or unhealthy consequence. The healthy consequence is the development after puberty of heterosexual activity whereby the male can relate to the female in an unmediated manner and achieve satisfaction therein. The unhealthy consequence is the development at puberty of heterosexual activity whereby the male can relate to the female only through the mediation of an inanimate object which has the effect of seeing the woman as a phallic woman, and thus denying her natural sexual definition. While this latter phenomenon is a real need, it is falsely fulfilled by distorting reality, hence a mystification. Important, though, is the fact that at the heart of this lies a real, natural and universal need (sexual satisfaction). Thus for our understanding of fetishism,

particularly in it's extrapolation for social analysis it is necessary to note the distinction and interconnection between the concepts of reality, mystification, and human need. We should now examine how Marx and subsequent critical writers have woven these into a materialist theory of culture and consumption.

3.16 MARXISM AND THE FETISHISM OF COMMODITIES

Most of the literature on advertising have been dominated by the notion of the informational role it plays in society. This has already been shown in the examination of the various works by both liberal and Marxist writers alike. Jhally (1987), however argues that within the established practice, in the works of both critics and defenders of advertising alike, what constitutes information has been rather narrowly defined (p.25).

Information has been taken largely as information about the uses of products. To focus on only the performance features of products, Jhally contends, is to operate within a rather limited confines because for consumers to have full knowledge about goods, other vital information such as how goods were made and by whom, is equally important. Again, we can gain insight on this concept from anthropological works.

Marcel Mauss (1967) in his study of Maori gift-giving notes that it was believed that goods were made up of both natural raw materials and the life-force of the person who produced it . He writes that the exchange of things in many cultures was literally an exchange of persons and is the reason why reciprocity is so important in many non-market exchange situations.

In older societies, there is an organic unity between people and the things in which labouring activity is objectified.

Consequently, individuals can only think of themselves in terms of the external social world because they have 'deposited' a part of themselves in it. In such a context , part of the meaning and vital information that people need about products include - who produced it; where it came from; and what its role is in social relations.

Likewise in contemporary society, the way that goods are produced and who produces them are important in defining the meaning a product has for people and consequently in defining its use value. Jhally illustrates that in the age of machine and factory production, the hand-crafted product is highly valued both symbolically and materially; that people, in the age of mechanical reproduction desire human production in the things they surround themselves with. Goods then, have as part of their meaning the social relations of their production and this is a vital part of the information that people require in order to fully comprehend the meaning of things.

In his attempt to unravel the system of capitalist production Marx focused on one factor as holding the key to this understanding. In volume 1 of CAPITAL, Marx noted that "the wealth of societies in which capitalist mode of production prevails appears as an immense collection of commodities; the individual commodity appears as its elementary form. Our investigation therefore begins with the analysis of the commodity." (Marx 1976,p.125) Marx contends that if one can understand how the commodity was produced, distributed, exchanged and consumed, then one can unravel the whole system, because objectified in the commodity are the social relations of its production. They are part of its communication features. By this, the materialist theory of history is basically a theory of the 'reading' of goods,

an understanding that the social relations of production are reflected in goods.

This however poses a problem within capitalism for, Marx argues, the relations of production conceals the information embedded in goods about the process of production; that there is a rupture in capitalism whereby the way things are is different from their real or actual meanings.

> A commodity appears at first sight an extremely obvious, trivial thing. But its analysis brings out that it is a very strange thing, abounding in metaphysical subtleties and theological niceties (Marx 1976, p.163).

It is in the quest for that peculiar feature of capitalist process whereby the way that goods are produced and exchanged blurs the inherent information about the social relations of their production that led Marx to develop his theory of 'commodity fetishism'.

In delving beneath the appearance of generalised commodity production, Marx distinguishes between the use value and exchange value of commodities. Marx argues that with regards to use value, there is no rupture between appearance and essence, rather the mystery of the commodity flows from its exchange value. It is therefore, the unravelling of the exchange value that will provide the answer to the mystery of 'commodity fetishism'. It is to be noted here that fetishism refers to the act of investing an object, or thing with powers it does not possess in itself. Jhally explicates that fetishism "implies not so much that we see powers in things which are not present, but that we think that the powers a product does have belong to it directly as a thing when in actual fact it is as a result of specific human actions that give

it the power in the first place" (Jhally 1987, p.29). Thus, things 'appear' to have inherent value, but the 'essence' is that humans produce value.

There are two main dimensions to the way fetishism arises. First, there is the issue of exchange of commodities in the marketplace. Second, there is also the structure of the capital - labour relationship involving wage relation.

3.17 COMMODITY FETISHISM AND EXCHANGE-VALUE

All societies must engage in labour for the sustenance of life. Over time there evolves a social division of labour. The distribution of total social labour cannot be avoided but the form of its distribution can vary. It is the manner in which this distribution operates in market society that lie the roots of commodity fetishism (Marx 1934). The nature of generalised commodity production is such that production is carried on by private individuals or groups labouring independently of each other, thus the social character of production is manifested only in exchange. The market acts as the distributing force of the total labour of society and its only socially unifying element. In the exchange of different use values the common factor in this relation is abstract human labour. For Marx, the workings of capitalist society work to conceal this feature of exchange value. He contends that in the process of exchange what basically concerns producers is how much of some other product they can get for their own. As soon as equivalent proportions have been attained, usually through 'a certain customary stability', they appear to result from the nature of the products so that for instance 'one ton of iron and two ounces of gold appear to be equal in value'(Marx 1976,p.167). The naturalisation of value in the commodity then, is not just the result of the structure of relations of market society, but of a process over time. William Leiss (1976) agrees with this point when he writes that the fetishism of commodities does not result from their social form. Also Cohen (1978, p.119) observes that 'mystery arises not because there is a social form but because of the particular form it

is...mystery arises because the social character of production is expressed only in exchange, not in production itself'.

Marx draws on example from other modes of production in his analysis of commodity fetishism. He observes that in feudalism, social relations are manifested directly at the level of production and not at the exchange level. Under the feudal system, everyone from serfs to lords are dependent. Because personal dependence characterise the social relations of material production there is no need for labour and its products to assume a fantastic form different from their utility. Here, the import of the oppressive social relations is quite visible, whereas in capitalism only commodities are immediately social, production relations are only indirectly so. Within capitalist market relations, fetishism is manifested at the level of exchange.

Also, Cohen writes that social relations between things assert themselves against material relations between persons who lack direct social relations. Thus, 'it appears that men labour because their products have value through which they relate, and which therefore regulates their lives as producers' (1978, p.120). Consequently, under capitalist production, persons are alienated in a quite specific sense from their own power which has passed into things.

Marx note that in feudalism, social relations are expressed directly, whereas in capitalism they are disguised as relations between things, between the products of labour. In feudalism products become social before circulation but in capitalism products are not social until the stage of circulation and exchange such that the market is necessary to link people's labour 'behind their backs'. Since the producers do not come into social contact until they exchange the products of their labour, only at

the exchange relations do the specific social characteristics of their private labour appear.

> In order words, the labour of the private individual manifests itself as an element of the total labour of society only through the relations which the act of exchange establishes between the producers. To the producers therefore, the social relations between their private labours appear as what they are, i.e. they do not appear as direct social relations between persons in their work, but rather as material relations between persons and social relations between things (Marx 1976, pp.165-66).

The crucial word here is 'appear'. Jhally (1987) notes that appearance here does not mean illusion. It refers to a dimension of reality, 'the form in which essence shows itself' (p.28). If appearance is only a vision of part of the picture, the reality is crucial to the concept of commodity fetishism.

Marx contends that in feudalism products are social directly, in production whereas under capitalism they become social only after production, and only in relation to other commodities. What then is the missing link, the mystery that veils a complete picture of reality in the consciousness of people under capitalism. If consciousness reflects reality, since products become social only after production at the exchange level under capitalism,what is reflected in consciousness here is the social reality behind commodity relations. What Rose (1977) refers to as the reality of the visible. The missing link, what is hidden, is the social reality of the invisible. That is, the social reality of commodity production. Fetishism thus, consist in making natural and unquestionable properties of commodities which are in fact factitious. Consequently, what amounts to a historically specific

social relations (capitalist production) is seen as eternal, and natural, even divine. Lichman (1975) writes that: 'we grasp our powerlessness in this society and this aspect of our awareness is a reflection of the real fact of our exploitation. But we grasp this powerlessness as a permanent, inexplorable fate, rather than a historically transformable situation'.

In such a society, the economy is reified - possessing a logic and life of its own completely independent of human control. The extended logical correlate of such a society is one which suscribes to the notion of an immutable market system, with in-built corrective mechanism which guarantees the best interest of society at any time. By this understanding, fetishism operates to preclude the possibility of an alternative society where labour is consciously and rationally distributed in accordance with the self-determined needs of people.

3.18 COMMODITY FETISHISM AND CAPITALIST WAGE RELATIONS

The other dimension to the theory of commodity fetishism involves Marx's analysis of the wage relationship. The first dimension of fetishism reviewed above is rooted in a reality, albeit partial, thus it is not an illusion. The other dimension however, wage-labour and its accompanying relations are based upon illusion. The two features are however complementary for the illusion of wage-labour derives from the veiled reality of the first feature of fetishism (exchange value). Marx explicates with the proposition that at the level of circulation there seems to be an exchange of equals - the worker's labour for wages. The question then is if everything exchanges for its equivalent, how can generalised commodity production based on wage-labour produce

a surplus or profit ? To this question Marx contends that in wage relations, the notion of equivalence is only an illusion based on the first stage of commodity fetishism - the naturalisation of value in the commodity. Here, Marx draws an important distinction between labour and labour-power. The use-value of labour-power (what it is used for), is labour. Labour however creates more value than the value of labour-power. The capitalist only pays the worker the value of the reproduction of labour-power (what it costs for workers to be fit and able to work - i.e. the socially determined level of means of subsistence). This in Marx's contention is less than the value created by labour-power. In practice then, the worker works both necessary labour time (wherein value is created that equals the cost of labour-power i.e. wage), and surplus labour-time (in which value is created in excess for appropriation by capital). But because the objectification of human labour in products is marked by the market system of generalised commodity production, the worker is unable to decipher the distinction between necessary and surplus labour-time, and thus cannot penetrate to the heart of capitalist exploitation.

Marx again locates this mystification in the exploitation of the worker both in capitalist production and in feudalism. In the case of feudalism however, the exploitation is directly manifest. Further, the wage-form also gives rise to other appearance such as the notion of the freedom of workers to dispose of their own labour-power as they see fit.

Fetishism then, manifests itself in both reality and illusion, and is a major factor in how capitalism as a system of economic relations produces its own veil of mystification around social praxis. Marx's analysis throws a fundamental insight into

our understanding of how goods communicate information about social relations and operate within a social context. The mystification or the fetishism that Marx refers to does not only exist in the realm of consciousness and ideas, but the misrepresentation about production and consumption is embodied in material objects themselves. Marx's expositions reviewed here is in relation to the capitalist features of his time but provides a relevant reference point from which can be explicated an understanding of the essence of advertising in present day advance capitalism. Before going on to this however, it is necessary to look at some challenges that have been thrown at Marx's theory of commodity fetishism.

3.19 MARX'S COMMODITY FETISHISM:CONCEPTUAL AND TERMINOLOGICAL MUDDLE

Some writers in recent years have argued that there is an inherent flaw in the way Marx conceptualised the relationship between use-value and exchange-value that prevents any approach based on his work from fully understanding the symbolic element in utility and thus in consumption in general, particularly in its capitalist form.

Sahlins (1976, p.127) claims that although Marx recognised that humans are always social beings, the paradigm of the materialist conception of history was never fully symbolic, and that the tension between cultural and natural moments in materialist theory was resolved by dissolving the cultural moment. In Sahlins' critique, Marx recognised that the human transformation of nature is not simply the reproduction of physical necessity but the reproduction of a definite mode of

life. However, a second aspect of Marx's materialist theory negates the material logic of its cultural purpose whereby culture now appears as the consequence, rather than the structure of productive activity. For Sahlins then, Marx has no answer to the question of why a society chooses the specific set of goods it produces rather than another set. In other words, Marx fails to answer what determines the needs that determine production ? Sahlins further contends, as an extension of the critique of production (the nature of the goods to be produced) that the realm of consumption (the manner in which they are used), in Marx's theory is problematic for: 'Marx assumed that the mysterious element of the commodity was a function only of exchange-value, and that there was nothing mysterious about use-value' (1976, p.15).

Sahlins pointed that to achieve the obvious signification in commodity fetishism, Marx was forced to trade away the social determination of use-value for the biological fact that they satisfy human wants. He then contends that this view runs contrary to even Marx's own understanding that production is not simply the reproduction of human life, but of a definite way of life. At bottom then, for Sahlins, it would seem that Marxism offers a poor basis on which to erect a critique of the consumer culture, for the idea of the symbolic constitution of utility is indispensable for a full understanding of such societies.

Jean Baudrillard (1981) contends that the integration of signs (objects) within a symbolic code is the vital component that gives meaning to objects and that consequently there is no meaning inherent in the physical constitution of any object. In light of this, Baudrillard argues that because Marx linked fetishism only to exchange value, then, within the dynamics of a sign system,

use-value lies outside of this determination by the code. For Baudrillard, use-value itself is a form of equivalents and as such is capable of being manipulated within a system of exchange. Marx, it is claimed, did not recognise this relational aspect of use-value.

3.20 MARX'S COMMODITY FETISHISM: CLARIFICATION OF MISACCEPTATIONS

Marx states that use-value is not mysterious but exchange-value is. Sahlins and Baudrillard claim that in effect this ignores the symbolic aspect of the symbolic material duality of commodities.

Jhally (1987) questions the claim that Marx's analysis actually ignores the symbolic aspect of use-value and suggests that there is a need to look closely at the meanings of 'mysterious' and 'symbolic'. He notes that for Marx,commodity fetishism and the mystery of the commodity concerns false appearance of the commodity as possessing value in itself rather than as a result of labour, and that the theory of fetishism is indeed a theory of 'mystification'. Further, the symbolic constitution of utility is not defined as a relation of falsification, as the 'misrepresentation' of objective reality.

"Symbolic', with reference to Marx refers to the giving of meaning to something that has no meaning separate from this symbolism. Jhally writes that the instance of attributing status to objects is not necessarily false but is a location of them as part of a symbolic/cultural code. 'If people believe that attribution to be true and act upon it, there is no recourse to other interpretations of reality to disprove it.' Mystification on the other hand is distinguished from symbolism because "the former

seeks to give false meaning to something that already has meaning. The material/symbolic duality of commodities is their content and hence by definition cannot be false" (p.39).

Thus, use-value is not mysterious because there is no deeper meaning being hidden. Whereas exchange-value is mysterious precisely because it hides a deeper reality. It can in fact be shown that Marx did not conceive of use-value as a natural relation but as the effect of social relations.

> The commodity is, first of all, an external object, a thing which through its qualities satisfies human needs of whatever kind. The nature of these needs, whether they arise, for example, from the stomach, or the imagination, makes no difference...Every useful thing is a whole composed of many properties; it can therefore be useful in various ways (Marx)

Two points can be made from Marx's quotation above. First, that imaginary needs imply a multiplicity of ways in which people relate to objects within the context of a symbolic mediation. Second, that it is obvious in Marx's writing that an object can have various uses: 'The labour of the individual producer requires a two-fold social character. On the one hand, it must, as a definite useful kind of labour, satisfy a definite social need'; on the other hand, 'If commodities could speak, they would say this: our use-value may interest men but it does not belong to us as objects'.

Jhally argues that it is precisely the relationship between people and products that defines use-value; that use-values are realised only in consumption. Crucially, the distinction between symbolic and mysterious does show that Marx was not forced to naturalise use for the sake of the coherence of fetishism, and the

rejection of a Marxian theory of advertising and consumption, for Jhally is premature.

In summary then, Marx's work on use-value/exchange value relations shows that while the mystery of fetishism is false, the symbolism of use-value is not necessarily so. Rather, use-value should be seen as the result of a social mediation. Indeed, Marx in Capital writes:

> The number and extent of his so-called necessary requirements, as also the manner in which they are satisfied, are themselves products of history, and depend therefore to a greater extent on the level of civilisation attained by a country; in particular they depend on the conditions in which, and consequently on the work habits and expectations with which the class of free workers has formed. In contrast, therefore with the case of other commodities, the determination of the value of labour-power contains a historical and moral element (Marx 1976, p.275).

Sahlins may have been right in his observation that Marx does not answer in detail the question of why some sets of goods are produced and not others. But the evidence from the above quotation and in other writings quite clearly indicates Marx's recognition of the cultural and historical significance of production. This negates the naturalisation of use-value allegation. One vital point that needs stressing is that Sahlins and Baudrillard's contentions themselves suffer from an extreme cultural determinism. Marx's work however does not fall into this trap.

> The usefulness of a thing makes it a use-value. But this usefulness does not dangle in mid-air. It is conditioned by the physical properties of the commodity, and has no existence apart from the latter...Use-values are only realised in use or in consumption. They constitute

> the material content of wealth, whatever its social form may be (Marx p.120)

Meanings of any particular product then, are finite. And if they are not finite, there is some boundary to the range of meanings available in any contextual setting. Thus, even when the case has been made for the cultural-symbolic context of product use, there is clearly a case for a materialist theory of meaning to determine what meanings out of a finite range of possible meanings products take on in specific social contexts. This is the notion of partial necessity(David-Hillel Ruben, 1979). In his explication of Marx's work Ruben notes that:

> When something is determined to be something, or to act in some way, certain alternatives are closed off to that thing - Just as acorns are determined to become oaks and not beech trees, so also late capitalism is determined to develop a monopoly stage and not petty commodity production. What physical necessity offers is a way of seeing the world with restricted possibilities and options, and sets the task of actions to fit it with the physical necessities that do make some things impossible...Physical possibilities, impossibilities, and necessities, both natural and social, set the parameters of rational action (p.58).

Satre (1976), also writing on the relation between freedom and necessity in his concept of **practico - inert**, explains that the social context within which people attempt to attain meaning is not an abstract world. Rather, it is a socially concrete world.

So far in bringing in Marx's thought to the discourse about advertising it has taken the more general dimension of capitalist mode of production, consumerism and the role of information in market economies. Particularly, Marx's analysis of the structure of social relations showed how this relations in fact lead to

mystifications concerning the way capitalist society functions. Marx's analysis of the way that the process of production is hidden in the objects of production is central to an understanding of the role of advertising in capitalist society. The question however still stand, whether Marx's theory of fetishism is still relevant to twentieth century capitalist market and consequently whether it can provide an adequate analytical tool. The frame of reference for Marx's writings was the nineteenth century and it is known that a lot of changes have taken place within capitalism since then.

Jhally (1987) contends that Marx's theory of fetishism 'still provides the basis for understanding the mystification that capitalism produces about itself and the meaning of goods'(p.45). In order to achieve this, Jhally proposed to extend Marx's original theory of commodity fetishism by integrating advertising into the context within which the use-value/exchange-value relationship is formed.

3.21 COMMODITY FETISHISM IN TWENTIETH CENTURY CAPITALISM: TOWARD THE LOCATION OF ADVERTISING'S ESSENCE IN CAPITALIST SOCIAL FORMATION

In any work concerning advertising it is vital to note that at the most basic level, advertising concerns the relations between people and goods, objects or products. There are two major domains in which people encounter these goods - as producers and as consumers. One basic feature of capitalist commodity production is the sale of labour-power (i.e. the capacity to labour) by workers to employers (in this case, capitalists). In this

situation, the workers' labour is just another means of production, albeit a vital one. Jhally contends that under this arrangement, the sale by workers, of their labour to employers tantamount to the loss of control of their activity such that in the realm of work, 'our activity is alienated from us and belongs to someone else'. Control of labour is thus, transferred to the owner of the means of production, the capitalist. By implication, workers have also lost, over time, access to knowledge of the process of production.

Harry Braverman (1974) provides a useful insight in his analysis of the degradation of labour under capitalism through his discussion about the specificity of human labour and its potential for utilisation as labour-power. Braverman notes that human labour unlike other animal labour is not instinctive. Rather, it is preceded by a conception of the action and is not tied to any particular activity. Human labour can perform many varied and complex tasks. This unity however, of conception and action, has the potential of being fragmented such that conception can be achieved by one and executed by another. since however, labour-power cannot be separated from its owner, in order to use the capacity of labour, requires the appropriation and control of the owner of that labour-power.

Braverman writes that capitalist relations of production have transformed the historical unity of conception and execution into a situation where the working class fulfils the execution while the capitalist class retains the control of the former in its own hands. This is contrasted with an earlier period when workers held and controlled much of the knowledge of the labour process and organised the productivity to their own pace and created social relations of their own choosing. Braverman locates the genesis of

this change in the work of Frederick Taylor who formulated the idea that for there to be an efficient mobilisation of labour there has to be a movement toward 'scientific management' involving three principles : (1) the dissociation of the labour process from the skills of the worker such that management assumes the 'burden of gathering together all the traditional knowledge which in the past has been possessed by the workmen and then of classifying, tabulating and reducing this knowledge to rules, laws and formulae; (2) access to and the concentration of this knowledge within management so that conception is divorced from execution; and (3) the use of this knowledge by management to layout, control and separate the labour process into its constituent elements.

So management systematically pre-plan and pre-calculate all the elements so that the labour process now exists completed only in the realm of management, and not in the minds of workers who view it in a particularistic and fragmented manner. Thus, conception and action are not only separated, but become 'hostile and antagonistic and the human unity of hand and brain turns into its opposite, something less than human'. Consequently, there develops a whole range of new activities concerned only with the flow of paper rather than the flow of things. While the knowledge and control of the production process is concentrated in the hands of management, the working class gain only in ignorance of their own activity.

For the individual, Jhally contends the division of labour ensures that the worker will have only partial knowledge on only one part of the production process. where the product comes from and where it goes remains a mystery to the direct producers. In modern times, this dislocation is further exacerbated by a new

production method whereby different parts of one product are being produced in many different factories in many different countries.

So the structure of capitalist production ensures that the worker cannot obtain full knowledge of the whole process of production. Moreover, in many instances the introduction of new technologies and machines in the work place further isolates the worker from gaining any full knowledge of the process of production.

Thus, the only time the vast majority of people come in contact with products is in the marketplace where completed products appear as if by magic. At this stage, the only information we have of these products is what the marketplace (through advertising) provides us. In advanced market economies, the only independent information people get about products is provided by consumer magazines which focus largely on performance features. In peripheral market economies however, no such independent information is available to the consumers at all.

Further, the only time there is a social dimension to the production and distribution of products is during exchange relation in the market. What then is the implication of this arrangement ? In the dislocation of the organic unity of production process, the worker encounter the whole product only when it appears in the marketplace. The curious worker would realise that there is something mysterious about the product. As Marx (1976, p.163) notes - 'A commodity appears at first sight an extremely obvious , trivial thing. But its analysis brings out that it is a very strange thing, abounding in metaphysical subtleties and theological niceties.' Marx observed that the objectified form for what is produced and consumed have a puzzling somewhat mysterious character. While marketed goods have a

richly-textured social composition, entailing a co-ordinated production, distribution, and consumption system on a global scale, their social character is not immediately apparent. He notes that commodities have a dual nature, they are both 'sensuous' as well as 'supra-sensible' or 'social'. Commodities incorporate a unity of features that we can see, touch, and smell, while at the same time possess a complex of hidden social relations. This then is the central issue in Marx's theory of commodity fetishism - a disguise whereby the appearance of things in the marketplace masks the story of who produce them and under what conditions. One can draw a proposition from this - that if it were thought that the missing story about the social relations of production of goods were important to consumers, then our being deprived of this story constitute a systematic obscurantism within the world of goods.

In arguing that commodities fail to communicate information about the process of production to consumers, Jhally identifies the types of information that are systematically hidden in capitalist society as: (1) the process of planning and designing products; (2) the actual relations of production that operate in particular factories around the world; (3) the conditions of work in factories; (4) the level of wages and benefits of workers; (5) whether labour is unionised or not; (6) quality checks and the level of automation; (7) market research on consumers; (8) the effect on the environment of producing goods through particular industrial process; (9) whether the raw materials used in specific products are renewable or not; and (10) the relations of production that prevail in the extraction of raw materials around the world. These considerations all constitute part of the meaning (information) that is embedded in products.

Jhally contends that were information such as these available to people it would affect their interaction with goods because "products are the objectification of human activity". Our interactions with products is at the same time an interaction between people. He then presents a string of considerations on how full information relating to certain products would most definitely affect people's disposition to the products: that a product was produced by child labour in a Third World dictatorship; that raw materials were mined by young children; that a product was produced by someone working eighteen hours a day for subsistence wages in nations such as Korea or Taiwan; that making a product used up scarce non-renewable resources or destroyed traditional ways of life for whole people (as in the Amazon region); or that a product was produced by scab labour. Jhally writes that all these considerations would have severe impact on the meaning of consumption were they known to consumers. He cites examples of instances when revelation of such concealed information has actually affected consumer's perception of products and inevitably, their choice: the publicity surrounding the marketing of powdered baby milk by Nestle in Kenya which resulted in a large number of baby deaths became part of the meaning of all products and resulted in many consumers boycotting Nestle products; when it was revealed that Adolph Coors, the owner of Coors breweries in the US had reactionary racial views, minority groups embarked on a concerted effort to boycott Coors product in the marketplace. These were instances when the meaning of products for consumers was extended beyond the meaning usually derived in the market. One needs to add here that even without recourse to specific instances such as those cited here, Jhally's argument is given credence by the actions of various pressure

groups around the world particularly in Western democracies,who publicise from time to time, these hidden dimensions of goods production in the believe that such knowledge would shock consumers into changing their perception about certain products. Some recent examples include an ad sponsored by the Animal Rights Movement. In it, they argued that a fur coat worn so elegantly by a lady meant the slaughter of up to ten particular specie of animal from which the fur is made; there is also the case of the use of animals in experiments by drug and cosmetic manufacturers which has evoked a spate of protests, even direct action on the part of people who wish to stop the practice by all means. Another recent example is the revelation of the imminent extinction of elephants in Africa which has prompted a call for a ban on the importation of ivory ornaments all around the world. In all of these cases the important point is that the meaning of a particular product in these instances were extended beyond what is usually provided by the market.

The structure of capitalist social relations blurs the full social significance of products in a systematic manner. The real and full meaning of production is hidden beneath the empty appearance in exchange. "Only once the real meaning has been systematically emptied out of commodities does advertising refill this void with its own symbol" (Jhally 1987 p.51). As the specific social meaning of products is lost in exchange, the symbolisation of advertising appears as more real and concrete. The fetishism of commodities thus, consists in first emptying them of meaning (of hiding the real social relations objectified in them through human labour), then substituting the real meaning construct at a secondary level. Hence, the 'real' is hidden by the 'imaginary'. For Jhally, the social significance of the marketplace is only

possible after the social significance of production disappears beneath the structure of capitalist property relations. Here then, is the location of the advertising moment in Marxist analysis of twentieth century capitalism with its peculiar consumerist feature. Jhally contends that advertising does not give a false meaning per se to commodities. Rather, it provides meaning to a domain already empty of meaning. People need meaning in their relations with goods. Capitalist social relations however breaks the traditional organic unity between producers and goods , consequently incapacitating people's ability to make sense of the products of their labour, the goods around them. At the same time, capitalism weakens other institutions that could have provided these meanings (family, community, religion). Advertising thus, derives its power because it provides meaning that is not available elsewhere.

The significance of all these to our understanding of advertising in a peripheral capitalist society like Nigeria is that Marx's theory of commodity fetishism and Jhally's extension of it into twentieth century capitalism involving advertising provide a fundamental relationship between advertising and the structure of capitalist social formation. As such, what is needed to understand the role of advertising in market economies, be it advanced or peripheral is the fundamental relationship between people and objects and importantly, the specific concrete articulation of that relations in any social formation. In this case, it is the tendency for capitalism to severe the 'umbilical cord' linking people and their products through capitalist relations of production that engenders advertising. Thus, contrary to the suggestion of the liberal works reviewed earlier on that advertising is itself a product of affluence the Marxist analysis

allows us to integrate peripheral market economies into the whole analysis of consumerism as a salient feature of twentieth century capitalism. For, by this analysis a society does not need to have attained a state of affluence to engender the institution of advertising. What is required is for a society to exhibit the structural features of capitalism, particularly capitalist social relations of production. As will be shown in the conclussion of this work, not only does Nigeria share these features of capitalist structure, but the very fact that the structures are not fully formed has more significant implications (relating to commodity fetishism) for people in this society in their concrete social experience than for people in advanced capitalist societies.

In summary, our quest for an understanding of advertising's role in society and, fundamentally, of its emergence has involved an exposition of very diverse literature. The chapter opens with the suggestion that to fully understand the institution of advertising and its social role in Nigeria it is essential to first analyse its role and significance at source, that is in Metropolitan capitalism. The quest started with an analysis of the specific social formation (the Market) in which modern product advertising thrives with the observation that only this type of social formation engenders advertising (particularly of the persuasive type that has typified modern product advertising). An examination of the intellectual and epistemological orientations (classical liberalism) which itself gave rise to market economies was also done. Following these, certain institutional analyses of advertising by liberal scholars such as Charles Sandage, Norris Vincent, James Carey and Porter were reviewed. While these writers

were useful in different ways, in the insights they throw on the role of advertising in advanced capitalist societies, their perspectives offer only a partial understanding of the full social significance of advertising.

It was suggested that perhaps a liberal institutional perspective on advertising has an essential limitation for our understanding of advertising because it tends to start the discourse at a secondary level. It was suggested that since advertising really involves the relationship between people and object it would be more gainful if a discourse about advertising takes as a minimum starting point, an analysis of the relationship between people and things. Thus, it was argued that an understanding of the social role of advertising involves an analysis of a number of interconnected relationships - such as person and object, use and symbol, symbolism and power, and communication and satisfaction. The discourse moved on to examination of works which show that the manner in which people use goods in modern capitalist societies is largely influenced by the mediating institution of the market. The system of objects is itself an outcome of a process whereby goods are produced to be exchanged rather than to be used directly by the producers. Hence, in order to understand the usefulness of a product one must also understand its relation to other products - what is known more traditionally as the subordination of use-value (what it does for people) by exchange-value (what it is worth).

Finally we focused narrowly on the way that advertising connects to all these interconnected relationships by identifying the informational function of advertising. It was argued that the traditional conceptualisation of information with regard to advertising's role was to narrow as it refers only to 'objective'

features of the product world. Other vital elements missing in such information were highlighted and this led to an examination of Marx's theory of commodity fetishism. Here it was shown how in modern capitalist economies use-value was subordinated by exchange -value. This relation shows the manner in which the domain of appropriate symbolisation and meaning is narrowed in the capitalist marketplace and the role of advertising in this process. Importantly, we showed how commodity fetishism is relevant to twentieth century marketplace and more specifically to a peripheral society like Nigeria and the role of advertising in this relations.

CHAPTER 4

4.1 ADVERTISING AND INTELLECTUAL INTERPRETATIONS

In chapter 3 the issue of the origin of modern consumer advertising was examined through an exposition of diverse theoretical orientations involving wider issues such as the market system, consumer society, and relate issues such as use value/exchange value, symbolism, power, and commodity fetishism. In this chapter I aim to extend the various discourse laid out in the preceding chapter by focusing more closely on how scholars have approached the study of advertising based on their theoretical orientations about the ideal society, the market system, and the nature of man.

An examination of the vast literature on the study of the role of advertising in society will immediately reveal a labyrinth of thoughts most of which tend to raise more quest for understanding rather than resolve the basic issue of whether advertising is good or bad for society. It is a situation which White and Lannon(1977:184) refer to as 'a sort of intellectual mangrove swamp.' As Ronald Berman(1981:15) also noted, quite in concert with my expositions in the preceding chapter, the criticism of advertising involves the criticism of other things-' it may be organized around the idea of a good society, around the desirability of productivity, even around the difference between our needs and our desires.'

This chapter examines how various theoretical orientations have led to differing interpretations of the role of advertising in society and, more importantly, how particular orientations have led to specific methodologies as analytic tools for understanding the role of advertising in society. Most importantly, this chapter

aims to show how each methodology has helped our understanding of advertising and the limitations of each as an analytical tool.

4.2 ADVERTISING AND THE ECONOMY

In the vast literature on advertising, its economic role in society preponderates over other considerations. Opinions bifurcates widely as to whether advertising is a beneficial or a negative factor. As I stated earlier in the preceding chapter, criticisms of advertising by writers, neoliberals and Marxists alike, mostly take a functionalist view of advertising. In this manner, advertising's perceived consequences are almost always described as 'functions', such that it is seen to exist for certain necessary purposes within the whole structure of society. While neoliberals and Marxists take quite distinctly opposite views of society, their criticisms of advertising in this regard are quite similar. The general theme runs thus: that national consumer product advertising arose as an economic necessity as modern society progressed from a competitive to a oligopoly situation in the early years of this century. Advertising's function then is to create demand among consumers to ensure that the goods of mass production are bought in equally large numbers, so that capitalist can realise a quick and high turnover on their investments. Advertising then is seen as a manipulative tool, controlling the market by creating false needs in consumers, and by extolling a general ethos of consumption whereby all needs come to be fulfilled through the purchase of goods in the marketplace. This consumption orientation in quest in quest of satisfaction rather than to happiness because goods simply cannot deliver the promised happiness shown in advertisements. The point of

divergence for neoliberals and Marxists is that neoliberals see advertising as upsetting the delicate balance of the market system and call for a restraint on market forces by public policy and government action. The Neoliberal critique hold that the market cannot be trusted to make good decisions about allocating resources, because advertising distorts the composition of needs and wants which producers must satisfy. They then argue for a modification whereby the market economy is replaced by a more rational planning institution.

While Neoliberals call for the dismantling or major modification of advertising in market economy, Marxist writers see advertising as indispensable for the market economy. Advertising for Marxists, is such a vital and integral part of the capitalist system that the one cannot survive without the other. The Marxist critique sees advertising as a response to the needs of advanced capitalism for a solution to the problem of realization. Advertising is a willing accomplice in creating and sustaining the unhealthy features of the social system in which it evolved. Unlike the Neoliberal argument which calls for the dismantling of the advertising institution, Marxist critique maintain that this was not possible as it would lead ultimately to a dismantling of the whole system of capitalism. This much the Neoliberals and Marxists agree on though - that advertising is effective in creating demand in society. I must now focus on specific works relating to this positions.

John Kenneth Galbraith in his celebrated books, **The Affluent Society**(1958), and **The New Industrial State**(1967), offer a seminal critique of the function of advertising in the economy. The main thrust of his arguments is that advertising shapes human needs and desires and consequently that people's wants are

artificially constructed. His concern is that the conventional theory of consumer demand allows economists to support blindly ever increasing production in a society already affluent. Galbraith identifies two critical premises. First is the notion that the urgency of wants does not diminish appreciably as more of them are satisfied. Since there is no way of satiating consumer demands, increasing productive capacity is justified. Second is the notion that wants originate in the personality of the consumer. For Galbraith, both these assumptions are refuted by the simple fact that there exists a large and expanding advertising industry. If wants are truly urgent, he contends, 'they must be original with the individual. They cannot be urgent if they must be contrived for him'(1958). Economic growth then, is as artificial as the wants which the production system itself creates.

> ...above all they must not be contrived by the process of production by which they are satisfied. For this means that the whole case for the urgency of wants, falls to the ground. One cannot defend production as satisfying wants if the production creates the wants(1958:53).

This Galbraith refers to as the 'dependence effect'- creation of the wants that production is supposed to satisfy depends on production itself. In the New Industrial State he refers to it as 'the revised sequence' of the modern economy. In the 'accepted sequence' of economic theory, the consumer is sovereign and messages flow from consumers to the market to producers. For Galbraith, advertising gives the lie to this dogma. In the large corporate planning economy, firms have the initiative to control markets and shape consumer attitudes. Galbraith argues that

advertising and salesmanship would be unnecessary if people had independently determined desires. The major thrust of Galbraith's contention then is that advertising is effective in creating demand.

In like manner, Marxist critics Baran and Sweezy argue that 'the central function of advertising and of all that goes with it in the economy of monopoly capitalism...lies...in its effect on the magnitude of aggregate effective demand and thus on the level of income and employment'(1968:127-8). They further argue that this ability to control demand encourages capitalist to make a net increase in investment in plant and equipment.

The assumption that advertising is a useful tool used effectively by producers to generate demand has been subject to criticism elsewhere. Sinclair(1987) contends that advertising is only one element amongst several strategies such as branding, packaging, proliferation of retail outlets and other marketing strategies used in the selling of goods. To argue then that advertising alone can ensure demand management amounts to assuming a 'model of cultural influence in which people can only respond mindlessly and ceaselessly to the thousands of advertising messages aimed at them daily'(1987:14). He provides an example where in 1985 Coca-Cola corporation, acting on market research, changed its product formula and launched it only to find that consumer reaction to the formulae was unfavourable and had to revert to the old formulae. Also using the Australian experience, Sinclair argues that the vast majority of new products advertised on the market simply fail to attract consumers in sufficient numbers to make the products economically viable. Schudson makes a similar case in his critique of Galbraith's earlier contentions when he states that up to 90 per cent of new products advertised

in the US fail to survive for long(1984:37).

Sinclair further contends that the usual association of advertising with the high rate of growth in capitalist economy by it's critics has in fact proved to be historically transitory rather than a permanent condition of capitalism.

> Whatever contribution advertising may have made to the economic growth of the 1960s and 1970s, the experience of declining real incomes and swelling unemployment in the 1980s, even while advertising and consumer goods production continue, requires that we reassess advertising's connection to the economy as a whole...it would now appear that any stimulus to growth which advertising may have provided in the decades of the 'long boom'...grew out of historically specific circumstances rather than any necessary functional connection(Sinclair,1987:15).

4.3 ADVERTISING AND COMPETITION

Apart from advertising's supposed function of controlling demand, two other major roles have been identified by critics as advertising's function for capital. First is the issue of competition and the second is the issue of commodity circulation. The notion of competition and barrier to entry is particularly famous with critics of what is now referred to as Monopoly Capitalism School(MKS), the most celebrated critics of this school being Baran and Sweezy. This school contends that there is a continuous increase in the monopolisation of the economy that brings about a decrease in competition and a change in its form from price competition to non-price competition (i.e. advertising and branding). Thus, Baran and Sweezy argue that:

> Price competition has largely receded as a means of attracting the public and has yielded to new ways of sales promotion: advertising, variation of the products,

> appearance and packaging, planned obsolescence, model changes, credit schemes and the like(1976:115)

Elsewhere, Norene Janus(1982) argues that

> Advertising is a force toward monopoly. It sets the level of advertising high so that only the most successful firms can afford to compete...Therefore, advertising helps many firms sell products with higher than average rates of profit and prevent other smaller...firms from entering the market(1984:4)

In her critique of this contentions, Ariaga(1984:53-64) observed that the notion of competition is based on the assumption established by Neoclassical theory (already examined in chapter 3) that determines the intensity of competition by the number of firms in the industry. In this classical-liberal market system, a great number of firms is assumed so that no firm has significant hold on the market. Competition then derives from the sphere of circulation wherein prices are given by demand and supply curves. The underlying assumption here is that prices and quantities converge toward equilibrium via competition. The lower the price the higher the demand hence, the greater quantity is sold. It is then the efficient producer who can sell in greater quantities by offering lower prices. How he is able to do this is the secret of his competitiveness. Should there arise any disequilibrium between demand and supply, this is eliminated via a smooth process of convergency of prices and quantities. Thus, if demand tends to be outstripping supply, an increase in price will stem the rate of demand and a perfect state of equilibrium is attained again. This is called perfect competition. Any deviation from these condition leads to 'imperfect' or 'monopolistic' competition, implying a state where leading firms would be able to influence prices and

quantities.

The Monopoly Capital School argue that the continuous monopolisation of the economy arises through the creation of 'barriers of entry'. Thus Bain(1956) highlights product differentiation, measured by the amount of advertising expenditure of the firm, as one of the four main barriers to industry. Concentration of industry allows connivance, while entry barriers prevent new competitors from coming in. This then creates a decrease in potential competition and raises prices and profit above the average. We have seen from Janus' quotation above how she identifies advertising's role in this scheme.

In Ariaga's critique she contends that for Marx, competition is not a self-contained starting point and does not apply exclusively to the sphere of circulation. Competition for Ariaga, is the result of the self-expansion of capital. In production, the result of competition is a continuous increase in the productivity of labour. While in circulation, it aims at improving the conditions for the realization of the produced commodities. Therefore, competition is not determined by the number of competing capitals and is not eliminated or reduced if the number of competing firms decreases.

> In Marxian system competition is not only an equilibrating force but also a force that produces disequilibrium thus, the centres of gravity for prices, profits and values are changing averages, permanent fluctuations being the normal state of the economy (Ariaga 1984:55).

4.4 ADVERTISING AND THE 'CRISES OF REALISATION'

There is also the concept of 'crises of realisation' which holds that there is an inherent tendency in capitalism towards

stagnation at the monopoly stage and hence, artificial ways of stimulating demand have to be found in order to avoid this crisis. Advertising, it is argued is the tool by which capitalists stimulate aggregate effective demand so as to neutralize the move towards stagnation.

> Advertising has fulfilled several important functions in conditions of monopoly capitalism: (1) it allows competition to take place at the level of marketing rather than at the level of production;(2) it helps to increase the turnover time for capital, yielding higher profits; (3) it artificially stimulates demand by enabling the system as a whole to avoid crises of realization(Janus 1982:3).

Ariaga contends that the location of advertising's function for capital in relation to the crises of realization theme can be debunked by making a distinction between demand curves for the firm and aggregate social demand. She then argues that demand curves for the firm (demand for a specific commodity) can be affected by advertising. In circulation, competition between capitals deals with enlarging the market share and creating better conditions for the realization of commodities. When advertising helps to reallocate demand from one commodity to another, all other things being equal, there is a shift in consumer expenditure that obviously can affect profits, but aggregate social demand remains unaltered.

Baran and Sweezy contend that advertising increases aggregate effective demand by paying wages to unproductive workers in the advertising business. The issue of unproductive workers is related to the second issue about circulation which will be dealt with presently, but for now there is need to further clarify the

argument about effective demand. Baran and Sweezy also argue that advertising increases consumption to the detriment of savings and increases investment in plant and equipment by creating demand for the advertised commodities.

Ariaga notes that for Marx, social production consist of two departments- means of production being Department 1, and means of consumption Department 2. Ariaga argues that it is on this basis that the issue of demand can be best analysed. The demand for Department 1 goods(means of production) is always the demand of capitalist while that of Department 2 is always the demand of consumers, and these in turn are divided into workers and capitalists. Workers' demand is determined by the capitalist investment in wages or variable capital. Capitalist buy the machinery needed for production and hire workers who then buy back their subsistence goods from the capitalists, while capitalist buy consumption goods for the capitalist class itself. Thus, social demand originates entirely within the capitalist class through its investment in production goods and wages , and through its consumption.

For social demand to be effective however, it has to be expressed in money terms so that workers represent as much demand as their wages allow and capitalists as much demand as their profit allow. For the capitalist class, effective demand is greater than its real needs thus creating surplus value. For the working class, the difference lies between their effective demand and their real needs. Their real needs being greater than their effective demand. Consequently, Ariaga contends that advertising could attempt to increase capitalists' consumption in that they can afford to consume a range of products, but advertising can only modify consumer behaviour of the working class. Thus workers

can only consume alternatives within available product range. In as much as commodities are products of capital, their demand and supply depend on capitalist relations of production. Ariaga argues that it is unlikely that advertising could significantly affect aggregate social demand and productive investment given the fact that both are determined by (a) the existence of different classes and sections of classes which divide the total revenue of society and make up the demand created by revenue; (b) an overall structure of the capitalist production process where there is a supply and demand created among producers.

> And it is less likely that advertising could prevent a realization crisis by reallocating the demand of some non-essential consumer goods on a short-run basis. Advertising can 'locate' the demand for advertised commodity but in no way can advertising create that demand(Ariaga 1984:57).

4.5 ADVERTISING AND THE COST OF COMMODITY CIRCULATION

Apart from the theme of advertising's role in creating demand, both defenders and critics of advertising alike often claim for advertising the role of rationalising the cycle of production and consumption. J. Walter Thompson, one of the industry's henchmen wrote as far back as 1909 on this issue that 'Advertising is the shortest route from producer to consumer' (in Mattelart 1979:236). Consumer industry executives today still hold Thompson's view that advertising reduces their overall cost of selling in that it cuts down distribution costs and expedites stock turnover by 'pre-selling' goods. It is noteworthy also that producers believe that there are other institutions in contemporary marketing which achieve a similar or complementary

result, for instance, multi-outlet supermarkets with thousands of product lines, using limited staff. Sinclair (1987), noted that this example in fact illustrates a growing tendency in capitalist production to replace human labour with technology and plant.

In Marxist orientation however, labour is still the ultimate source of value and so the argument goes that the capitalist realises his profit in the 'surplus-value' produced by the worker by selling back to the worker, the product of his labour. In light of this, advertising is said to speed up the circulation, the process by which surplus value is realised. Further, the argument also runs that advertising is 'unproductive' because it creates no surplus value itself, but it is necessary for the realisation of value already created elsewhere hence for the reproduction of capital. Note for instance Janus and Roncagliolo's assertion:

> Advertising permits a shorter turn-over period for capital which acts to increase profits where limits have been encountered to reducing costs through increasing the hours worked by employers, etc. To the extent that this cycle of production and sales may be increasingly repeated within a given time frame, higher rates of profits are generated (1978:250).

Defenders of advertising do not disagree with this role ascribed to advertising but opinions differ on who should bare the cost of the advertising. Defenders of advertising contend that the cost are a small price which consumers must pay in comparison to the cost of alternative methods of marketing and manufacturing which would have to be used in the absence of advertising(Hendon 1975). On the other hand, Galbraith for instance rejects the principle that consumers should have to pay for others to

stimulate their wants for the other's profit(1974: 150-3). Baran and Sweezy contend that advertising expenses are not costs at all, rather they are an increase in the surplus which capitalists extract from productive workers. Productive workers pay for advertising expenses whereas unproductive workers such as advertising personnel enjoy a redistribution of the surplus. Thus, the capitalists pay unproductive workers out of the surplus extracted from the productive ones. Two issues can be drawn from this contention. First is the proper place of advertising withing capitalist production - is it productive or unproductive labour? The second issue concerns whether advertising cost, if it is an essential part of production as defenders claim, is a cheaper method of distribution.

Walker(1979:3) observed that if the advertising expenses of a large number of producers are averaged out over a large period, the amount when passed on to the consumer represents only a small fraction of purchase price. However, as Sinclair noted, because there are many products which are advertised very little if at all, the procedure of averaging out advertising expenses conceals the fact that some product types have very considerable expenses which the consumer must pay for. The cosmetics industry in the U.S. for instance is cited as spending as much as 33.9 per cent of sales revenue. The crucial point however is that the industry survey also indicated that distribution costs could be as high or quite higher than advertising costs in the product areas mentioned. The conclusion that can be drawn from this study then, is that consumers pay relatively little for advertising if all product areas are averaged out, but that in such intensively advertised areas as soaps and cosmetics, consumers pay dearly for whatever benefits they may derive from having these products. Such

a conclusion however, does not help to clarify the contention about the benefit of advertising in production. Defenders can draw on the fact that certain product advertising is cheaper for the consumer because the cost is less than an alternative method of distribution. Critics on the other hand can buttress their argument by concluding that it is the heavily advertised consumer product industries which largely fund the unproductive advertising industry.

Which brings us back to the question of unproductive labour. Ariaga observes that there are three levels of abstraction in the analysis of productive and unproductive labour that needs differentiating in order to understand the role of advertising in capitalist production. At the first level Marx deals with the process of production where labour appears as either productive or unproductive, where productive labour is that which creates surplus value. At a second level of abstraction Marx deals with the process of circulation and shows that not all labour that operates in the sphere of circulation is unproductive. Unproductive activities can be further differentiated as reproductive (or indirectly productive), and unreproductive. At a third level, there is the process of social reproduction where State expenditure and unreproductive labour can still be further differentiated. It is at the second level of abstraction (reproductive and unreproductive labour) that Ariaga locates advertising. It is at this point that Marx locates the costs of circulation which are further divided in two. At the first level there are those costs which arise from processes of production which are only continued in circulation such as storage, transportation etc. At the second level are costs related to activities which result from the mere change of the form of value,

i.e. time for buying and selling, accounting, storage for speculation, etc. Here labour time spent in these activities does not create any value or any surplus value and is therefore carried on by unproductive workers. The difference then, between costs of circulation due to continuing process of production and 'pure' costs of circulation is that the first, because they are the result of a process of production, add value to the commodities. 'Pure' costs on the other hand do not add any value to the price of the commodities and remain unproductive activities even when they become independent spheres of capital investment. For Ariaga, advertising is a pure cost of circulation because it is capital functioning in the sphere of circulation. Although it is necessary for reproduction, the labour time spent in advertising does not create any surplus value.

4.6 ADVERTISING AND MANIPULATION

Implicit in the contention that advertising plays a significant economic role in society particularly with regards to creation of demand is the assumption that advertising actually succeeds in its attempts to induce and increase consumption. Consequently, criticisms of advertising is not limited to its role in creating demand but also extends to ways in which it achieves this. A major contention is that advertising influences us without our being aware of it. Vance Packard(1957) writes in his popular book, The Hidden Persuaders, that advertising is about

> the way many of us are being influenced and manipulated - far more than we realize - in the patterns of our everyday lives. Large scale efforts are being made, often with impressive success, to channel our unthinking habits, our purchasing decisions and our thought

> processes by the use of insights gleaned from psychiatry and the social sciences. Typically, these efforts take place beneath our level of awareness(1957:11).

Packard cites examples from the use of motivational research, using focus groups of audiences to discover the basis of behaviour, particularly consumer behaviour by increasing numbers of advertisers and attempted to show that consumers were becoming creatures of conditioned reflex rather than rational thought. Further, Packard contends that this manipulation operates at a subconscious level. His concern was not with all advertising but those he saw as surreptitious.

Echoing this contention, Wilson Bryan Key(1972, 1976) in his works concerned with finding whether subliminal techniques were indeed present in advertisements and whether they can influence behaviour, observed that they were in fact present in many advertisements. Key cites the examples where the word SEX was baked into the surface of Ritz crackers and deeply symbolic sexual imagery used in the depiction if ice cubes in alcohol advertising. Key then asserts that this "secret technology modifies behaviour invisibly, channels basic value systems and manages human motives in the interest of special ownership structures" (Key 1976:2). It should be noted however that neither Packard nor Key was able to identify actual instances where such alleged manipulative techniques caused consumers to make a purchase they would otherwise not have done. The strength of their argument then seems to rest on the general impression they create that advertising is a powerful and prevalent tool that is used successfully to manipulate consumers.

Other writers have concentrated on examining the general

powers of the mass media that carry advertising. Galbraith for instance, contends that the need to manage demand was matched by the development of a technology that could accomplish this goal. Thus, radio and television, appealing to a mass audience with no need for a special literary skill are able to fill the needs of producers to be in "comprehensive, repetitive, and compelling communication" with consumers. Galbraith conjectures that the persuasive communications of commercial television (as opposed to the rationality of print) is so crucial that the industrial system could not survive without it. Jerry Mander(1977) reinforces this idea when he contends that there is something deeply disturbing about the very technology of television that invites persuasion and manipulation and stops the critical thought process. This has a more profound influence on people of developing societies as Peter Drucker(1978) writes in The Age of Discontinuity:

> ...for the masses of the world, radio and TV are not "entertainment" - as they are for the wealthy who have other means to learn about the world. They are the first access to a bigger world than that of peasant village or small town slum(1978:78).

For Drucker, advertising is perceived by developing economies to be the symbol of change and to speak for productivity which is the entry into modern life. It should be noted that in Drucker's impression of peasant societies, it is the message, not the medium that is the source of hypnotism. It then becomes important to differentiate whether the nature of messages transmitted via these new technologies is geared more in favour of commercial messages or public enlightenment.

4.7 FALSE SYMBOLISM

Not all criticisms of advertising's manipulative role concentrate on its association with new technologies and techniques. Other writers have focused on the obvious content of commercial messages, which show people how to use commodities. In this regard, advertising has been criticized for the arbitrary manner in which goods are linked to various attributes presented as being socially desirable. Thus, Stuart Ewen(1976) draws attention to a transition period in the 1920s when advertising messages shifted from focusing on products to defining consumers as an integral part of the social meaning of goods. Ewen observes that advertisers therefore, effected a "self-conscious change in the psychic economy" by flooding the marketplace with the suggestion that individuals should buy products in order to encounter something in the realm of social or psychological experience that previously had been unavailable to them. Thus, material objects came to play an increasingly important role in social interaction and everyday life as symbols of prestige and status.

In a similar study, Stuart Hall and Paddy Wannell(1965) also argue that the main trend in modern advertising shows a move away from the presentation of information, towards persuasion and that as such modern advertising has both an economic and cultural function.

4.8 ADVERTISING IN CULTURAL THEORY

Criticisms of advertising, particularly those focusing on its socio-cultural significance in fact has its root in the wider

dimension of mass society. Long before the system of mass production and distribution of branded consumer goods had entered its historic relationship with the advertising agencies and media of communication, there has been an intellectual tradition of protest against mass society. The mass marketing of new consumer goods in the early decades of this century, the emergence of the electronic medium and the rise of market research were all taken as confirmation of the rationalising view that advertising had assumed a central role in the forstering of a mediocre 'mass culture' which was deluging the refined tastes and spiritual values of an elite minority culture.

Leavis(1948) suggests that this was made possible through the 'deliberate exploitation of the cheap response', and the 'standardisation' of mass production which the commercialization of culture seemed to require. While this notion that an enlightened elite has been chosen by history to be responsible for conserving the true values against the falseness and vulgarity of mass culture has been a persistent theme in conservative cultural criticism, it has also gained currency in the radical analysis of culture derived from Marx.

While Marx himself never formulated a theory of culture as such, his work has been influential in the field because of the way in which he framed the problem of how culture could be related to the social and economic structure of a society. Marx used the term 'superstructure'(including the entire realm of consciousness) as his conception of how the values, beliefs and ideas of a society were embedded in its social practices, institutions and cultural products, which in modern times must include advertising. The superstructure in turn was built upon the 'base' or 'substructure' which for Marx, is the system of social

relationships determined by the economic organization of society, which in effect is the class system. This distinction between the base and superstructure thus creates the two key elements of the Marxist problematic, namely the way in which culture is seen to be ultimately determined by social and economic organization, and the corollary that the class which controls material production also controls the production of ideology, and does so in perpetuation of its own social domination(Marx 1967).

Since Marx's time however, an elaborate debate has developed within Marxism over the precise degree and manner in which culture can be said to be determined by economic factors and so controlled by the ruling class. The traditional Marxism of the Soviet Union and the communist parties have long favoured the interpretation that the superstructure was a mere reflection of the substructure, and that ruling-class control of ideas was wielded effectively and directly through institutions developed for that purpose, such as advertising and the mass media. While there are still Marxist scholars today who favour this functionalist interpretation, there has emerged in recent decades a more influential school of thought in the tradition of Western Marxism, which has recognised the complexity of culture and its effectiveness in its own right as well as in its relationship to economic organization(Murdock 1978).

The work of the 'Frankfurt School' belongs in this latter tradition. They saw totalitarian tendencies in capitalism because of its drive to monopolization and the forms in which it applied technology to both production and social organization. This, they observed, was evident in the standardization of cultural products according to limited stereotypes and formulae, and the corresponding aggregation of people into mass markets. Advertising

strengthened capitalism in this trend towards monopolization by raising entry barriers and by subsidising ideological media. Moreover, the Frankfurt school have been most critical of advertising's perceived capacity to create illusory differences between mass produced commodities and to demean language(Adorno and Horkheimer,1977). The Frankfurt school's works have been most accessible to English-speaking countries since the late 1960s through the work of Herbert Marcuse.

In his One Dimensional Man(1968), Marcuse explained how modern capitalism wielded social control through a subtle kind of totalitarianism in which all sources of opposition became absorbed into the dominant ideology or 'universe of discourse' and were thus neutralised. At the same time, capitalism 'superimposed' certain 'false needs' on individuals in order to press them into the service of the system, and deprived them of the very consciousness which would enable these 'administered individuals' to know that the needs were false- 'the prevailing needs to relax , to have fun, to behave and consume in accordance with the advertisements'(1968:22). In his observation of the consumer society, Marcus notes that:

> The people recognize themselves in their commodities; they find their soul in their automobile, hi-fi set... The very mechanism which ties the individual to his society has changed(1964:9).

Marcuse provided a theory of "true and false needs(1964:4-18) which was only implied in the liberal critiques of Galbraith. While Galbraith had suggested that middle-class taste was excessive, Marcuse put the matter in terms of specific psychological consequences. For Marcuse the economic system provided false emotional satisfactions - "to behave and consume in

accordance with the advertisements"(1964:5) was to degrade human consciousness.

4.9 HEGEMONY

Radical analysis of culture is quite diverse in orientation. Consequently, not all writers have adopted the position that the mass of ordinary people are incapable of recognising and resisting the pervasive appeals of the system of commercialised cultural forces abounding in society. There is for instance another orientation which Lawrence Grossberg (1984:399) refers to as the "Hermeneutic Approach" which gives cultural or signifying practices a more active role in the construction of power relations. In this position, the relationship between cultural texts and social reality is assumed to be mediated by processes and structures of signification. Thus, texts reveal their social significance, not on the surface of images and representations, but rather, in the complex ways that they produce, transform and shape meaning structures. A text is not a simple reflection of a social reality, even a distorted one, nor is it a reflex response to the material conditions of its production. Moreover, the Hermeneutic approach assumes that it is not primarily the factual, material social structure itself that is reworked and reshaped by the cultural text. Rather, society itself is already mediated through signifying practices. Thus Raymond Williams (1963:289) asserts that "there are in fact no masses; there are only ways of seeing people as masses". Williams repudiates the notion that commercial media and advertising have achieved total control over culture in capitalist society through the indoctrination and manipulation of mass audiences. Instead, Williams and other

theorists (such as Stuart Hall, Dick Hebdige, Pierre Bordieu) see a dynamic process in which the various sectors of the dominant classes are able to deploy their "cultural power' in ways which organize social life and define its cultural meaning only in terms which suit their own interests. Stuart Hall's work on the notion of 'Subculture' is a typical example of this position. The ways of perceiving, thinking and behaving which are available in a society and the very symbols by which meaning is given and taken arise out of the complex historical experience and material conditions of social groups on the basis of their social class and their age, sex, ethnic and racial membership. It is to be noticed however, that the study of advertising reveals to us that what the dominant commercial forces do is to construct these groups into 'markets' of 'consumers' who are addressed according to their 'demographic, features.

By selectively incorporating the actual features of specific demographic groups into messages, advertisers aim to entice them to identify with a commercialised image of themselves. Williams points to the example where the commercial press in Britain has learned to mime the language of working-class culture so that it seems to speak to workers from their own position in society and to represent their own interests. An example of this can also be found in radio commercials in Nigeria where advertisers address their mass audience in pidgin English. Well aware that the Nigerian masses are not very literate in English and that the pidginized version is very popular amongst the mass audience advertisers have increasingly switched to addressing them in this medium. While this does not guarantee that the workers will be fooled by this appearance, Williams notes that the capacity to resist such incorporation requires a certain vigilance.

If people actually identify with the appeal of a message directed to them they are said to have taken the 'preferred' ideological meaning structured into the message by the dominant capitalist culture. In instances when message content does not fit the forms of knowledge that have grown out of the audience members' own experience of their social reality, they may reject this preferred meaning and substitute their own interpretation, either as an inverted 'oppositional' one or some 'negotiated' version which modifies the dominant meaning more in accordance with their experience(Hall 1973).

The Hermeneutic approach then does not assume that a meaning given in a message is the same as a meaning taken. Rather, they are seen as 'polysemic', capable of different interpretations, and people are believed to 'decode' or interpret messages in the light of the knowledge of codes and discourses which they bring to the process.

It is however more in these very categories of social membership that the commercial forces of media and advertising do address us, basing their appeals on demographic variables to construct us as audiences for media and markets for goods. For the Hermeneutic theorists, there is a struggle to control culture, a continuous though intuitive rather than conspiratorial effort on the part of the dominant institutions of capitalism to ensure that all definitions of how life is to be lived remain within their hegemony. The term "Hegemony' as derived from Gramsci, does not refer to any sort of mechanism for maintaining permanent thought control or 'manipulation' over the masses, but rather , a process by which certain definitions of reality attain dominance in a society. Williams has explicated on this concept thus:

> Certain meanings and practices are chosen for emphasis, certain other meanings and practices are neglected and excluded...reinterpreted, diluted or put into forms which support or at least do not contradict other elements within the effective dominant culture(Williams,1973:9).

The strength of the Hermeneutics approach is that it enables us to think of how a social order and its culture can operate in the interests of its dominant economic forces without us having to assume either a conspiracy by the ruling groups or the passive compliance of the subordinate groups. Moreover, the rejection of the notion of 'the masses' allow us to see how culture is differentiated in accordance with the lived realities of gender, generation, class, ethnicity and race, even if these differences also have become the basis upon which media and products are directed at markets. Above all, the notion of hegemony encourages the view that domination of culture by the present vested interests is not a necessary, total and permanent condition, but historically changeable . What Hall refers to as 'an unstable equilibrium...more or less open, more or less contained, more or less oppositional'(Hall 1977:334).

In renouncing the simplistic reflex and conspiratorial analysis of culture however, the hermeneutic approach itself suffers from certain weaknesses. By arguing that there are several pockets of ideological forces in society struggling for dominance this approach suppresses the vital issue of access to power particularly through the enabling force of material and economic possessions. Consequently it also assumes that the various social groups have equal power such that the struggle for dominance is carried out on an equal footing. The corollary of this on the

effects side of the argument is that no one social grouping or individual member of a group can be subjected to any form of domination or influence as they are equally equipped with a consciousness which would guard against ideological repression. This claim that resistance to domination derives from the power to construct meanings, pleasures, and social identities is based on the illusory presumption that audiences are makers of meaning in the structuralism of Louis Althusser and its derivatives.

4.10 ADVERTISING AS 'IDEOLOGICAL STATE APPARATUS'

Althusser, like the culturalists, sought to transcend Marx's old base/superstructure metaphor as an explanation of how the capitalist economic order might create its own kind of culture. For Althusser, what was decisive about the economic order was not so much that it was a system of production, but that it organized society so as to ensure the 'reproduction' of the system of production. Within this scheme, all culture becomes equated with 'ideology' which has the function of 'constituting' individuals as 'subjects', calling each one into its place as a loyal bearer or supporter of the ruling ideology by which the 'social formation' is reproduced. Althusser coined the term 'Ideological State Apparatuses' which include the family, the school as well as the communication media and by implication, advertising, as the means of achieving ideological indoctrination. All these 'apparatuses' are unified by the ruling ideology which they institutionalise in their actual practices as a 'material force'. People are interpellated into the places in society which ideology already has prepared for them, and are induced to recognise that they belong in the slots to which they are assigned. These places are

not their 'real' positions, however, for they can never be shown their real positions. Althusser expounds on this concept thus:

> What is represented in ideology is...not the system of real relations which govern the existence of individuals, but the imaginary relation of those individuals to the real relations in which they live (Althusser 1971:155).

Consequently, we all live out our lives in a society which must eternally reproduce itself through ideological mechanisms such as advertising. Where Williams conceives of an historically changing contest between the ideologies of the dominant class groupings and the subordinate groups' own forms of consciousness, Althusser sees a unified ruling ideology and its system of apparatuses as the only source of all thinking and acting in society. Thus, even more than for the critical school, in this view our defencelessness against the ruling order, including the appeals of advertising is total and ineluctable.

In Althusser's theory of ideology, a society (or social formation) is always pre-given as a 'complex structured whole'(1977:193), but the 'economic' can assert its influence over ideology only ever in the ultimate sense of 'the last instance'. Thus 'the economic' is only one level of the social formation, the others being 'the political' and 'the ideological', which according to Althusser are 'relatively autonomous' of the economy and able to exert their own weight as causal factors in specific historical situations(1967). The implication of this position for the analysis of advertising and indeed all other ideological practices is that they should be taken to have their own specific forms of influence which are not necessarily related to their economic organization and which require to be analysed on their

own terms. Thus, the 'relative autonomy' formulation has given analysts of ideology a rationale for setting aside the economic considerations which were once central to Marxist accounts, and also a way around the theoretical trap of 'economism', that is the fallacy of providing simple economic explanations for complex ideological phenomena. Relative autonomy has instead yielded a complex structural explanation, while also pointing the way out of the Marxist problematic altogether for those writers who have wanted to argue that the ideological level is absolutely and not just relatively autonomous of the economic one (Hindess 1977).

By creating a partial isolation in the analytic links between the ideological(or cultural) phenomena and the economic organization of a society, the relative autonomy formulation has been an important theoretical disjunction which has ushered in a varied range of analytic orientations. On the one hand the Marxist kind of structuralism has been superseded by semiological versions, and on the other, a rearguard defence of economic explanations has been provoked. For Hall, this marked the 'return of the repressed' as the hard-won middle ground between these 'idealist' and 'materialist' extremes has been abandoned (Hall 1980).

4.11 ADVERTISING AND SEMIOLOGICAL STRUCTURALISM

Having been liberated from the problematic of base/superstructure causal link by the relative autonomy formulation of Althusser, certain post-Althusserian writers have then concentrated on the analysis of the ideological or cultural practices through the use of semiological approaches. These approaches to the analysis of culture derives from the 'science of

signs' developed by Ferdinand De Saussure and other structuralist linguists in Europe in the early part of this century. They thought of language as a whole system of rules governing the selection and combination of the different signs out of which meaning was produced.

Thus for structuralists, meaning derives from the combinations of both the 'signifiers'(the particular sounds or images which conveyed meanings such as words or pictorial symbols), and also by the structured relationship between them. Further, semiologists think of signs as 'arbitrary', in the sense that they did not simply correspond to their referents, that is the things that they were supposed to stand for in a real ,objective world. Consequently, if 'reality' was relative to how it was constructed or signified by language, then ideology could enter into the process of signification to provide its own 'imaginary' view of reality(Hall 1982). It should be noted that semiologists have taken 'language' as a model for all forms of cultural discourse, that is coded meaning systems in culture such as advertising.

In this respect, Roland Barthes provides 'readings' or interpretations of various 'texts'(cultural objects) drawn from French popular culture and consumption. He analysed each according to its location in particular 'mythological' discourses of the bourgeois class, particularly those seen to engender nationalism and the fetishisation of commodities (Barthes 1973). Barthes regarded advertising as a clear and purposeful form of signification, and shows the use of some key semiological concepts in a famous structural description of a particular text. He cites the example of magazine advertisement for Panzani products in which prominently branded packages of pasta, sauce and cheese appear to spill out from an open string bag, together with a

selection of fresh vegetables, all in a 'still life' composition of yellow, green and red tones with a brief sales message printed at the bottom(Barthes 1973).

For Barthes, this advertisement means that the bag and the vegetables signify the pleasures of shopping for and preparing fresh food, but in juxtaposition with the packaged foods. The arrangement and colour choices he regards as signifying French cultural knowledge of food while also signifying their Italian character. Analytically then we can see that the advertisement has two levels of meaning. There is the denotational level involving literal image of the objects, and there is also the conotational level where packaged food is meant to be seen as exotic, aesthetic and just like the natural food. The reader is 'directed' to take the ideological meaning, other possible meanings being shut out by the particular arrangements of the objects in the photograph. The arrangement is such that while the connoting signifiers are 'discontinuous' in themselves (they are individual elements drawn from various 'paradigms' or series), they acquire their ideological meaning when they are joined together by a 'rhetoric' of apparently natural relationships in a 'syntagm' within the advertisement itself. Barthes argues that the closure with which the signs are joined together in the denoted syntagm is 'structural', a formal property of the advertisement. He however recognises that the communication of the meaning of a text depends ultimately on the knowledge of denoted codes and connoted associations which readers bring with them from their cultural world outside the advertisement, and which they have to supply to achieve an interpretation of its meaning. However Barthes argues that this knowledge too, is structural because the individual psyche is, like an advertisement, "structured like a language';

and from structural anthropology, that meaning ultimately arises from the relation of culture to nature. Barthes' analysis then offers a set of insights on the basic perspectives of semiological structuralism: the distinction between literal, denoted meaning and associative connoted meaning; the further distinction between the loose, individual signifying elements of the 'paradigm' and their joining together by the grammar of rhetorical rules of the syntagm; the notion that meaning is produced out of the formal arrangement or chaining of signifiers rather than by the signifiers in themselves which alone are 'polysemic' or ambiguous'; and that readers are 'positioned' by this arrangement to take a certain ideological meaning from it. It is important to note that Barthes in his semiological approach towards media allowed for the possibility that there could be variations in interpretation according to differences in cultural knowledge which readers had drawn on. This position then comes close to the concept of dominant, negotiated and oppositional readings theorised by the culturalists.

4.12 ADVERTISING AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL STRUCTURALISM

While the semiological structuralists, particularly in the work of Lacan have been concerned with how language establishes the form in which universal latent processes are manifested at the level of the individual subject, Claude Levi-Strauss looked for the 'deep-structure' of the unconscious in such collective cultural phenomena as myth, totem and taboo. Levi-Strauss contends that all culture was 'structured like a language', a system of signs which produced meaning through a logic of categorisation and arrangement. While this logic drew upon our perception of nature,

it had its 'infrastructure' in the unconsciousness of all human kind, past and present, primitive and advanced. He argued that the paradigmatic terms of language and the syntagmatic relations between them were formed on a system of differences which were structured into such binary oppositions as raw/cooked, animal/human, permitted/forbidden, life/death, and fundamentally, nature/culture. Such oppositions as these provided an elaborate scheme for Levi-Strauss' analysis of the structures of meaning underlying the myths of various societies which he believed went beyond ideology to yield up the collective unconscious of all humanity. In his study of totemism, Strauss noted how metaphor was used to categorise social groups in accordance with animal species, that is how humans symbolised their relation to each other by their relation to nature. Also in his theory of kinship, Strauss identified a symbolic system of exchange, based on his observation that kin alliances were formed through the exchange of women in marriage. In this relationship, a man was forbidden sexual relations with those women whom he was keeping in order to give in exchange(Leach 1974).

One of the first attempts to apply Strauss's structuralist approach to the study of advertising was Verda Leymore in Hidden Myth(1979). Leymore developed the view that the meaning of advertisements and their effectiveness as persuasion could be understood by tracing their superficial 'system of appearances' down to a 'deep structure' of underlying rules. She starts by attempting to classify the 'surface manifestations' of advertisements into a system of binary oppositions, for it was at this level that the message 'registered in the consumer's mind'(1982:379-80). Leymore argues that for an advertising campaign to be effective, it had to favourably identify the

product with the appropriate structure in the mind such as washing powder with good rather than evil; a baby food with life rather than death.

A more sophisticated and rigorous attempt to bring structuralism to bear in the analysis of advertising is provided in Judith Williamson's **Decoding Advertisements**(1978). Drawing on works in semiology, Lacan and Althusserian Marxism as well as Levi-Strauss's structuralism, she sought to explain the ideological processes in advertising by which goods are given meaning. That is, how advertising transform the practical 'use value' of products into the symbolic 'exchange value' of commodities. Williamson began her analysis from the formal properties of advertisements themselves - 'Things "mean" to us, and we give this meaning to the product, on the basis of an irrational mental leap invited by the form of the advertisement'(43). Like Barthes, she argues that the signifiers(the words and images) in an advertisement are presented in such a way as to call upon (or 'appellate') its readers to supply the cultural knowledge necessary to make the connections from which we draw meaning. This, she contends, is achieved through the advertisement establishing apparently 'objective' associations between the product and some 'referent system' in the culture. The product is then made into a kind of 'currency' which can be exchanged for its referent. While the exchange of meaning in advertisements depends upon the readers' cultural knowledge, Williamson stresses that it is the structure of the advertisements itself which 'positions' the reader such that he or she is aware of being addressed by the advertisement and knows what kind of knowledge is called for. Thus, the advertisements constitutes us as 'active receivers', but only because it calls us into the

places which it has prepared for us. She points that advertising achieves this both in the way it addresses us, and through the 'absences' in its structure which it requires us to fill. She gives examples of ads which by their wording or layout call upon 'you' to occupy the space left vacant for the prospective consumer.

For Williamson, appellation works at both the individual and collective levels. At the individual level her analysis draws from Lacan's theory of how the subject is formed by language. She argues that the psychological appeal of advertising is that it seems to offer us the coherent self which we all desire but can never attain. At the collective level, Williamson invokes Levi-Strauss' theory of totemism to explain the process of 'recognition' by which we identify ourselves as the kind of person that would use a certain product. In this sense, the advertisement makes us believe that we are what we are called upon to be, that we 'always already' belong to certain groups, say, the 'Pepsi Generation', the 'Gulder Man'. Also at this level, another exchange is taking place, where we exchange ourselves for meaning, and the meaning that we acquire is the 'image' of each product which acts as a totem, an individualising agent that makes us unique and different from others.

Thus advertising creates meaning out of differences between products and differences between people, similar to the way language rests on systems of difference. In the case of advertising however, Williamson contends that its logical basis for achieving this is ideological because it makes the systems of difference seem natural and inevitable when they are in fact quite arbitrary. Williamson measures the falseness of these systems of difference against a view of reality derived from Marx(already

discussed in chapter 3), and sees the ideological consequences in terms similar to the masking /fragmenting functions of advertising.

> ...in our society, while the real distinctions between people are created by their role in the process of production, as workers, it is the product of their own work that are used, in the false categories invoked by advertising, to obscure the real structure of society by replacing class with the distinctions made by the consumption of particular goods. Thus instead of being identified by what they produce, people are made to identify themselves with what they consume(13).

Williamson has provided an impressive explanation of how advertising enables use value to become exchange value through her exposition on structuralist theory, showing the relevance of the former to the latter. Williamson's work provides a good example of the kind of works that have emerged from Althusserian 'relative autonomy' position which has enabled scholars to by-pass the base/superstructure problematic and to concentrate on analysis of the cultural form. As Williamson herself recognises, this development is fraught with certain limitations. Analysis of the internal structure of signs within advertisements as a cultural form, and of the ideological referent systems within culture can become an end in itself, she warns, so that we lose sight of how advertising fits into the real structures of production and communication. While Lacan and other post-structuralists believe that meaning is only to be found in the structure of signs in a text and its relation to other texts (Larrain,1979), Williamson sees that meaning depends on the exchange between the signs and 'specific, concrete receivers, people for whom and in whose

systems of believe, they have a meaning'(40). Her insights into how advertisements address their audiences and how people and products are thereby positioned into parallel systems of difference are most useful in the theoretical understanding of how advertising's ideological significance derives from its mundane purpose in selling goods.

In conclusion, this chapter is an examination of various concerns (economic, social, ideological) about advertising's role in society and how certain intellectual orientations bare upon the positions that critics take on the issue of advertising's place in society. Also I have tried to look more closely at the ways that such intellectual orientations have led to particular methods of studying advertising and how each method or position has broadened our understanding of advertising while at the same time noting the limitations of each position as a theoretical or analytic tool for our understanding of the advertising institution.

CHAPTER 5

5.1 ADVERTISING IN NIGERIA: TOWARDS A SUBSTANTIVE CHARACTERISATION

In their 1984 study Janus and Roncagliolo summed up the impact of transnational advertising in developing societies as economic, media control, and socio-cultural. They exclaim that the use of the national wealth to advertise largely, light consumer goods. while basic human needs for food, clothing and shelter have not been met is questionable. Further, they contend that

> advertising carries specific cultural and political messages. Along with other transnational communication products(e.g. pop records, film, etc.), advertising serves as a mechanism for the dissemination on a global scale of a specific complex of cultural patterns...The process of cultural homogenization reflects the needs of the transnational corporation to re-orient local culture in accord with its industrial expansion(1984:83)

Finally, they observe that advertising serves to change the principal function of the mass media from information dissemination to the commercial link between producers and consumers.

> At stake here is the critically important independence of national communications media. Decisions concerning media contents, audiences sought and time schedules in capitalist society are increasingly made with regard to needs of the advertisers...rather than those of the nation as a whole...To use the national media structure for commercial purpose rather than for education and culture is to undermine the massive efforts required for both formal and non-formal education in most of the Third

World(1984:83)

They however noted that this power of advertising over the national media systems is a phenomenon which is especially pronounced in Latin America. In a similar study of transnational advertising, schiller(1976) writes that

> The economic power of the multinational corporations has come to dominate a huge share of cultural and communications activity. The ability of multinational corporations to utilize modern communications systems...for the dissemination of the advertising messages...contributes to the worldwide acceptance and growth of consumerism and commodity worship(1976:181).

Schiller then concludes with the caution that while most promotions undertaken by the international advertising agencies for their multinational corporation clients in both developed and developing nations alike cannot be so "directly tied to immediate, lethal outcomes," their impact on the community, socially, psychologically and economically remain deep and far-reaching even if not readily measurable and visible.

In another study of a similar concern, Hamelink (1983) observes that the most striking example of a vehicle for cultural synchronization comes from the transnational advertising industry. He notes that worldwide advertising revenues for the top 50 agencies in 1979 was $3.9 billion and that the 10 largest US agencies amounted for 46 per cent of this amount in both domestic and foreign revenues. Further, the leading international position of American ad agencies, Hamelink noted, is due to the fact that

the largest global advertisers are the best clients. Hamelink then asserts that:

> Transnational advertising is thus mainly propaganda for the products of the largest North American transnational corporations...These major agencies are dominant not only in developed countries... but even more so in Third World countries, where over 70 per cent of national advertising markets are controlled by agencies based in the US(1983:12).

Also Hamelink identifies two main categories of messages produced and disseminated by the transnational advertising agencies :- informative and persuasive. He then notes that the advertising for consumer goods is generally of a persuasive nature. Thus, for goods requiring the greatest amount of information, the actual informative content of the advertising about them is the smallest. While for capital goods, where the target audience is usually rather well informed, the informative content of the advertising is very significant.

Hamelink's argument here is at the heart of the concern of this work with regards to the informational role of advertising. In fact the point he has advanced with respect to the informational content of consumer advertising is what the this work seeks to explore through the theory of commodity fetishism already outlined in chapter 3. The studies cited above belong to a more general body of studies concerned with Development issues in the field of communications study. They have been very useful for their contributions to the growing debate on Development issues and the problem of dependency. The major consequence of this group of

studies is that it greatly widens the range of phenomena that must be considered essentially relevant. The theoretical core of analysis is located at a higher level of global social structure. Schiller's work for instance (1979) is located in the relationship between the transnational corporations and the global market economy. In this sense, transnational media are seen as constituting the 'ideologically supportive informational infrastructure for the MNC's' (p.21). Thus, in addition to the generalised informational activities in which all such enterprises engage (e.g. generation and transmission of business data, export of management techniques), there are various categories of transmedia support activities, most important of which are advertising agencies, market survey and opinion polling services, public relations firms, government information and propaganda services and traditional media.

Importantly, these studies have brilliantly de-neutralized the concepts of 'development', 'media', 'technology' etc.', so that the signification of each of these is shown to be profoundly political. They alert researchers to the danger of uncritical adoption of western assumptions about which particular vehicles of cultural or media influence are the most significant: media technology, comics, and advertising, for example, may be just as significant as , respectively, media content, 'elite' news, and drama. They also alert researchers to the assumptions about the channels of control which actually carry most influence in the assessment of communication impact for, instance, an owner cannot be assumed to have more overall influence than an advertiser or supplier.

These studies however suffer certain limitations. The first derives from the uniformity it imposed on the study of

contemporary Africa and the rest of the Third World. The distinction between exploiters and the exploited, core and periphery did not always permit refined analysis of variations, degrees, and specific trends and patterns. While Development and Dependency studies possess greater explanatory power in the analysis of development problems they seem to have sacrificed a close study of ongoing events and processes in favour of debates over theory. In particular, they tend to remove autonomy from African or Local actors thereby foreclosing further inquiry into the important relations and processes taking place within Nation-States. These studies represent a growing concern about the problems of development for Third World countries and at the early stages critical writers were more concerned with debunking the existing functionalist perspective of modernisation theory. However, these limitations need not necessarily be seen as terminal to the logic of the discourse on development and dependency issues. While the limitations outlined above represent a definite short-coming in the framework of analysis for development studies there is growing awareness by critical writers of these shortcomings. Thus, Janus and Roncagliolo, in their work cited above concluded with the suggestion that

> Within the context of the arguments presented in this article, it appears that we need more analysis of the implications of present advertising patterns and structures, especially for the Third World countries(1984:97)

In view of these considerations then, this study aims to provide a specific case study of dependency where the analysis of advertising as a communication process is the focus of attention. Boyd-Barrett(1977) asserts that

> The influence of advertising reflects media imperialism first, by virtue of the fact that by far the largest advertising agencies in the global market are American agencies; and second, because a considerable share of advertising demand comes from the giant multinational conglomerates, which are mostly American(1977:124)

These two observations have in fact already been validated with respect to Nigeria in the first chapter. However there are other, perhaps more important ways of inscribing the study of advertising in the Periphery into dependency theory. In this connection it would be argued here that one of the factors that has served to enhance dependency and socio-cultural homogenization in Peripheral societies is the reproduction of institutional values and practices of the Metropolis and an acceptance of the logic that such processes and structures are the only viable choice for attaining the desired goal of development. Boyd-Barrett also notes this when he writes that:

> The term 'values of practice' refers both to highly explicit and visible cannons or rules about appropriate task behaviour in media organizations, and also to less explicit but effective attitudes and assumptions about what is appropriate or what is the 'usual way of going about things,' which may not normally be subject to reflective consideration. Examples of values of practice include the idealized notion of 'objectivity' in news reporting...(1977:125)

When confronted with the question of ethical role of

advertising concerning the issue of socio-cultural identity in a developing country like Nigeria, notice for instance the reply of a chief executive of an advertising outfit in Lagos:

> You are setting a job for advertising, which is not the task of advertising. The job of advertising is to sell products...and it will use whatever vehicle, provided it is decent and acceptable, to sell that product.(interview)

Investigation of the "vehicle" that is being used in the promotion of products in Peripheral societies should then be a useful focus of research in dependency studies because this should yield some valuable insights into reproduction of foreign values in local environments. As Jhally notes, "advertising absorbs and fuses a variety of symbolic practices and discourses. The substance and images woven into advertising messages are appropriated and distilled from an unbounded range of cultural references"(1987:142). What is then important for a study of advertising in dependent societies is not just how advertisers construct messages out of a referent system, but from which referent system such messages are drawn and what relevance such referent system bare to local cultural context. It would also be argued that the 'alien' nature of the referent system from which information about consumer products advertised in Nigeria are drawn represents validation of the presence of commodity fetishism in Nigerian social relations. That is what this empirical study is about.

5.2 METHODOLOGICAL OUTLINE

Analysis of newspaper product advertisement was done by content analysis method. Berelson(1952:15) describes content analysis as "a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication." This definition has come under criticism for some of the key concepts it uses. Krippendorff(1980:21) argues that several of Berelson's definitional requirements are either unclear or too restrictive. He notes that the use of the term 'manifest' in order to assure intersubjective reliability in coding has tended to make many scholars to think that latent contents are excluded from the analysis. Also the term 'quantitative' has been described as restrictive, not least because it has tended to give impression that content analysis is all about the quantity of variables. Consequently it has been argued that content analysis is inadequate for the measurement of meaning. Meaning cannot be captured when communication is broken down into discrete categories of form and content, for meaning is dependent upon the place of any particular item within an entire system of language and image. Colin Sumner (1979:69) maintains that content analysis puts too much emphasis on the repeatability of signs and too little on their significance for the audience: "It is not the significance of repetition that is important but the repetition of significance." Sumner's point then is that content analysis can say nothing about the audiences' interpretation of the message because it has no theory of signification. William Leis et al(1986:) argue that this is not necessarily a weakness as long as one does not try to use it to demonstrate the effect on the

audience. As was stated earlier, the purpose of this study is to fathom general trends within advertising messages in Nigeria from which inferences can be drawn as to what cultural referents advertisers draw upon in constructing those messages and what sort of value does information deriving from such referent systems represent with respect to the discourse about the organic unity between people and their goods; in short, the theory of commodity fetishism.

The starting point for this study was to adapt the coding protocol that was used by Stephen Kline and William Leiss for the study of magazine advertising. This was very useful particularly because the concern of this work is to test the hypotheses that advertisers in developing societies draw vastly upon foreign values and tastes in the construction of commercial messages for the local audience in developing societies in the name of accepted professional practices; that the informational content of advertisements in Nigeria can be shown to exhibit similar traits as those of their Western counterparts with regards to the argument raised in chapter three.

In order to make this protocol more relevant for our purpose it had to be reworked for some six months. For instance while Kline and Leiss based their study on detecting differences in codes used by advertisers on gender, the concern here is a more general study of advertising in a developing society. Their study was based on ads in two magazines, one each for the two sexes. This study is based on six national and regional newspapers with general readership. In developing a product list for this study care was taken to include indigenous products such as food, clothing, and drinks. Other relevant local items were included into other variables such as 'Social economic status', 'Race',

'Dress', 'Setting', 'Symbolic Dimensions', etc. In certain sections such as textual themes, Kline and Leiss designed their protocol to be coded at an ordinal level ranging from 0-5 such that, depending on the judgement of the coder a category may be assigned the value 5 if he feels there was a high element of the value present in the ad under study, or lower, if less and so on. During the pilot study for this work it was realised that this method would introduce subjectivity into the coding so it was re-worked such that coding is done at nominal level ranging from 0 to 1; where 0 value indicates no association and 1 indicates perfect association.

The universe of this study is all advertisements in six Nigerian Newspapers from 1960 to 1987. The choice of 1987 simply marked the time this study was done. The period in general was chosen because it represents the most relevant period for an analysis of advertising in Nigeria particularly for the purpose already stated. As was noted in chapter 1, although modern advertising had started in Nigeria since 1927 with the advent of West African Publicity(now Lintas), advertising in Nigeria until the 1960s was mainly a feature of the activities of this single dominant agency. Also, adequate record of newspapers before 1960 would have proved most difficult to come by as my experience during the pilot study showed. Further, as this work itself is inscribed within the political economy of Nigeria, it is the period after National independence in 1960 that is more relevant for the purpose of this study. This period has been further divided into three for the same political-economic consideration. The period between 1960 and 1970 marked the period of independence and witnessed a wave of political and economic activities ostensibly for the purpose of national development and

self-reliance. The period between 1970 and 1980 marked the height of economic activities sustained by wealth from the oil boom. The last period, from 1980 to the present mark the period of economic decline. The 27 year period covered by this study then mark the most active period yet in the history of advertising in Nigeria. Having determined the universe of this work cluster sampling was used to scale down the size of my sampling frame.

Six newspapers were selected for coding- Daily Times, New Nigerian, Guardian, Statesman, Tribune and the Eastern Star. These newspapers were chosen mainly to ensure that a wide enough audience was captured in terms of exposure to newspaper advertisements. The following factors determined the choice of the final list:- continuity, circulation, regional diversity, and ownership. The Daily Times was privately owned up till 1975 when it came under the control of the Federal government. The New Nigerian , Statesman And Eastern Star are also government owned, while the Guardian and the Tribune are equally privately owned. Of the six, the Daily Times, New Nigerian and The Tribune had a continuous production covering the period under study although certain issues could not be located. The Eastern Star and the Statesman are both published in the eastern part of the country and so cover the audience from that region. However, because none of them ran continuously for the period under study they have both been chosen to ensure that audience exposure from that part of the country was adequately represented. Where publication for the one ended, the other was coded to fill in the gap. For the purpose of this study this method does not pose any serious limitation as what is require is a reasonable degree of regional variation to give a national representation of media exposure.

Tribune is published in the Western part of the country and

so serve that region, while the New Nigerian, even though a national newspaper, predominantly serves the northern region where it is published. The Daily Times is a national newspaper based in Lagos but claims the largest readership from all over the country. To a lesser degree the Guardian, introduced in the early 80's, is also a national newspaper based in Lagos but serving predominantly the Lagos audience. Circulation figures claimed by newspapers in Nigeria are largely spurious because until recently there was no audit bureau of circulation. Newspapers only make circulation claims to boost their image and perhaps more importantly to entice advertisers and to justify their rates. The final sample frame came down to 10 months spread over the three time periods by cluster sampling. By further using varying Probability sampling the 10 month period was divided into 3 months each for the 1960/70 period and 4 months for the 1970-87 period bearing in mind that this last period is less than a decade unlike the two preceding periods. Sample size was all product advertisements appearing in all the newspapers within this sample frame. Each ad was treated as a discrete unit of analysis. In all there were 730 ads.

Moser and Kalton(1979), note that a wealth of information on most aspects of our national life issues from all directions - in the official sphere, statistical data, reports, white papers and many more. The approach taken in this study follows this observation and has thus been designed to tap the resources of other sources apart from content analysis. Thus, documentary analysis and unstructured interview form part of this research.

As Moser and Kalton further note, it is usually possible to answer some of the questions a survey is intended to cover from available data. In the study of advertising in Nigeria for

instance, some relevant data such as agency billings, number and types of agencies operating in Nigeria, media space buying, have all been obtained through analysis of existing relevant documents such as National Gazette of the office of statistics, official journal of the Association of Advertising Practitioners in Nigeria, and other official publications that are only accessible through privilege. These have been quite valuable as such data as agency billings for instance, remain closely guarded secrets amongst advertising practitioners in Nigeria. Other documents such as the National Communication Policy, National Cultural Policy and other official documents relating to government laws and decrees affecting communications in general and advertising in particular have been very valuable.

5.3 INTERVIEW

This study also involved some interviewing. Ten advertising executives, mostly chief executives and creative directors of ad agencies were interviewed in an unstructured, informal approach. In consideration of factors such as accessibility to respondents, respondent's disposable time, the general nature of the issues involved in the interview and a knowledge of the social attitudes towards interviews in Nigeria has informed the decision to take this informal approach. As it turns out, while some respondents grudgingly grant an interview claiming to be too busy, others were quite willing and interested in the exercise. Given these varied attitudes, an informal approach proved to be more suited to this work as questions could then be varied, posed differently etc., depending on the atmosphere of the interview. In any case what the interest at the interview section of this research was to pick

the minds of advertising practitioners in the country on various issues relating to their profession such as their perception of the role of advertising in a developing country, their responses to some of the criticisms of advertising, problems that they face in their practice which may throw further light on the practice of advertising in a developing society. As was stated earlier, this method proved quite valuable in that a lot of information and opinions on key points relating to the advertising industry in Nigeria were obtained from the interview sessions that would otherwise not be available elsewhere. For instance because of the present stage of the advertising industry in Nigeria much of the relevant information concerning the performance of the industry as a whole and individual agencies are not readily available in a place such as the secretariat of the AAPN. In a number of cases, respondents would dig into their files to provide such data. At other times information provided in the interviews have supplemented a dearth of available recorded materials.

It was planned at first that magazine ads be included in this study. But it soon became obvious how unfeasible this is in Nigeria because magazine publication in Nigeria has not been as successful as newspapers. Lack of continuity in publication posed a serious problem with respect to getting a sampling frame that would be representative of the whole universe of product advertising in Nigeria. Also given my experience of the advertising industry in Nigeria (having worked in the industry for a while), and as part of a preliminary study of the area under study, it is known that there is no strong feature of audience and product segmentation as yet in Nigeria. Advertisers do make claims about segmentation in order to impress their clients and to give an air of sophistication, but in fact advertising in Nigeria is

still largely a matter of using what available media there are to convey commercial messages. Further, the use of the broadcast media was simply not feasible for this study. Apart from financial and material constraints, there is also the problem of being able to record consistently in a way that will reflect the sample frame due to erratic power supply in Nigeria. For these reasons I regret to issue the disclaimer that the results which I report in this study are within these limitations, and are meant mainly to serve the heuristic purpose of leading the way to further research in this field.

The approach that has been adopted in this study follows the course suggested by Verda Leymore which is to "deconstruct" a set of ads into meaningful components or fields of representation and then to interpret the findings. This entails distinguishing between person, product, setting and text(Leymore, 1975).

5.4 PERSON CODE

In this section the concern is to identify the elements associated with person code (such as the types of people used in ads, how they are portrayed, their sex, etc.) in Nigerian product advertising.

Quite clearly there is a preponderance of the use of male sex in advertising campaigns in Nigeria followed by the use of the mixed category. When this was crosstabulated with the periods it shows an increasing trend towards a greater use of the female sex.

In terms of age distribution, as table 15 shows, the "Young

SEX	%
MALE ONLY	50
FEMALE ONLY	18
MIXED	32
TOTAL (N =730)	100

Table 13. Sex use in Nigerian advertising

SEX	1960-70	1970-80	1980-87
MALE ONLY	53	47	40
FEMALE ONLY	13	20.7	29.8
MIXED	34	32.3	30.2
TOTAL (%)	100	100	100

Table 14: Sex use by period

adult" seems to be the preferred symbol in Nigerian ads. This is distantly followed by the use of "mature adult". Crosstabulation with the periods does not show any variation in this practice.

AGE GROUP	%
1. INFANT	2.5
2. CHILDREN	5
3. TEENAGER	2.5
4. YOUNG ADULT	55
5. MATURE ADULT	25
6. AGED	0
7. MIXED	10
TOTAL	100

Table 15. Age distribution appeal in Nigerian ads.

In the category of race the aim was to see the types of races portrayed in Nigerian ads. As table 16 shows 82.5 per cent of the ads portrayed the "African Black". While there is a significant

proportion of ads making use of "White" appeal crosstabulation with time period indicates that this feature is in decline with the sixties period being the highest point of it's use.

RACE	TOTAL	1960-70	1970-80	1980-87
1.AFRICAN BLACK	82.5	72.3	87.2	95.2
2.AFRICAN DIASPORA	2.5	2.5	3.7	0
3.ARAB	0	0	1.8	0
4.ASIAN	0	.6	0	0
5.WHITE	12.5	22	6.3	2.4
6.ORIENTAL	0	.6	0	0
7.MIXED	2.5	2	1	2.4
TOTAL (%)	100	100	100	100

Table 16. Race Appeal in Nigerian Ads

5.5 SOCIAL ECONOMIC GROUPING

This variable measures the predominant social economic grouping that is present in Nigerian advertisement. As table 17 shows the urban-middle class group is the most widely represented in advertisements. Crosstabulation with the periods does not show any variation from this general practice.

SOCIAL ECONOMIC GROUPING	%
1.URBAN-WORKING CLASS	8.7
2.URBAN-MIDDLE CLASS	82.3
3.URBAN-WEALTHY	3
4.RURAL	3
5.MIXED	3
TOTAL (%)	100

Table 17. Dominant Social Grouping

DRESS	TOTAL	1960-70	1970-80	1980-87
1. UNIFORM	9.5	4.1	11.1	12.4
2. SPORTSWEAR	7.5	5.5	8	10.1
3. FORMAL WEAR-WESTERN	35	43.1	30.2	17.3
4. FORMAL WEAR-TRADITIONAL	2.5	3.1	2.5	2.8
5. CASUAL WEAR-WESTERN	30	30.5	34.1	42.5
6. CASUAL WEAR-TRADITIONAL	8	4.1	6.1	4.8
7. DIAPERS	0	.7	0	0
8. UNDERWEAR	0	.7	0	0
9. MIXED:WESTERN/TRADITIONAL	7.5	7.2	8	7.6
10. MIXED	0	1.7	0	2.4
TOTAL (%)	100	100	100	100

Table 18. Dominant Presentation

5.6 PRESENTATION

This variable aims to show the manner of presentation of persons in advertisements in terms of their dressing. The two dominant dressings are clearly Western(formal,casual). Crosstabulation with the periods only shows a move from formal Western wear to the casual Western mode of dressing.

REFERENCE GROUP	%
1.EXPERT	8
2.ORDINARY PERSON	5.6
3.IDEAL PERSON	77.1
4.STAR	4.8
5.CHILD	4.8
TOTAL (%)	100

Table 19 Dominant Reference Group

5.7 DOMINANT REFERENCE GROUP

The dominant reference group variable aims to identify the nature of appeal made through people in Nigerian ads in terms of reference group representations. Clearly by far the largest reference group appeal is the "Ideal Person" or Statused reference group(77.1%), remotely followed by "expert"(8%) and "ordinary person"(5.6%). "Ideal person" here refers to a sort of "packaged personality" whose distinguishing elements are:- a particular mode of dressing such as formal English outfit, expensive casual outfit, formal native outfit, etc.; luxury car; exotic or luxurious surrounding and home; etc. "Expert" is a professional person usually but not necessarily dressed in an overall, uniform or some other person so stated in an advertisement.

5.8 INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS

This variable is related to the dominant reference group variable and seeks to break down the social groupings in more interpersonal terms. Generally the dominant categories are friendship(15.8%), romantic love (10.8%), Independence(8.2%), family-nuclear(6%). This variable also includes the category of "family-extended" which is a common feature of the social system in Nigeria. This study shows that appeals made through this category is very negligible at 1.6 per cent. The high percentage registered under the category "None" is an indication that generally pictorial presentations are fewer than textual advertisements.

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS	TOTAL	1960-70	1970-80	1980-87
1.INDEPENDENCE	8.2	12.8	10.8	6.7
2.ROMANTIC LOVE	10.8	10.7	10.8	12.6
3.COMMUNALITY	4.6	6	4.1	5.5
4.FAMILY TOGETHERNESS (NUCLEAR)	6	6	6.3	7.5
5.FAMILY TOGETHERNESS (EXTENDED)	1.6	3	0.9	0
6.PARENTAL	5.4	4.7	4.6	4.6
7.FRIENDSHIP	15.8	15.5	16	15
8.WORKER/EMPLOYER	8.2	5.5	5.4	4.3
9.NONE	39.4	35.8	41.1	43.8
TOTAL (%)	100	100	100	100

Table 20. Interpersonal Relations

5.9 ACTIVITIES

This variable aims to identify the activities that people in advertisements are engaged in. As with the category of interpersonal relations, most of the ads do not portray much activities. Where activities occur, the dominant portrayals are

personal maintenance(6.3%), recreation(5.3%), people at work(5.3%) and travel(3%). Crosstabulations with period does not show any significant variation from this trend.

ACTIVITIES	(%)
1. NONE	63.6
2. RESTING/RELAX	2.7
3. PERSONAL MAINTENANCE/GROOMING	6.3
4. RECREATION	5.3
5. WORK	5.3
6. MAINTENANCE OF POSSESSIONS	0
7. SOCIAL CULTURAL	0
8. PURCHASING	1
9. EDUCATIONAL	2
10.RELIGION	1
11.TRAVEL	3
12.DRINKING	2.1
13.ORGANIZED SPORT;SPORT	1.3
14.CHILDCARE	1.2
15.DRIVING	2.1
16.HEALTHCARE	2.1
17.EATING	1
18.FARMING	0
TOTAL(%)	100

Table 21. Activities

5.10 **LIFESTYLE**

The dominant lifestyle portrayals in Nigerian commercial messages as this study shows are middle-class/urban(18.5%); glamorous(9%); and the healthy/athletic(4%). Crosstabulation with period does not show any significant variation as the dominant categories remain relatively higher than the other categories throughout the period under study. As with other variable so far the lifestyle variable has a fewer occurrence than ads with mere textual/illustrative design.

LIFESTYLES	TOTAL	1960-70	1970-80	1980-87
1.NONE	57.5	43	33.3	41.2
2.HEALTHY/ATHLETIC	4	5	2.7	3.6
3.RURAL/TRADITIONAL	0	1	0	0
4.ELITE/WEALTHY	2	3.7	4	2
5.GLAMOROUS	9	13	18.2	16.9
6.MIDDLE-CLASS URBAN	18.5	27	30	28.2
7.WORKING-CLASS	3	1	4.1	3
8.EXOTIC	1	1.2	.9	0
9.PROFESSIONAL	3	3.3	3.5	3
10.FAMILY TOGETHERNESS	1	1.3	2	1.5
11.POLYGAMOUS	0	0	0	0
12.SCHOLAR	1	.5	1.3	.6
TOTAL (%)	100	100	100	100

Table 22. Lifestyle by Period

5.11 PERSUASIVE APPEAL: RHETORICAL FORM

This variable measures the appeal used in commercial messages through rhetorical structures. Coding combines both textual and visual presentation in order to capture as much of the presentation as possible. The use of rational appeal featured highest in this variable and remains dominant through the periods. Other categories with high occurrences include Economy/price appeal; Statused reference group; Relief appeal and Sensual appeal. All of these categories of rhetorical appeal maintained a relatively high occurrence through the period. There was a gradual rise in the use of Comparison appeal, while Patriotic appeal featured quite low. The eighties period showed an increase in the use of this appeal which may be due to the fact that this period coincides with the launch of various social mobilisation programmes such as WAI(War Against Indiscipline); and MAMSER(Mass Mobilisation For Social and Economic Reform). These projects were designed as part of a general social and economic reform aimed at solving the biting economic problems of the time. As part of this re-orientation, Nigerians were enjoined to be more patriotic, and self reliant among other things. Advertisers ceased this initiative and quickly introduced themes such as "buy Nigerian", and other themes claiming that a product has been made wholly or mostly from local raw materials. As can be seen, the coding of this category is so flexible such that a mere claim in an ad that a product can be associated with the National objective of self-reliance is regarded as patriotic. Even so, this category featured low in the rhetorical appeal variable compared to other variable.

RHETORICAL FORM (%)	TOTAL	1960-70	1970-80	1980-87
1.RATIONAL APPEAL:reasoned arguments based on product qualities	15.8	14.5	16.1	15.3
2.ECONOMY/PRICE APPEAL	11.6	11.2	11.6	10.7
3.EFFECTS APPEAL:results of use are spectacular.	9	9.3	9.2	6
4.COMPARISON APPEAL	6.8	4	5.2	6
5.WORRY APPEAL:if you don't use,something will happen.	5.3	7.3	3.5	5.2
6.TYPICAL PERSON APPEAL	.8	.8	.6	.2
7.STATUSED REFERENCE GROUP	9	12	10.5	10
8.STAR APPEAL	.6	.8	.2	.4
9.POPULAR ACTIVITIES APPEAL	6	5.6	5.1	7.6
10.RELIEF APPEAL	14.6	12	14.8	18.8
11.NOSTALGIA APPEAL	.6	.7	.3	1.6
12.PATRIOT APPEAL:product identifies with self-reliance,buy Nigerian,etc.	3	2.7	2.9	4.6
13.SENSUAL APPEAL:feels, looks good;delights senses.	11.6	11.1	11.5	10.2
14.EXOTIC APPEAL	1.8	5.7	7.2	1.3
15.OFFER APPEAL	3.5	2.3	1.3	2.1
TOTAL(%)	100	100	100	100

Table 23. Rhetorical Form Appeal in Nigerian Ads

5.12 PRODUCT CODE

In this section the concern was with identifying the types of product mostly advertised in Nigeria. Top of the list are vehicles(10%); pharmaceuticals and electronic goods, both at 9 per cent; alcohol(6%); detergents and cosmetics (4%). Because the variable involves quite a wide range of products this percentages represent quite significant presence and even tobacco at 2 per cent is considered significant. Crosstabulation with the periods shows that while the vehicle category stayed high in the sixties and seventies it's occurrence has gone down sharply in the eighties. This is most likely due to the fact that this period witnessed a ban on the importation of cars as a commercial venture. Pharmaceuticals retained a high presence throughout the periods while electrical and electronic goods which peaked in the seventies, during the "Oil Boom" era dropped sharply in the

eighties. Tobacco, cosmetics and detergent ads show an upsling in occurrence progressively through the periods. Corporate ads also show a dramatic increase in occurrence in the eighties possibly due to the changed market situation in this period which advertisers refer to as 'buyer's market' (i.e. a market situation marked by supply outstripping demand such that buyers are in a position to pick and choose among branded goods as they please). The depressed economy has left people with very little money to spend such that even when production did not increase, supply outstripped demand as people simply do not have the money to buy the products. Producers not only have to advertise their products during this period, but also engage in improving their corporate image.

PRODUCT USE TYPE	TOTAL	1960-70	1970-80	1980-87
1.VEHICLES	10	13	10.6	4.3
2.PHARMACEUTICALS	9	9.7	8.2	9.4
3.ELECTRICAL/ELECTRONICS	9	6.7	13.4	4.3
4.ALCOHOL-FOREIGN	6	8.4	12.7	9.4
5.BUILDING MATERIALS	5	4	4.1	7.2
6.SOAP,DETERGENTS ETC	5	2	7.2	7.6
7.COSMETICS	4	2.7	7.9	8
8.CORPORATE	4	2.7	2.1	11
9.TOBACCO	2	3.3	8.7	9.4
TOTAL	54	52.5	74.9	70.6

Table 24. Dominant Product Use Type

In the product code I was also interested in observing the occurrence of ads featuring certain indigenous products. The distinction between indigenous and foreign in this case indicates source of the raw materials used in making a product or indigenous process of production. As table 25 shows the occurrence of ads featuring indigenous products are virtually nonexistent.

PRODUCT TYPE	FOREIGN	LOCAL
1.ALCOHOL	6%	-
2.FOOD	1%	-
3.CLOTHING	1%	-

Table 25: Product Type:Foreign/Local Representation

5.13 SETTING CODE

This variable sought to identify the types of setting used in Nigerian advertisements. This study shows that in the majority of advertisements(78%), no setting of any sort was used. The setting code was further divided into external and internal settings. By far the dominant setting used by advertisers is urban exterior(6%). This is distantly followed by foreign landmark at 2 per cent. Likewise the variable for interior setting shows that urban interior scenes dominate at 4 per cent, followed by living/bedroom, office, and vehicle at 2 per cent each. Crosstabulation with period show an increasing use of both urban exterior and urban interior settings. A decline in the use of foreign landmark is indicated in the study.

INTERIOR SETTINGS	TOTAL	1960-70	1970-80	1980-87
1.VEHICLE	2	2.5	2	2.2
2.RURAL INTERIOR	0	0	0	0
3.WORKSHOP/FACTORY	1	.3	2	2.2
4.URBAN INTERIOR	4	1.7	2.5	2.8
5.LIVING/BEDROOM	2	1.3	2.7	3.4
6.OFFICE	2	2.3	1.7	2.3
TOTAL(%)	11	10.8	10.9	12.9

Table 26. Interior setting

EXTERIOR SETTING	TOTAL	1960-70	1970-80	1980-87
1.URBAN EXTERIOR	7.5	4.9	9.6	9.8
2.RURAL/PASTORAL	1.5	1.2	1.4	1
3.BEACH/RESORT	0	.3	.3	0
4.SEA/LAKE	1	.7	.3	.7
5.FOREIGN LANDMARK	2	2.7	2.1	0
6.MARKETPLACE	0	0	0	0
7.INDUSTRIAL	1	1	.7	1.4
TOTAL	13	10.8	11.8	12.9

Table 27. External setting

5.14 PREDOMINANT VALUE

This variable measures the total message and presentation of advertisements in order to identify the package of values and appeals that has been woven into advertising messages. In other words through what values and appeals are products being presented in advertisements. This variable thus combines the codes of person, product, setting and text in the measure of an overall value system in ads. To make the coding more straightforward the values variable was divided into four sections:- values connected with activity; personal themes, general dimensions, and product values. Each of the categories in the four sections were treated as discrete variable that could be marked either present or absent. This was necessary in order to capture the full breath of the values present in advertisements as most usually make use of multiple values in their appeal.

As table 28 shows, the product values appeal dominates other appeal categories. The high percentages recorded for "absent" in the categories of "activites", and "personal" indicates the preponderance of advertisements where only the product is represented in pictorial form. The common appeal is to product quality and reliability; followed by Health appeal, value for money and technology. Crosstabulation with period shows the technology appeal on the increase over the years while product quality and value for money appeal show a relatively stable occurrence. Under the general values category are the next most widely used appeals. Here, Peace and security appeal dominates, closely followed by Status appeal. Crosstabulation with periods show an increase in the use of the peace and security appeal. This in fact is closely related to the quality appeal as it is the

guarantee of a product's quality. The value for money appeal shows a fairly stable occurrence throughout the periods. Appeals under the "activity" variable is the next most used values-appeal. Here, Leisure is the most popular appeal. Crosstabulation with period shows a dramatic rise in the use of this appeal from the 1970's onward.

PREDOMINANT VALUES	TOTAL	1960-70	1970-80	1980-87
ACTIVITIES				
Leisure	8.2	1.4	7.4	7.5
Work	2.7	4	2.5	3.3
ABSENT	89.1	82	90.1	89.2
PERSONAL				
Beauty:Western outlook	1.8	2	3.2	4
Beauty:Indigenous	.7	.9	1.2	1
Family(Nuclear)	.9	1.2	1.2	.1
Family(Extended)	0	.3	.1	0
Romantic Love	.9	1.6	2.2	.1
ABSENT	95.7	94	92.1	94.8
GENERAL				
Patriotism	1.3	.5	.8	3.8
Communality	.9	1.6	.7	1.2
Self-Reliance	2.2	2.5	1.2	3
Peace and Security	10.5	8.1	13.6	15.8
Mystical	1.8	2.3	2	.8
Independence	9.2	7.5	12.3	12.6
Status	8.2	13.1	12.1	12.7
Achievement	.9	2.3	.5	.8
ABSENT	65	60.5	56.8	49.3
PRODUCT				
Quality, Reliability	37.8	20.6	27.5	28.3
Healthy	6.4	8.6	6.1	7.5
Utilitarian/Practical	2.7	3.7	3.4	3
Normal/Popular	.9	1.7	.9	.4
Thrifty/Value for money	5.4	7.2	6.5	6.5
Technology, Experience	5	2	6.5	6.8
ABSENT	41.8	56.2	47.1	47.5

Table 28. Predominant Values

5.15 AN INTEGRATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE ELEMENTAL CODES

William Leiss, Stephen Kline And Sut Jhally(1986) in their study of advertising suggest that an adequate appreciation of advertising's place in modern society is best achieved through an examination of it's historical evolution (p.119). Other scholars share this suggestion. For instance Daniel Pope(1982), in his study of advertising divides it's evolution into three periods-The Gilded Age(1870-1890); the Progressive Era(1890-1920); and the Modern Era(1920 to present).

In his historical typology, the Gilded Age represents the period of regional production and distribution. Here, ad agencies were mere space brokers, promoting the interest in advertising on behalf of the media proprietors. Advertising growth depended on emergence of new products, proprietary medicines, departmental stores, and a few national advertisers of branded goods. Advertising played a minor part in industrial production.

The Progressive Era corresponds to the period of expanding mass production and the rise of national branded products. This, Pope suggests, marked the formative period for the advertising industry as it's broad institutional structure was established during this period.

Pope's third phase is the Modern Era marked by market segmentation. In this period the marketplace begins to move from production for mass consumption to production for consumption in a stratified market increasingly defined by consumers organized into relatively well defined sub-groups. Pope's historical categories are evidently based on the experience of advertising in America in particular and the Western World in general. However in keeping

with the proposition established earlier in this work that the study of advertising in a developing society like Nigeria is best appreciated by inscribing it into the general political economy and historical experience of the country, Pope's typology may be useful in identifying firstly, which of the stages in his typology correlates with the state of advertising in a developing society at any one time and what are the specific features of that phase. It can also help to see how the development of advertising in one country differs from or is similar to the evolutionary part of advertising in the US, which is the reference point for modern advertising institution. Further, this typology can serve as a rough predictive tool to determine which way advertising in a developing society may be heading and what social implications this holds for a particular society. However, Pope's analysis places little emphasis on the evolution of the industry by concentrating so much on it's development as a function of national product advertising. As William Leiss and his colleagues note, there is more to the story of modern advertising than it's institutional link to national manufacturing and the markets it developed. Equally important is the role that the agencies played in forging a link between selling and communicating in contemporary society. The constituents of such a link as was established earlier in this chapter lie in the bringing together of the elemental codes of people, product, setting and text in the design of commercial messages. To fully grasp the role of advertising in society entails an analysis of how these codes have been put together, and what they mean.

What has been done so far in this chapter is to deconstruct the elemental codes in Nigerian newspaper advertisements. Thus, a

general analysis of the use of these elemental codes in Nigerian ads, towards a definitional characterization of Advertising in Nigeria has been presented. Before attempting to integrate these codes in order to have a clearer understanding of what they tell us about Nigerian Advertising, it is important to look again at the historical development of the use of these codes in the Metropolis.

Stephen Fox(1984) in his study of advertising , identify innovations in advertising practice as the key factor in the industry's development. He contends that advertising practice have been much influenced by strong individuals within the industry whose ideas have taken advertising through periodic reconceptualisations of what constitutes good practice. Fox argues that advertising's history has been governed by alternating cycles of emphasis between "hard-sell", persuasive formats(reason why, unique selling point) and "soft-sell", suggestive formats(emotive or "creative", emphasising design, lifestyles, and personal images). It is however important to note that both formats, the persuasive and the creative are not restricted to any particular periods in history. Both have remained part of the repertoire of advertising for a long time and their use depends on circumstances. The alternation between the two formats, Fox contends, is predicated upon the view of human beings as rational creatures and the view of them as emotional.

Merle Curti(1967) identifies three stages of the evolutionary development of advertising based on this intellectual orientations. In the first phase, the Rationalistic Image of Human Nature, advertisers had a proclivity to think of consumers as rational and not easily persuaded by puffery. Thus it was assumed that a person wanted to know things like price, function,

craftsmanship, durability, and benefits of a product, in other words reasons why one should buy.

In the second phase, the Irrational Conception Of Human Nature (1910-1930), ideas about human nature changed to suggestions that man is more irrational than rational. Consequently, advertising techniques started appealing to various non-rational impulses and became highly suggestive with the use of pictures, attention-grabbing stimuli, and playing on human sympathy.

The third phase in Curti's study, evolved out of studies gleaned from the behavioural sciences and combined the rational and irrational views of human nature. Here, advertising began to talk about satisfying consumer wants as opposed to creating them. The prevailing idea being that whatever decision we make, however purely rational it may seem, is deeply influenced by emotional forces, conscious, subconscious, or unconscious. Importantly, there was increasing recognition of symbols in evoking emotional responses. Thus advertising industry is depicted as responding to shifts in the broader conceptions of man and society and the peculiar nature of the market. This idea has been illustrated by a top executive of one of the advertising agencies in Nigeria interviewed for this study:

> When people criticize our commercials for not being creative enough they have in mind the type of ads they see in Europe or America. But they do not understand that the market over here is totally different from those ones abroad. What would take an American five seconds to understand, you need 20 seconds to establish here for people to really understand what you are saying. What's

> the use of promoting something in a way that people will not understand? So you have to look for ideas that relate to the people. You look to their cultural background, you look to their social background, you look to their social-economic situation and stuff like that.(Interview)

The findings from this research actually denies the claim that Nigerian ads are essentially different in consideration of the different cultural background of the consumers that they address.

In another historical study of American advertising carried out by William Leiss and Stephen Kline(1986), they identify four stages of the advertising's evolution. In stage one called the Product-oriented stage(1890-1925) advertising was oriented toward the product. Emphasis was on copywriting and advertising design to sell new national branded products. Agencies establish communication as the unifying element in the services they offer. The appeals are predominantly rationalistic, providing "reason why" products should be bought.

In stage two or Product Symbols (1925-1945), professionalization of the agencies made it possible for advertising to influence public policy on the development of radio. Agencies at this stage moved closer to the marketing concept where consumer disposition is a crucial element in advertising even though knowledge about the consumer at this stage was still limited to very broad demographic evidence. Also, during this stage, marketing strategy began to shift towards the nonrational or symbolic grounding of consumption based on notion of appeals or motives putting less emphasis on the product and

it's uses.

In stage three or Personalization stage(1945-65) agencies were aided by the development of television and they transferred their knowledge of radio and magazine ads to the new medium. Creative and research orientations shifted to knowing more about the consumer. Here the advertiser sought to gain access to the psychological make-up of consumers.

Stage four is the Market Segmentation phase (the current phase). Advertising at this phase becomes part of the marketing mix rather than the main route to promoting consumption. Marketing research provided the basis for decisions on design and media buying, allowing the agency to formulate marketing campaigns targeted at particular groups of buyers. Thus advertising campaigns concentrated not on personality but on activities of different sub-groups of consumers, providing analysis of their media, their consumption preferences, and their lifestyle attitudes. The authors note that the characteristics of each period do not disappear, rather, they become subordinate components in a newer and more complex environment. All the phases then combine to form a complex of strategies in the repertoire of advertising which can be drawn upon as the situation demands.

Generally, Leiss and Kline observe a move from textual representation and rational appeal to visual image, symbolic and suggestive strategies. They observe that the early stage involved the use of instructional strategy whereby the consumer was being acquainted with new kinds of products and the new social problems they were designed to solve. Further, these type of ad also play an educative role in that they taught the grammatical skills for decoding the ads themselves. After this stage, ads assumed a great deal of sophistication on the audience's part in making sense of

visuals, text and their relationship. The combination of the elemental codes of person, products and settings in designing ad campaigns then is at the heart of any analysis of communication in advertising.

5.16 ADVERTISING AND THE NIGERIAN SOCIETY

From the evidences provided in this study as reported in the preceding pages, it would seem that Nigerian advertising is still at it's elemental stage where emphasis is on the use of instructional strategy to acquaint consumers with new kinds of products and what new social problems the products are designed to solve. While Nigerian advertising agencies have drawn a lot of their ideas and strategies from the wealth of experience of their counterparts in the West, particularly America and Britain, the practice has been constrained in two important ways. Firstly, ad agencies have had to contend with the fact that they operate in a society of large illiterate population. Secondly, agencies have been constrained by the level of technological attainment of the country and the attendant dearth of skilled manpower. These two points were stressed by the practitioners interviewed in the course of this study. These two constraints have been largely responsible for the banality of most Nigerian advertisements. The second constraints however has certain implications that need to be stressed. The dearth of skilled manpower, particularly in the areas of creative and art sector has meant that some of the major agencies, particularly those with foreign affiliations or those that are local subsidiary of foreign partners have had to rely on technical aids and other support from their foreign partners. Thus creating a direct avenue for the reproduction of foreign ideas and

values in the production of commercial messages. Chris Doghudje (1985), the chief executive of Lintas, Nigeria in fact notes this in his book, Advertising in Nigerian Perspective when he points that a lot of the most popular and successful ad campaigns in the country owe their quality to foreign input particularly copy-writing. Such examples include:

"Omo washes brighter and it shows"(for Omo detergent);

"You are brighter by far on a star"(Star beer)

"Get Close-up appeal"(Close-up toothpaste)

"There is no killing the Beetle"(Volkswagen Beetle)

"Coffee that stimulates"(Nescafe)

"We never forget you have a choice"(British Caledonian).

WORD COUNT	%
1.Less than 10 words	9.8
2.10-20 words	18.2
3.20-50 words	45
4.50-100 words	19
5.100-250 words	5
6.More than 250 words	3
7.No words	0

Table 29. Estimated Word Count

As table 29 shows Nigerian ads are very wordy, relying a lot on the use of text. As much as 45 per cent of the ads in this study use between 20 and 50 words, while 19 per cent use as much as 50 to 100 words in their campaigns.

5.17 ADVERTISING AND SHIFTING SOCIAL VALUES IN NIGERIA

Advertising effects a transfer of value through communicative connections between what a culture conceives as desirable states of being and products (Leymore,1975; Nowak,1982). Pollay(1983) notes however, that values tend to provide a rather stable historical field of meaning. Advertising works within and reproduces the general normative order, responding to it and only slowly reflecting broader changes in a society(Wernick,1984). What then are these desirable States of being that are portrayed in Nigerian advertising ?

An integration of the elemental codes presented in the preceding pages provides a picture of the "desirable states of being" in contemporary Nigerian society as reflected in advertising messages. This desirable state of being can be defined as urban middle-class, independent and glamorous. There is a broad range of values associated with these general state of being which represents a shift in local tastes and indigenous ways of life to one which is seen as representing sophistication, advancement and development. The evidences presented from this study as shown in the preceding pages bare out the Nigerian case. Table 14, concerned with sex representation in Nigerian ads shows for instance an increasing use of the female sex over the years from 13 per cent in the sixties to 29.8 per cent in the eighties. This is clearly an indication of shifting trend in values relating to sex role in contemporary Nigerian society. The increasing use of women in ads from the seventies onward must be related to the fact that more women at this period have become educated, more exposed, more aware of their abilities, and better placed in the

social structure. The independence that comes with these factors have made women more adventurous and accessible for modelling roles in ad campaigns. Further, the increasing presence of women in public jobs and private enterprises has prepared the wider society for accepting the fact that women can also be active in the society and not confined to domestic chores as in the traditional society.

Also table 18, concerned with dress modes shows a greater use of Western outfits such as suit, skirt suit, shirt and trousers, etc. These representations can be associated with changes in local tastes and values particularly in the urban centres. In the variable measuring Reference Groups, that is the social groups that are used as appeal in product promotion, this study shows there is a preference for the Ideal person or Statused reference group. This represents the social group of middle-class, successful people, who have high-paying jobs in the private sector or who are senior civil servants, successful business men or women, or professionals. Such people possess all the trappings of modern city life such as a comfortable home, luxury car etc.

Under the variable measuring inter-personal relations two categories measuring the nuclear and the extended family systems show another shift in social values. Advertising appeals relating to the family system in Nigeria portray the nuclear family system as the only viable family structure. In reality, the extended family structure is still very much part of the social life in Nigeria (albeit a diminishing feature particularly among the younger generation), even in urban centres.

The category of communality is contrasted with individuality and independence as two value systems representing indigenous and foreign significations respectively. Images and representations of

interaction between people in contemporary Nigerian society as seen in advertisements convey a shift in values towards individuality and independence. In the communal social system, issues and activities involving people go beyond the individual to concerns about other members of the community. Advertising however portrays a relationship where products penetrate this social relations and helps to set a person apart as distinct from others. Appeals are made to the virtues of individuality and independence through the use of products such as car, cosmetics, fashion even beer (e.g. "Gulder Man" slogan for Gulder beer).

The category of "romantic love" also represents another instance of value shift as presented in advertisements. Scenes where a product such as wine is promoted in a setting showing a couple or lovers in sensual, romantic moods is a new feature in the social relations of contemporary Nigerian life. Traditionally such intimate relations are held as private and removed from public view. Visual presentations in ads however bring this relation out in public and presents it as a common feature of everyday life. No longer are people to feel restrictive or inhibited to act out their intimate romances and affections in public.

The Activities variable is where products are promoted through appeals to the activities in which people are engaged. We can see from table 21 that the dominant representations here are personal maintenance and grooming (usually with pictures of people with permed or relaxed hairstyles as opposed to traditional weaving); recreation; and work (usually white collar jobs), all related to urban lifestyles. Social cultural activities such as traditional festivals and rites are seldom used as appeals in activities.

In the lifestyles variable, measured in table 22 we see that

an indigenous social system such as polygamy has no place in the values appeal that advertisers employ in advertising communication. Values favoured are middle-class urban lifestyle, glamorous, and healthy lifestyles. The use of rural lifestyle is virtually nonexistent and where the working-class people are represented at all, it is usually the image of a happy looking working class person or persons working in an urban setting - a source of allurement to the trappings of urban dwelling for the rural dwellers.

The setting code complements the variables of lifestyle, dressing, activities and inter-personal relations, and the product code in that where settings are used, the dominant appeal is an urban setting, be it external or internal. Compared with the category measuring rural setting, result shows very little appeal made through rural setting. Advertisements in the sixties and seventies even had a significant occurrence of foreign landmark appeal where products are promoted using settings of foreign cities and other landmarks.

One major observation that has been made about advertising is its involvement in promoting mainly light consumer goods. This study confirms the observation with regards to Nigerian Advertising. While the vehicle product category is the highest shown in this study, it's occurrence has fallen sharply since the early eighties. This is also the case with the electrical and electronic category. In comparison, categories of pharmaceuticals and alcohol show a high occurrence throughout the period. Also, the categories of soaps, cosmetics, and tobacco show an increasing occurrence over the years. This is more so in the case of tobacco which rose sharply in the seventies and higher still in the eighties. These are mainly products of transnational corporations

and other foreign establishments.

Considering the notion that advertising works with potential states of being that are desirable or at least acceptable to a broad spectrum of the population (Fowles,1976; Sissors,1978), and that advertising seem to be a force for stability rather than change (Leiss and Kline 1986), it can be said that the image of social relations in Nigeria that is presented in Nigerian advertising is a reflection of established value shifts in contemporary Nigerian living. Indeed, advertising practitioners interviewed for this study hold the view that they are not introducing any changes that are not already entrenched in the society. Presented below are some of the views ad executives proffered when confronted with the question of advertising's role in promoting foreign values:

> ...for instance talk to me about Lagos and ask why do people use cosmetics ? They use cosmetics because it is part of their personal presentation. It is by using cosmetics that they get fulfilment in their life. In a democracy a person deserves to live his or her life as they choose to live it.(Interview)
>
> Advertising alcohol does not make alcoholics out of a majority of people. The question of being a alcoholic is a personal weakness. The people who are weak in this sense are a negligible percentage of the population of a nation.(Interview)
>
> All these talk about advertisers flooding the market with products that people do not need is answered by the simple fact that people buy these things.(Interview)
>
> The question of psychological conditioning has to be weighed along with realism. Nigerians would do as the Jone's do only when they can afford it.(Interview)

This study of social communication in Nigerian Advertising

thus, is a useful way of observing trends in value shifts. There is a strong indication though, that in a number of cases advertising has preferred certain social values to others in a society where there is a mixture of both indigenous and foreign social values and practices. The preferred symbolisations have almost always been the foreign ones. The absence of any use of historical/nostalgic appeals in product promotion and other relevant indigenous social significations indicates advertising's predilection for acquired social values as the only viable context for product promotion. Thus, while advertising practitioners may claim that they only reflect values already entrenched in Nigeria, this study shows that they actively perpetuate these values and more importantly reinforce them by turning them into a normal feature of everyday living.

5.18 PRODUCT INFORMATION AND COMMODITY FETISHISM IN NIGERIAN ADVERTISING

In chapter 3 the issue of information in advertising was examined by introducing Sut Jhally's contention that the argument concerning information in advertising has been cast too narrowly. Information in advertising, he contends, must include vital facts such as how a product is made, by whom and under what relations of production, etc. This section has been designed to find out the nature of information provided in Nigerian ads concerning these wider issues. Table 30 is the operationalisation of this concept involving the coding of textual themes in Nigerian advertisements. Each of the categories was treated as a discrete unit of analysis and could be marked either absent or present.

TEXTUAL THEMES	%
1.Shows/describes use-value:what it does	46
2.Shows how to use	26
3.Shows/describes objective product characteristics: sketchy,incomplete	38
4.Shows/describes objective product characteristics: detailed,complete	9.6
5.Blanket evaluative terms:great,good,best	80.5
6.Confidence in product:reliability,durability	60
7.Shows/describes production/history of product	7.4
8.Comparison with other products	23
9.Identifies readers as users	51.2
10.Value for money/price	69.1
11.Allusion to ownership or management	6
12.Reference to local cultural, social,historical elements	5.3

Table 30. **Textual themes in Nigerian Ads**

The two categories that measure the 'hard' information in the ads under study are numbers 3 and 4 dealing with objective product characteristics. Here the determination of objective product characteristics is so liberal that a mere reference to a toothpaste having fluoride, for instance, is coded as objective-sketchy. Where information is more precise and detailed this is coded as objective - detailed. As table 30 shows, even though Nigerian ads make more use of textual style than visual, a lot of the information does not provide any great detail about the product characteristics. What is present in most ads is information such as how to use a product, what it does, value for money, price, and most importantly, subjective claims about product's quality and blanket evaluative terms such as good, best, etc.

Also, product information in Nigerian ads do not reflect in any significant way information regarding the social relations of production nor do they make use of social cultural symbolic or historical elements in commercial message appeal. On the one hand the tendency to use subjective evaluative terms in commercial messages reflects a replication of values and ideas about acceptable professional practice as obtains amongst their Western counterparts. On the other hand, the near absence of the use of local socio-cultural and traditional values and symbols in commercial messages suggest that the referent system from which Nigerian advertising messages are drawn are foreign thus lending support to the criticism that advertising in developing countries help to foster cultural homogenization. Importantly, the absence of any information regarding the relations of production of consumer goods verifies the presence of commodity fetishism in Nigerian social formation with regards to the argument started in

chapter 3. What the results of this study shows then, is that not only does capitalist relations of production break the existing organic unity between people and their product; but, in providing it's own set of meanings to products, advertising in a peripheral capitalist society like Nigeria draw upon foreign symbolic referents thus aggravating the alienating process.

6.1 CONCLUSION

This study incorporates two major elements. Advertising as a cultural form with its economic and socio-cultural significance; and its link with a specific mode of production, in this case peripheral capitalism. The objective is to examine advertising as an institution of market economy within a socio-political, economic system which itself operates within a process of assimilation into the world capitalist system.

In chapter 1, the development of modern advertising in Nigeria as an imperialist institution in the service of the colonial process was examined. It was noted that the first ad agency in Nigeria, the West African Publicity (now Lintas) was set up by United African Company (later Unilever), itself the largest transnational enterprise in Nigeria. Also, we noted the emergence of other transnational ad agencies such as Ogilvy, Benson and Martha and Grant Advertising among others, and their close association with transnational enterprise in Nigeria. In exploring the emergence of modern consumer advertising in Nigeria it was inscribed within the political economy of Nigeria in order to show the link between advertising and the political-economic structure in Nigeria. In other words, in the approach adopted to study advertising by looking at it as an "effect" rather than the "cause", the political economy of Nigeria was examined in order to see how such a formation could have forstered and sustain modern consumer advertising. By so doing, it was shown that the traditional economy of Nigeria has been transformed to a market economy type through its historical link with expanding

international capitalism via imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism. It was also argued that free trade imperialism in Nigeria was motivated by trade expansionism, and that the period when trade expansionism had been consolidated by political action through formal colonialism in the 1920s was when the first modern advertising agency in Nigeria was established and that the largest imperialist enterprise in Nigeria - United African Company was the first to set up an advertising agency in Nigeria. It was also shown how the developments in the advertising business was linked with changes in international capitalism particularly the change from trading to industrial establishments; and technological advancements.

In chapter 2 the relationship between the advertising and the mass media institutions in Nigeria was examined. It was argued that the development of media organizations in Nigeria is more closely associated with political than economic and professional interests. In the case of radio and tv there is still no law allowing for private ownership, thus they remain exclusively government organizations. Consequently, media organizations in Nigeria until recently have been somewhat protected from the harsh realities of a commercial environment and have relied more on subvention from either government or other proprietary bodies for their sustenance than on advertising revenues. It was noted that there are exceptions such as the Daily Times and WNTV/WNBS(now NTA Ibadan) which from inception have been geared toward commercialization. In such instances there has been a heavy dependence on advertising revenue. It was noted that generally, newspaper industry in Nigeria has a high rate of failure. This according to Dayo Duyile(1977), a veteran journalist, is due to a lack of business and professional experience, particularly in the

early periods, on the part of the Nigerian entrepreneurs. Even today, the situation is only fairly different because a lot of the so called private newspaper publications are too often used for the political aspirations of their owners. During the last civilian era between 1979 and 1983 for instance, a lot of new publications were established and virtually all went out of circulation following the collapse of the civilian era. It would seem that the purpose for their establishment expired with the collapse of the civilian era.

Chapter 3 set out with the observation that most works on advertising tend to look at it from the "effects" end. Thus, the tendency in these works is to look at certain social malaise and then argue that advertising is the "cause". While not necessarily dismissing this approach it was suggested in chapter 3 that perhaps we can gain more insight on advertising's role in society if we approached its analysis the other way round. In order words, instead of arguing that advertising causes certain problems say, making people buy what they do not really intend to buy, suppose we look at advertising itself as an "effect" of some other "cause" or "causes" what might we learn ? Recourse to this aposteriori approach is not for the mere sake of argument, it has a practical usefulness.

The usefulness of this approach lies in the fact that in the numerous studies on advertising that have emerged ever since advertising's central role in modern society was recognised, the issue of whether advertising is good or bad for society remains highly contentious. So much so that William Leiss et.al. (1986) declare that the argument had reached a stalemate. While advertising's centrality in modern market economies remain relevant, and while its role in less developed societies become

increasingly important, there is quite clearly a need to break the impasse on the dialogue concerning advertising.

Essentially, this approach require that we put aside, at least for the time being, all secondary considerations about advertising's effects on society and to first, explore the fundamental issues relating to advertising. The value of this approach lies in its heuristic properties. If we are to properly understand advertising's role in society and its affects on people then, we need to first set aside concerns such as the institutional analyses provided by the liberal writers examined in chapter 3, and, look instead to the fundamental relations within which advertising operates as a mediating agent. This, we identified as the relationship between people and objects. From this initial relationship the analysis then moved on to other germane inter-relationships such as use and symbol, symbolism and power, and communication and satisfaction. Further, the context of the discourse was broadened by bringing in the phenomenon of consumerism through Marx's writings on commodity fetishism and Sut Jhally's extension of it to account for advertising's role in twentieth century market economies. It was argued that Jhally's location of advertising's essence in the peculiar capitalist relations of production provides a more illuminating understanding of advertising's social role. Importantly, for our purpose, it provides a framework of analysis that enables a reconciliation of advertising's increasing significance in less developed societies with the critique of capitalism in general. Earlier in the chapter it had been argued that the tendency for certain writers, particularly liberal writers, to suggest that advertising's social significance is only relevant for advanced market economies characterised by an affluent or abundance state is an analytical

framework that is unable to explain how or why advertising flourish in less developed economies with no affluence whatsoever.

Having explored the various fundamental interconnecting relationships relating to the discourse about people and things, and invariably advertising in chapter 3, we set out, in chapter 4 to examine major secondary issues such as the economic function of advertising for society as well as its social-psychological functions. These are considered secondary in that in the works of the writers examined, it is within the institutional framework of advertising that they locate their bone of contention. It was further observed that while writers address themselves to various issues relating to advertising as an institution, their orientation, the logic of their argument and conclusion about advertising is usually framed by the views they hold concerning basic concerns such as the nature of man, how should people relate to one another, how should society evolve, etc.

After a review of some of the economic functions attributed to advertising, it was argued, particularly through Ariaga's critique (1984), that the contentions about advertising's economic role in society, useful in many ways as they are, do not represent as much significance as some writers will have us believe. Further we looked at the study of advertising from within cultural studies, particularly Marxist cultural interpretations. It was shown how developments within Marxist scholarship impacts upon the way cultural practice is studied, even conceptualised (which invariably includes advertising). Importantly, for our concern in this work, it was shown how post-Althusserian concept of relative autonomy has impacted on the study of advertising as exemplified in the works of writers such as Verda Leymore, and Judith

Williamson to name just a few. Essentially the theory of relative autonomy enables scholars to concentrate on the analysis of a cultural form without necessarily having to connect such cultural form to the economic realm - a necessary but often problematic practice in Marxist scholastic tradition. It was however argued that while the relative autonomy approach is useful in allowing scholars to concentrate on specific cultural forms and to analyse it on its own right thus making it possible to develop greater insights on the internal dynamics of such cultural forms, this has its limitations. At the minimum, this approach can tend to take structural and semiotic analysis of cultural forms as an end in itself, when in actual fact cultural forms do not operate in a vacuum. Thus, the approach taken in this work is to take the structural analysis of cultural form as complementary to a more holistic approach which links analysis of a cultural form to the specific polical-economic framework that sets the context of any cultural practice.

Chapter 5 marks the center-piece of this work in that it is where the operationalisation of the theory of commodity fetishism has been shown. Importantly, chapter five serves as a synthesis of the various contentions marshalled in the preceding chapters towards the central concern of this work - that is, to characterise the nature of advertising in Nigeria in order to be able to determine its role and significance in Nigerian society. Essentially, the approach taken in the methodology derives from the conclusion drawn from the analyses of the works of various writers examined in chapters 3 and 4. At bottom, the conclusion is that instead of carrying along the seemingly unrewarding enterprise of trying to resolve whether advertising was good or bad for society, it may be more rewarding to analyse the messages

and symbolism of advertisements as a useful way to determine changes and trends in traditional social values, habits, tastes, etc.This approach has practical usefulness in that the findings from such a study is directly useful for decision makers who may be keen to implementing policies concerned with media and other cultural forms in society; and also with regards to policies relating to cultural autonomy.

As the results reported in the empirical chapter show, there is quite clearly a discernible shift in cultural values, habits, and tastes in the Nigerian society particularly in areas such as social relations (independence/communality; extended family/nuclear family;), where the preferred "state of being", as represented in advertisements seem to be independence and nuclear family respectively. It was argued that since advertising generally prefer to operate within the limits of stable cultural categories, the findings made through this study of Nigerian advertisements represent shifting social values that result from a combination of sources - religion, education, industrialisation, government etc., all of which are institutions emanating from the colonial and imperialistic experience of the country. It was further noted however, that to the extent that advertising make use of acquired symbolisms, it invariably reinforces these values.

Also in chapter 5 the concept of the informational content of advertising discussed in chapter 3 was used as a basis for testing the theory of commodity fetishism. As the result in this section of chapter 5 shows, while Nigerian advertisements are very wordy, the actual content of most advertising copy are subjective evaluative terms, performance claims, price, information about

availability etc. Information such as the social relations of production, who makes the products, under what conditions, who owns the means of production, and the whole plethora of cogent information about the real meaning of a product are missing. Not only does this finding verify the presence of commodity fetishism in the Nigerian society, but, we also argue that in its choice of symbolisms for advertising products the absence of, or very limited use of local sociocultural and historical symbols marks an important double bind in the process of alienation and commodity fetishism for Nigerians.

This is an important distinction. In the metropolis advertising represents a process of fetishism because the meaning it gives to industrial products through its own set of information is devoid of the essential information required by people in order to get the full and real meaning of the products of their labour. However, the ideological surrogates provided in place of the real meaning are based on symbolisms relevant to the historical, and cultural heritage of people in Western societies. Such information are mystifying only because they are the wrong set of information required by consumers to determine the real meaning of goods. So that for instance, when an ad in a Metropolitan country uses the symbol of say, Hercules to sell a perfume, while this constitutes a mystification because it provides a different signification (i.e. the legendary strength of Hercules and its allurement), when what is required is information concerning the process of production, and the relations of production etc., the fact still remain that the symbol in use is part of the cultural, mythological heritage, in short the cosmogony of the people in the West. In a peripheral market economy like Nigeria however, mystification arises first, because the information provided are

false; and secondly because the referent system from which symbolic representations are drawn are alien to the people's cultural, historical heritage, and cosmogonic experience.

6.2 GENERAL SYNTHESIS: ADVERTISING IN A PERIPHERAL THEATRE OF CONSUMPTION. THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF CULTURE IN NIGERIA.

Two important points must be noted in relation to the observation made in chapter 2 concerning the issue of State ownership of the media and commercialisation. First, the political economy of Nigeria is presently going through a phase, the outcome of which is bound to have important consequences for the advertising/media relationship in the country. In an attempt to tackle the growing economic depression facing the country since the early years of this decade(1980s), the present military leadership has embarked on a massive economic restructuring programme popularly known as the Structural Adjustment Programme(SAP). This programme itself is based on prescriptions by IMF and World Bank and their implementation has been set as the basic precondition for granting badly needed credits and other financial aids to Nigeria. Some of the cardinal points of this restructuring exercise include (i) trade liberalization; (ii) privatization of public corporations; and (iii) removal of subsidies from most public facilities. While the execution of these projects are still in the early stages, it is evident that the present military government shows a zealous commitment to their implementation and the implications for the media have yet to fully unfold. One obvious consequence though is that the media, particularly the broadcast media will lose the protection from full commercialization that they have enjoyed up till recently. This would no doubt force them to look to

advertising revenue as an alternative source of income.

The other point worth noting relates to the first in this sense - there has always been a tendency for critics to sing the praises of a public maintained media system with the argument that such media relations is better because they cater more to public enlightenment and other worthy media roles in society as opposed to commercialised media system where the greater concern is to win advertising patronage. While this position may be theoretically valid, a closer observation of the media-politicaleconomy relations in the Third World invites a thorough analysis. In the specific case of Nigeria, public sustenance of the broadcast media has not in fact provided any qualitative benefits in terms of programme content, public enlightenment, agenda setting or even adequate infrastructural facilities. Public enlightenment is usually no more than government propaganda. News orientation is government centred with the first news item usually about the Head of State or some other high government official. Such news analysis in any case are highly editorialised and weighed heavily in favour of government. In fact one irony of communications in Nigeria is that while government, particularly military regimes recognise the importance of the media of communications(evident in the central place given to radio and tv stations in any coup-de-tat, and the heavy security despatched to such sites), they hardly see these organizations as useful for much else besides their political propaganda. Once governments settle down in power the media are once again relegated to the bottom of their political agenda. Consequently media organizations in Nigeria are poorly maintained, and greatly hampered in carrying out their social role of educating, balanced and impartial dissemination of information and agenda setting that is relevant to the real needs

of the people. Staffing is usually politicised as recruitment is based ostensibly on the so called "federal character" rationale (where positions are filled not necessarily by competent hands but on consideration of proportional representation from the various states of the federation). In practice, this system is grossly abused and appointments at best, are usually no more than a reflection of political fortunes and favours.

This situation begs for a more sophisticated analysis of the contention that public ownership of the media automatically guarantees a qualitative media which would safeguard the interests of the public. As was argued in chapter 2, WNTV/WNBS(later NTA Ibadan) which started out as a commercial station was in fact (before its take-over by federal authorities) regarded as a model station in Nigeria in terms of its superior professional, managerial and programming reputations. Its early exposure to the harsh commercial climate has meant that its managers have constantly had to deliver quality programmes to attract audience which in turn attracts much needed advertising revenue. I also noted that providing quality programmes for the station does not necessarily mean imported programmes. In fact in the series of audience research that the station commissioned it was shown that local drama ranked amongst the highest favoured programmes transmitted by the station, consequently more attention and resources were directed to meet this audience preference.

This is not to argue that a commercial media system is more beneficial for the public than one that is funded through public subvention, but that the tendency to put the argument the other way round is equally suspect and prone to over-generalization. It is necessary to frame the argument with reference to the specific material context within which the media as a cultural form

operate. In the Nigerian experience noted above the relevant context of analysis is **Peripheral pseudo-Capitalism** , a type of social formation whose features would be examined presently.

In chapter 4 we examined how intellectuals concerned about the social role of advertising have posed the problem that is deemed vital for society. It was shown that positions taken on the issue of advertising's role in society is invariably based on people's idea of the "Ideal society", and the supportive intellectual theories and orientations which writers hold. In examining the arguments concerned with the economic role of advertising it was shown how the major critiques of advertising have been challenged by both liberal and radical scholars alike particularly on the basis of the assumptions that critics of the economic role of advertising hold.

On the socio-cultural role of advertising it was argued that contentions concerning advertising in fact embraces a much larger concern involving the question of mass society and consumerism. Again, the way certain intellectual orientations favour specific methods of analysis and how these have a bearing on how advertising is studied was examined. Particularly, Marx's base/superstructure model and how radical scholars seek to use this in their analyses of a social formation was examined.

The base/superstructure model raises the question of determination. Consequently contentions on this relationship often express a totality in which either the superstructure is expressive or reflective of an economic base so that politics, culture (media etc.) are seen to be a reflection of a particular economic base such as capitalism and as such their particular articulation is determined by the nature of the economic base.

There is also a relational sense in which all phenomena of a social phenomena is thought to be expressive of the social formation (N. Garnham 1986). One major concern of a political economy of culture thus lies in attempts to elucidate on Marx and Engel's famous theory of 'control of the means of mental production.' As Garnham pointed in his 1986 essay the central problem with the base/superstructure metaphor lies in its polarity and as such it is unable to adequately make the necessary distinction between the material, the economic and the ideological.

For Garnham the economic is a specific historical form of the social relations of production and distribution. Thus the form the relations take in a social formation marks the structural framework within which commodity exchange is dominant. In this sense, he argues that the economic can be seen as superstructural in relation to the material base; and draws on Marx's contention in Capital that the real historical transition to capitalism involves a move from a system of social relations and domination based on the direct physical control of landed property and people to one based upon the increasingly indirect control through commodity exchange and , in particular, through the exchange of the commodity of labour power. It is then the real existence of this abstract economic level of extended commodity production that allows for the development of an increasing division of labour leading to the development of the specific superstructural forms of capitalism. Thus the relative autonomy of the superstructure is a real and increasingly central characteristic of capitalism, which is itself determined at the level of the economic and ultimately it is a form mediated both at the level of a material relation which also remains determinant in and through the

economic.

Also it is postulated that any form of extended social relationship depends upon the extraction and distribution of material surplus and the means by which this is achieved is thus the central determining characteristic of any social formation. Such modes of social production and exchange Garnham contends, are cultural thus giving rise to the problem of making a society/culture differentiation without necessarily narrowing the definition of culture to include only those elements of social interaction which involve a secondary level of abstraction. That is the representation of concrete, material relations in symbolic forms.

It is essential then to distinguish two types of form, one which is a series of material relations such as relations of production and another, a cultural form which though entails a material support, is not itself material and which has an essentially mediated relationship with the material reality it represents. Garnham argues that there is an essential divide between these distinct formal realms which allows ideology to enter. This relates to the argument raised in chapter 3 concerning Jhally's contention that the system of exchange relations in a capitalist formation is such that in the production of goods the relations of production breaks the bond between the workers and their products such that products lose their meaning and appear in the shops as a mystique. This then creates a vacuum which advertising fills with its own set of symbolic messages.

This relationship is not conspiratorial as some derivations of Marxism contend but is brought about essentially through the structural framework within which it takes place. It is then necessary to examine the structural framework in relation to

Nigeria, within which the relationship between the economic and the ideological spheres operate. This is particularly necessary for an elucidation of the question raised earlier concerning the issue of public/commercial media funding in a social formation and the related issue of advertising/media relations within the specificity of material production.

Wallerstein (1976) notes that it is in the reciprocal linkages of the various regions of the capitalist world-economy that can be found the underlying determinants of social actions at a more local level. This, he argues does not mean that the relative autonomy of the acting groups is neglected, but that the alternatives available for each unit are constrained by the framework of the whole, even while each actor opting for a given alternative in fact alters the framework of the whole. In looking at how the whole operates, Wallerstein identifies the essential elements of a capitalist world-economy as (a) a single world division of labour; (b) production for profit in this world market; (c) capital accumulation for expanded reproduction as a key mode of maximising profit in the long run; (d) emergence of three zones of economic activity - core, semi-periphery, and periphery, with not merely unequal exchange between them but also persistent merchandise trade imbalances; (e) a multiplicity of state-structures; and (f) the development over time of two principal world class formations - a bourgeoisie and a proletariat - whose concrete manifestations are however complicated by the constant formation and reformation of a host of ethno-national groupings.

As Bade Onimode (1988) noted, the historical incorporation of different societies into this global capitalism has involved

varying forms of subjugation and exploitation. In Nigeria, as with the rest of Africa, it involved enslavement, colonial plunder and imperialist cultural penetration. Onimode observes that the four broad phases of incorporation into world economy correspond to three loose phases of social formation and of class formation. In the pre-colonial era, Nigeria was first incorporated into a pre-capitalist world economy and that up to the 17th century, this relationship was not an inferior one. Between 1750 and the scramble for Africa, Nigeria was incorporated into a second phase of an increasingly unified world capitalism through what Rosa Luxemburg defined as exploitation of pre-capitalist societies by industrial capitalism(1968).

These two phases of incorporation coincided with transitional social formations as structured articulations of modes of production dominated in different parts of Africa by feudal or tributary modes of production as in Nigeria. Then comes the colonial phase of incorporation into global capitalism. Corporate imperialism's new demands for markets and cheap sources of raw materials dictated the need for the colonised societies to be restructured and dominated in order to meet the reproductive requirements of global capitalist expansion through agrarian capitalism, colonial exploitation and the dissemination of capitalist values.

The articulation of modes of production in colonial Nigeria correspond to two basic patterns - the outright imposition of the capitalist mode by the colonialists , and the more general mutilation of pre-capitalist modes to meet the requirements of export commodity production for Europe. As the severe distortions and plunder of the colony blocked full transformation into capitalist system, the new social formations are again transitory

but dominated by capitalist forms with varying remnants of pre-capitalist modes of production. These mark the distinguishing features of a peripheral social formation.

Correspondingly, the major social classes under colonialism were the imperialist bourgeoisie, whose imported representatives controlled the colonial state apparatus and economy, the local petit-bourgeoisie comprising the traditional aristocracy of traditional rulers and landlords, usurers, a comprador bourgeoisie of merchant intermediaries, a nascent salariat, professionals and politicians; and the class of working people - wage employees, peasants, students, and so on.

The post-independence era saw a change in the form of imperialism, but not in the substance of Nigeria's subordination to world capitalism by substituting economic domination under neo-colonialism in place of direct political control. In this era of multilateral imperialism, the persistence of serious economic distortions, intensive exploitation by transnational corporations and the utter chaos of ideas and values meant that Nigeria's transition to capitalism has remained atrophied. The social classes corresponding to these transitional social formations consist of the petty or bureaucratic bourgeoisie, comprising a small ruling group of top politicians or military brass and top bureaucrats, the traditional aristocracy, comprador bourgeoisie, professionals and lower salariat; and the class of working people. Thus, Onimode argues that Nigeria's transitional social formations are "predominantly mutations of the capitalist social formations in the metropolitan countries."

The analysis of the specific social and class formations in Nigeria presented in chapter 1 and further expanded above is relevant in respect of Garnham's contention that "the relationship of any particular instance of ideological production to the totality of social experience will depend upon an analysis of the experiential position of the human consciousness in question..." It is worth dwelling further on the analysis of the specific nature of the material, economic spheres of the "totality of social experience" in Nigeria in order to make the necessary connection relating to the question of public/commercial media operation and the attendant advertising/media relationship.

Claude Ake(1981) offers a useful analysis of the characteristics of the Nigerian post-colonial economy. He identifies the major constituents of this social formation as disarticulation, monopolistic tendencies, a narrow resource base, dependence and social relations of production. These characteristics in any case are not any different from their manifestations during the colonial era for the events leading to norminal independence in 1960 only effected a change at a single sector of the superstructure - the political, while the economic remained largely unchanged and other sectors of the superstructure suffered serious neglect.

6.3 DISARTICULATION

In a disarticulated economy, parts or sectors of the economy are not complementary whereas in a coherent economy there is a regional and /or sectoral complementarity and reciprocity. For example one region specialises in agriculture while another supplies the agricultural sector with manufactured goods. A system referred to by economists as forward and backward linkages in production. For instance, when the demand of an industrial sector for coal makes the exploitation of known reserves of coal economic there is a backward linkage. Likewise, the establishment say, of an iron and steel industry can stimulate the local manufacture of cars in which case there is said to be a forward linkage. A coherent economy exhibits such a system of linkages among its various sectors.

The colonial economy generally lacked these characteristic. Following the capitalist rationality of minimum input for maximum output, the colonisers invested only in what they had to, and where they had to. Consequently the places where colonialism fostered some development were in places which were convenient collecting centres for commodities such as Kano and places where the commodities could be shipped abroad, such as Lagos. These centres gradually assumed a character quite different from that of the surrounding country. The specific effects of this disarticulation process can be seen in the transport, trading, and manufacturing sectors of the economy. The construction of railways would seem to have been dictated by the collection of export commodities and not by a desire to a planned communication network. In Nigeria the Kano-Apapa railway line was built to

facilitate the collection of cotton, groundnuts and cocoa for export. And the Enugu-Port Harcourt line was built to serve the oil-palm trade. The incoherence of the railway system rendered related ancillary communication facilities chaotic as well. The ports for instance tended to be built at the terminals of the railways. Since the location of the railway was invariably determined by the location of the desired commodity rather than by the location of the prospective port of exit, it meant that the ports were not necessarily located where they would yield the maximum benefit to the development of the country.

Efforts to reduce the disarticulation of the Nigerian economy in the postcolonial economy have had a marginal effect at best. The major reason for this insignificant progress Ake argues, is that the drive for economic development in the postcolonial era has followed the line of least resistance, which is in fact the least desirable from the point of view of social benefits, balanced development and the long-term maximisation of development. The colonial economy at independence, had more or less matured into a rigid structure which can only be evacuated rather than adjust for genuine development drive. Ake contends that the colonial economy imposed a certain logic and rigidity on the course of future development, and that this logic was essentially one that favoured the persistence and even the reinforcement of the syndrome of disarticulation.

This line of argument however tends to exculpate the local leadership and the rest of the ruling class from any culpability in this state of affairs. Indeed to a great extent it can be argued that given the nature of the petty-bourgeoisie and the rest of the ruling class in Nigeria in terms of lack of patriotism, lack of dedication to genuine development of the economy,

corruption and other malfeasant proclivities there is no need to advance any sophisticated analysis of the economic structure in a way that heaps all the blame on an exogenous factor to explain why there has been no tangible development in the postcolonial era.

As with the development of railways, the development of primary commodities under colonialism marks another focus of disarticulation. Colonial capitalism was interested only in the most profitable primary commodities. To obtain an adequate supply of the preferred commodities it was sometimes necessary to discourage the production of some others. The assumption seem to be that what was good for international capital was good for the colony. More often than not colonial capitalism used persuasion or force to compel a concentration of effort on the production of particular export crops like cocoa, cotton, palm oil and groundnuts. This upset the balance of the traditional economy as agricultural production was geared toward export trade rather than local food requirements. This disarticulation was compounded by the practice of subsistence agriculture where production operates mainly at the level of use-value rather than exchange value. This implies that there is limited functional specialization, a critical factor producing the organic unity of economies.

6.4 MANUFACTURING SECTOR

In chapter 1 the issue of manufacturing in the colonial process was examined. This marks another focus of disarticulation as the colonial government did not encourage the development of manufacturing. Their interest lay primarily in sourcing raw materials as well as in establishing markets for metropolitan

manufactured goods. The factors associated with the incoherence of the manufacturing sector include the multiplicity of decision centres, the ad hoc and particularistic interest-oriented character of investment decisions, the reliance of the industrial sector on imported inputs and the chaotic development of infrastructures. Further, there were also factors such as the small number of industrial establishments as well as the smallness of the scale of operations, simplicity of much of the technology involved, the thrust towards non-durable consumer goods and the concentration of the industrial establishments in the isolated modern enclaves.

In the post colonial era these tendencies have been sustained thus creating problems in the drive towards genuine productive capability due to problems of increased importation of capital goods and their unfavourable effect on the balance of payment, restrictions of access to the markets of the industrialised countries.

6.5 MARKET IMPERFECTIONS AND MONOPOLY

The colonial economy was also characterised by market imperfections and monopolies. This was largely due to the fact that given the communication and other infrastructural requirements needed for the exploitation of African economies, only large scale enterprises in the metropolis could afford the necessary capital investment. In Nigeria such enterprises included the Royal Niger company, Paterson Zochonis and G.B. Olivant to mention a few. Further the rivalry between European imperialists made it mandatory to establish an effective and forceful presence in order to better protect sources of raw materials and to secure

markets for manufactured goods. This created a strong prejudice in favour of monopolies such that the quest for protecting economic interests through effective monopolies, commercial enterprises were given some of the functions of the state.

The monopoly of economic power in the colonies which the metropolitan companies enjoyed arose from their political power as well as the specific economic functions which the home government gave them, such as the power to levy duties. One of the functions which contributed most to the creation and consolidation of their monopoly status in the economy was the power to take overall charge of the economic development of the colony. These monopolistic characteristics of the colonial economy were inevitably associated with a series of market imperfections, discontinuities and contradictions. The distribution of economic and political power between the large monopoly enterprises and the indigenous enterprises and the indigenous population was a source of serious contradiction which was further exacerbated by the divergent interests of the companies and the indigenous population. Some examples of these problems will suffice.

The demand of European farmers and companies for land meant that millions of peasants were displaced and stripped of their vital need for subsistence; the flooding of the Nigerian market with cheap European manufactures ruined the Nigerian artisan; the demand for export crops in Europe meant an inadequate supply of staple foods for the local population; the demands of foreign enterprises for labour meant a massive assault on the liberty and dignity of the Nigerian peasant.

The central import of these features of the Nigerian political economy is that it helps in understanding the peculiar

nature of capitalist penetration of Nigeria. Particularly, it is useful to forestall a misperception of the tag 'capitalism' for, all too easily the question comes to mind as to why the Nigerian economy remains undeveloped several years after the advent of self-government. As Ake noted, the capitalism of Nigeria displays "a pathological maturity, like a highly accelerated aging process"(p. 49). It suffered the disadvantages of monopoly without having enjoyed the advantages of competition. Competition leads to the development of productive forces - as capitalists expand production to reduce costs, develop new tools, introduce new machines that make things better or cheaper, gain new sources for the supply of raw materials, and develop new processes of production. In Nigeria however, capitalism took a short-cause and moved directly to a monopoly stage.

During the post colonial era these tendencies continued particularly because of the continued presence of international capital to which the postcolonial economy remains a client. In the postcolonial era a new dimension emerges in the creation of a new type of monopoly resulting from state capitalism(the involvement of the state in an entrepreneurial role). In the quest to create an economic base for its political power, the national petty-buorgeoisie which inherited political power having realised that it had control over only political, and not economic power initiated programmes to garner some economic power to consolidate its position. Consequently the ruling elite extended the economic role of the state as widely and rapidly as possible. They set up state enterprises with public funds and sometimes in partnership with private investors.

The lack of a viable economic base engendered by the undeveloped productive forces during the colonial era imposed a

certain limitation on the emergent ruling class. They desired to enjoy the trappings of leadership - power, wealth etc., but could not amass wealth any other way than through the use of state coercion. As Ake noted, it is important to note that the petty-bourgeoisie which fought for independence and subsequently came to power was not necessarily motivated by ideological commitments.

6.6 NARROW RESOURCE BASE

The Nigerian economy from the colonial era was and is still characterised by reliance on a few export commodities for foreign exchange earnings and development funds. As far back as 1958, 82 per cent of Nigeria's domestic exports came from only eight commodities - palm-kernel, palm-oil, groundnuts,cocoa, cotton lint, cotton seed, rubber and bananas(Economic survey of Nigeria, 1959). In the postcolonial era this picture in fact changed for the worse in the wake of oil exploration. There was a total neglect of the agricultural sector as well as the manufacturing sector and emphasis shifted to oil exploration to the point that oil now accounts for over 90 per cent of Nigeria's Gross domestic product. As at 1978 total manufacturing sector of the Nigerian economy accounted for only 0.7 per cent of the GDP (Annual report and statement of Accounts for the year 1978). Not much has happened since then to improve this picture particularly once we realise that the 70's decade marked the height of economic activities due to increased oil wealth.

To return to Garnham's point that there is need to analyse the specific nature of the material, economic spheres of the "totality

of social experience" in order to gain a full understanding of the relationship of any particular instance of ideological production to the totality of social experience, the analysis of the Nigerian situation presented above is of central importance. Particularly it shows the nature of peripheral capitalism as characterised by pseudo-capitalist tendencies wherein productive forces are undeveloped, and the process of surplus accumulation negate the development of the productive forces.

Importantly, the point on the narrow resource base of the Nigerian economy especially with regards to the manufacturing sector has a baring on the contentions about the economic significance of advertising in an peripheral society like Nigeria. Product advertising is directly related to the manufacturing sector, particularly the manufacture of light consumer goods. While manufacturing activities in Nigeria is admittedly a light consumer goods phenomenon which makes it possible for consumer product advertising to thrive, it is all too easy to lose sight of the salient fact that the whole of the manufacturing sector in an economy like Nigeria actually constitute virtually an insignificant percentage of the whole GDP. On the whole, activities taking place within such a sector cannot be said to have an over-bearing economic significance on the whole economy.

The analysis of the political economy of Nigeria has other implications. As can be seen from the above analysis, the petty-bourgeoisie which inherited political power from the colonialists were more interested in material wealth through access to political power. This meant that the bulk of development programmes initiated since self-rule had been concentrated mainly on economic reforms while the cultural and communication sphere

had been neglected for a long time and treated as unimportant. As was noted in chapter 2, the development of the media in Nigeria has been largely affected by the fact that they have been established more in line with political aspirations rather than on professional, socio-cultural grounds in line with a coherent communication/cultural policy.

This neglect of the cultural sphere and the consequent lack of a coherent communication/cultural policy must account for a lot that can be said about the cultural infiltration of the Nigerian social formation today. The approach taken in this study is to try to begin a systematic analysis of the changing trends in the Nigerian socio-cultural traditions that have taken place through the general process of "cultural synchronization" (Hamelink 1984).

As was mentioned in chapter 5, this study does not aim to establish a cause and effect relationship between advertising and changing social values as advertising is only one of several other foreign institutions introduced into the Nigerian traditional society through the process of imperialism and colonialism. Rather, advertising, because of its central position in society and its very nature (i.e. ritualistic in its tendency not so much to establish new societal ideals and values but to make use of existing values,and practices, reformulating and amplifying them for use in commercial messages),is seen as a useful medium through which such changes and trends can be observed. This is however not to argue that advertising is a neutral agent in the process of cultural synchronization. By its predilection for using certain cultural context as its bank of creative ideas, it presents a vision of life (foreign) as the preferred state of being.

Further, as the findings in this study shows, it may well be that advertising in a peripheral social formation like Nigeria

does take on essentially an additional role of establishing novel use values for goods other than those for which they are used in the metropolis. In this sense there are instances when advertising does directly initiate changes in tastes and value patterns. Before I dwell any further on the role of advertising in Nigeria, it will be apt at this point to bring in a necessary conclusion of Ariaga's critic of the Marxist critique of advertising that was started in chapter 4.

> If advertising has become such an important phenomenon...it is not so much because of its economic implications - almost insignificant in terms of the overall economy - but because the needs of some producers of consumer goods and services have been allowed, through their advertising expenditure, to determine the development, growth, content and form of the mass media systems which are a part of the culture of every social formation(p.62 1984).

What is crucial then in an analysis of advertising's role in society, particularly its economic role is not so much that capital penetrates cultural activities but as Ariaga suggests, analysing issues such as what determines a state policy favourable to advertising; what determines the shift in state policy? Is it a contradiction at the level of the state? Is it a contradiction at the level of the process of accumulation? Or both? Is it imposed by outside or is it internally generated in each social formation? Or both?

In relation to Nigeria, was mentioned earlier the predisposition of state policy to encouraging advertising to penetrate the cultural sphere lies in several inter-related factors. The imperialistic process which enfolds the whole social

formation (in an unequal exchange relations) within international capitalism; the subsequent social formation with its class formation where the ruling class are more aligned with metropolitan values; the peripheral pseudo-capitalist nature of the social formation where accumulation of wealth is perpetrated through the machinery of state coercion consequently resulting in impoverishment of the economy and the underdevelopment of the forces of production such that persistently dwindling surplus from the economic realm can no longer sustain a vibrant semi-autonomous cultural realm; and the supportive bourgeois intellectual orientations embraced by the ruling class in their formulation of development plans.

6.7 CONTRADICTIONS IN NIGERIAN POLITICAL ECONOMY

In the colonial era the political mobilization of the Nigerian masses by the nationalist leadership rested simply on the antipathy against colonial domination. After political independence, the anti-colonialism passion lost much of its impetus and something else had to be found. Then emerged the idea of development, even though development merely masqueraded for pursuit of capital accumulation. The metropolitan countries had also promoted the idea of development as an overriding concern of public policy in Nigeria so as to forge a new accommodation which would allow them to perpetuate their influence in Nigeria. Consequently, development became a central element of the rationalization of state power in Nigeria and by extension the major criterion of regime performance. The intensive propagation of the ideology of development organized and focused expectations on fairly clear criteria of regime performance, and the failure to

fulfil the much advertised expectations bred disillusion, critical attitudes and prepared people's minds for induction into more radical political attitudes. The failure of the development effort might be said to be accentuating an effect which was already created by the nationalist movement.

The nationalist movement itself promoted not merely the politicisation of the masses but also the radicalisation of their consciousness. The masses were mobilised into politics in circumstances which also gave them an essentially progressive, if not radical political consciousness. The nationalist leaders for instance argued that they were against colonialism because it was the negation of self-determination; they argued that colonialism negated freedom, that it impeded the development of the colonised peoples and that it was brutally oppressive and exploitative.

As soon as political independence was won the ideas which aided the politicisation of the masses by he nationalist leadership became a fetter to the purposes of this very leadership. The demand for equality, freedom, self-determination, and freedom from poverty and oppression which they had taught the masses to make on the colonial government was inevitably directed at them, now that the nationalist leadership were at the helm of affairs. The problem however was that the nationalist leadership was interested in inheriting the coloniser's powers and not implementing the progressive ideas which had helped it to come to power. This then is one major source of contradiction between the nationalist leadership and the Nigerian masses. The masses had been socialised into ideas and expectations which seem subversive now that the nationalist movement, having brought its leadership to power, has moved to its reactionary phase. Before independence,

much of the efforts of the nationalist leaders had been focused on the colonial government that serious internal problems such as divisive nationalist rivalry and a host of economic problems were not tackled. Somehow the erroneous believe carried on that all these problems would automatically be resolved once political power was in the hands of the nationalist leaders. Ironically after independence the nationalist leadership fuelled rather than cooperate to ameliorate this divisive nationalist rivalry thus entrenching the logic of primordial loyalty amongst the masses.

Equally the masses had been socialised into expectations which could not be met in a manner compatible with the maintenance of existing relations of production. The nationalist movement, reflecting the objective reality of the colonial situation, had to phrase its ideology in terms of problems arising from the relationship between different socioeconomic formations - relations of domination and subordination, of disparities in power, of unequal exchange, of the impoverishment of one region to the enrichment of another, and of free peoples and enslaved peoples. In short the nationalist movement was inviting the Nigerian masses to revolt by making them think of their deprived societies in comparison to other societies, particularly the metropolitan countries.

Paradoxically, while it aptly achieved the purpose it was calculated to achieve, that is to engender resentment against the metropolitan countries, it also implicitly held the metropolitan countries as acceptable models of what ought to be. In this sense the ideology of development that was enunciated by the nationalist leaders was in alignment with those held by metropolitan

countries. In essence it is an ideology which makes the industrialised Western countries the model of development, so that the quest for development that the nationalist leaders engaged in was really to fashion Nigeria after the image of the West.

Further, in postcolonial Nigeria capitalism is the developmental path that has evolved. For Ake(1981), this is largely because international and domestic social forces have conspired to push development along the line of least resistance. These social forces are associated with the class character of the Nigerian society, the dynamics of the class struggle in Nigeria, and prevailing western notions of development and its uncritical acceptance by the leadership in Nigeria. Of particular interest here is that the development of class contradiction appears to be quite out of proportion to what might be reasonably expected given the stage of the development of productive forces in Nigeria. This is the result of several factors. First, the parlousness of the surplus that is generated from the sapped economy has limited the ability of government to provide the most basic necessities thus, the chasm between the demand of the masses for basic needs and the supply capability of the ruling class has had to be bridged by repression. Secondly, the appropriation and accumulation of capital by the ruling class was disproportionate to the development of productive forces. As a general rule the capitalist class in Nigeria engage in very little productive activity. They tend to acquire their wealth through political corruption by the use of state power for appropriation, and by acting as collecting and marketing agents and subcontractors of foreign capital. Thirdly, there is the one-sided emphasis on the political. The nationalist leadership, marginalised economically by the

colonialists, came to power to create an economic base for themselves. They therefore tended to use political power as the primary means of accumulating wealth. Unable to deliver the economic surplus to meet the demands of the masses, they have tended to frame political solutions to economic problems. The import of all these is the overpoliticisation of social life, which leads to the accelerated development of the contradictions in the relations of production.

Most important for our purpose in this work is the notion about the alignment of ideology of development by the nationalist leadership, the ruling class and liberal western political and intellectual circles. As Karl Sauvant(1979) noted, in the 1950s and 1960s there was the widely held notion that the problems of the Third World countries were largely a function of their political status. Jan Servaes(1986) notes that the underlying assumption of this ideology of development was that the difference between Third World countries and the West was one of degree rather than kind . This model of development popularly referred to as 'modernization model' sees development as an evolutionary process and defines the state of underdevelopment in terms of observable , quantitative differences. Development thus implies the bridging of these gaps by means of an imitative process in stages such that traditional sectors and/or countries gradually assume the qualities of the modern ones. Noami Chazan et al(1988) observe that in political terms modernisation implied institutional expansion, the rationalization of the government apparatus, power concentration and some measure of political participation.

In relation to the analysis made earlier on the nature of the political economy of Nigeria one vital point of relevance to this work is that for a long time development was not seen as a multi-dimensional process where the socio-cultural sphere is deserving of equal attention as the political and the economic. This can easily be seen from the example that after over 28 years of independence and several development plans Nigeria has only just formulated a communication and cultural policy in 1988. In any case as was stated earlier the nature of appropriation and accumulation of capital by the ruling class has been such that the very development of the productive forces, the material and economic base which should provide the necessary surplus that would facilitate the development of a vibrant cultural sphere is persistently negated.

The overpoliticisation of social formation and the attendant nationality rivalry have thus ensured the establishment and expansion of institutions which are not based on any sound logic pertaining to the viability of sustaining such institutions from a very meagre material base. A good example here is the expansion of the broadcast media in Nigeria. As was mentioned in chapter 2, Nigeria established the first TV station in Africa, a project necessitated by political concern. In no time both the federal and other regional governments established theirs, all within political calculations with respect to the regional rivalries and federal/regional government rivalries endemic in the Nigerian body-polity. Political expediences further necessitated the division of the country into smaller political units(states) first into 12, then 19 and recently 21, states excluding the newly created federal capital which, for all practical purpose operates as a separate state. Within the established norm this has always

meant further establishment of state radio, tv and newspaper organisations; and NTA (federal tv network) stations and FRCN (federal radio network) stations. The NTA (Nigerian Television Authority), and the FRCN (Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria) have stations in all but the two newly established states. As the establishment of such institutions are seen to be the yardstick by which performance is measured, state governments also embark on these projects as a matter of urgent necessity.

The question must of course arise as to how all these media organisations are to be funded in an impoverished economy with limited productive capacity and a narrow resource base. For virtually all the states in Nigeria, there major source of revenue is the annual statutory allocation they get from the federal government. It is in light of these that one must see the operation of the media/advertising relations in Nigeria. Invariably once they are established they are left un-catered for and thus prone to commercialisation through advertising patronage. Because of the overpoliticisation of the social formation in Nigeria a lot of these media establishments do not even operate as they ought to in terms of diverse news broadcast, programme content, etc. The point however remains that the very nature of the social system in which they were set up has ensured that they must tread a path of commercialisation. As Daramola explains in his article "Advertising and the Broadcast media in Nigeria"(Advertising in Nigeria 1989):

> In the past, Nigerian television and radio stations were supported predominantly by government funds. But since the beginning of the depression following the oil boom, advertising revenue from the sale of time and programmes is becoming a vital source of support for broadcasting in Nigeria. For instance, many stations hitherto

> funded solely by government money have gone partially or fully commercial.

As was noted earlier on in this chapter, the ensuing economic depression that has beset Nigeria in the wake of the flagrant profligacy and mismanagement of the economy by the ruling class has generated attempts to tackle the social and economic problems. This has been articulated in the form of a restructuring programme largely prescribed by the IMF and World Bank. The features of this programme that concerns the cultural sphere more are those which stipulate that government should relinquish its ownership of most state enterprises and hand them over to private entrepreneurs or at least commercialise them; and to either reduce or completely remove subventions to other public facilities and parastatal organisations which includes the broadcast media. It is therefore another element of contradiction that at a time when government has just launched a communication and cultural policy it is also asking the media establishments to look to commercialisation for funding. This new development in the funding of media establishment in Nigeria is bound to herald a new phase in the media/advertising relationship, the implications of which are yet to fully unfold and which will be a viable subject for future research.

It is also worth mentioning here , in relation to the short shrift given to the cultural dimension of the social formation in Nigeria by succeeding post-colonial administrations that advertising practice in Nigeria has by and large enjoyed a significant degree of freedom of operation. As the chief executive of a top advertising agency in Nigeria pointed at an interview conducted for this research:

> As far as advertising is concerned in Nigeria we are in an El dorado. I have compared the guiding policy of advertising in many countries with ours and I can tell you that we are very free with the practice here. The only state policy we have regarding advertising is that issued by the Food and Drug Administration...(Interview)

The regulations of the Food and Drug Administration with regards to advertising are contained in the Food and Drug Act of 1974. Some of the more relevant sections of the Act include the following:

1. No person shall advertise any OTC(over the counter) drug to the general public in Nigeria unless the drug has been duly registered by the federal Ministry of Health.
2. The advertisement itself which must not carry any false or misleading information is required to contain the information listed below:
   a) The name of the product
   b) The pack sizes being promoted and their corresponding prices
   c) The different forms in which the drug is available
   d) Name and address of seller and manufacturer if necessary and must not contain words such as magic, miracle or mystical; exotic descriptions such as super potency; or such other words as to induce the daily and continuous use of the product.

   Denigrate or attack unfairly any competitive products, goods and

   services.
3. When films are made, the film scripts and visuals must be submitted for vetting as well, and the final film must be

previewed and approved before circulation.

4. All scripts shall be authenticated by the pharmacist of the pharmaceutical company manufacturing or distributing the drugs in the country.

The Food and Drug Act affects only drugs, cosmetics and processed food and they are in effect the only goods out a wide variety of consumer goods available that fall under the protection of state regulations. The only other regulation concerning advertising in Nigeria is the Federal Ministry of Information's directive of 1987 which stipulates that all product advertisements for both the print and electronic media must have the prices of the products displayed on them.

Apart from these two state regulations, Nigerian consumers have had to rely on self-regulatory controls of the Association of Advertising Practitioners In Nigeria(AAPN). Since the AAPN itself is a voluntary association with no legal backing it means its code of practice are not binding on all agencies operating in the country. Even for member agencies of the association, they can choose to circumvent such regulations whenever it is convenient for them to do so. Only recently (1989) has the government finally come round to giving a legal backing to the regulation of advertising practice in Nigeria with the establishment of the Advertising Council of Nigeria through Decree No. 55 of 1988.

It is in the light of the analyses made so far about the social formation in Nigeria, particularly its narrow resource base wherein oil is the major source of revenue and manufacturing represents only a small fraction of economic activity and revenue of the Nigerian social formation; and also the development orientation where the political sphere dominates the whole of

society, to the virtual neglect of the importance of the cultural sphere, that makes the socio-cultural role of advertising in Nigeria more consequential than the economic.

In light of this, chapter 5 is an exposition of how advertising connects with the cultural realm in the Nigerian social formation. Jhally(1989), in his account of the political economy of culture in the US explains that the transformation of the cultural sphere in to a consciousness industry lies in the basic fact that all societies seek to reproduce their constitutive social relations over time. If this cannot be accomplished through existing social relations a new set of social relations emerges giving rise to a new type of society. This constant tension between stability and change is a feature of all societies, and while there are no historical laws governing these processes, in general groups that benefit from the existing distribution of power and rewards naturally want to keep it, hence they work for stability while groups denied access to power and resources work for change. The essential nature of capitalism be it metropolitan or peripheral, is that power and reward is increasingly concentrated in the hands of those who own the means of production at the expense of the masses who own only their own labour power which they sell in exchange for wages. Also there is a discernible wide gap between those who have wealth and power and those excluded. The important question then is how a minority but dominant social class(capitalists) can maintain power over the vast majority of the population.

This reproduction can be achieved in two ways - first by sheer force through the use of state coercion such as exists in

Nigeria and most other peripheral states; and second through the consent of the dominated, by creating a general atmosphere of consensus wherein the dominated are convinced to identify and support the present system of rewards and power rather than opposing it. In practice these two processes of reproduction are present within any social formation with varying degree of emphasis on either option. Generally countries with a wealthy material base have less use for overt coercion and tend to perpetuate the process of reproduction in a more subtle manner whereas countries with less developed material base often see the solution to the problem of reproduction in terms of direct coercive measures.

In Nigeria , for most of its post-colonial history the people have been governed by force through military dictatorships. Even in the intermittent civilian administrations the process of gaining political power has always been a travesty of democratic practice as election are anything but free and fair; and civilian governments too, tend to rule in a heavy-handed manner. By and large domination by the ruling elite has been through state coercion. But the whole society is itself subject to the dictates of international capitalism and responds to its logic in specific ways which have already been explicated. Thus, while the system of reproduction can be seen as being achieved mainly through force there are democratic pretensions which still seek to create consensus amongst the dominated in order to align their aspirations with those of the ruling class and invariably with those of the metropolis. In this relation the media, the educational institution, religion and other cultural forms including advertising are vital institutions through which the process of legitimation is being achieved.

One important variant of critical communications theory sees the function of the media and the cultural realm in general as producing the appropriate consciousness in the majority of people to ensure the reproduction of what is essentially an exploitative system of social relations (Adorno and Hokheimer 1977). Hans Enzensberger(1974) coined the term "consciousness industry" to describe the media as an industry which attempts to produce a form of consciousness in the audience that benefits the class that controls the media and industry in general. The role of the advertising industry in Nigeria in this process is central in two ways. First, it serves as a convergent point for all the shifting social values and practices arising from other institutions such as education, religion, media and government where they are then sorted, reformulated and packaged into commercial messages. Secondly, advertising from time to time digs into these repertoire of shifting social values and practices and develops its own set of values and practices in alignment with the general process of acculturation. Advertising achieves this latter function in two ways. First, the advertising industry in Nigeria catalyses the process of acculturation by exaggerating the extent of foreign cultural penetration in the symbolic representation present in commercial messages. For instance while ads tend to present people dressed up mainly in Western outfits as the result of this study shows, in reality a great deal of Nigerians still wear traditional outfits in their everyday activities either casually or formally. But by presenting a partial picture of this reality, Nigerian advertising reinforces the consciousness of a "preferred state of being". Secondly, because advertising in Nigeria is still at an early stage where it has a function to educate the local consumers about new products of industrialisation, it has a rather wide

latitude to establish this acquaintance since the emergent social relations and products are completely novel and the local population have no recourse to any similar experience for guidance. An example of this can be found in an ad for vegfru tomato sauce which teaches consumers, through pictorial demonstration to eat rice, meat-pies and other pastries with tomato sauce! Nigerian feminists have also had occasion to complain about the tendency for most beer advertisements in Nigeria to represent women as beer guzzlers. In reality most women still prefer soft drinks or wine. In fact it would seem the only place one gets to see a woman drinking beer so gleefully is in the ads which seem to be trying hard to establish a new taste and social habit for Nigerian women, and a new market for the brewing industry.

6.8 ADVERTISING AND COMMODITY FETISHISM IN PERIPHERAL EXCHANGE RELATIONS

The discussion on advertising so far has been broadened through an exposition of the works of various writers concerned with wider but related issues. It was shown in chapters 3 and 4 that while critics approach the study of advertising from different positions- economic, ideological, moral etc., these offer only partial understanding of the social role of advertising. Particularly, the vital issue of symbolism was not adequately formulated in most of the writings on advertising by critics even though defenders of advertising recognised the centrality of symbolism for human needing albeit within a narrow context that excludes the social impact of advertising. Other writers such as Hirsch, Scitovsky and Leiss broadened the

framework of the debate by not looking directly at advertising but instead placing the relation of use and symbol at the centre of the relation between people and things and the process of satisfaction. Moreover, they examine the effect that the market has on that mediation. In order to fully understand the object world (and thus advertising), there is need to properly conceptualise the relationship between use value (i.e. a single object and its uses) and exchange value (the system of objects and exchange of which it is a constituent). This is necessary in order to grasp both the relation between people and things and the place of advertising within this relation. Also in chapter 3 the basis for this type of analysis was provided in the exposition of Marx's concept of "commodity fetishism" and Jhally's extrapolation of this concept into explaining twentieth century market experience.

Essentially, Jhally contends that the system of capitalist production empties commodities of their real meaning and the role of advertising is to insert new meaning into the shell hollowed by capitalist production. It was further argued that the contention concerning commodity fetishism provides a more appropriate basis for analysing advertising in peripheral societies like Nigeria. When writers such as Leiss and Scitovsky argue for the necessity to examine the relation of use and symbol, people and things, and the process of satisfaction within the wider context of the market, the role of advertising within that complex system of relations depends on the nature of the social formation and system of reproduction. Thus while liberal writers tend to suggest that concerns about advertising's role in society is mainly a problem of developed societies characterised by over-production and abundance the implication of this position is that advertising

should not create any concern for societies with no similar over-productive capacity because there should not be any need for advertising in such societies in the first case. Experience however shows that such an assumption is grossly misleading for advertising thrives in so many Third World countries, even on a scale comparable to what obtains in some advanced economies. Thus, to fully understand how it is that advertising thrives in underdeveloped societies one has to look beyond the institutional analytic framework of the liberal writers discussed in chapter 3.

The wider (market) framework within which Leiss, Scitovsky, etc. inscribe the analysis of this complex relations provides a more solid basis of analysis. For what is then required, for a social formation to develop similar structures which necessitates advertising, is to be part of that market system and not necessarily for that social formation to have advanced to the same level of development as in the metropolis. So while the institutional analyses of advertising by the liberal writers discussed in chapter 3 frame their analyses in terms of a specific stage of capitalism (i.e. characterised by abundance), the concept of commodity fetishism provides a wider framework that is, capitalist system of production and reproduction as a whole. In the case of Nigeria, the market has to be seen in terms of the subsumption of the traditional social and economic relations to international expanding capital and the specific articulations that developed out of that relation.

Thus, Marx's analysis of the structure of social relations discussed in chapter 3 showed how this leads to misinformation about the way capitalist society functions, and particularly how

the process of production is hidden in the objects of production. While Marx's theory of fetishism was propounded in relation to nineteenth-century capitalism, it was also shown in chapter 3 through the work of Jhally that this theory remains applicable to twentieth-century experience. While Jhally was concerned with monopoly capitalism in the metropolis particularly in America, this chapter has attempted to show that the theory of fetishism is also a relevant and useful framework for analysing pseudo-capitalist or peripheral capitalist social formations such as in Nigeria.

In order to accomplish the verification of the presence of fetishism in contemporary capitalist social formation it is essential to integrate advertising into the context within which the use-value/exchange-value relationship is formed. This was also explained in chapter 3 concerning the extension of mystification into the realm of use-value whereby the symbolic processes of capitalism (person-object relation) are largely based on structures of falsification. Central to the argument about the nature of capitalist production process is the fact that in the separation of mental and physical constituents of labour, workers not only lose control of their activity (because they now have to sell their labour for wages), importantly they also lose access to knowledge of the process of production. The specialised division of labour ensures that the worker will have partial knowledge of only one part of the production process. This condition is exacerbated in contemporary production strategy by different parts of one product being produced in many different factories in many different countries. For peripheral countries this problem takes an even greater dimension, the solution to which has been articulated in bland phrases such as 'transfer of technology',

'appropriate technology', etc. . Transfer of technology here refers to the need for access to knowledge of the process of production while appropriate technology refers to the problem of the missing knowledge itself - the realisation by peripheral societies that they lack the know-how to properly maintain and even operate certain technologies of production thus necessitating a re-appraisal of the types of technologies being introduced into production processes.

As was argued earlier about the nature of peripheral social formations within the World market system, particularly with regards to economic activities and the nature of appropriation, it was found after several years of independence charged with the rhetoric of self-reliance, that the work force in these societies still lacked the vital knowledge required to embark on any independent developmental goal. For societies newly brought within the process of capitalist formation with the attendant dissipation of traditional mode of production and general way of life, the capitalist process of separating the conceptual and execution constituents of labour must represent even more social alienation than for advanced capitalist societies.

Further, the number of workers engaged in industrial production has been declining through this century as capital-intensive investment in technology reduces the reliance on human labour. Again, for peripheral societies this factor is exacerbated in the tendency for governments to clamour for the latest available technology without due consideration for whether such technology will actually under-cut human labour or enhance it. This is part of the disarticulation problems discussed earlier in this chapter. Also one must add the factor of import substitution where governments in the periphery embark on the

importation of various products to substitute for inadequate productive capacity or total lack of productive capability in certain sectors of the economy.

All these add up to an alienating process wherein the only time most people come upon products is in the marketplace where completed products appear as if by magic. In peripheral market economies this mystique surrounding products is even greater for reasons already outlined. It however needs to be emphasised that the problem of dumping of consumer products that so characterise many peripheral market economies is of vital importance in this process. Not only does the capitalist process of production negate the acquisition of the knowledge of production, but for peripheral societies there is the added problem of being swamped with strange imported consumer products with virtually no knowledge of how they are made or by whom.

Marx called the fetishism of commodities a disguise whereby the appearance of things in the marketplace masks the story of who fashioned them, and under what conditions. What commodities fail to communicate to consumers is information about the process of production. Unlike goods in earlier or traditional societies, they do not bear the signature of their makers, whose motives and actions we might assess because they are well known in the community. In chapter 3 it was shown what sort of vital information are missing in consumer products and how the presence of such information constitute an essential part of the meaning of goods. If such information was available to people it was argued, it would affect their interaction with goods because products are the objectification of human activities structure of capitalist social relations outlined so far ensures that the full social significance of products will not be known in a systematic manner.

The real and full meaning of product is hidden beneath the empty appearance in exchange. It is at this point when the real meaning has been systematically 'emptied' out of commodities that advertising 'refill' the void with its own symbols.

The operationalisation of this theory of commodity fetishism has shown in the study of advertising in Nigeria presented in chapter 5 verifies the presence of commodity fetishism in Nigeria. This part of the study sought to find out the nature of the informational content of advertising messages in Nigeria. As the findings reveal, specific variables designed to show whether such messages include vital information about products such as how a product was made, by whom and under what relations of production,etc featured much less than other information such as how to use a product, what it does, price, subjective claims about product quality and blanket evaluative terms such as good, best, etc.

6.11 CONCLUSION

This is a pioneering study aiming to analyse the social significance of advertising in Nigeria as a model of peripheral society. It has therefore necessarily placed advertising within the wider context of the political economy of Nigeria as a whole. In attempting to study advertising from this perspective it was argued that the theory of commodity fetishism provides the most suitable framework for understanding how advertising thrive in a social formation that has not yet progressed to the state of abundance or wealthy capitalist society. The question has often been posed as to why there is a need for advertising in a society that is yet unable to meet the basic material needs of its people,

where supply outstrip demand. The central argument in this study has been that such a question misses the fundamental role of advertising in any society. The underlying assumption of this question is that advertising's central role in society is economic. These economic functions attributed to advertising have been discussed in chapter 4 and it was argued that advertising has a more significant social-cultural role in society than economic.

In inscribing the analysis of advertising within the theory of commodity fetishism and market economy as a whole, it was argued that the role of advertising in society, particularly peripheral societies can be better understood through an analysis of the specific relations of production within capitalist social formations. Thus advertising has a similar role to play in society be it advanced capitalist or peripheral in nature for, it is the specific process of production inherent in capitalism that engender consumer product advertising not the state of capitalist development.

In market societies, the exchange-value of commodities dominate their use-value. In a peripheral society like Nigeria this refers to the subsumption of use-value to exchange-value where the social relations of capitalism hide the real relations of production and thus hide the true social meaning of commodities. Douglas and Isherwood (1978) note that 'goods are ritual adjuncts and rituals make visible and stable the categories of culture'. It was argued that a central concern of all people in all societies is to be able to make sense of the object world around them. Capitalist relations of production however disrupts the traditional mode of production and ruptures the 'organic unity' prevailing between people and the products of their labour. Consequently, the material world and activities that sustain life,

including the ensemble of objects produced from its resources, no longer make sense when assayed by the prevailing standards of judgement. It is this essential nature of capitalist production which engenders advertising for, advertising now has to provide people with meaning for the ensemble of commodities being produced.

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ADVERTISING AND COMMODITY FETISHISM: PRAXIS IN A PERIPHERAL THEATRE OF CONSUMPTION. A STUDY OF ADVERTISING IN NIGERIA

CODING PROTOCOL FOR THE ANALYSES OF NEWSPAPER ADVERTISEMENTS

AD INFORMATION

CASE NO	[ ]	1	
	[ ]	2	
	[ ]	3	
	[ ]	4	
A. NEWSPAPERS	[ ]	5	1. DAILY TIMES
			2. NEW NIGERIAN
			3. GUARDIAN
			4. STATESMAN
			5. TRIBUNE
			6. EASTERN STAR/DAILY STAR
B. MAGAZINES	[ ]	6	1. NEWSWATCH
			2. AFRICAN GUARDIAN
			3. PRIME PEOPLE
			4. ORPHELIA
C. YEAR OF AD	[ ]	7	1. 1960-70
			2. 1970-80
			3. 1980-87

D. SIZE OF AD [ ] 8

1. TWO PAGES OR MORE
2. FULL PAGE
3. 1/2 PAGE
4. LESS THAN 1/2 PAGE

E. COLOUR OF AD [ ] 9

1. BLACK & WHITE
2. COLOUR

PRODUCT IMAGE

A. USE TYPE [ ] IO

[ ] 11

01. **TOBACCO**
02. **ALCOHOL:** Palm wine; other indigenous alcohol
03. **ALCOHOL:** Bear, spirit,wine,etc
04. **FOOD:** Traditional
05. **FOOD:** Foreign;Processed
06. **CLOTHING:** Indigenous
07. **CLOTHING:** Foreign
08. **TEXTILE**
09. **TRANSPORTATION,** Freight
10. **BUILDING MATERIALS**
11. **AGRICULTURE & AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS**
12. **SOCIAL AD**
13. **SHOES AND OTHER FOOTWEAR**
14. **ELECTRICAL & ELECTRONIC**

APPLIANCES

15. DOMESTIC CHEMICAL PRODUCTS, Disinfectants, Insecticides etc.
16. PUBLISHING,PRINTING ETC.
17. LOCAL ARTS & CRAFT
18. PERFUMES, OTHER COSMETICS
19. SOFT DRINKS ETC.
20. SOAPS, DETERGENTS, etc.
21. PHARMACEUTICAL PRODUCTS
22. MECHANICAL ENGINEERING (LOCAL FABRICATION), MAINTENANCE
23. MECHANICAL ENGINEERING (GENERAL)
24. VEHICLES, SPARE PARTS,ETC.
25. OTHER INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS
26. CORPORATE
27. EDUCATIONAL; CAREER
28. TRAVEL
29. JEWELLERIES & OTHER FASHION ORNAMENTS
30. STATIONERY
31. OFFICE EQUIPMENTS
32. FURNITURE, FURNISHINGS,ETC.
33. TEA, COFFEE, OTHER BEVERAGES
34. FILMS, RECORDS, TAPES etc.
35. BLEACHING CREAM,SOAP,ETC.

36. GOVERNMENT DEPTS. AND AGENCIES Etc.
37. FUEL, OIL, GAS ETC.
38. HEALTH CARE
39. SALON,BOUTIQUE ETC.
40. COOKING GAS, COOKERS, OTHER KITCHEN & HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS
41. ALTERNATIVE MEDICINE
42. GENERAL MERCHANDISE
43. BABY FOOD
44. TRACTOR, EXCAVATOR, OTHER HEAVY MACHINERY
45. GENERATING PLANTS

B. PRODUCT USE

(Code "1" for positive and "0" for Negative)

[ ] 12 PRODUCT NOT SHOWN

[ ] 13 PRODUCT NOT IN USE/SUPERIMPOSITION

[ ] 14 PRODUCT USE IMPLIED IN TEXT

[ ] 15 PRODUCT USE IMPLIED IN IMAGE

[ ] 16 PRODUCT SHOWN IN USE

[ ] 17 PRODUCT USE DESCRIBED

TEXT

A. ESTIMATED WORD COUNT

(Excluding writing on product itself) [ ] 18

1. LESS THAN 10 WORDS
2. 10 - 20 WORDS
3. 20 - 50 WORDS
4. 50 - 100 WORDS
5. 100 - 250 WORDS
6. MORE THAN 250 WORDS
7. NO WORDS

B. TEXTUAL THEMES & EMPHASIS: PRODUCT

(Code "1" for Yes & "0" for No)

[ ] 19 INSTRUCTION ON HOW TO USE PRODUCT(recipe, preparation,mode of application, timing, ease of use, skills necessary, etc.)

[ ] 20 DESCRIPTIONS OF PRODUCT CHARACTERISTICS AND MAKE UP(Chemical compositions, ingredients, texture)

[ ] 21 METAPHORIC AND ANALOGIC DESCRIPTIONS OF PRODUCT QUALITIES(smells fresh as a lemon)

[ ] 22 ALLUSION TO MYSTERY: MAGICAL PROPERTIES OF PRODUCT, MIRACULOUS CHANGES, STARTLING RESULTS.

[ ] 23 PRICE

[ ] 24 DESCRIPTIONS/STORY GIVING ACCOUNT OF USER; IMPLIED USER; TYPE OF USER; USER CHARACTERISTICS, IDENTIFIES READERS AS USERS.

[ ] 25 TESTIMONIAL, RECOMMENDATION BY QUALIFIED PERSON.

[ ] 26 DESCRIPTION OF APPROPRIATE SETTING FOR USE OF PRODUCT (time, place, location)

[ ] 27 DESCRIPTION OF SOCIAL SITUATION OR CONTEXT OF PRODUCT USE (occasions, those special moments, gathering of friends)

C. ACCOUNTS OF CONSEQUENCE OF USE--TEXT

[ ] 28 JOB DONE EFFICIENTLY, QUICKLY, EFFORTLESSLY, RATIONALLY SCIENTIFICALLY, LONG-LASTING EFFECTIVENESS, HYGIENICALLY.

[ ] 29 DESCRIBES THE FINISHED STATE, RESULTS, CHARACTERISTICS OF END STATE (shining, clear, smooth, radiant)

D. ACCOUNTS OF PRODUCT'S POWER;CONSEQUENCES NOT CHARACTERISTICS

[ ] 30 **WHITE MAGIC** : Control exerted by product's power over natural forces or elements,captures, controls, owns, makes available natural forces for use(brings back the sunlight, leaves it smelling of lemon, etc.)

[ ] 31 **BLACK MAGIC** : Control exerted by product's power over other people: allurement, influence, social standing,

liking, impress, social judgement.

[ ] 32 **SELF TRANSFORMATION :** product has power to change self, testimony of power, reduces anxiety, change personal effectiveness, become like ideal other, become member of group or class.

D. OTHER THEMES - TEXT

[ ] 33 **REFERS TO SUITABILITY OF PRODUCT TO LOCAL ENVIRONMENT & NEED** (built for Nigeria, suitable for local/rural development etc.).

[ ] 34 **DESCRIPTION /ACCOUNT OF PROCESS OF PRODUCTION OF PRODUCT** (local craftmanship,skill & technology; local sourcing of raw materials etc.).

[ ] 35 **ACCOUNT OF SOCIAL RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION, DEPICTION OF PRODUCER AS INSTITUTION OF**

PARTICULAR TYPE ASSOCIATED WITH THE DEVELOPMENT DRIVES OF GOVERNMENT; CLIMATE OF ENTERPRISE (export promotion etc., import substitution, etc.), FAIR DEAL FOR EMPLOYEES, ASSOCIATION WITH LOCAL CULTURAL, SOCIAL, HISTORICAL ELEMENTS.

[ ] 36 ALLUSION TO OWNERSHIP OR MANAGEMENT

[ ] 37 ALLUSION TO A PROBLEM OF CHOICE IN CONSUMPTION/PURCHASE, CONFUSION IN THE MARKET PLACE, COMPARISON OF PRODUCTS DIRECTLY WITH OTHERS.

[ ] 38 EMPHASIS ON VALUE FOR MONEY (cheap, economical,best buy, comparison of price).

[ ] 39 BLANKET EVALUATIVE TERMS(good, best,improved etc.).

USER

A ARE PERSONS USERS?

[ ] 40 1. PERSON NOT SHOWN

2. PERSONS SHOWN ARE NOT USERS

3. PERSONS SHOWN ARE IMPLIED USERS

4. PERSONS SHOWN ARE USING THE PRODUCT

5. PERSONS SHOWN ARE STATED TO BE USERS IN TEXT

B. AGE

[ ] 41 1. INFANT

2. CHILD/CHILDREN

3. TEENAGER

4. YOUNG ADULT

5. MATURE ADULT

6. AGED

7. MIXED

C. SEX

[ ] 42 1. MALE ONLY

2. FEMALE ONLY

3. MIXED

D. RACE

[ ] 43 0. NO INDICATION

1. AFRICAN/BLACK

2. AFRICAN DIASPORA

3. ARAB

4. ASIAN

5. WHITE

6. ORIENTAL

7. MIXED

E. S.E.S. [ ] 44 0. NO INDICATION

1. URBAN-WORKING CLASS
2. URBAN- MIDDLE CLASS
3. URBAN- WEALTHY
4. RURAL
5. MIXED

F. DRESS [ ] 45 01. UNIFORM: MILITARY, POLICE, AVIATION, SCHOOL etc.

[ ] 46 02. SPORTSWEAR

03. FORMALWEAR- WESTERN: suit, skirt-suit, gown, etc.
05. FORMALWEAR- TRADITIONAL: complete native outfit
06. CASUAL WEAR- WESTERN
07. CASUALWEAR- TRADITIONAL/ LOCAL
09. DIAPERS
10. UNDERWEAR
11. MIXED: WESTERN/LOCAL
12. MIXED

G. EMOTIONAL REACTION

[ ] 47 0. NO EMOTION DISCERNABLE

1. PLEASURE(specifically related to object,text or image)

2. RELIEF FROM ANXIETY

3. POSED SMILE

4. PAIN, AGONY, WORRY etc. FROM LACK OF USE OF PRODUCT

SETTING

A. TYPE OF SETTING [ ] 48

0. NO SETTING(nothing at all can be identified)

1. BACKGROUND(something can be identified)

2. LOCATION(site can be identified)

B. PLACE OF SETTING- EXTERIOR (if A1 or A2)

[ ] 49 01. URBAN EXTERIOR

02. RURAL/PASTORAL

03. BEACH/RESORT

04. SEA/LAKE

05. FOREIGN LANDMARK

06. FARM

07. MIXED EXTERIOR

08. MARKET PLACE

09. INDUSTRIAL

10. LEISURE/PARK

11. RURAL EXTERIOR

12. PORT,QUAY,AIRPORT etc.

13. CITYCENTRE

14. GAS STATION

15. SKY

16. SWIMMING POOL

C. PLACE OF SETTING-INTERIOR

(if A1 or A2)

[ ] 51 0. NONE

1. VEHICLE/AIRCRAFT/SHIP etc.

2. RURAL INTERIOR

3. GARAGE/WORKSHOP/FACTORY etc.

4. URBAN INTERIOR

5. LIVING/BED ROOM

6. PUBLIC FACILITY/SPORTS HALL etc.

7. MIXED INTERIOR

8. ABSTRACT

9. OFFICE/LABORATORY etc.

SYMBOLIC DIMENSIONS

A. INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP

(code "1" for yes

and "0" for no) [ ] 52 INDEPENDENCE

[ ] 53 ETHNIC MULTIPLICITY

[ ] 54 COMMUNALITY/NATIONALISM

[ ] 55 SEXUAL LOVE

[ ] 56 FAMILY TOGETHERNESS(nuclear)

[ ] 57 FAMILY TOGETHERNESS(extended)

[ ] 58 PARENTAL

[ ] 59 FRIENDSHIP/COOPERATION

[ ] 60 CONFIDENCE IN AUTHORITY

[ ] 61 EXPERTISE

[ ] 62 CUSTOMER RELATIONS

	[ ] 63	WORKER/EMPLOYER RELATIONS
	[ ] 64	NEUTRAL
B. EMOTIONAL TONE	[ ] 65	LOVING(familial)
	[ ] 66	LOVING(sexual)
	[ ] 67	SATISFACTION
	[ ] 68	FEAR/CAUTION
	[ ] 69	FRUSTRATION
	[ ] 70	BOREDOM
	[ ] 71	DISCOMFORT
	[ ] 72	RELIEF
	[ ] 73	HAPPINESS/ DESIRE
	[ ] 74	NATIONALIST
	[ ] 75	ENVY
	[ ] 76	REVERENCE/AWE
	[ ] 77	CONFUSION
	[ ] 78	DETERMINATION/CONFIDENCE
	[ ] 79	PRIDE IN OWNERSHIP
	[ ] 1	SENSUAL PLEASURE
	[ ] 2	EXCITEMENT
	[ ] 3	VITALITY
	[ ] 4	ESCAPE, FANTASY
C. ACTIVITIES	[ ] 5	00. NONE
	[ ] 6	01. RESTING/RELAX
		02. PERSONAL MAINTENANCE & GROOMING
		03. RECREATION, PARTY, MERRIMENT
		04. WORK

05. WORK- UNWAGED

06. MAINTENANCE OF POSSESSIONS; OTHER HOME CHORES

07. SOCIAL/CULTURAL

08. PURCHASING

09. EDUCATIONAL, STUDY, RESEARCH

10. RELIGIOUS

11. NON-DIRECT PERSONAL COMMUNICATION (e.g. media,telephone)

12. TRAVEL

13. DRINKING

14. ORGANIZED SPORT; SPORT

15. CHILDCARE

16. DRIVING

17. HEALTHCARE

18. EATING

19. FARMING

20. COMPETITION,CONTEST

D. LIFESTYLE PORTRAYED

[ ] 7 00. NONE

[ ] 8 01. HEALTHY/ ATHLETIC

02. RURAL LIFE/ BACK TO NATURE

03. ELITE/WEALTHY

04. GLAMOROUS/ SOPHISTICATED

05. MIDDLE-CLASS/URBAN

06. WORKING CLASS

07. FRUGAL

08. BOISTEROUS/FUN LOVING/JET-SET

09. EXOTIC

10. BUSY PROFESSIONAL

11. EXTRAVAGANT

12. INDEPENDENCE

13. FAMILY TOGETHERNESS

14. MIXED-WORKING/MIDDLE CLASS

15. DARING, ADVENTUROUS etc.

16. POLYGAMOUS

17. SCHOLAR

18. POOR, WRETCHED

PERSUASIVE APPEAL

(code "1" for yes & "0" for no)

RHETORICAL FORM: CONTENT

[ ] 9 RATIONAL APPEAL: REASONED ARGUMENT BASED ON PRODUCT QUALITIES: price, comparison test, utility, proof, value.

[ ]10 WORRY APPEAL: IF YOU USE X , Y WITH NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES MIGHT HAPPEN.

[ ]11 EXPERT APPEAL: ARGUMENT BASED ON RECOMMENDATION OF EXPERT.

[ ]12 TYPICAL PERSON APPEAL: INTERVIEW, TESTIMONY OF ORDINARY PERSON.

[ ]13 STATUSED REFERENCE GROUP: PRODUCT IS ASSOCIATED WITH TALENTED, CLASSY, SOPHISTICATED, GLAMOROUS PERSON OR SETTING.

[ ]14 **STAR APPEAL:**PRODUCT IS ASSOCIATED WITH, TESTIMONIAL GIVEN BY, KNOWN PERSONS, STAR, SPORTS PERSONALITY.

[ ]15 **RELIEF APPEAL:** PRODUCT IS ASSOCIATED WITH REDUCTION OF ANXIETY, RELIEF FROM EMBARRASSMENT, BOREDOM, DISCOMFORT, TENSION, WORRY.

[ ]16 **NOSTALGIA APPEAL** : RECAPTURES OLD VALUES, TRADITIONAL, YOUTH

[ ]17 **PATRIOT APPEAL:** PRODUCT IS ASSOCIATED WITH PATRIOTISM- buy Nigerian, made in Nigeria etc.

[ ]18 **SOCIAL/CULTURAL APPEAL:** PRODUCT IS ASSOCIATED WITH SOCIO-CULTURAL VALUES- African values, belief, tradition, customs ,climate etc.

[ ]19 **SENSUAL APPEAL:** FEELS, LOOKS, TASTES GOOD; DELIGHTS SENSES, EROTIC OVERTONES TO PRODUCT.

[ ]20 **EXOTIC APPEAL** FOREIGN, EXOTIC, UNIQUE, SPECIAL QUALITIES OF PRODUCT, MYSTERY, MAGICAL.

[ ]21 **OFFER:** PRIZE, CONTEST, COUPON, SAMPLE

RHETORICAL FORM: STYLE

[ ]22 **HUMOUR** : AMUSING, GIMMICKY, IRONIC, SENSATION.

[ ]23 **PLEASING IMAGERY:** SOFT, PRETTY, GRAPHIC, NATURAL SCENE etc.

[ ]24 **TELLS STORY:** IMAGE OR TEXT BUILDS A STORY, DIACHRONIC, EXPLANATORY

[ ]25 **DESIGN REFERENCE:** USES PERIOD STYLE, CULTURAL ITEM, HISTORICAL-CULTURAL SYMBOL, FUTURISTIC DESIGN

[ ]26 **SENSUAL APPEAL:** EMPHASIZES SENSUOUS IMAGES, FLESH AND BODY FORM.

[ ]27 **CUTE:** BABIES, ELVES, CARTOONS, ANIMALS.

PREDOMINANT VALUES: WHAT IS BEING SOLD ?

(Code "1" for yes & "0" for no)

28[ ] NONE	[ ]29	LEISURE	[ ]30	WORK
		FUN		CHALLENGE
		ADVENTURE		SATISFACTION
		EXCITEMENT		REWARD
		HAPPINESS		TOIL
		PLEASURE		

31[ ] **BEAUTY**

CULTURE:WESTERN
SOPHISTICATION
GLAMOUR
ELEGANCE
GRACE
LIGHT SKIN

[ ]32 **BEAUTY**

CULTURE:LOCAL
SOPHISTICATION
GLAMOUR
ELEGANCE
GRACE

[ ]33 **STATUS**

DESIRABLE
CLASSY
ENVIABLE
SMART

34[ ] **FAMILY(Nuclear)**

FAMILY LOVE/CARE
MOTHERHOOD
SECURITY
MODERNITY

35[ ] **FAMILY(Extended)**

FAMILY LOVE/CARE
MOTHERHOOD
SECURITY
TRADITION

[ ]36 **EXPERIENCE**

PIONEERING
WEALTH OF
EXPERIENCE
KNOW-HOW

37[ ] **SEXUAL**

SEXUAL LOVE
SENSUOUS
MACHISMO
FEMININITY
PASSIONS
ROMANCE

38[ ] **WEALTH**

OSTENTATION
STRENGTH
POWER
CONFIDENCE
POSSESSION
ABUNDANCE

[ ]39 **CONTEMPORARY**

PROGRESSIVE
IMPROVEMENT
MODERN
DEVELOPMENT
NEW

40[ ] **TRADITION**

NOSTALGIA
AGE
MATURITY
HISTORY
CUSTOM
INDIGENOUS
CULTURAL VALUES

41[ ] **PEACE/SECURITY**

COMFORT
PROTECTION
CONFIDENCE
PREVENTIVE
TRANQUILLITY
CONVENIENCE

[ ] 42 **UNKNOWN**

MYSTICAL
MYTHICAL
ADVENTURE
CURIOSITY
CHALLENGE
FUTURISTIC
DANGEROUS

43[ ] **WISDOM**

KNOWLEDGE

INTELLIGENCE

EDUCATION

44[] **FREEDOM**

INDEPENDENCE

INDIVIDUALITY

ADVENTURE

SELF-DETERMINATION

[] 45 **COMMUNALITY**

INTER-DEPENDENCE

COOPERATION

SELFLESSNESS

46[] **QUALITY**

CRAFTSMANSHIP

PRECISION

EXCELLENCE

EASE OF USE

GENUINE

SATISFACTION

EXPERTISE

UNIQUE

47[] **HEALTH/NATURE**

HEALTHFUL

NATURAL

HEALING

ENERGETIC

FRESH/CLEAN

REGENERATIVE

HYGIENIC

[] 48 **EVIL**

SIN

DEPRIVATION

SADISM

FANATICISM

TEMPTATION

DEATH

49[] **UTILITARIAN**

PRACTICAL

USEFUL

WORKABLE

FUNCTIONAL

50[] **NORMAL**

POPULAR

EVERYBODY'S

ACCEPTABLE

[] 51 **THRIFT**

VALUE FOR MONEY

CHEAP

ECONOMICAL

52[] **ACHIEVEMENT**

GO-GETTER

SUCCESS

53[] **PATRIOTISM**

CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY

SACRIFICE

[] 54 **RELIABILITY**

CONFIDENCE

DURABLE

SAFETY

EFFICIENT

FAST

EFFECTIVE

FRESH

REPUTABLE

55[] CORPORATE IMAGE
PROMOTIONS
INFORMATION

56[] UNIVERSALITY
USED ALL-OVER
THE WORLD

[] 57 SELF RELIANCE
SOCIO-CULTURAL
EXPORT
PROMOTIONS
MADE-IN-NIGERIA
INDIGENOUS
LOCAL SOURCING
OF RAW MATERIALS

58[] VANITY
EGO TRIP
OTHER FANTASY

59[] FAITH IN SCIENCE
MEDICINE
TECHNOLOGY
RESEARCH

[] 60 YOUTH
YOUTHFULNESS

ADVERTISING PRACTITIONERS (REGISTRATION, ETC.) DECREE 1988

Decree No. 55

[27th December 1988]

Commencement.

THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT hereby decrees as follows :—

PART I—*Establishment of the Advertising Practitioners Council of Nigeria, etc.*

Establishment of the Advertising Practitioners Council of Nigeria, etc.

1. There is hereby established for advertising practitioners a body to be known as the Advertising Practitioners Council of Nigeria (hereafter in this Decree referred to as "the Council") which shall be charged with the general duty of—

(*a*) determining who are advertising practitioners ;

(*b*) determining what standards of knowledge and skill are to be attained by persons seeking to become registered as members of the advertising profession and reviewing those standards from time to time ;

(*c*) securing in accordance with the provisions of this Decree, the establishment and maintenance of a register of persons entitled to practise as advertising practitioners and the publication, from time to time, of lists of those persons ;

(*d*) regulating and controlling the practice of advertising in all its aspects and ramifications ;

(*e*) conducting examinations in the profession and awarding certificates or diplomas to successful candidates as and when appropriate and for such purpose, the Council shall prescribe fees to be paid in respect thereof ;

(*f*) performing the other functions conferred on the Council by this Decree.

Membership of the Council.

2.—(1) The Council shall consist of—

(*a*) a Chairman who shall be a person of distinction in the profession to be appointed by the President, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces ;

(*b*) seven persons to be appointed by the Minister one of whom shall be from the Ministry and the others from amongst other interests in the field of advertising which in the opinion of the Minister ought to be adequately represented ;

(*c*) ten persons to be elected by the Association of Advertising Practitioners of Nigeria (hereafter in this Decree referred to as "the Association") in the manner for the time being provided by its constitution ; and

(*d*) two persons to represent institutions of higher learning in Nigeria offering courses leading to an approved qualification, to be appointed by the Minister in rotation, so however that the two persons shall not come from the same institution.

(2) The provisions set out in Schedule 1 to this Decree shall have effect to the qualification, and tenure of office of members of the Council and the other matters therein mentioned.

Power of the Council.

3.—(1) Subject to subsection (2) of this section and to any directions of the Minister under this Decree, the Council shall have power to do anything which in its opinion is calculated to facilitate the carrying out of its functions under this Decree.

(2) The Council shall not have power to borrow or dispose of any property except with the prior consent of the Minister and shall not have power to pay remuneration (including pensions), allowances or expenses to any employee of the Council or any other person except in accordance with scales approved by the Minister.

Fund of the Council.

4.—(1) The Council shall establish and maintain a fund for the purposes of this Decree.

(2) There shall—

(*a*) be paid into the fund of the Council—

(*i*) all fees and other moneys payable to the Council in pursuance of this Decree ;

(*ii*) such moneys as may be payable to the Council, whether in the course of the discharge of its functions or not ; and

(*b*) be paid out of the fund of the Council—

(*i*) the remuneration and allowances of the registrar and other employees of the Council ;

(*ii*) such reasonable travelling and subsistence allowance of members of the Council in respect of the time spent on the business of the Council, as the Council, may, with the approval of the Minister, determine ; and

(*iii*) any other expenses incurred by the Council in the discharge of its functions under this Decree.

Financial provisions.

5.—(1) The Council shall prepare and submit to the Minister not later than the 30th day of September of each year (so however that the Minister may, if he considers it necessary, extend the period in the year in which this Decree comes into force) an estimate of the income and expenditure of the Council during the next succeeding year.

(2) The Council shall keep proper accounts in respect of each year and proper records in relation to those accounts and shall cause the accounts to be audited within six months after the end of the year to which the accounts relate by auditors appointed from the list and in accordance with the guidelines supplied by the Auditor-General of the Federation.

Directives of the Minister to the Council

6. The Minister may give to the Council directives of a general character or relating generally to particular matters but not to any individual person or case with regard to the exercise by the Council of its functions under this Decree and it shall be the duty of the Council to comply with the directives.

Registrar and other staff of the Council.

7.—(1) It shall be the duty of the Council to appoint a fit and proper person to be the registrar for the purposes of this Decree.

(2) The registrar shall, in addition to his other functions under this Decree, be the secretary to the Council and shall, on the instructions of the Chairman of the Council, convene and keep minutes of the proceedings at all meetings of the Council and committees thereof, as the case may be.

(3) The Council may appoint such other persons to be employees of the Council as the Council may determine to assist the registrar in the exercise of his functions under this Decree.

(4) The Council may, whenever the registrar is absent, or for any other reason is unable to discharge the functions of his office, appoint an acting registrar to discharge his functions.

(5) The registrar and other employees of the Council shall hold office on such terms and conditions as the Council may, with the approval of the Minister, determine.

PART II—*Registration*

Preparation and maintenance of register.

8.—(1) It shall be the duty of the registrar to prepare and maintain, in accordance with rules made by the Council under this section, a register of the names, addresses, approved qualifications and of such other particulars as may be specified of all persons who are entitled in accordance with the provisions of this Decree to be registered as fellows, full members, associates or students of the profession and who apply in the specified manner to be so registered.

(2) Subject to the provisions of this section, the Council shall make rules with respect to the form of keeping of the register and the making of entries therein, and in particular—

(*a*) regulating the making of applications for registration and providing for the evidence to be produced in support of applications ;

(*b*) providing for the notification to the registrar by the person to whom any registered particulars relate, of any change in those particulars ;

(*c*) authorising a registered person to have any qualification which is, in relation to his profession, an approved qualification or an accepted qualification under section 11 (2) of this Decree, registered in relation to his name in addition to or, as he may elect in substitution for any other qualifications so registered ;

(*d*) specifying anything falling to be specified under the foregoing provisions of this section ;

(*e*) specifying the fees to be paid to the Council in respect of the entry of names on the register and authorising the registrar to refuse to enter a name on the register until any fees specified for entry has been paid.

(3) It shall be the duty of the registrar—

(*a*) to correct, in accordance with the directions of the Council, any entry in the register which the Council directs him to correct as being in the opinion of the Council an entry which was incorrectly made ;

(*b*) to make, from time to time, any necessary alterations to the registered particulars of registered persons ;

(*c*) to remove from the register the name of any registered person who has died, has become insane or has committed an act of gross misconduct.

(4) If the Registrar—

(*a*) should send by post to any registered person a registered letter addressed to him at his address on the register enquiring whether the registered particulars relating to him are correct and receives no reply to that letter within three months from the date of posting it ; and

(*b*) upon the expiration of that period sends in like manner to the person in question a second letter and receives no reply to that letter within three months from the date of posting,

the registrar may remove the particulars relating to the person in question from the register but the Council may direct the registrar to restore to the register any particulars removed therefrom under this subsection.

Publication of register and lists of correction.

9.—(1) It shall be the duty of the registrar—

(*a*) to cause the register to be printed, published and put on sale to members of the public not later than two years from the beginning of the year in which this Decree comes into force ;

(*b*) in each year after that in which a register is first published under paragraph (*a*) of this subsection, to cause to be printed, published and put on sale as aforesaid either a corrected edition of the register or a list of alterations made to each register since it was last printed ; and

(*c*) to cause a print of each edition of the register and of each list of corrections to be deposited at the principal office to the Council, and it shall be the duty of the Council to keep each register and lists so deposited open at all reasonable times for inspection by members of the public.

(2) A document purporting to be a print of an edition of a register published under this section by authority of the registrar in the current year or documents purporting to be prints of an edition of a register so published in the current year, shall (without prejudice to any other mode of proof) be admissible in any proceedings as evidence that any person specified in the document, or the documents read together, as being registered is so registered and that any person not so specified is not so registered.

Division of register.

10. The register maintained under section 8 of this Decree shall consist of three parts—

(*a*) one part in respect of fellows ;

(*b*) one part in respect of full members ;

(*c*) one part in respect of associate members.

Registration.

11.—(1) A person shall be entitled to be registered as a student member of the profession and being so registered to receive a certificate of registration if he satisfies the Council that he is undergoing a course of studies recognised by the Council leading to a qualification in the profession in an institution approved by the Council.

(2) A person shall be entitled to be registered as an associate member of the profession and being so registered to receive a certificate of registration if—

(*a*) he holds a university degree or Higher National Diploma in mass communication or other professional qualification recognised by the Council and he is employed in a recognised organisation where he can acquire professional experience ;

(*a*) give notice that it proposes to do so to persons by whom the course is conducted or the qualification is granted or the institution is controlled, as the case may be ;

(*b*) afford each such person an opportunity of making to the Council representation with regard to the proposal ; and

(*c*) take into consideration any representations made in respect of the proposal in pursuance of paragraph (*b*) of this subsection.

(3) In respect of any period during which the approval of the Council under this section for a course, institution or qualification is withdrawn, the course, institution or qualification shall not be treated as approved under this section but the withdrawal of such an approval shall not prejudice the registration or eligibility for registration of any person who by virtue of the approval was registered or eligible for registration immediately before the approval was withdrawn.

(4) The giving or withdrawal of an approval under this section shall have effect from such date, after the execution of the instrument signifying the giving or withdrawal of the approval, as the Council may specify in the instrument, and the Council shall—

(*a*) as soon as may be, published a copy of every instrument in the *Gazette* ; and

(*b*) not later than seven days before its publication as aforesaid send a copy of the instrument to the Minister.

Supervision of institution and examination leading to qualifications.

13.—(1) It shall be the duty of the Council to keep itself informed of the nature of—

(*a*) the instruction given at approved institutions to persons attending approved courses of training ; and

(*b*) the examinations as a result of which approved qualifications are granted ;

and for the purpose of performing that duty, the Council may appoint, either from among its own members or otherwise, persons to visit approved institutions or attend such examination.

(2) It shall be the duty of a visitor appointed under subsection (1) of this section to report to the Council on—

(*a*) the adequacy of the instruction given to persons attending approved courses of training at institutions visited by him ;

(*b*) the adequacy of the examination attended by him ; and

(c) any other matter relating to the institutions or examinations on which the Council may, either generally or in a particular case, request him to report,

but no visitor shall interfere with the giving of any instruction or the holding of any examination.

(3) On receiving a report made in pursuance of this section, the Council shall, as soon as may be, send a copy of the report to the person appearing to the Council to be in charge of the institution or responsible for the examinations to which the report relates requesting that person to make representations to the Council within such time as may be specified in the request not being more than one month beginning with the date of the request.

LIST OF MEMBER AGENCIES

1. **Admark Nigeria Ltd.,**
15 Warehouse Road,
P. O. Box 1174, Apapa,
Tel: 873741, 875962, 871650

2. **Ad Centre Ltd.,**
71 Tafawa Balewa Crescent,
P. O. Box 4878,
Surulere.

3. **Adcomm (Nigeria) Ltd.,**
8 Marian Road Extension,
P. O. Box 1552,
Calabar. Tel: 087-225182.

4. **Adpure Limited,**
24 West of Mines,
P. O. Box 6053,
Jos. Tel: 073-53560

5. **Advertising Techniques Ltd.,**
27 Adekunle Fajuyi Way,
G.R.A., Ikeja. Tel: 932220
P. O. Box 51511 Ikoyi

6. **Adwork Limited,**
41 Allen Avenue,
Ikeja Tel: 960557

7. **Akrel Advertising Ltd.,**
8/10 Broad Street,
P.O. Box 3764, Lagos.
Tel: 636640.

8. **Black & Proud Advertising Ltd.,**
244 Agbani Road,
P. O. Box 1151,
Enugu. Tel: 338004

9. **Bluebell Communications Ltd.,**
29 Ogunlana Drive, Surulere.
P. O. Box 2087,
Lagos. Tel: 832309,
833591 842785

10. **Bobby & Robertson**
Associates Ltd.,
2 Adaranijo Street, Shomolu,
P. O. Box 50, Head Post Office,
Somolu,
Lagos, Tel: 822382

11. **Campaign Services Ltd.,**
26 Ogunlana Drive,
P. O. Box 1177, Surulere,
Tel: 834089, 802280 — 4

12. **Cecilade Limited,**
13/15 Murtala
Muhammed Way,
Yaba, P. O. Box 263,
Ebute Metta, Tel: 860533

13. **Centre Spread**
Advertising Ltd.,
5 African Church Close,
Ilupeju, P. O. Box 59,
P & T Cappa, Lagos.
Tel: 823043, 821409

14. **Concept Unit Ltd.,**
19 Olukole Street,
P. O. Box 6373, Surulere.
Tel: 836847, 830511

15. **Creative Concept Nig. Ltd.,**
15 Sabiu Ajose Street,
Surulere, P. O. Box 5378,
Lagos. Tel: 834461

16. **Dat Advertising Ltd.,**
36 Mojidi Street,
P. O. Box 3874, Ikeja,
Tel: 964414, 964234

17. **Dave-Solomon Ltd.,**
9 Olorunfunmi Street,
Ilupeju. P. O. Box 3016, Ikeja.
Tel: 933470, 960320

18. **Dawn Functions Nigeria Ltd.,**
3A Byron Onyeama Close,
New Haven, P. O. Box 2890,
Enugu. Tel: 042-334267

19. **Eminent Limited,**
26 Alhaji Kofoworola Street,
Off Obafemi Awolowo Way,
Ikeja. Tel: 932941

20. **Enic Advertising Agency Ltd.,**
34 Douglas Road,
P. O. Box 1987,
Owerri. Tel: 083-230755

21. **Fem Publicity Ltd.,**
26 Oworonsoki Road,
Oworonsoki, P. O. Box 1586,
Ikeja. Tel: 822568

22. **Forum Advertising Ltd.,**
41 Femi Ayantuga Crescent,
Surulere, P. O. Box 2717,
Lagos. Tel: 834020, 834013,
844614

23. **G & C Advertising Ltd.,**
8 Oweh Street,
Yaba. Tel: 863441

24. **Geo Communications Ltd.,**
118 Bode Thomas Street,
Surulere, Tel: 831021

25. **Goldmark Limited,**
23 Oladipupo Kuku Street,
Off Allen Avenue, Ikeja,
P. O. Box 1545, Surulere,
Tel: 961277

26. **Grafik Advertising**
Associates Ltd.,
24 Gbajumo Crescent,
Surulere,
P.O. Box 8506, Lagos,
Tel: 831717, 830714

27. **Grant Advertising Nig. Ltd.**
48 Bode Thomas Street,
Surulere,
P. O. Box 3930, Lagos,
Tel: 833883, 833872, 833757,
834568, 833750

28. **Greengate & Co. Ltd.,**
127 Old Ojo Road, Amuwo,
P. O. Box 7391,
Lagos. Tel: 882049

29. **Guy Saries Ltd.,**
10 Coker Road Ilupeju,
P. O. Box 327.

30. **Hunters Publicity Ltd.,**
12 Jibowu Street, Yaba,
P. O. Box 116, Lagos.
Tel: 862764

31. **Insight Communications Ltd.,**
Plot 58 Akanbi
Onitiri Close
Iganmu Industrial Estate
Surulere
P. O. Box 2588, Surulere.
Tel: 830209,
832677,
832985,
802470-4

32. **Intermark Associates Ltd.,**
51 Bode Thomas Street,
Palmgrove. P. O. Box 4244,
Lagos. Tel: 822344,822016.

33. **International Advertising**
Services Ltd.
Plot G11 Anguwan Kanawa
Near Noa,
P.M.B. 2167, Kaduna.
Tel: 201021, 201020

34. **Kap Publicity (Org.) Ltd.,**
Km 15 Badagry Expressway,
P. O. Box 184, Satellite Town.
Tel: 881996

35. **Kelvin & Associates Ltd.,**
32B Mba Street,
Off Tafawa Balewa Crescent,
Surulere. Tel: 842859, 832582

36. **Lintas Limited,**
202 Awolowo Road, South-West,
Ikoyi, P. O. Box 551, Lagos.
Tel: 603440-4

37. **Maan Limited,**
6B 1st Avenue,
Independence Layout,
P. O. Box 531,
Enugu. Tel: 042-331707

38. **Macsell Associates Ltd.,**
224 Apapa Road, Ijora,
P. O. Box 10141, Marina,
Tel: 834259, 803750-3

39. **Markad Nigeria Ltd.,**
61 Mbaise Road,
P.M.B. 1506, Owerri.

40. **Norsmedia Limited,**
NF 12 Maiduguri Road,
P. O. Box 3100,
Kaduna, Tel: 243458

41. **Nuco Advertising &**
Publicity Ltd.,
10 Ezzikwo Street,
Independence Layout,
P.O. Box 2278, Enugu.
TeL:
333204

42. **Ogilvy Benson & Mather**
(Nig.) Ltd.,
2/4 Araoti Street, Yaba,
P.O.
Box 2155, Lagos
Tel: 861899, 861883, 861891,
862010, 861882, 862005

43. **Ogins Advertising Ltd.,**
11 Gbeyiola Road,
Gbagada Estate,
P. O. Box 3998, Surulere.
Tel: 823961

44. **Olu Adekoya Press**
Agency Ltd.,
42 Alli Street,
P. O. Box 1593, Lagos,
Tel: 632332

45. **Oricom Nigeria Ltd.,**
42/44 Warehouse Road,
P.O. Box 2462, Apapa,
Tel: 872872

46. **Pal Nigeria Ltd.,**
Pal House, 5 Ebun Street,
Abule Oja, P. O. Box 8050,
Lagos.
Tel: 860834, 863904, 860781

47. **Partnership Advertising Ltd.,**
28 Akinwonmi Street,
Ire Akari Estate, Isolo,
P.M.B. 1133 Oshodi,
Tel: 523753, 523763, 523784

48. **Promoserve Limited,**
49 Bode Thomas Street,
Surulere, P. O. Box 6250,
Lagos.
Tel: 830447, 847170

49. **Reads & Mark Limited,**
1 Ogbaru Street,
Independence Layout,
P.O. Box 1271, Enugu.
Tel: 332559

50. **Rock-Forte Limited,**
Plot 104 Babs Animashaun
Street,
Surulere, P. O. Box 4957,
Murtala Muhammed Airport,
Ikeja. Tel: 836726, 834015

51 **Rosabel Advertising Ltd.,**
10 Sabiu Ajose Street,
Surulere. P. O. Box 517,
Lagos Tel: 830009, 834103
801940-4

52. **Sac Limited.,**
103, Okigwe Road,
P. O. Box 2212,
Aba, Tel: 082-220884

53. **Seth Publicity Ltd.,**
2, Owolewa Street,
Off Randle Avenue,
P. O. Box 3999,
Surulere,
Tel: 830662, 831346,
841287

54. **Sunrise Marketing.,**
Communications Ltd.,
3, Church Street, Ikeja,
P. O. Box 51927, Ikoyi,
Tel: 963619

55. **Uniworld Limited,**
143 Ojuelegba Road,
P. O. Box 1608,
Surulere, Tel: 842528

56. **Zepol Advertising Ltd.,**
1 Oremeji Street,
Off Palm Avenue,
Mushin, P.O. Box 5499, Surulere.
Tel: 843643

57. **ASDA Advertising Ltd.,**
231 Herbert Macaulay
Street, Yaba
P. O. Box 60346
Federal Secretariat, Ikoyi
Tel: 860521

GUIDELINES FOR THE MEDIA ADVERTISEMENT OF OVER THE COUNTER (O.T.C.) DRUGS TO THE GENERAL PUBLIC

(Issued by FDA, Federal Ministry of Health)

1. In accordance with the provisions of section 2 of the Food and Drugs Act of 1974 (formerly F.D.D. 1974) no person shall advertise to the general public, in Nigeria, any drug as a treatment, prevention or cure for any of the diseases, disorders or abnormal physical states specified in schedule 1 to the said Decree.

2. No person shall advertise any OTC drug to the general public in Nigeria unless the drug has been duly registered by the Federal Ministry of Health.

3. Over-the-Counter drugs to be advertised in Nigeria are required to be properly labelled with the following information included on the package label:

   a) The name of the product (proprietary name and generic name, if applicable).

   b) A quantitative listing of the ingredients.

   c) The conditions, purposes or uses for which the drug is intended

   d) An accurate statement of the dosage strength (per tablet, capsule, teaspoon, etc.)

   e) Daily dose

   f) Frequency of administration

   g) Route or method of administration

   h) Preparation for use (shaking, dilution, refrigeration, etc.

   i) The quantity of contents in metric units where applicable

   j) Adequate warnings, when necessary, for the protection of users e.g. keep out of the reach of children. Do not take more than the maximum daily dosage.

   k) Name and address of manufacturer, packer if an imported drug, the name and address of the local packer or distributor must appear on the label in such a manner as to reveal the connection between the packer or distributor with such words — as "Manufactured for....." "Distributed by....." or any other wording that expresses the facts.

   l) Date of manufacture, date of expiration unless exempted and batch or lot number.

4. O.T.C. drugs shall carry package leaflet with complete label information in addition to the contra-indications if not already stated on the immediate packet.

5. The labelling must not contain any statement which is false, misleading or exaggerated.

6. All of the labelling information must be in English. In case of any other language, an English translation must be included.

7. If the bottle, jar or other immediate container has an outer wrapper or carton, the outer wrapper or carton must also bear all of the information required to appear on the label itself.

8. Serious disease conditions which cannot be diagnosed or successfully treated by the general public should not be referred to in the labelling of O.T.C. drugs.

9. The advertisement itself which must not carry any false or misleading information is required to contain the information listed below:-

   a) The name of the product

   b) The pack sizes being promoted and their corresponding prices

   c) The different forms in which the drug is available

   d) Name and address of seller and manufacturer if necessary and must not contain words such as magic, miracle or mystical; exotic descriptions such as supper potency; or such other words as to induce the daily and continuous use of the product.

   Imply that the reader, viewer or listener is suffering, or without treatment may suffer or suffer more severely from any illness, ailment or disease.

   Dramatise any symptoms by way of drawing a picture of a pregnant woman, patient, with backache, or use sounds like heart beats, coughing or agonising cries.

   Denigrate or attack unfairly any competitive products, goods and services.

10. No person shall advertise an O.T.C. drug to the general public in Nigeria unless the advertisement has been approved by the Food and Drugs Administration of the Federal Ministry of Health.

11. When films are made, the film scripts and visuals must be submitted for vetting as well, and the final film must be previewed and approved before circulation.

12. All scripts shall be authenticated by the pharmacist of the pharmaceutical company manufacturing or distributing the drugs in the country.

GUIDELINES ON ADVERTISEMENT OF O.T.C. DRUGS

ntinued from page 18

The script, along with an application and samples (i.e. 6 packs of each of the pack sizes) being advertised shall be submitted between Monday and Wednesday, six weeks in advance to either the address below or through FDA state offices.

The Chief Drug Registrar,
Drug Regulatory Unit,
Food and Drugs Administration,
Federal Ministry of Health,
P.M.B. 2022, Yaba

(see attached list of FDA state offices)

When advertisements are submitted through the state offices it should be noted that final clearance should be obtained from the address given above before such advertisement shall be released.

The application, which shall be submitted by the originator of the advertisement, that is, the manufacturer, packer or distributor must contain the following information:-

i) The proprietary name of the product
ii) Generic name of product, if any
iii) Dosage forms available
iv) Whether the product is imported or locally manufactured
v) Name and address of manufacturer
vi) Name and address of local distributor
vii) Date of first introduction of product to the Nigerian market
ix) Information about any previous advertisement of product in Nigeria
x) A copy of the old script
xi) The proposed media for the new advertisement
xii) Duration of advertisement
xiii) A certified copy of the registration permit of product and of the premises.

15. The permit shall last for one calendar year from the date of approval.

16. Any alteration in the format of the approved script without expressed permission of the FDA shall render the approval null and void.

17. No advertisement should bring the pharmaceutical industry into disrepute, undermine confidence in advertising or prejudice public confidence in medicine.

18. In the event of any release of misleading and/or illegal advertisement to the general public, both the pharmaceutical company originating the advertisement, the advertising agent and the advertising media are jointly and severally liable to be prosecuted.

19. **DEFINITION OF TERMS**

i. Media advertisement is the publicity of goods and description of products, this includes any form of notices in circulars, handouts, labels, wrappers, catalogues and price lists, posters, newspapers, magazines, and any other documents made orally or otherwise or by means of projected light and sound, television, radio, audio tapes, video tapes, and other sound recordings.

ii. Over-the-counter drugs are those generally regarded as safe for the consumer to use by following the required label directions and warnings. They may be purchased without prescription. They are sometimes referred to as non-prescription drugs.

iii. Label means a display of written, printed or graphic matter upon the immediate drug container.

iv. Package labelling includes the label on the immediate container plus all other printed matter, such as outer wrapper, carton or leaflet associated with the package.

The contents of this guideline are subject to revision.

GUIDELINES AND PROCEDURE FOR ADVERTISEMENT OF FOOD PRODUCTS

(Issued by FDA, Federal Ministry of Health)

THESE guidelines apply to all advertisements of food products (both single entity and compound) imported into or locally manufactured in Nigeria.

(1) No person shall advertise any food product in Nigeria unless the product has been registered by the Federal Ministry of Health.

(2) No person shall advertise any food product in Nigeria unless such advertisement has been pre-cleared and approved by the Federal Ministry of Health.

(3) No person shall display, screen or otherwise present an advertisement of food to the public unless in accordance with the provisions of these guidelines.

(4) No person shall give to any food any name that is capable of giving a false impression of the nutritional properties of such food.

(5) No person shall make any claim to assert, imply or otherwise convey the impression as to the suitability of any food for use in the prevention, alleviation, management, treatment or cure of a disease, disorder or physiological condition.

(6) All nutritional claims shall comply with guidelines on the pre-packaged foods (Labelling).

(7) No claim shall be made for particular value in a food when that value is not wholly contributed by the food, but is partly contributed by other foods with which it may be consumed.

(8) A person may in advertising a food or on a label of such food state:-

a) that the food is a source or a dietary source of energy if a reasonable daily intake of that food by a person would result in the daily intake by that person of not less than 750 kilocalories of energy.

b) that the food is a good source or a good dietary source of energy if a reasonable daily intake of that food by a person would result in the daily intake by that person of not less than 1,500 kilocalories of energy.

c) that the food is an excellent source or an excellent dietary source of energy if a reasonable daily intake by a person would result in the daily intake by that person of not less than 3,000 kilocalories of energy.

(9) Where a food for which an energy claim is made is represented as being solely for use in the feeding of children under two years of age, no person shall sell such food unless a reasonable daily intake of that food by the child under two years of age would result in the daily intake by the child of not less than 1,360 kilocalories of energy.

(10) No person shall advertise for sale or have in his possession for sale any food which is described by any name or words calculated to indicate either directly or by ambiguity, omission or inference, that the food has tonic properties by reason only that such food contains:

a) alcohol

b) sugar or other carbohydrates

c) protein or substances prepared from the hydrolysis of protein or

d) caffeine or other purine derivatives.

(11) A person may, in advertising a food or on a label of such food, state:

a) that the food is a source or a good dietary source of protein if a reasonable daily intake of that food by a person would result in the daily intake by that person of not less than 10 grams of protein.

b) that the food is a good source or a good dietary source of protein if a reasonable daily intake of that food by a person would result in the daily intake by that person of not less than 20 grams of protein.

c) that the food is an excellent source or an excellent dietary source of protein if a reasonable daily intake of that food by a person would result in the daily intake by that person of not less than 40 grams of protein.

(12) Where a food for which a protein claim is made is represented as being solely for use in the feeding of children under two years of age, no person shall sell such food unless a reasonable daily intake of that food by a child

GUIDELINES AND PROCEDURE FOR ADVERTISEMENT OF FOOD PRODUCTS

Continued from page 15

under two years of age would result in the daily intake by the child of not less than 16 grams of protein.

(13) Any advertisement of breast milk substitutes must be non-branded and shall unambiguously advocate that breast is best for feeding babies.

(14) All advertisements in Nigeria shall be accurate, complete, clear and designed to promote credibility and trust by the general public. Statements or illustrations must not mislead directly or by implication.

(15) No advertisement shall bring the food industry into disrepute, undermine confidence in advertising or prejudice public confidence in food.

(16) No advertisement shall unfairly disparage any competitive company of its competitive or alternative products, either directly or by implication.

(17) No advertisement shall imitate the general layout, text, slogans or visual presentation or devices of other advertising food companies in a way likely to mislead or confuse the purchaser.

(18) No advertisement shall contain offers of gifts unrelated to the advertised product, or its uses, and/or should offer to refund money to dissatisfied users.

(19) No advertisement shall contain any prize competition or similar scheme.

(20) No advertisement shall be framed in such a manner as to exploit the superstitious and/or should be calculated to place on fear to induce people to purchase the article or service advertised.

(21) An application for approval to advertise must contain the following information:

i) The brand name of product
ii) Generic name of product (if any)
iii) Whether the product is imported or locally manufactured
iv) Name and location address of manufacturer
v) Name and location address of local distributor
vi) Name and address of advertising company
vii) Date of first introduction of product to the Nigerian market.
viii) A copy of the old script
ix) Information about any previous advertisement of the product in Nigeria
x) The proposed media for the new advertisement
xi) A copy of registration certificate for the food product to be advertised
xii) Justification for any special claims

(22) The letter for approval is to be filed along with the following:

i) Six samples of each product size
ii) Advertising material which will consist of:
   a) Script and artwork for press advertisement
   b) Script and artwork for poster advertisement
   c) For the television commercial, the script and storyboard must be approved before shooting the film. The VHS cassette (if any) must be submitted taped cassette or the already approved script must be submitted for verification.
   e) Any other advertisement material.

The letter accompanied with materials for advertisement shall be submitted under confidential cover to:

The Assistant Chief Drug Registrar,
Food and Drugs Administration and
Laboratory Services,
Federal Ministry of Health,
Medical Compound,
P.M.B. 2081,
Yaba.

(23) All advertising materials are vetted and cleared before approval is given. Such approval is for a maximum period of 3 years if found satisfactory.

CULTURAL POLICY FOR NIGERIA

PART I

PREAMBLE

1. Introduction

1.1. Culture is the totality of the way of life evolved by a people in their attempts to meet the challenge of living in their environment, which gives order and meaning to their social, political, economic, aesthetic and religious norms and modes of organisation thus distinguishing a people from their neighbours.

1.2. Culture comprises material, institutional, philosophical and creative aspects. The material aspect has to do with artefacts in its broadest form (namely ; tools, clothing, food, medicine, utensils, housing, etc.) ; the institutional deals with the political, social, legal and economic structures erected to help achieve material and spiritual objectives ; while the philosophical is concerned with ideas, beliefs and values ; the creative concerns a people's literature (oral or written) as well as their visual and performing arts which are normally moulded by, as well as help to mould other aspects of culture.

1.3. Culture is not merely a return to the customs of the past. It embodies the attitude of a people to the future of their traditional values faced with the demands of modern technology which is an essential factor of development and progress.

1.4. When therefore we talk of self-reliance, self-sufficiency and a national identity as the core of our national development objectives, we are referring to culture as the fountain spring of all policies whether educational, social, political or economical. The strategies of national development would thus depend on the understanding of the culture, the adaptation of its elements for political, educational and economic development, as well as its strengths for social integration and development.

2. Scope

2.1. In the effort to elaborate and work out a cultural policy, the real task is not so much to prescribe a normative definition of culture, as to grapple with the understanding of the nation's cultural conditions, needs, aspirations and goals, and on the basis of such understanding, to enunciate a set of rules, decide on requirements and priorities and sketch the ways and means for attaining the laid down goals.

2.2. A cultural policy is imperative in order to incorporate such an essential part of our history into our general national development process, because, culture as a force has both its own economic and political consequences in the life of any nation.

2.3. It is equally part of the process of retrieving and restoring our history and our heritage, in order to protect and project them for posterity. As such, it forms an integral part of our educational process.

2.4. A sound cultural policy can determine how best this vital element can be used as a factor in our domestic and foreign policies.

2.5. Finally, a cultural policy would facilitate the management, rational selection and determination of cultural programmes with emphasis on specific areas of government participation.

3. Objectives of the Cultural Policy

3.1. The policy shall serve to mobilise and motivate the people by disseminating and propagating ideas which promote national pride, solidarity and consciousness.

3.2. The policy shall serve to evolve from our plurality, a national culture, the stamp of which will be reflected in African and world affairs.

3.3. The policy shall promote an educational system that motivates and stimulates creativity and draws largely on our tradition and values, namely : respect for humanity and human dignity, for legitimate authority and the dignity of labour, and respect for positive Nigerian moral and religious values.

3.4. The policy shall promote creativity in the fields of arts, science and technology, ensure the continuity of traditional skills and sports and their progressive updating to serve modern development needs as our contribution to world growth of culture and ideas.

3.5. The policy shall establish a code of behaviour compatible with our tradition of humanism and a disciplined moral society.

3.6. The policy shall sustain environmental and social conditions which enhance the quality of life, produce responsible citizenship and an ordered society.

3.7. The policy shall seek to enhance the efficient management of national resources through the transformation of the indigenous technology, design-resources and skills.

3.8. The policy shall enhance national self-reliance and self-sufficiency, and reflect our cultural heritage and national aspiration in the process of industrialisation.

4. Methods of Implementation

4.1. The Cultural Policy shall be expressed in four broad categories of State action, namely :

(*a*) preservation of culture,

(*b*) promotion of culture,

(*c*) presentation of culture, and

(*d*) the establishment of administrative structure and the provision of funds for its implementation.

4.2. Preservation of Culture

4.2.1. Cultural preservation in this context shall relate to the promotion of cultural property whether of concrete or non-concrete nature, past or present, written or oral, or relating to values or facts of history.

4.2.2. Its objective is not to ossify or mystify, but to ensure harmony with contemporary realities and the demands of change and development and to prevent a mindless sweeping away of our cultural heritage ; a situation which can only result in disorderly change and societal instability and eventual creation of a people completely cut off from its cultural roots.

4.2.3. Cultural preservation, to be meaningful and have integrity, must be aided by research. Documentation on audio and video tapes, film, etc. will constitute an important part of this research.

4.3. Promotion of Culture

4.3.1. The State shall take steps to encourage the integration of traditional values into the fabric of daily life.

4.3.2. The State shall promote formal and informal education as vehicles of inculcating these values in consonance with our national aspirations.

4.3.3. The State shall ensure the provision of conscious cultural dimensions to all aspects of national planning.

4.3.4. The State shall give practitioners in the arts relevant roles and assignments in the development process.

4.3.5. The State shall foster the development of Nigerian languages and pride in Nigerian culture.

4.4. Presentation of Culture

4.4.1. Cultural presentation refers to the means by which culture is disseminated. Its objective is to facilitate the accessibility of arts and culture to the widest spectrum of Nigerians.

4.4.2. Nigeria culture shall be presented through the popular vehicles of the theatre, films, exhibitions, seminars, whorkshops and publications. Presentation shall involve the active use of the mass media.

4.5. Administration and Financing of Culture

4.5.1. The State shall establish administrative structures and institutions for promoting the objectives of the cultural policy.

4.5.2. The State shall provide the framework to enable these administrative structures and institutions to generate funds.

4.5.3. State action shall enhance the generation of revenue from private sources.

PART II

FOCUS OF IMPLEMENTATION

5. Education

5.1.1. The State shall recognise the fact that a people who have succeeded in transmitting their culture to the younger generation have succeeded in promoting and perpetuating that culture.

5.1.2. The State shall encourage the promotion of culture right from the homes through informal education, through the school system to the universities.

5.1.3. Since education is a life-long process, the State shall also involve older folks through continuing of further education.

5.1.4. The State shall ensure the cultural relevance of education and make it serve as a means of integrating the individual into his society and environment.

5.1.5. The State shall promote the mother tongue as the basis of cultural education, and shall ensure the development of Nigerian languages as vehicles of expressing modern ideas and thought processes.

5.1.6. The State shall ensure cultural education featuring traditional games, recreation, civic and moral values, arts and crafts.

5.1.7. The State shall recognise that culture is dynamic and ensure that the educational system reinforces the nation's capacity for change.

5.2. Curriculum

5.2.1. The State shall ensure at all levels of education, a curriculum featuring aspects of education which will enhance the common heritage of Nigerians as brothers and fellow citizens with a common destiny.

5.2.2. The State shall also seek to inculcate in the child at all levels of education an awareness of his history, folklore, beliefs and thought-system to enable him gain knowledge of the physical, as well as the spiritual properties of the society in which he lives.

5.2.3. The State shall seek to make the content of education relevant to Nigerian and African societies, their probems, goals and aspirations.

5.2.4. The State shall encourage the participation of pupils and students in vocational and leadership training programmes which will prepare them for positions of responsibility in the society.

5.2.5. The State shall seek to orientate teacher education towards ability to inculcate in the pupils Nigerian values, pride in and empathy for the national cultural heritage.

5.2.6. The State, at the university level, shall give emphasis to cross-cultural researches.

5.3. Total School Environment

5.3.1. The State shall ensure the structuring of the total school environment from its physical organisation to its pattern of inter-personal relationship such that an authentic Nigerian message as well as pride in the Nigerian cultural heritage is easily transmitted to the child.

5.4. Continuing Education

5.4.1. The State shall promote functional literacy for improving the occupational capacity of the masses and their vocational skills, in order to prepare them adequately for a meaningful role in national development.

5.5. Educational Materials and Book Development

5.5.1. The State shall ensure that books and teaching aids used in our educational system are products of our society with most of their messages drawn from the Nigerian experience.

5.5.2. The State shall promote the book industry and local authorship through writers' workshops, grants and awards.

5.5.3. The State shall promote a reading culture.

5.5.4. The State shall promote the development of indigenous manpower in the printing, publishing and distribution of books.

5.5.5. The State shall provide incentives for the development of the printing industry.

5.5.6. The State shall provide special encouragement to the writing of books in Nigerian languages.

5.6. Libraries

5.6.1. The State shall recognise that Libraries play a crucial role in the promotion of the cultural heritage.

5.6.2. The State shall promote the establishment of library services at Federal, State and Local Government levels.

5.6.3. The State shall ensure that libraries are stocked with books, films, records and tapes on arts and culture.

5.6.4. The State shall promote the integration of library services into the educational system.

5.6.5. The State shall promote the establishment of special and public libraries in order to encourage and popularise reading.

5.6.6. The State shall promote the establishment of mobile libraries in order to reach the widest spectrum of Nigeria.

5.7. Archives

5.7.1. The State shall recognise that a nation's archives are its most important source of information for the study of her political, social, economic and other developments.

5.7.2. The State shall promote the establishment of archival institutions at Federal, State and Local Government levels.

5.7.3. The State shall provide adequate regulations for the acquisition and protection of and access to these rare assets.

5.7.4. The State shall promote the collection, preservation and dissemination of important documents relating to governments, private bodies and individuals.

5.7.5. The State shall encourage their accessibility to the widest Nigerian public.

6. The Arts

6.1.1. The State shall preserve, promote and establish conducive conditions for creativity by encouraging the establishment of strong national professional associations for artists, authors, dramatists, film makers, etc.

6.1.2. The State shall promote and encourage the establishment of writers' clubs, art clubs, creative centres, for encouraging creativity and popularising the arts.

6.1.3. The State shall support the associations and clubs through government subventions, grants and other forms of assistance.

6.1.4. The State shall encourage through these creative movements and government institutions international links and exchanges for the nation's developmental and cultural benefits.

6.1.5. The State shall make provision for the custodianship of international cultural materials in order to bring into proper focus, Nigerian culture in the Black and African world.

6.1.6. The State shall establish institutions and programmes for the preservation, presentation, promotion and development of the literary, performing and visual arts.

6.1.7. The State shall promote the continuity of traditional arts, and the development of Nigerian arts and artists, and give full scope to artists to project their art and skills as part of national growth and development.

6.1.8. The State shall promote the functionality of the arts in order to enhance their viability.

6.1.9. The State shall enact laws to protect Nigerian artists and writers and ensure that they enjoy the fullest material and spiritual benefits from the products of their artistic and literary works.

6.1.10. The State shall guarantee freedom of artistic expression and make institutional and infrastructural provisions for housing and developing the arts, and promote competitions, expositions and talent hunts in all the arts.

6.2. Literature

6.2.1. The State shall preserve and present oral tradition, folklore, poetry, drama, essays, novels and short stories through the theatre, film, video and audio tapes and in written form, and popularise them by producing them in Nigerian languages and promoting them through the school system, language centres, writers' workshops, book development councils, the media, etc.

6.3. Performing Arts

6.3.1. The State shall preserve and present Nigerian music, dance and drama on film video and audio tapes, slides and in written form, etc.

6.3.2. The State shall establish a National Troupe of Nigeria whose repertoire shall draw their materials from drama, dance and music.

6.3.3. The National Troupe of Nigeria shall be part of the National Arts Theatre.

6.4. Fine Art

6.4.1. The State shall preserve and present Nigerian antiquities in wood, fabric stone, metal, bone, clay, ivory, etc., as well as on rocks, walls and in sacred shrines and make appropriate laws to protect them from theft and illegal exportation, or destruction as a result of ignorance or hostility.

6.4.2. The State shall :

(*a*) Establish a comprehensive survey on a continuous basis to identify and locate these artefacts.

(*b*) enhance the recording of items by photograhs and slides, films and film-strips, and descriptions of their ethnographic nature and significance,

(*c*) provide physical protection against damage and steal, and

(*d*) enact appropriate legislation to protect these artefacts against damage, theft or sale and to provide for means of their recovery within or outside the country.

6.4.3. The State shall :

(*a*) negotiate recovery of Nigerian works of art taken away during colonial time as well as since independence,

(*b*) ensure Nigeria's participation in international conventions which shall aid the recovery of works of arts taken away to foreign countries during colonial times or illicitly transferred from the country since independence, and provide for the restitution of any stolen work of art, and

(*c*) sign all relevant international conventions which can aid Nigeria's attempts to protect and recover her cultural property.

6.4.4. The State shall promote competitions, exhibitions and talents hunts in fine and applied arts.

6.4.5. The State shall establish a National Gallery of Art whose objectives shall be :

(*a*) to serve as repository for artistic creations since the birth of the country as a nation,

(*b*) to promote the creative genius in Nigerian artists, and

(*c*) to promote research, art education and appreciation.

6.4.6. The State shall establish legislation to vest in the State or its National Gallery of Art all works acquired with government funds wherever they may be located.

6.4.7. The State shall establish a legislation which shall regulate the outflow of contemporary art from the country and at the same time establish a fund to enable those that should remain in the country in the national interest to be acquired.

6.4.8. The State shall ensure that the National Gallery of Arts is located in the Federal Capital with centres in other parts of the country.

6.5. Crafts

6.5.1. The State shall recognise the fact that crafts are a valuable material heritage which form a tangible part of historical and contemporary culture.

6.5.2. The State shall recognise the economic and cultural roles of crafts in national development and shall provide adequate resources for their identification, preservation, promotion and development.

6.5.3. The State shall establish a National Crafts Advisory Council whose objectives will be :

(*a*) to foster the preservation and development of craft skills and document the indigenous technology responsible for the creation,

(*b*) to enhance the status of the Nigerian artist/craftsman by protecting his rights and promoting his forks,

(*c*) to promote and encourage the adaptation of traditional design and craft to the needs and requirements of moderns times, and

(*d*) to provide marketing avenue for Nigerian crafts at home and abroad.

6.5.4. The State shall encourage the establishment of craft villages, craft shops and training facilities, develop crafts as small scale industries and make appropriate laws for ensuring the protection of designs, and processes of the creations of Nigeria craftsmen.

6.5.5. The State shall recognise the role of women in the handing down and renewal of craft activities and encourage women organisations to set up craft shops and co-operatives.

7. Tourism and Mobility of People within Nigeria

7.1.1. The State shall recognise that the mobility of people is a major factor of cultural growth and development.

7.1.2. The State shall :

(*a*) make it possible for any Nigerian to move into and settle in any community,

(*b*) preserve and protect our traditional modes of leisure and promote them alongside imported ones, and

(*c*) institute appropriate means of travel and leisure which shall be at the disposal of all citizens and shall encourage Nigerians and non-Nigerians to spend their vacations within Nigeria.

7.1.3. The State shall promote and encourage domestic tourism by creating facilities that would encourage Nigerians to travel on holidays within the country.

7.1.4. The State shall protect and preserve traditional institutions like craft villages and centres, and make available for public leisure open spaces and squares for recreation.

7.2. National Parks and Sites

7.2.1. The State shall establish parks, beaches, zoos and game reserves for the, recreation and leisure of the public and shall create easy access to them and the country's national springs, waterfalls and other attractions.

7.3. Monuments

7.3.1. The State shall preserve as monuments, old city walls and gates, sites palaces, shrines, public buildings, private buildings of historical significance and monumental sculptures, and protect them from neglect, desecration or destruction.

7.3.2. The State shall ensure that monuments shall be preserved by :

(*a*) declaration as monuments under existing laws,

(*b*) acquisition as monuments under existing laws,

(*c*) appropriate maintenance for public educational purposes,

(*d*) legislation to enable government exercise planning control in matters threatening structures and sites of historical importance,

(*e*) documentation through photographs and other means,

(*f*) legislation to enable the State protect private buildings of historical importance by preventing :

(*i*) alteration to their structures or facades,

(*ii*) encroachment or other actions which shall endanger them, and

(*g*) legislation empowering the State to protect contemporary buildings of exceptional design and excellence.

7.4. Museums

7.4.1. The State shall establish museums as repositories of relics of our past achievements and as sources of inspiration to the present generation.

7.4.2. The State shall promote the accessibility of Museum objects to the generality of the people through mobile Museums.

7.4.3. The State shall promote the appreciation of museum objects and assist the public to understand and animate them by means of exhibitions and live performances.

7.5. Halls of Fame, and Light and Sound Shows—*Son et Lumiere*

7.5.1. The State shall promote the establishments of exhibition employing varying display techniques to enhance the appreciation of Nigerian cultural heritage, and project its cultural assets in order to develop tourism.

7.5.2. The State shall promote the establishment of halls of fame and *Son et Lumiere* (light and Sound) shows which shall :

(*a*) serve as a vehicle for national ethical orientation, commemorating pride in service to the nation and promoting a sense of patriotism and national consciousness.

(*b*) inculcate in Nigerians at all levels, a proper sense of history and the permanence and durability of values and achievement, and

(*c*) provide a window display for visitors of our value system and the outstanding achievements of Nigerians in diferent fields of human endeavour.

7.5.3. The State shall promote the animation of public monuments by means of *son et lumiere* (light and sound) shows re-enacting their history and origin.

7.6. Galleries and Craft Centres

7.6.1. The State shall recognise that galleries are repositories for display and sales of works of plastic artists and encourage each State capital to have at least one gallery and each community, a craft centre for the sale and promotion of crafts.

7.6.2. The State shall encourage the establishment of design studios and other facilities for training and apprenticeship of artists and craftsmen and the establishment of private galleries, studios and crafts shops.

7.7. Theatres

7.7.1. The State shall promote the establishment of theatres which shall be sources of education, leisure and entertainment to the people through presentation of concerts, reveus, musicals, operas, plays, film shows, etc.

7.7.2. The State shall promote mobile and non-mobile theatres and the continuity of indigenous manifestations like puppetry and itinerant players.

7.8. Festivals

7.8.1. The State shall recognise festivals as periodic celebrations, marking significant events in the life of the community for the transmission of perceptions, ideals, aspirations and philosophies of the people for meaningful living. They may be a re-enactment or re-creation of history or tradition or religion ; or contemporary expositions organized by the State or education institutions for talent-hunt or for promoting and developing the arts. They may also have as their subject, sports and games.

7.8.2. The State shall :

(*a*) promote traditional festivals in order to preserve them '*in situ*' so that they may continue to be factors of communal interaction and cohesion in their localities and develop interaction of larger national and international dimensions ;

(*b*) promote Arts Festivals at the Federal, State and Local Government levels for the purpose of discovering talents, developing skills and promoting creativity in the arts,

(*c*) promote and develop indigenous forms of arts and sports, as Nigeria's contributions to world culture and civilization, and

(*d*) preserve them by documentation on film, video and audio tapes and other methods.

8. Mass Media

8.1.1. The State shall recognise culture as a mass-participation subject which requires mass-oriented systems for its propagation.

8.1.2. The State shall establish a comprehensive communication policy for :

(*a*) ensuring the effective use of the press, radio, television and film for promoting Nigeria's cultural image and aspirations,

(*b*) promoting national consciousness, national self-sufficiency and a national identity, and

(*c*) establishing adequate institutions and facilities for training media personnel.

8.2. Radio

8.2.1. The State shall enhance national consciousness and self-reliance by :

(*a*) making the programme content of radio relevant to Nigerian realities, history and achievements,

(*b*) giving adequate attention and coverage to children, public service and cultural programmes ; and

(*c*) ensuring a percentage of Nigerian to non-Nigerian broadcast materials that would protect the interests of Nigerian artistes and rights.

8.2.2. The State shall promote :

(*a*) radio as a vehicle for projecting Nigerian arts and culture and value system, and

(*b*) the production of programmes in Nigerian languages.

8.3. Television

8.3.1. The State shall promote television as a vehicle for :

(*a*) projecting Nigerian arts and culture and value system,

(*b*) enhancing national consciousness and self-reliance by :

(*i*) producing at least 80 per cent of its programme content locally,

(*ii*) making its programme content relevant to Nigerian realities, history and achievements, and

(*iii*) giving adequate attention and coverage to children, public service and cultural programmes.

8.3.2. The State shall strengthen the production capacity and capability of television establishments so that they can produce high quality materials for Nigeria.

8.3.3. The State shall ensure judicious balance between Nigerian and non-Nigerian broadcast materials.

8.3.4. The State shall promote easy accessibility of television sets to Nigerians.

8.4. Newspapers and Magazines

8.4.1. The State shall regard printing materials and equipment as education.

8.4.2. The State shall promote the newspaper industry through concessional tariffs, direct subsidy or waiving of duties on printing materials and equipment.

8.4.3. The State shall encourage Nigerian newspapers to provide adequate coverage for arts and culture and promote high critical standards through awards and prizes to journalists.

8.4.4. The State shall encourage the production of newspapers in Nigerian languages, children's magazines, and comics for promoting Nigerian culture and values.

8.5. Cinema

8.5.1. The State shall recognise cinema as an important means of entertainment and a vehicle for promoting the social, political, economic and cultural objectives of the nation.

8.5.2. The State shall promote a virile film industry in Nigeria by :

(*a*) establishing institutions and agencies for film development ;

(*b*) promoting the indigenisation of film distribution and exhibition, and establishing standards in exhibition facilities compatible with accepted theatre usage,

(*c*) promoting an effective film censorship policy that reflects Nigerian values and national interest, and

(*d*) providing incentive to productivity by funding and financing of private sector film production.

8.5.3. The State shall :

(*a*) encourage the establishment of local production facilities such as laboratories and equipment hire for enhancing the self-reliance, productivity and viability of the industry,

(*b*) establish institutions for film archival documentation and for training film personnel, and

(*c*) encourage the use of mobile, cottage and drive-in cinema as vehicles for extending entertainment and education to the rural communities and the grassroots.

9. General Focus

9.1. Religion

9.1.1. The State shall recognise Nigeria as a multi-religious nation.

9.1.2. The State shall encourage the positive values of religion particularly :

(*a*) respect of the sacred, and the dignity of man.

(*b*) the spirit of openness, tolerance, hospitality, self-sacrifice, struggle and honour, and

(*c*) the life of communion, union, active solidarity and co-responsibility.

9.2. Nigerian Languages

9.2.1. The State shall recognise Language as an important aspect of culture and a vehicle for cultural expression and transmission.

9.2.2. The State shall promote Nigerian languages at various levels of the educational system. Nigerian languages shall thus serve as media of instruction in all subjects in the early years of primary education with appropriate books being designed and produced in such languages for that purpose.

9.2.3. The State shall seek to :

(*a*) develop technical terms in various fields in Nigerian languages,

(*b*) develop literacy, post-literacy and other adult education facilities ; and

(*c*) promote the publication of books, newspapers, learned and academic journals in Nigerian languages.

(*d*) cultivate a common language for the nation.

9.3. Foods

9.3.1. The State shall institute research for developing technology associated with Nigerian foods so that they can satisfy the requirements of international usage and environmental planning.

9.3.2. The State shall recognise Nigerian dishes as predominant feature of menu in public catering institutions.

9.4. Dress

9.4.1. The State shall encourage the preservation of Nigerian traditional design resources in dresses and hairdo, and promote their adaptation for making strong impact in international fashion.

9.4.2. The State shall encourage research collaboration between the industrial sector and design institutions.

9.4.3 The State shall promote the adaptation to local design of regalia, uniforms, etc. for institutional and ceremonial usage.

9.5. Traditional Medicine

9.5.1. The State, in recognition of the potentiality of traditional medical practice, shall encourage its development and integration into the health-care delivery sytem.

9.5.2. The State shall protect the right of the traditional medical practitioners and establish funds and incentives for promoting collaboration between them and research institutions.

9.6. Economic Development

9.6.1. The State shall recognise that the purpose of development planning is the improvement of the quality of life of the people.

9.6.2. The State shall ensure that economic development serves the cultural needs of the people by :

(*a*) involving cultural experts in the process of national planning ; and

(*b*) promoting the exploitation of internal resources and the necessary man-power capacity for developing them.

9.6.3. The State shall :

(*a*) recognise the economic viability of the arts, promote and sustain them through loans and extension services,

(*b*) promote local self-sufficiency in the production and manufacturing of essential commodities, and

(*c*) develop indigenous technology and traditional medicine to compliment importation.

9.6.4. The State shall recognise the importance of rural areas to agricultural development and ensure that industrialization is introduced in a manner compatible with the development needs of rural dwellers.

9.6.5. The State shall seek to improve the quality of life in the rural areas in order to discourage rural-urban drift.

9.7. Environmental Planning

9.7.1. The State shall recognise that the most graphic mirror of any culture is the layout of its cultural manifestations within the environment.

9.7.2. The State shall ensure that environmental planning takes into account the peculiar needs of the people.

9.7.3. The State shall ensure the preservation of :

(*a*) open spaces and recreational grounds, and

(*b*) historical places and buildings and the plans of such buildings in drawings, photographs, slides, etc.

9.7.4. The State shall ensure the establishment of recreational facilities for children in every community.

9.7.5. The State shall encourage the development of architectural designs that promote Nigerian values and the aspiration of the people in a manner compatible with environmental aesthetics.

9.7.6. The State shall encourage high creative standards in architectural and environmental design through awards and prizes.

9.7.7. The State shall :

(*a*) establish guidelines and rules for preserving the environment and maintaining sanitation standards compatible with the national image ;

(*b*) establish the machinery for effective monitoring of building and environmental laws ; and

(*c*) establish appropriate institutions for funding and supporting the upkeep of national monuments and historical places.

9.7.8. The State shall in planning towns, estates and public buildings :

(*a*) give due consideration to national security ; and

(*b*) promote employment opportunities for Nigerian designers and planners.

PART III

ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE

10. Administration and Financing of Culture

10.1. Administration of Culture at the Federal Level

10.1.1. The State shall recognise as agents for cultural preservation, presentation, promotion and development :

(*a*) traditional, religious and chieftaincy institutions, guilds, age grades, etc. and

(*b*) voluntary associations, craft guilds and co-operatives.

10.1.2. The State shall promote the active collaboration of these agencies and ensure their creative interaction within the nation's economic and political circumstance.

10.1.3. The State shall encourage the active collaboration of these agencies and ensure their creative interaction within the nation's economic and political circumstance.

10.1.4. The State shall encourage the establishment of national associations of the various cultural and artistic interests, to assist it in the preservation, presentation and promotion of arts and culture.

10.1.5. The State shall promote public accountability of cultural agencies and governing bodies by ensuring strong representation of related interest groups on their governing boards.

10.1.6. The State shall :

(*a*) establish a powerful administrative body for culture with access to the highest policy-making council of the nation, and

(*b*) establish national bodies specialising in specific areas of preservation, presentation and promotion including galleries, film development, film censorship, tourism, museums and monuments, theatres, archives, etc.

10.1.7. The State shall establish a Ministry of Culture comprising three departments, namely :

(*a*) Policy and Management,

(*b*) Department of Archives, (as established by Act No. 43 of 1957),

(*c*) Department of Culture (responsible for administration of cultural policy, including copyright and legal matters) ; and

(*d*) The following parastatals :

(*i*) National Council for Arts and Culture,

(*ii*) National Commission for Museums and Monuments,

(*iii*) Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilization,

(*iv*) Nigerian Tourist Board,

(*v*). Nigerian Film Censorship Board,

(*vi*) Nigerian Film Corporation,

(*vii*) National Theatre Management Board (incorporating the National Troupe of Nigeria),

(*viii*) National Gallery of Art, and

(*ix*) National Academy for the Arts.

10.1.7. The State shall, as exigencies dictate, incorporate the structures enumerated in 10.1.7. intact, within any existing Ministry such that proper delimitation of functions between the parastatai and administrative sections of the Ministry is ensured.

10.2. Administration of Culture at State and Local Government Levels

10.2.1. States and Local Governments shall establish appropriate institutions at their levels to facilitate national co-ordination and inter-state cultural exchange and promote even development in the preservation, presentation and promotion of arts and culture.

10.3. Financing of Cultural Activities

10.3.1. Consistent with the resolutions of the inter-governmental Conference on Cultural Policies in Africa (Accra 1975) and the UNESCO Conference on Cultural Policies in Mexico (1982), to which Nigeria is a signatory, cultural activities shall be funded by :

(*a*) government,

(*b*) non-governmental, industrial, commercial, financial and other organisations operating in Nigeria making voluntary financial contributions which shall be tax-deductible,

(*c*) a national endowment fund to which government, organisations and individuals shall contribute,

(*d*) percentage contributions from entertainment tax charged during artistic performances and presentations,

(*e*) special funding and endowment of specific research projects in related institutions and establishments by private sector organisations in commerce and industry.

(*f*) compulsory percentage contribution from building budgets for landscaping and environmental planning, and

(*g*) public earnings from cultural activities.

10.3.2. The State shall enact appropriate legislations for enforcing the implementation of the sources of funding culture as enumerated in 10.3.1.