

Pamela Odih



Advertising in Modern & Postmodern Times

Advertising in Modern and Postmodern Times

Theory, Culture & Society

Theory, Culture & Society caters for the resurgence of interest in culture within contemporary social science and the humanities. Building on the heritage of classical social theory, the book series examines ways in which this tradition has been reshaped by a new generation of theorists. It also publishes theoretically informed analyses of everyday life, popular culture, and new intellectual movements.

EDITOR: Mike Featherstone, *Nottingham Trent University*

SERIES EDITORIAL BOARD

Roy Boyne, *University of Durham*

Mike Hepworth, *University of Aberdeen*

Scott Lash, *Goldsmiths College, University of London*

Roland Robertson, *University of Aberdeen*

Bryan S. Turner, *University of Singapore*

THE TCS CENTRE

The Theory, Culture & Society book series, the journals *Theory, Culture & Society* and *Body & Society*, and related conference, seminar and postgraduate programmes operate from the TCS Centre at Nottingham Trent University. For further details of the TCS Centre's activities please contact:

Centre Administrator

The TCS Centre, Room 175

Faculty of Humanities

Nottingham Trent University

Clifton Lane, Nottingham, NG11 8NS, UK

e-mail: tcs@ntu.ac.uk

web: <http://tcs.ntu.ac.uk>

Recent volumes include:

The Body and Social Theory

Chris Shilling

Religion, Realism and Social Theory

Phillip A. Mellor

The Body in Culture, Technology and Society

Chris Shilling

Globalization and Belonging

Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst

Advertising in Modern and Postmodern Times

Pamela Odih

First published 2007

Apart from any fair dealing for the purposes of research or private study, or criticism or review, as permitted under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, this publication may be reproduced, stored or transmitted in any form, or by any means, only with the prior permission in writing of the publishers, or in the case of reprographic reproduction, in accordance with the terms of licences issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency. Enquiries concerning reproduction outside those terms should be sent to the publishers.



SAGE Publications Ltd
1 Oliver's Yard
55 City Road
London EC1Y 1SP

SAGE Publications Inc.
2455 Teller Road
Thousand Oaks, California 91320

SAGE Publications India Pvt Ltd
B 1/I 1 Mohan Cooperative Industrial Area
Mathura Road, New Delhi 110 044
India

SAGE Publications Asia-Pacific Pte Ltd
33 Pekin Street #02-01
Far East Square
Singapore 048763

British Library Cataloguing in Publication data

A catalogue record for this book is available
from the British Library

ISBN 978-0-7619-4190-3
978-0-7619-4191-0

Library of Congress control number available

Typeset by C&M Digital (P) Ltd., Chennai, India
Printed on paper from sustainable resources
Printed and bound in Great Britain by Biddles Ltd, King's Lynn

This book is dedicated to my mother Mary, with love.

Contents

Acknowledgements	ix
Introduction: The Cultural Economy of Time in Modern and Postmodern Advertising	1
Part I Marking Time in the Making of Modern Advertising	21
1 Selling Space in Advertising History	23
2 Selling Time in Advertising History	50
Part II Dialectics of Advertising in Modern Times	75
3 Advertising, Time and the Commodity-Form	77
4 Time and the Commodity-Sign	105
Part III Advertising in Postmodern Time(s)	143
5 'The Times, They Are A-Changin': Transformations of Work and Leisure in the Time/Space Economies of Modern and Postmodern Advertising	145
6 Mapping the Subject of Postmodern Advertising Technology	171
7 Sign of the Times: Postmodern Disruptions in Advertising Times	187
Conclusion: Globalization and the Future of Advertising	207
Bibliography	212
Index	223

Acknowledgements

I would like to express a heartfelt thank you to Professor David Knights who supervised my doctorate and has continued to inspire and mentor my academic development. Professor Barbara Adam's prolific contribution to the study of time and society has been inspirational and I would like to pay tribute to her work.

My colleagues at Goldsmiths University, Professor Celia Lury, Professor Bev Skeggs, Dr Brian Alleyne, and Doreen Norman have been particularly supportive. I would like to thank Professor Chris Rojek for encouraging my initial book proposal. Susan Dunsmore's editorial assistance is much appreciated. And big thank you to my close companions, Simon Meats, Andrea Salmon and Senol Ali.

Figure acknowledgements

Cover: O2 Happy Hour. Reproduced by permission of O2, Ashton Keiditsch (photographer) and with the assistance of Matthew Bundy (Account Executive, VCCP ad agency)

Figure I.1 'Time present and time past': Rover advertisement, 1949. The Rover Company Ltd, Solihull, Birmingham House, London, 1949. Reproduced by permission of Nanjing Automobile (Group) Corporation Limited and Rover Library Club. www.roverclubaustralia.com.au/photos5.htm

Figure I.2 'Time flies. It also drives', Ford GT, 2003. Reproduced by permission of the Ford Motor Company Limited

Part I: Commodity culture of Victorian England, 1880. Reproduced by permission of The Edinburgh Room, Central Library, George IV Bridge, Edinburgh © and reproduced with acknowledgement to Peter Stubbs, www.edinphoto.org.uk

Figure 1.1 A man pasting up a poster. William Henry Pyne, London, 1808. Reproduced by permission of the British Library, shelf mark 143.g.2

Figure 1.2 'Modern advertising': a railway station in 1874, Ocean Railway and General Accident Assurance Co. Limited. Reproduced by permission of the British Library, shelf mark 2350.a.9

Figure 1.3 'Taken in and done for', 1865. Spellman Collection of Victorian Music Covers. Reproduced by kind permission of Reading University Library.

Figure 1.4 Royal Agricultural Hall World's Fair. Henry Evanion, 1880. Reproduced by permission of the British Library, Shelf mark c4214-01.

Figure 1.5 Victorian imperialist advertising aesthetic. Reproduced by permission of British Empire. (www.britishempire.co.uk/images)

Figure 1.6 Farini's Earthmen. Henry Evanion, London, 1885. Reproduced by permission of The British Library, shelf mark EVAN.265.

Figure 1.7 Empire Marketing Board Poster, 'Highways of Empire', 1927. Artist: MacDonald Gill. Reproduced by permission of the National Archive. Image reference CO 956/537 A.

Figure 1.8 Empire Marketing Board Poster, 'Tobacco plantation in S. Rhodesia' Artist: Frank E. Page. Reproduced by permission of the National Archive. Image reference CO 956/90

Figure 1.9 Empire Marketing Board Poster, 'Our trade with the East'. Artist: Kenneth D. Shoesmith. Reproduced by permission of The National Archive. Image reference CO 956/13

Figure 2.1 Prudential Insurance advertisement, 1960s. Reproduced by permission of Prudential PLC

Figure 2.2 Lottery dividends. H. Sampson (1857) *History of Advertising*, p. 455. London: Chatto and Windus

Figure 2.3 Lottery insurance advertising post-1778 Regulatory Act. H. Sampson (1857) *History of Advertising*, pp. 460–61. London: Chatto and Windus

Figure 2.4 Lottery insurance advertising puffery. H. Sampson (1857) *History of Advertising*, p. 463. London: Chatto and Windus

Figure 2.5 Image used for the Prudential Mutual Assurance Company seal in 1848. Reproduced by permission of Prudential PLC

Figure 2.6 Re-branding insurance in the Gilded Age, North British and Mercantile Insurance Company LTD, 1809–1959. Reproduced with acknowledgement to Peter Stubbs, www.edinphoto.org.uk

Part II: Utility, style and the commodity-sign. Reproduced by courtesy of Whirlpool and Tessa Traeger (photographer)

Figure 3.1 Reason-why advertising and the utility of time, AGA Cooker advert, 1932. Reproduced by permission of AGA. Image courtesy of the Advertising Archives

Figure 3.2 'Welcome to a new world! of driving!' US magazine advertisement, 1950s. Image courtesy of the Advertising Archives

Figure 4.1 Ideal Motherhood and the sign-value of a spotless wash, Surf advert, 1950s. Reproduced by permission of Unilever. Image courtesy of the Advertising Archive

Figure 4.2 The return of the present moment, Canon advert, 2005. Reproduced by permission of Canon (UK) Ltd

Figure 4.3 'You never actually own a Patek Philippe. You merely look after it for the next generation', Patek Philippe, 2006. Reproduced by permission of Patek Philippe

Figure 4.4 'It's your watch that says most about who you are', SEIKO, 2005. Reproduced by permission of SEIKO UK Ltd

Figure 4.5 Capture every moment', Olympus, 2005. Advert owned and produced for Olympus Europa GmbH. Reproduced by permission of Olympus.

Figure 4.6 Engendering time and domestic labour, Addis advert, 1950s. Reproduced by kind permission of Addis Housewares Ltd. Image courtesy of the Advertising Archive

Part III Advertising and time (space) disruptions in postmodern virtual worlds, Toshiba, 2005. Reproduced by permission of Toshiba

Figure 5.1 Utility and leisure in car advertising, Chrysler, 1960. Copyright DaimlerChrysler Corporation. Reproduced with permission

Figure 5.2 Reproduced *The Ford Times*, August 1926. Ford Motor Company Limited. Peter Roberts, *Any Colour as Long as it's Black*, David & Charles, 1976, by kind permission of the publishers, London: Reproduced with kind permission of Ford Motor Company Limited

Figure 5.3 Armstrong-Siddeley Sapphire, 1955 © The British Motor Industry Heritage Trust

Figure 5.4 'Work hard. Be successful. Go Someplace where none of that matters', Range Rover, 2001. Courtesy of Land Rover

Figure 6.1 Advertising and modern technologies of power, Business Insights, 2005. Reproduced by permission of Business Insights Inc.

Figure 6.2 SMART 2005 Segmentation. Reproduced by permission of Strategic Marketing and Research Techniques®, www.S-M-A-R-T.com

Figure 6.3 TargetPro GIS, MapInfo, 2005. Reproduced by permission of MapInfo Ltd

Figure 6.4 Women's Plan 1997. Reproduced by permission of AXA PPP Healthcare

Figure 7.1 'Like time, I wait pour non homme', FCUK, 2006. Reproduced by permission of FCUK

Figure 7.2 Pastiche in postmodern advertisements, Sheila's Wheels, 2005. Reproduced under licence © 2005 Esure Services Limited.

Figure 7.3 Multiphrenic intensity of postmodern signs, Harvey Nichols, 2005. Reproduced by permission of Harvey Nichols

Figure 7.4 'Waste time, faster', Siemens S45, 2006 (C). Reproduced by permission of BenQ Mobile UK.

Introduction

The cultural economy of time in modern and postmodern advertising

Time present and time past
Are both perhaps present in time future,
And time future contained in time past.

T.S. Eliot's poetic contemplation provides an apposite beginning to a chronicle of advertising in modern and postmodern time. Eliot's poetry evokes simultaneity as the aesthetic form of time. To this extent, Eliot was concerned with the intersections between moments and the complexity of an instant. Advertising imagery also excites liminal moments, which intersect private and public with the immediacy of experience. The event epitomized in Figure I.1 is neither static nor derived from a historical imagination. Rather, we are encouraged to observe a fractured moment, a shifting dialogue between class and status. The hallmark of the motor car is its exclusivity as an expensive and novel commodity. The effect of juxtaposing quintessential rural aristocracy with urban commercialism captures the symbolic dimension of the motor car as a prestigious aspirational object. Indeed, the text of the advertisement is replete with narrational devices intent on generating a seamless blend of mass-produced functionality with the refined quintessence of style. The first line of the advertisement's text states, 'No one who drives the Rover Sixty or Seventy-Five for the first time can easily forget the experience'. This desire to integrate the streamline functionality of the mass-produced motor car with the imaginative aspiration of prestige effects a triumph of advertising's capacity to transform time into an object of economic exchange. Indeed, an integral feature of capitalist accumulation is the ability of advertising to constitute a cultural economy of time.

Modern advertising emanated from a systemic conjuncture in Western capitalism (Goldman, 1994: 190). Of specific relevance is the dialectical transition from industrial capitalism to oligopoly and monopoly capitalism at the end of the nineteenth century. Industrial capitalism is a mode of production based on the expropriation of relative surplus value, which in turn is made possible by the technical concentration of capital. The progressive accumulation of value had historically fostered the rising technical composition of capital, which generated labour-saving technology. But the diffusion of industrial technology was increasing 'constant capital at the expense of variable' (Graham, 2000: 135). By the end of the nineteenth century, capital investment was perilously



Figure I.1 *'Time present and time past': Rover advertisement, 1949*

Source: The Rover Company Ltd, Solihull, Birmingham, House, London.
Reproduced by permission of Nanjing Automobile (group) Corporation Limited
and Rover Library Club. www.roverclubaustralia.com.au/photos5.htm

concentrated in the sphere of production (Pope, 1983). This meant that industrialists were investing much of their resources in machinery and in finished products in anticipation of consumer demand. However, fixed capital has an inert materiality as it is the result of a 'past poiesis' involving the expropriation of surplus labour time (Gorz, 1989: 52). Karl Marx stated, that the magnitude of value possessed by each commodity is determined by the quantity of socially necessary labour time required to produce it. Consequently, an increased

investment in fixed capital, relative to 'living labour', precipitated the transition towards a disaccumulation stage of capitalist formation (Goldman, 1995). To maintain capitalist expansion, the circulation rates of capital had to be controlled at levels that maximized the realization of commodity value. Thus, capital-intensive and maturing industries faced a formidable challenge in their endeavours to abate the declining rate of profit. It is these broader economic and social trends that partly explain the large-scale reorganization of industrial ownership after the Great Depression (1875–1890s) and the heightened commercial concern to 'control the market' (Williams, 1980: 176). The disjuncture between the productive capacities of capital and market demand threatened the key variable of time, and the expropriation of surplus labour time as a source of profit. The value of labour is represented by time, and commodity relations between people are themselves an expression of time (Heydebrand, 2003). The operation of the capitalist mode of production inevitably objectifies commodities so that we misrecognize labour time as a source of value. By the end of the nineteenth century, the penetration of the commodity-form into the labour force meant that workers had neither the skill nor the time for domestic production (Goldman, 1994). Time has become a commodity and the worker is obliged to pay for the retrieval of leisure time (Wearing and Wearing, 1992: 5). These observations on time and production locate the emergence of modern advertising within the context of capitalist exploitation. Advertising materialized as a specialized vehicle for extending the commodity-form and, in so doing, reproducing the expropriation of surplus labour time at the level of consumption. This book examines how advertising's past continues to shape its present. Advertising is an intrinsic dialectical link between capitalism's economic rationalization of time and the production of consumer subjectivity. Consequently, an analysis of advertising and modernity goes a long way towards tracing the mobile systems of relationships, which have been effective in disciplining our relation to the temporal rhythms of the productive economy.

Modernity pronounced a universal history that would be all-inclusive. The past was a historical artefact constituted by a system of delineated, homogeneous relations, which exhibit predictable patterns of transformation. Each present has a discrete presence and it is presumed that it can be represented as such. Modernity is about managing both time and space 'at a distance' through a process of representation. That is to say, an uncertain future is represented as a concrete set of probabilities to which monetary values can be attributed. Time and space are then represented as objects of remote control where future possible events are displaced or (re)presented in an abbreviated and thereby managerial form (Cooper and Law, 1995). Fordist production epitomized the ordering of bodies in time and space, according to expertly designed managerial systems. In this mode of capitalist production, time is a unit for regulating daily activities in accordance with the clockwork rhythms of standardized assembly line production. Fordism pioneered the introduction of time and motion studies into the wholesale rationalization of labour. It fostered national aspirations to regulate the economy by embedding mass production and mass demand into national frames (Fraser, 2003: 161). These

imperatives required a level of technical, organizational and cultural restructuring defined as a regime of accumulation. The Fordist regime of accumulation was premised on large-scale mass production carried out by vertically integrated organizations geared towards meeting the 'needs' of mass consumer markets. Axiomatic to this regime of accumulation is the existence of non-economic processes operating to synchronize and co-ordinate social, cultural and political relations. Advertising operates here as a mechanism for standardizing the rhythms of consumer demand. The vast size of Fordist production created a new kind of organizational complexity, which forced businesses into the limited role of anticipating and creating mass consumer markets. Needless to say, Fordist production required long lead times to research and develop new products, given the rigidity of its production systems and the confined specialization of the labour force (Gorz, 1999: 28). Consumer demand, adumbrated through mass advertising, countenanced the long time scales of mass production. But advertising was also a source of in-built rigidity as experts linked advancing prosperity with the production of 'a homogeneous society of loyal steady buyers' (Pope, 1983: 258). Nevertheless, advertising constitutes an important area of continuity between the end of Fordist growth in the 1970s and the transition to flexible specialization and post-Fordism. Towards the end of Fordist mass production, most companies were attempting to abate stagnation either by diversification or by accelerating product turnover and thereby increasing built-in obsolescence (Gorz, 1999: 27). Developments in advertising research responded to both these crucial changes in the needs of modern corporations. Advertising had become an integral feature of the marketing mix. And as a core component of marketing orthodoxy, advertising was committed to the use of market research as the basis of design and media decisions. This partly explains the perfusion of lifestyle market segmentation during the 1980s, the demassification of consumer markets and the timely proliferation of advertising channels.

Post-Fordist capitalist production is insidiously distinct from its historical predecessors. Unlike 'organized capitalism' with its synchronous flows of capital and labour circulating on a national scale, contemporary capitalism is 'disorganized' (Lash and Urry, 1994). Fragmented, flexible production and networks of financial flows now circulate on an international scale. Harvey (1990) defines post-Fordism as involving a transition from Fordism to 'flexible accumulation', which accelerated the rise of flexible labour markets and flexible geographies of production. Piore and Sabel (1984) identify rapidly fragmenting consumer markets, coupled with advances in flexible technologies (e.g., Computer Aided Manufacturing), as enabling the spread of low-cost, semi-customized commodities. Piore and Sabel argue these transformations in production are evidence of a new post-Fordist technological paradigm defined as 'flexible specialization', whereby, flexible technologies and economies of scale enable firms to 'respond to the growth of flexible markets' (Amin, 1995: 15).

Under Fordist production, labour is considered to be a factor in the production of material commodities, which are themselves recognized as

embodying specific use-value. Indeed, 'all commodities are only definite masses of congealed labour time' (*Capital*, vol. 1, 2003: 47). Advertising operates in Fordist production to reproduce the incorporation of labour time into capital. Conversely, in post-Fordist production, an accelerated circulation of objects is 'the stuff of consumer capitalism' (Lash and Urry, 1994: 2–3), whereby, a depletion of meaning precipitated by rapid turnover rates ensures a 'homogenization, abstraction, anomie and the destruction of the subject' (ibid.: 3). The Fordist separation of economy and culture invited consumers to constitute their identities through the purchase of products whose stories and images echo historically specific grand narratives (Firat, 1994). By contrast, the consumers of postmodernity transcend these narratives of self and subjectivity. For we are now entering an era 'in which the production of objects has been replaced by the production and proliferation of signs' (Sarup, 1998: 110). Our attention is drawn here to an inter-subjective movement away from regarding goods merely as utilities having a use and exchange-value. Postmodern consumer culture is a rich and complex signifying system in which cultural objects acquire new levels of fascination. Rather than being related to some fixed system of human needs, exchange involves the consumption of signs (Baudrillard, 1975, 1981) that are 'free floating' – not tied to an object of signification but simply circulating in a space of signifiers. For Baudrillard (1975), a central feature of commodity culture is that the object is no longer determined by the existence of an 'essential' use-value. The pervasion of exchange-value in capitalist society has resulted in the commodity becoming a sign. In line with Saussurean semiotics, this understanding of representation exceeds the reductive notion of the sign as indexed to a real and independent reality. 'The object-become-sign no longer gathers its meaning in the concrete relationship between two people' (1981: 66). Rather the relations between sign and referent are completely arbitrary. The sign obtains its meaning through its 'differential relation to other signs' (ibid.: 66). Think of the trademark 'swoosh' insignia of Nike. The logo is prominent as a self-referential sign. It has little direct reference to the material world. Indeed, Nike creatives employ 'concept-based' advertising, which entails generating an atmosphere and associating the brand with that mood (Proctor et al., 2002: 33). In this process of 'image transfer', non-linguistic meanings and the rapid succession of images replace the more traditional use of narrative dialogues, placing the 'commodity in the consumer's everyday life' (ibid.: 33). Instead the aesthetic appeal of the postmodern sign is 'determined by its position in a self-referential system of [floating] signifiers' (Featherstone, 1991: 85). In postmodern consumer culture, signs are entirely self-referential, making no attempt at signification or classification, their only point being to make a temporary impact on our consciousness. This detached status of the code obviates any relation to the 'real' and opens up what Baudrillard has famously designated as 'hyper-reality', i.e., 'the generation of models of the real without origin or reality' (1983: 2).

Advertising in the current era lives on the playful and self-reflexive nature of postmodern culture. Advertisers are constantly involved in com-

plex processes of meaning transfer, whereby commodities come to be imbued with cultural meanings only arbitrarily linked to the referent that they originally signified (Firat, 1994). Advertisers attach signifiers to disparate objects and just as rapidly detach them, in the mischievous pursuit of novelty and difference. In the hyper-real world of postmodern advertising, everything mutates into everything else, all is image, appearance and simulation. Axiomatic to these transformations in the temporality of advertising aesthetics is the 'convergence' of advertising channels and their proliferation into the diaphanous streams of new electronic media.

What is emerging in postmodern advertising is a new type of capitalist accumulation involving multi-layered temporalities, as opposed to the continuous linear tempo-spatial frames of previous regimes of capitalist accumulation. Liberated from the linear rationalist boundaries of 'organized capitalism', flows of capital, information, images and symbols are overwhelming linear rationalities by 'disordering the sequence of events and making them simultaneous, thus installing society in eternal ephemerality' (Castells, 2000: 467). There is little doubt that advances in global electronic communications involve a more intense compression of time and space than we have ever previously experienced. In the micro-electronic world of virtual communication, time has to be seen much more as tied to the social context of its use rather than as an unproblematic medium whose neutrality permits comparison and communication across diverse boundaries. For these very boundaries are in disarray as we begin to realize that every communication is a prosthesis or projection of a unique identity (Burrill, 2005). Instantaneous communication and consumption mean that we no longer experience a common time 'in' which we all live in more or less mutual relevance, but, on the contrary, events in convergent electronic media are simultaneously global and local, representing a unique and unrepeatable period of time (Adam, 1990; Ermarth, 1992). Indeed, Baudrillard identifies hyper-reality as ensuing dramatic discontinuities in the contextual link between the subject and its specific world. In the 'third order of representation', technologies gain their own momentum, providing a simulacrum of actual events effacing any access to a 'real', which itself is an effect of the code system (Sarup, 1998: 111).

Time in postmodern advertising is a function of position, as a dimension of particular self-referential events, time is fractured, multiple and discontinuous. Moreover, the search for an authentic, integrated self through identification is displaced, disrupted and fragmented by the 'pure' sign that resides within a self-referential tempo-spatial context and almost coincidentally collides with 'products' (which are themselves mere signs). This book argues that advertising in the postmodern times is productive of radically new forms of consumer subjectivity only tangentially recognised in the texts of leading cultural theorists. The three parts, which constitute this book, collectively present a historical overview of the way in which advertising has developed and the cultural economies of time that have informed changes in the nature of advertising.

Part I Marking time in the making of modern advertising

Part I of this book provides a historical account of the dialectical link between industrial capitalism and the economies of time and space which led to the emergence of large-scale advertising in the nineteenth century. Chapter 1, 'Selling space in Advertising History' critically examines legislative measures geared towards the regulation of commercial spaces in the nineteenth century. Familiar examples of these processes are described; these include legal regulations deployed to control street advertising, legislative controls on the selling of advertising space in the printed press, and editorial controls on display advertising. The chapter also critically examines the selling of the British Empire in Victorian commodity culture. The chapter argues that the selling of the Empire responded to a crisis in capitalist accumulation and industrial capitalism's subsequent need to extend the commodity-form. Post-colonial analyses of Victorian commodity culture reveal a distinct colonial sentimentality evident in nineteenth-century advertisements, of the Empire and its 'Others'. This chapter argues that the rationalization of commercial space in the selling of the Empire was an integral development in the formation of monopoly capitalism.

Chapter 2, 'Selling Time in Advertising History' continues with a historical theme, as it focuses on advertising with respect to the emergence of insurance as a morally accepted commercial enterprise. The mid-nineteenth century is generally recognised as constituting the Golden Era of insurance. It was the time when the selling of insurance transformed itself from a practice of ill repute with unsavoury links with gambling, into a reputable moral enterprise. Advertising ingenuity played a crucial role in the fortuitous transformation of the insurance industry in the nineteenth century. Insuring oneself from future hazard was transformed from mere speculative folly into a morally responsible task. Advertising promotion is largely accredited with having engineered a turnaround in the image of the insurance industry. In so doing, advertising represented a vital component of disciplinary technologies keen to make links between the buying of insurance and the adoption, by individual subjects, of a responsible attitude to the future. Insurance was transformed into a moral imperative and advertising was a key instrument in the creation of subjects disciplined in the moral efficacy of financially managing their future. Chapters 1 and 2 provide the reader with a historical introduction to the crucial links between advertising, early capitalism and the establishment of time-disciplined consumer subjectivity.

Part II Dialectics of advertising in modern times

Chapter 3, 'Advertising, Time and the Commodity-form', examines the work of Marxist theorists who have identified modern advertising as having emerged as a response to specific historical crises in the reproduction of exchange-value (Ewen, 1977; Lee, 1993; Goldman, 1994). These authors observe how adver-

tising was used by capitalist industrialists, as a means of establishing time-disciplined social relations and control over the labour process.

Ever since the emergence of institutionalized advertising in the late nineteenth century, advertising practitioners have been concerned to establish an orthodox rational discipline (Leiss et al., 1990). In the early part of the twentieth century, the attempt to achieve rational orthodoxy in advertising knowledge was largely a consequence of market saturation, and the need to formulate theories of consumer behaviour, so as to guarantee the efficient application of advertising practice. The persuasive possibilities of advertising soon became a site of expertise and this in turn coincided with the emergence of psychology as a scientific discipline (Ewen, 1977; Leiss et al., 1990). One of the earliest attempts to formulate a systematic scientific examination of advertising was made by Professor Walter Dill Scott in his ground-breaking oeuvre, *The Psychology of Advertising* (1908). Walter Dill Scott's discourse epitomized the 'reason-why' approach which pervaded advertising practice in the early part of the twentieth century. The reason-why approach attempted to motivate consumer behaviour by constructing a reasoned argument to justify the purchase of a commodity. The pervasive appeal of reason-why advertising, was largely a consequence of the imperatives of national advertisers to generate demands for a burgeoning array of new commodities (Leiss et al., 1990). In both Britain and the United States, advances in the productive capacities of factories had precipitated the introduction of a wide range of newly available products. The greater quantity and variety of commodities resulted in the need for manufacturers to distinguish their products through brand differentiation. In this marketing model, manufacturers of branded products sought not only to attract consumers but also to communicate the firm's label. In response, advertisements assumed a persuasive educational style designed to inform consumers of the merits of the product (ibid.).

Advertising copy in reason-why advertising focuses on the written text and the use of images as part of the process of conveying practical information about the product. The operative model of consumer subjectivity evident in this approach is fundamentally rationalistic, in the sense that the advertiser endeavours to provide the utility-maximizing consumer with a clear motivation for using a product. To achieve this, advertising phenomena within the social world must be amenable to causal analysis involving their reduction to a set of quantifiable variables similar to those of the natural sciences. The social world is assumed to exist independently of the observer, although made knowable only through sense perception of social action and events. It is axiomatic to rationalistic consumer behaviour models that time and space should be ascribed the characteristics of abstract, quantifiable, singular units.

In time-space relations, reason-why advertising stimuli take the form of a trajectory within which the future arises out of the present context, and preceding conditions form a history relative to the advertising event. The basis of this determination can only be reckoned by a conception of time

which reduces the present to a negligible element in the teleological ordering of the passage of time. Resonances between this conception of time and the mechanistic rhythms of the productive economy efficaciously coincided with the need to sell standardized products to mass markets. The manufacturing quest, to accurately time production operations, had been largely realized in the 'scientific management' techniques of Fordist production but the ultimate breakthrough in the manufacturing dream of productive efficiency was contingent on matching the productive process with consumer demand. Accelerated rates of production had speeded up the circulation of goods to consumers, and existing distribution channels struggled to contend with increased rates of production. Access to mass markets was an advertising imperative and there was no room for complex differences in the location of individuals in time and space. Advertisers had to attract the attention of consumers, arouse desire and transform these into buying instances. Moreover, they had to perfectly perform these grandiose tasks wholesale, so as to appeal to a mass market of hundreds of thousands (Pope, 1983: 249). In order to achieve this inordinate task, advertisers needed to become familiar with the behaviour of consumers. Consequently, the minutia of daily experience necessitated delineation into calculable terrains for the application of advertising technology. Even in the privacy of the home, consumers had to be conceived of as operating according to determinable factors within a predictable and calculable flow of time. Reason-why advertising provided a means of mapping consumer subjectivity in accordance with the clockwork precision of the productive machine.

The rise of oligopolistic industries, producing differentiated goods, increased the popularity of an advertising model predicated on identifying the distinctive characteristics of a product and promoting its superiority. Reason-why advertising provided a clockwork operational technique for stimulating desire and this was particularly evident in the sale of mass-produced household appliances. Pope (1983: 36) provides an account of how home appliances such as vacuum cleaners, modern cookers and washing machines tended to substitute capital for household labour. Advances in domestic equipment were indeed labour-saving as they reduced the amount of time required to complete a domestic task. In the early twentieth century, the home had become a privileged site for the individual consumption of mass-produced commodities (Lee, 1993). As Andrejevic observes, 'Each household served as the repository for a private set of appliances that displaced or replaced forms of collective consumption: The automobile displaced the trolley, the radio the concert hall, the TV set the downtown movie theatre and so on' (2003: 133). The physical demarcation of private space, provided by the small family unit, enabled the translation of mass-produced domestic appliances into devices which promised to increase an individual's discretionary use of time. In this rational utility model, consumption is designated to occur within a given tempo-spatial context. It is only in this sense that predicative correlations can be made between time-saving and consumer behaviour. Rational advertising knowl-

edges fasten upon that necessary conditioning of a determinant space and determinable time, as a basis from which to claim the certainty of deduction. Indeed, the standardized features and unitary scale of the family unit provided an effective context in which an increase in the discretionary use of domestic labour time could be communicated to consumer markets (Lee, 1993). In the early twentieth century, reason-why advertising campaigns drew heavily on the labour-saving themes of new consumer durables in their efforts to offer mass-produced products to an increasingly urbanized consumer market.

Changing the subject: psychodynamic times and the mobilization of consumer subjectivity (1950s–1960s)

During the 1950s there continued to be an intimate connection, both institutionally and intellectually, between advertising and psychology. Psychologists at that time were raising intellectual questions which mirrored advertising's concern to gain scientific knowledge of decision-making in order to predict buyer behaviour. The psychological disposition of the consumer became an integral feature of commercial discourse. And advertising was keen to adopt psychology's accrescent constructions of human behaviour. With the advent of Freudian analysis, the intellectual field of psychology increasingly began to articulate challenges to the rational psychic operator (a *homo economicus*) and this would have a profound effect on the legitimacy of reason-why advertising.

Advertising practices in the early twentieth century were designed to attract the attention of an undifferentiated consumer market. The cost advantage of mass Fordist production yielded high dividends for companies, but profits were predicated on the use of inexpensive distribution systems (Pope, 1983). This was a key reason why products were advertised in accordance with their broad utility appeal to a mass consumer market. Since production technology dictated a standardized output, appeals to a homogeneous consumer market appeared apposite (ibid.: 260). Paradigmatic transformations in advertising psychology radically challenged the discursive assumption of mass advertising and the notion of an undifferentiated consumer market. Psychological theories of personality claimed the existence of systematic and stable patterns, which categorized groupings of individuals according to determinative personality traits. Trait factor theory propounded the existence of enduring and distinguishable attributes, which, while common to many individuals, vary in absolute amounts, as and between individuals (Gunter and Furnham, 1992: 45). It follows from this assumption that humans are highly distinguishable. Consequently, psychological enquiries at this time were dispelling the notion of a 'single type' of consumer and the existence of an undifferentiated audience for advertising communication (Leiss et al., 1990).

The concept of personality traits combined with the widespread belief that behaviour was the outcome of motives and instinctive drives. Freud's highly influential theories concerning the ego (the basis of consciousness)

and the id (the basis of the subconscious) emphasized the significance of symbolic and unconscious motivations to the formation of subjectivity. The human psyche involves a constant struggle to balance the desire for immediate gratification with the need to apprehend social convention and adhere to the normative order. This Freudian model was further developed by behavioural scientists, so as to formulate links between the human psyche and observed behaviour. Human behaviour was seen as a result of unconscious efforts to control inner drives and instincts motivated by petty emotions, sexual desire and anxiety. Advertising readily embraced this development in psychodynamic discourse and eagerly placed irrationality at the heart of consumer behaviour. Individuals were conceived of as differentiating from one another on the basis of the unconscious nature of personality and motivation. And 'buyers are motivated by symbolic as well as economic-functional product concerns' (Michman, 1991: 22). Armed with an exciting array of psychodynamic apparatus (e.g., projective techniques), advertising practitioners attempted to penetrate the consumer's inner world of fantasy and dynamic processes.

Rather than manipulating consumers, as was the fear of government officials, advertisers 'mobilized' consumers (Miller and Rose, 1997) to explore connections between commodities and the structuring of experience in time. Advertising experts were aware of the criticism of brainwashing and countenanced these accusations by preaching that 'consumer choices' were dictating economic activity (Pope, 1983: 251). They claimed to persuade rather than compel consumers and proclaimed this to be 'the democratic alternative to authoritarianism' (ibid.: 251). Consumers were viewed as a complex ensemble of impulsive and irrational traits; less inclined to manipulation than persuasion. The use of dream sequences and appeals to the suppressed or repressed desire were indicative features of psychodynamic advertising aesthetics. In this era of advertising practice, the consumer is enticed 'to focus less on rational product information and more on the feelings evoked by their recollected memories' (Braun et al., 2002: 2). Because consumers use advertising as cues to recollect their past experience, it follows that 'autobiographical memories may be spontaneously activated within the context of an advertising message' (ibid.: 2). This psychodynamic account of advertising practice is particularly significant as it is indicative of how the technologies of advertising are productive of 'new kinds of relations that human beings can have with themselves and with others through the medium of goods' (Miller and Rose, 1997: 3). Advertising is indeed a major site of ideological influence in the dynamic production of consumer subjectivity. Psychodynamic discourse is productive in its endeavours to know the human psyche. The intervention of psychodynamic technologies into the depths of human consciousness is constitutive of knowledge. In the absence of projective tests, advertisers would struggle to support the claim that consumers differ from each other, according to determinative psychological traits. However, knowledge produces both regimes of truth and subjugation (Foucault, 1982a). Advertising's

knowledge of the consumer psyche has a powerful constitutive effect that is realized in the micro-practices of daily life. Psychodynamic knowledge mobilizes consumers to identify with consumption as a potential means of gaining self-understanding. Consequently, the intrusion of advertising technology into the realm of human psyche, and the appropriation of memory as a constituent feature of buying, function to link subjectivity ever more closely to commercial objectives.

Chapter 3 argues that advertising's preoccupation with use-value and then psychodynamic discourse in the early twentieth century operated to connect consumer subjectivity to the clockwork rhythms of the productive economy. The Marxist analysis of time and commodity culture identifies advertising as directly implicated in capitalist accumulation (Ewen, 1977; Lee, 1993; Frow, 1997; Williamson, 2000). Marx established the value of a commodity to be defined in its magnitude by the amount of socially necessary labour time invested in its production. It is labour time which produces value. Embodied in the commodity is the abstract unit of socially necessary labour required to produce it. This represents a source of profit in addition to any that may be made from the 'exploitation' of labour. But labour, in its identification with advertising communication, misrecognizes its basis as a source of value. Consequently, advertising operates to reproduce the expropriation of surplus labour time at the level of consumption.

Marxist analysis provides a valuable means of theoretically engaging with the peculiar mix of rationalism and psychodynamics that characterized advertising discourse in the early twentieth century. If a commodity can be shown to yield a utility, then the labour time invested in its production and time required for its consumption can clearly be communicated to the consumer. In reason-why advertising, time is transformed into objects that exist external to the individual, in fixed immutable units (hours/minutes/seconds). These units in turn yield an implicit utility to the consumer (e.g., being able to save time). The implicit utility facilitates the transformation of time and spaces into other entities such as money or products. It is therefore of no surprise that the clockwork precision of this commodification of time encouraged its application to a wide variety of buying instances. Time is a controllable scarce resource: a 'pressure' in decision-making; an exchangeable commodity; and of course a principle component of 'risk'. Similar translations of time into money are in effect in psychodynamic advertising discourse. Chapter 3 identifies how time was axiomatic to the development of advertising psychology, especially with respect to the use of psychodynamic models of consumers and the endorsement of 'pecuniary emulation' (Veblen, [1899] 1994).

Lifestyle segmentation and the timely proliferation of advertising discourse (1960s–1980s)

During the 1960s, advertising practice expanded rapidly alongside the multi-media conditions of consumer culture. Electronic media brought into