WILBERT SCHREURS

DON'T APOLOGIZE FOR YOUR COMMERCIAL

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The discourse on the content of television advertising during the early years in Britain and the Netherlands.

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Introduction

Television advertising has become increasingly popular in recent decades. Each year the advertising industry presents awards to the most successful or beloved television commercials. Television stations frequently dedicate entire programs to television advertising. From 1989 to 2008 a BBC show with the name *Commercial Breakdown* presented humorous television commercials from all over the world. In recent years Dutch television has also broadcast programmes on television advertising; in 2013 there even was a daily series titled, *Veronica's Funniest Commercials*.

Figure 1. Hovis, 'Go on lad', commercial, 2008

Figure 2. Hovis, 'Go on lad', commercial, 2008

Indicative of the growing popularity of television advertising were the reactions over Hovis bread's 'Go on Lad' commercial that was broadcast in Britain for the first time on 12 September 2008. Its launch was covered by several British newspapers and television programmes. In the first 24 hours after the initial broadcast, Hovis received over a thousand letters and e-mails praising the commercial, which followed the journey of a young boy through no less than 122 years of British history. In a 2009 contest organized by ITV (the British commercial public service network of television channels that operate regional television services that share programmes with each other), 'Go on Lad' was voted the best commercial of the decade by the British public. In the Netherlands the public is invited every year to demonstrate their enjoyment of TV commercials, with the election of the *Gouden Loeki*, the award for the most beloved Dutch television commercial.[1]

Figure 3. Ster, 'Stem voor de Gouden Loeki 1999', advertisement, 2000

This growing interest in television advertising is not strange. Of all the different advertising formats, TV advertising has become the most prominent form in the second half of the 20th century.[2] The research agency Zenith Optimedia estimated that the global spending on television advertising in 2011 was 184,3 billion dollars, making it responsible for 40,2 percent of the total 'adspend' worldwide.[3]

But the importance of TV advertising is not limited to its economic value. It has also become a vital part of the media experience. 'The "spot" advertising is in many ways the quintessence of TV', stated media academic John Ellis already in 1982. 'It is a segment of about thirty seconds, comprising a large number of images and sounds which are tightly organized around themselves'. Ellis asserts that watching commercials 'is often an exhilarating experience because of their short span and their intensity of meaning: they are expensive (more expensive than the programmes they come with) and precisely calculated (often better than TV drama). They are sparklingly diverse, the shiny surface wrapping of a domestically oriented con-

sumerist society. They are also the supremely televisual product: hence another part of their exhilaration, that of seeing a medium used for itself.'[4]

Besides, there seems to be a growing recognition that television advertising is part of our culture.[5] Art historian Florence G. Feasley characterizes television advertising as the 'unpopular art.' The fact that many of us judge TV advertising in general as irritating and annoying, does not imply that all TV commercials are 'not worthy of aesthetic judgment'.[6] She argues that, 'If art is enrichment and an intensification of life, as well as reflection of our lives, then television commercials fit that niche'.[7]

Notwithstanding the recognition of TV advertising's omnipresence and influence, there has been relatively little interest in its history. This monograph fills in a small part of this gap. Its starting point is the observation that television advertising has gone through remarkable and rapid changes in its history. According to the famous German film director Wim Wenders, who himself has directed commercials for well-known brands like Audi, Danone, Cadillac and Pontiac, advertising offers a director even more opportunities for innovation than cinema. 'In advertising it is important to do things differently from how they were done before. The cinema is much more conservative and there, the opposite is the case. Often in cinema, you have to tell things following certain recipes or formulas, in order to get through to your audience.'[8]

As we will see, this statement is suggestive for the shifts in professional assessments of television advertising. The first television commercials in both Britain and the Netherlands were mainly text-oriented, and held little or no visual interest. But after these early years, advertising practitioners increasingly stressed the need for originality and paved the way for a new approach to television advertising, in which there was more room for subtlety and playfulness. Nowadays television advertising often leaves ample room for the viewer's imagination, and entertainment has become an essential ingredient in many commercials. Modern commercials sometimes require viewers make a mental effort to understand them, implying that a certain degree of 'advertising literacy' has become commonplace.[9] Although many commercials remain highly predictable, advertising practitioners in the 21th century have become more adept at the medium's possibilities, and in comparison with the early years, images play a far more important role in television ads. And whilst entertainment in advertisements was seen by early commentators as superfluous, today it has become a regular part of television advertising.

The central enquiry of this monograph will be how advertising practitioners in Britain and the Netherlands viewed television advertising - and especially its content - in the years before and after its launch: from the early 1950s to the mid-1960s in Britain and from the early 1960s to the early 1970s in the Netherlands. The coming of the new medium offered advertisers new opportunities to reach their public, but it also forced them to find a new rhetoric. How did the views of practitioners regarding television advertising content develop in the first ten to fifteen years after its launch? Did they change, and if so, how can these changes be explained?

By studying its early historical development, this monograph seeks to add to our understanding of the phenomenon of TV advertising in general. The discourse among advertising practitioners on the content of television advertising forms its heart. Several authors have pointed to the desirability of studying both television and advertising history from the perspective of practitioners. According to the British sociologist Liz McFall (2004) this aspect has been generally undervalued. 'Without knowledge about the specific historical context in which advertisements were produced, very little can be surmised about their intentions.'[10] In his book, *Production Culture. Industrial Reflexivity and Critical Practice in Film and Television* (2008), media studies scholar and filmmaker John Caldwell makes a plea for more research on the discourse among practitioners in both the film and television worlds.[11]

This monograph will mainly concentrate on the views of advertising practitioners on the product of television advertising: the commercial. But these views cannot be understood without looking at the broader historical circumstances in which television commercials developed. The focus on the social dimension of the discourse on television advertising has been inspired by the work of media historian Brian Winston. Winston has done extensive research into the reception of new media. In his book *Media Technology and Society* (1998), he looks for patterns in the circumstances and the pace in which new media are accepted, and concludes that social factors play a large part in the successful adoption of media innovatons. In his view technological developments are less important for the breakthrough of a new medium than is often thought; usually a new medium only gains a foothold when there is a proper social context for their reception.[12] Although this monograph does not concern itself with the use and expansion of new media, but with how an already accepted medium was used for a specific application, I also start from the presumption that the social dimension is an important factor in the early development of television advertising. This will be shown clearly in my discussion of the introduction of television advertising, when in both Britain and the Netherlands there was a passionate public discussion on its desirability. This ongoing discussion ultimately influenced the way in which television commercials were conceptualized and designed.

The choice of comparing Britain and the Netherlands was motivated by the similarities in the circumstances in which television advertising came into being. As the following chapters will make clear, television advertising in both countries was a matter of real concern not only for advertisers, but also for other stakeholders including politicians and public opinion leaders. Seen from the perspective of today, the amount of broadcast time devoted to early advertising was very limited, yet the initial debates over television advertising aroused passionate emotions.

1.1. Historiography

As mentioned before, in spite of its cultural and economical relevance, television advertising has inspired little scholarly attention. To television historians, advertising is seen as a subject of minor importance. Jonathan Bignell and Andreas Fickers give it no attention in the introduction to their book, *A European Television History* (2008).[13] The same can be said of several other publications on television history where advertising is hardly mentioned.[14] One of the exceptions is Raymond Williams, one of the key figures in Cultural Studies, who, in his well-known passages on the phenomenon of 'flow' (the sequencing of TV material from one element to the next as a way for TV stations to retain viewers's attention), stated that in the experience of the television viewer the differences between programmes and commercials more or less dissolve.[15] According to Ellis, Williams's notion of flow is 'a much misused one'. 'He argues that TV cannot be conceived of as unitary programmes which are "interrupted" by advertisements and suchlike material.'[16] The notion of flow is a valuable insight, but Ellis contends that it has its weaknesses. Williams 'underestimates the complexity of broadcast'; to most viewers, there is a clear separation between the ads and the programmes.[17] In *Reading Television* (2003), media scholar John Fiske discusses the interrelation between television and advertising, and points to an interesting aspect of television advertising when he claims that viewers often watch television ads without being interested in their respective products or brands. This way of looking at commercials, called 'proletarian shopping' by Fiske, is in line with his conviction that the viewer's interpretation is essential to the meanings assigned to television; and that the public often interprets television in ways completely different from what the 'senders' intend.[18]

Figure 4. Image from an American commercial for Winston cigarettes, 1950

Television advertising has also received little attention from advertising historians, especially compared to their research on press advertising.[19] This does not mean, however, that they have completely ignored it. An interesting study on television advertising's origins is *Brought to You By: Postwar Television Advertising and the American Dream* (2003) by the American historian Lawrence R. Samuel. Samuel focuses on the history of American television from the 1940s to the 1960s and pays special attention to the relation between its rise and the expansion of the consumer society. He argues that television advertising has contributed to the 'consumer spirit' in the United States. 'Television advertising was thus part of the larger standardization of American consumer culture in the postwar era'.[20] Samuel also looks at the way practitioners worked, and argues that television advertising in the US was initially based on radio; the choice for programme sponsorship was derived from the model prevalent in commercial radio. It is also noteworthy that television advertising in the U.S. started at nearly the same moment as television itself. Because there were no officlal state channels as later in Europe, television was a commercial medium from the start. This seems to have added to the conviction among American advertising practitioners, politicians, and opinion leaders that advertising was a natural component of the television medium.

Another study that deals with the early years of American television advertising is *The New Icons? The Art of Television Advertising* (1995) by the Canadian historian Paul Rutherford.[21] He argues that the television commercials were initially seen as 'surrogate salesman'. Like Samuel, Rutherford also mentions that radio was the leading example for advertising practitioners in these early years, and was one of the reasons that early American television commercials were dominated by text.[22] This changed in the 1960s with the coming of the thirty-second commercial as the successor to the sponsor's message within programmes.

According to Rutherford, this change has shifted attention to the (visual) content of TV ads; from this moment on, television advertising offered greater room for originality.[23]

Also worth mentioning is the work of media historian Cynthia B. Meyers, and especially her article on the role of sponsorship in American broadcasting, 'From Sponsorship to Spots: Advertising and the Development of Electronic Media' (2009). Meyers states that the arrival of the sixty- and then the thirty-second spot in the United States made the commercial into 'a significant cultural form in its own right' and into a program in and of itself. According to Meyers, during the 1970s advertisers started to focus on specific market segments; this target group approach opened up the road to creativity in advertising.[24]

The history of British television advertising is the subject of *British Television Advertising: The First 30 years* (1985), which includes a chronological overview by Brian Henry, an influential figure in British TV and newspaper advertising in the 1950s and 1960s, and articles by several authors that cover such aspects as commercial production, the viewpoints of advertising agencies, and the effect on marketing, generally from a professional point of view. The article by marketing historian Stefan Schwarzkopf on the responses of British and American advertising agencies to the introduction of commercial television in the U.K. (2009) is also noteworthy. Schwarzkopf takes a stand against the generally held view that television advertising was introduced into Britain as a result of a corporate lobby directed by the advertising agencies. In fact, many of the established British advertising agencies were far from happy with the arrival of television advertising. They felt 'comfortable' with the existing situation and viewed television ads as a threat rather than a welcome addition. Several agencies were uncertain about this new medium to which they were unaccustomed, and the introduction of television obliged them to make capital investments whose results were far from guaranteed. According to Schwarzkopf, the British advertising world was 'overwhelmingly reluctant to embrace the potential of the new medium of commercial advertising'.[25]

Figure 5. Apple, '1984', American television commercial directed by Ridley Scott, 1984

The British advertising industry would later make up for lost time and fully embrace television advertising. Both the American historian Stephen Fox, in the second edition of *The Mirror Makers. A History of American Advertising and its Creators* (1984), and Rutherford (1995) praise British television advertising for its quality and originality and both use the British example to show where and when things went 'wrong,' in their view, with American TV-advertising. Fox points to the 'creative renaissance' that British advertising agencies went through in the 1970s, and especially at the influence of such British film directors as Ridley and Tony Scott, Adrian Lyne, and Alan Parker, who all worked in advertising. According to Fox, one of the reasons that British television advertising was more interesting and humorous than its American counterpart was that 'American agencies still listened too much to their research departments, those number-crunchers with their definite scientific notions of what would move the consumer. British agencies paid more heed to creative muses, research be damned, so they did more striking ads.'[26] Rutherford also praises British ad makers in the 1970s and 1980s as 'the creators of the world's most outstanding commercials.'[27] In seeking an explanation for their high quality, Rutherford quotes the American film and television director Martin Davidson, who argued that 'the style of whimsy and irony represents a response to the widespread antipathy of the consuming public to "trade, selling and hucksterism". The task of advertising practitioners was to take away the distrust against advertising, which they did by making commercials that were clothed in 'a pleasant disguise that avoids awakening the contempt of potential buyers'. Moreover, Rutherford points out that television advertising also profited from the British tradition of wit and humor.[28]

A similar point of view can be found in an article by the British marketing historian Terence R. Nevett, who compares American and British television advertising, and states that British advertising from its inception aimed at entertaining viewers. This led their commercials to have a 'soft sell' character and a more subtle, friendly, and often humorous style, while American advertising stressed the 'hard sell' and sales message above all.[29] Nevett argues that this difference can be explained partly by the criticism against television advertising in Britain: 'Britain has had a long history of upper and upper-middle class opposition to advertising (...) In the 1950s they attacked the idea of allowing advertising on television - something that proved so distasteful to many influential figures that it was not approved by Parliament until 1955 (...) It is therefore hardly surprising that advertisers using the new commercial television channel should be more than usually sensitive to criticism, and be anxious to please and entertain.'[30] From the beginning, the British advertiser realized that he was an 'unwanted guest' and had to take this into account. The explanations that are given by Fox, Rutherford, and Nevett for British advertising's particular developmental trajectory contain several interesting points, especially those of the latter two. Both emphasize British advertisers's sensitivity to criticism as an important role in the development of television advertising.

The history of Dutch television advertising has been treated extensively in my book, *Leuker kunnen we het niet maken. Televisie- en radioreclame 1965-2005* (*We can't make it any funnier. Television- and radio advertising 1965-2005*) (2004), which provides an overview of television advertising in the Netherlands from the 1960s to the early 21th century. In it, I argue that Dutch advertising practitioners slowly succeeded in controlling the medium and learned how to make attractive and effective commercials in the late 1970s and 1980s. This was due to the growing creative involvement of the advertising agencies's employees in television advertising, the professionalization in the field of production, and the increase in budgets for television advertising.[31]

As the Netherlands are concerned, another study is *Image bedeutet Bild* (1999) by art historian Esther Cleven. Although she hardly mentions television advertising, she makes some interesting remarks that relate to its history in the Netherlands. Her dissertation, which is written from the perspective of art

history, asks how Dutch advertising practitioners in the first half of the 20th century related to the image. Cleven argues that they hardly realized the image's communicative potential. Until the 1950s text remained dominant because advertising practitioners were convinced that words were far more effective in influencing consumer behavior than images. Cleven contends that advertising practitioners's adoption of the image also took so long because the generally complaisant attitude among advertisers and their agencies. At the end of her book Cleven speculates that the 'breakthrough of the image' in Dutch advertising in the 1960s can partly be attributed to the rise of television advertising; television may have made practitioners more conscious of the power of images.[32]

All in all there are few extensive studies on the history of television advertising. It seems that until recently television historians have seen commercials as a by-product. Television advertising was necessary to make commercial broadcasts possible, but was not regarded as an essential and defining part of the medium. The fact that television commercials were not produced by the stations or the networks, but by other parties with commercial intentions, might have added to this lack of attention. Furthermore, the critical attitude to advertising among academics may also have contributed to its neglect by television historians.[33]

What are the reasons that advertising historians have paid relatively little attention to television advertising? Their preference for press advertising is partly due to television advertising being a comparatively recent phenomenon. The first European television stations to broadcast television commercials on a regular basis did so in the 1950s. In addition, sources are not always readily accessible or easily consultable. Anyone who wants to study advertisements in newspapers or magazines can request these sources in public archives. Television commercials have been preserved and archived in a less systemized way. In public archives like EYE, and Sound and Vision, in the Netherlands, and the British Film Institute, the preservation and cataloging of television advertising still remains a low priority. The same is true for company archives where the researcher is at the mercy of its policies.[34]

There are a few institutions that have preserved television commercials and made them accessible. The ReclameArsenaal (AdvertisingArmoury), an institution that has dedicated to the preservation of Dutch advertising since 2001, has placed a collection of more than 2000 Dutch television commercials online. In Britain, the History of Advertising Trust has been active in the preservation and disclosure of British advertising heritage since 1976. The British network, ITV, has also engaged in a praiseworthy initiative to put 1000 vintage British commercials online. In addition to these archives, collectors upload compilations of television commercials from the first years of TV advertising in both Britain and the Netherlands on YouTube. This monograph draws from this rich array of multiple sources.[35]

Special attention will be given to the role and importance of creativity in advertising. Academic interest in this subject has increased in recent years. In his book *Advertising Cultures. Gender, Commerce, Creativity* (2003) sociologist Sean Nixon shows how the tendency toward professionalization in (British) advertising conflicted with the increasingly recognized need for creativity within the advertising profession.[36] In 2008 the academic *Journal of Advertising* devoted a special issue to creativity and advertising with articles that focused on specific aspects of advertising creativity.[37] Understanding what creativity means is far from easy; as advertising scholars Jaafar El-Murad and Douglas C. West put it, 'Creativity is at once the least scientific aspect of advertising and the most important'.[38] Although creativity still has a vague character, there seems to be general agreement that it consists of two dimensions: first, originality and innovation, and second, relevance.[39] In the following chapter, we will look at the origins of creativity in the early years of television advertising in Britain and the Netherlands.

1.2 Definition and approach

A study on the history of television advertising needs to define its subject. In this monograph television advertising is defined as a specific form of persuasive commercial communication on products, brands, and organizations, which is paid for and in which television is used, with the intention of influencing the knowledge, attitudes, and, if possible, the behavior of the target group in a direction favorable to the advertiser.[40] Both in Britain and in the Netherlands television advertising took the form of short movies that were broadcast in separate advertising breaks consisting of several sequential commercials that were inserted within and between the programmes (in the Netherlands these breaks were called '*reclameblokken*'). These TV commercials distinguished themselves by their explicit commercial objectives and their formats and lengths that differed from other televised content.[41] Yet, TV advertising also has a lot in common with other programmes. According to the German media scholar Eva Wyers, 'mimicry' is one of the main features of television commercials. She characterizes them as texts that appear in the 'clothes' of other TV-texts, and thatshow 'a struggle for meaning' like the other programmes.[42] Other authors have also pointed to the overlap between television advertising and the other programme genres.[43]

This monograph is based on a historical and comparative approach. Chapters two and three will focus on the early history of television advertising in Britain and the Netherlands. First, I will sketch the historical circumstances under which television advertising was launched in both countries, and afterwards, will reconstruct the discourses among professionals on the content of television advertising. These chapters will draw on not only the available scholarly literature, but also on contemporary sources, especially the advertising trade press. Chapter four takes a comparative approach to the developments in Britain and the Netherlands, seeks to answer the questions that have been formulated in this introduction and offers some possible directions for future research. As said before, the main question of this monograph will be how advertising practitioners in Britain and the Netherlands dealt with the content of television advertising in the first years of its existence. Under which circumstances and in which 'climate' was television advertising introduced? What kind of expectations did practitioners have for television advertising? How, and in what manner, did their views on television advertising change in the course of the first years?

Television Advertising in Britain

1955-1964

2.1. Prelude

In 1930 the British playwright and novelist Charles Morgan was asked to give his views on a new invention called television in the *BBC Yearbook*. Morgan was far from enthusiastic and pointed specifically to the dangers of commercial influences. 'To leave the sources of entertainment in the hands of cynical money-makers is to imperil civilization, and to imperil it more and more as the facilities of distribution increase. It is bad enough to give matches to an ignorant child; it is the last folly to give bombs to an evil one'.[44] At that moment, TV was a matter of the future. But Morgan's comments were a forecast of much later critique. The relationship between television and commerce would be the subject of fierce debate in Britain.

The early history of television has been researched thoroughly and, from the many publications on this subject, we know that television was not universally welcomed into the existing media landscape in most Western countries.[45] From early on it was also considered as potentially dangerous and engendered multiple, and conflicting, expectations. As the Dutch media scholar Vincent Crone remarks in his study of Dutch television history (2007): 'It could lead to improvement or disruption of society'.[46] In Britain the situation was comparable, although in its initial years there appeared to be little reason for either concern or enthusiasm for television's potential effects on society. On November 1, 1936, when the BBC began its television broadcasts, the medium's reach was very limited. At the outbreak of the Second World War no more than 20.000 till 25.000 households were able to watch television programmes. During the war the broadcasts were put on hold and were only resumed in 1946.

In that year the government decided to investigate the future of televisual broadcasting in Britain. The task was assigned to a committee led by Sir William Beveridge, the well-known economist and social reformer. The Beveridge committee was organized in 1949 and completed its report two years later. Its advice was to continue the BBC's monopoly.[47] Television advertising, moreover, was seen as undesirable by the committee. One of the members, who had visited the United States, described the advertising shown on American television as 'obtrusive and objectionable'.[48] This negative assessment was not unanimously shared on the committee. Selwyn Lloyd, Conservative MP who would later on become minister in several governments, and one of the committee's members, held the opinion that the monopoly of the BBC should be ended in the longer term, and that the possibility of TV advertising should be considered when new stations were established. This argument would be used regularly by advocates for commercial TV in the years to come.[49]

Figure 6. William Beveridge (en.wikipedia.org)

While opinions within the Beveridge committee were somewhat divided, there were hardly any public advocates for TV advertising in the late 1940s. From the 1930s until the mid 1950s negative sentiments prevailed, Henry notes. 'Parliament, the churches, the press, the teaching and other professions at every level - all were strongly opposed to any kind of association, particularly one of financial dependence, between broadcasting and the world of commerce and industry.'[50] Contrary to the United States, where television was considered a 'natural' advertising medium from early on, the British saw it as a medium that should serve community and culture, and not commercial enterprises.

Advertising's low esteem in Britain doubtlessly contributed to the highly critical attitude towards possible commercial influences on television. '"Trade" in this country, even yet, is no occupation for a gentleman', creative director David Bernstein asserted in his book *Creative Advertising. For this you went to Oxford?* (1974). 'To make things is respectable: to sell them is somehow unclean and underhand. And advertising is the most visible part of selling. The most obtrusive and, since it comes into your newspaper, roadside, carriage, drawing room, the most intrusive part of selling is advertising.'[51] The political constellation of the early 1950s further stimulated this anti-advertising sentiment. The Labour government that came into office in 1945 strived for a society in which wealth would be more evenly distributed than before.

Industrial nationalization and the promotion of technical innovation spurred hopes for a quick postwar economic recovery, and advertising was not seen to have any important role in this process. In the eyes of many, there was something fundamentally wrong with the fact that advertisers collectively spent 225 million pounds in 1948 while British housewives still had to queue at the shops because of the continued scarcity of products.[52]

Figure 7. British family watching TV in the 1950s (www.bbc.comnewstechnology-23521277)

2.2. The lobby for commercial television

In the early 1950s, discussion about television advertising intensified. With the coming of a new, conservative government in late 1951 there was more room for different opinions. A small group of conservative backbenchers started a lobby that was unique to British politics.[53] With the support of the advertising industry, the political climate was made ripe for the acceptance of commercial television.

Initially it seemed unlikely that British politics in the early 1950s would choose the commercial option due to the extensive opposition even within the Conservative Party. Why was there so much resistance against commercial TV? Some of the reasons have already been mentioned: the disdain against advertising, and the belief that television advertising was a product of the United States. The way television functioned in the US was seen by many as proof of the undesirable effects of commercial influences. One example of this attitude was the negative reactions in the British press to American broadcasts of the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in 1953, when the wishes of American advertisers were so much taken into account that commercials were shown even during critical moments of the coronation.[54] This confirmed their fears, which was shared in government circles, that commercial television served as an instrument of vulgarization. Churchill called the prospect of commercial TV a '"tuppenny-ha" penny Punch and Judy show'.[55]

Figure 8. Coronation Queen Elizabeth, 1953 (www.theweddingtiara.com)

The broad condemnation of commercial television did not discourage lobbyists from actively promoting their cause. In their plea for commercial television they came up with several arguments. First, that commercial television would end the BBC's monopoly. In a free society the citizen should have freedom of choice and this included television. Besides, commercial television could better satisfy the wishes of viewers. The majority of TV set owners were positive about commercial television, because it promised an end to the scarcity of programmes. Supporters argued that fears that commercial television would lead to American vulgarization and to a lowering of quality programming were unfounded. In 1952 Home Secretary Sir David Maxwell Fyfe chauvinistically pointed to the differences between the two countries: 'we have our typically British way of resolving problems of taste, just like any other problem. We are a much more mature and sophisticated people. Is it really to be suggested that such a people as ours are unfit to de-

cide what they want to see?'[56] A comparison between the United States and Britain was an insult to British business, Sir David Eccles, who served in several Conservative administrations, claimed in a 1954 speech: 'It is grossly unfair on British businessmen and the great firms of this country to say that they would have the same level of advertisements and behave in the same way as firms outside of this country. Our big firms show great restraint and good taste. Our advertising is not vulgar.'[57]

The advocates of commercial television were supported by the British advertising industry. The advertising trade press - which in the 1950s consisted of the magazines *Advertiser's Weekly* and *World's Press News* - frequently promoted the introduction of commercial television. Television offered new possibilities to British advertisers, and would mean that the national industry would not lose ground to other countries, especially the US.

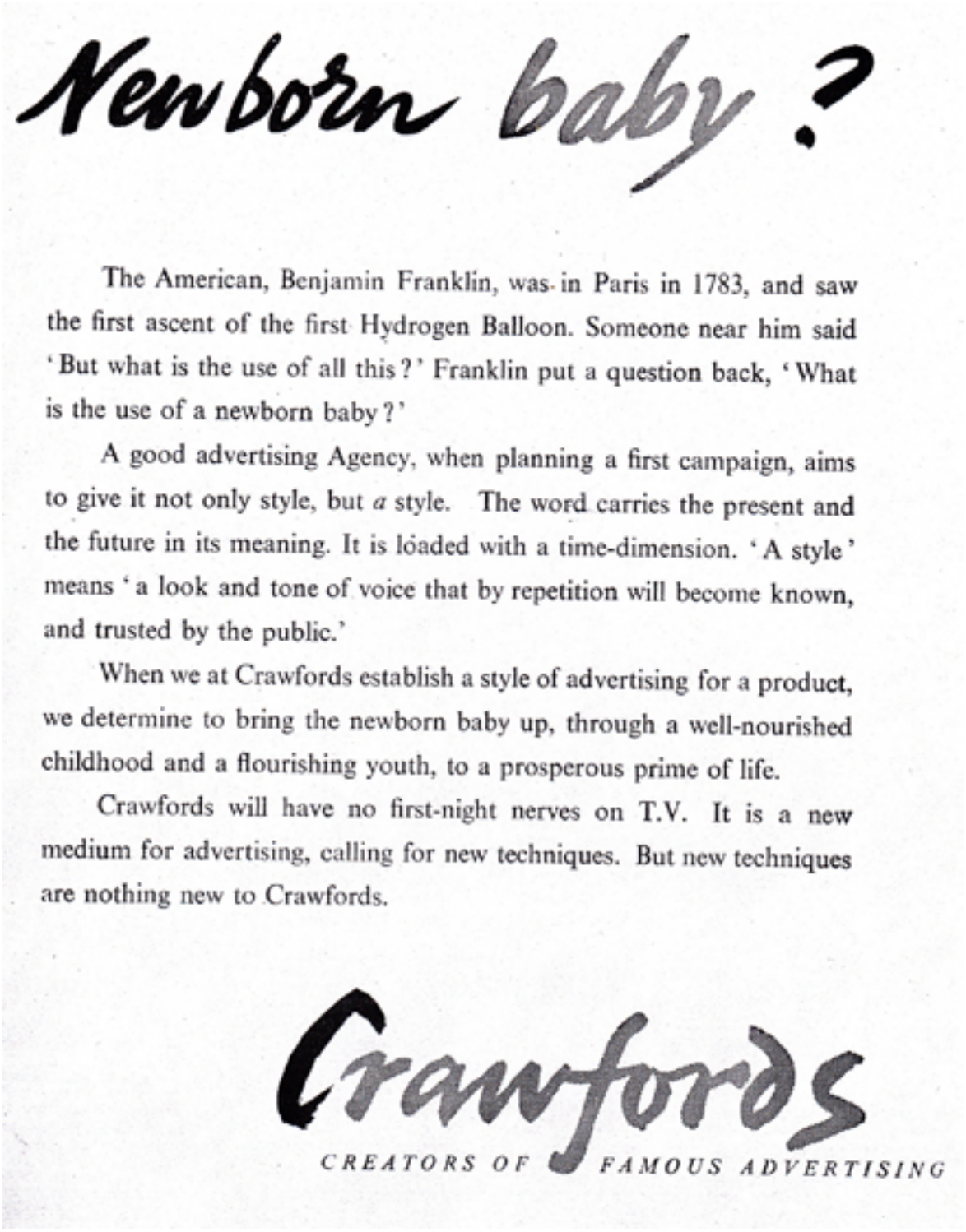
But did this mean that commercial television was welcomed by everyone in advertising? Was there a general feeling that advertising would be enriched by a new medium? This was not the case; both advertisers and agencies showed a certain reluctance. An *Advertiser's Weekly* poll that was held among British advertising agencies in the early 1950s showed that no less than 48 percent of them were against commercial television.[58] Not everyone was convinced, therefore, that television advertising had a viable future.

2.3. Advertising in Britain in the postwar years

To better understand this somewhat remarkable attitude, it is helpful to sketch in the developments within the advertising industry during the first postwar years. After 1945 the British economy slowly recovered. As several products remained rationed, the government restricted advertising to limit demand. As supplies increased, and as well-known brands returned in the shops, they had to be advertised. From the beginning of the 1950s, therefore, advertising spending therefore increased.[59]

Postwar advertisers handled their business in the same ways as in the years before the war. Their media preferences had hardly changed: newspapers were the most important for general advertising, magazines were used to reach more specific target groups, the volume of outdoor advertising was somewhat less than before the war, and cinema advertising still was a marginal phenomenon.[60]

The practice of advertising also resembled the interwar era. Text-based appeals were most prominent in advertisements. Advertising had to convince the consumer and, if possible, to persuade him or her to buy the product. The copywriter played a leading role; he was the one who had to provide the arguments to persuade the customer, and afterwards, to add illustrations to his words.[61] There were some exceptions. In an article on the Crawford advertising agency, Stefan Schwarzkopf argues that growing recognition for the visual power of advertising was already observable in the interwar years. Crawford was one of the earliest British agencies that promoted a creative approach, which Schwarzkopf defines as 'the calculated break with all sorts of visual norms'.[62] But most agencies were more traditional and text-oriented in their approach, and after the Second World War this line was still followed. Originality was not held in high regard. In the 1950s, there still was a tendency to play it safe. A 1954 *Advertiser's Weekly* article on press advertising noted: 'Far too many companies seemed as though their begetters said "safety first" and decided not to risk disturbing their relations with the client by producing advertisements that got themselves talked about or met that fate worse than death - the comedian's joke upon the stage (...) So we get more and more campaigns that are like goods from multiple tailors: safe, reliable, and good value for money but rather dull'.[63]



Newborn baby ?

The American, Benjamin Franklin, was in Paris in 1783, and saw the first ascent of the first Hydrogen Balloon. Someone near him said 'But what is the use of all this?' Franklin put a question back, 'What is the use of a newborn baby?'

A good advertising Agency, when planning a first campaign, aims to give it not only style, but *a* style. The word carries the present and the future in its meaning. It is loaded with a time-dimension. 'A style' means 'a look and tone of voice that by repetition will become known, and trusted by the public.'

When we at Crawfords establish a style of advertising for a product, we determine to bring the newborn baby up, through a well-nourished childhood and a flourishing youth, to a prosperous prime of life.

Crawfords will have no first-night nerves on T.V. It is a new medium for advertising, calling for new techniques. But new techniques are nothing new to Crawfords.

Crawfords

CREATORS OF FAMOUS ADVERTISING

Figure 9. Advertisement for the Crawfords agency, Advertisers Weekly, February 10, 1955

All in all, the need for change did not seem urgent in British advertising in the early 1950s. According to David Bernstein, the advertising industry was 'getting its house in order' (...) 'It was trying - too hard as it happened - to become respectable.'[64] The longing for respectability was part of the process of professionalization that the British advertising world went through in these years.[65] Just as the reputation of advertising seemed to improve, it was unsure whether television would add to it. In 1952 Hubert Oughton, president of the Institute of Practitioners in Advertising (IPA), the British association of advertising agencies,

warned that 'the general public would judge very critically the way in which sponsored television was handled' and added that the image of advertising in general might be damaged by the coming of television as an advertising medium. Besides, he was convinced that it would take quite a long time before television would prove really useful for advertising purpopes.[66]

While the advertising industry was reluctant and cautious in its attitude towards television, in politics the tone was far more outspoken. The White Paper on broadcasting that the Churchill government produced at the end of 1953 stirred the discussion to a new height. In Parliament, emotions ran high and debates in both the House of Commons and the House of Lords, 'reflected passions which to a later generation seem incredible'.[67] The participants of these debates clearly believed that a historical issue was at stake. Henry Morrison, former Deputy Prime Minister, predicted at the beginning of the debate on the 1954 Television Bill that it would be 'one of the - if not the - most important debates since the war' (...) 'On it depends the future thinking of our people and our standards of culture.'[68] The debates showed that several politicians considered commercial television a highly unwelcome development. Lord Reith, the first Director-General of the BBC, characterized the introduction of commercial TV as a disaster to be compared with the coming of smallpox and the bubonic plague. According to Lord Esher it would mean that Britain would slide into 'a planned and premeditated orgy of vulgarity.'[69]

But these objections did not obstruct the government from permitting commercial television. The lobby turned out to be succesful.[70] The government did not choose for the sponsoring of programmes, as it was done in the United States in the early years. Instead, a clear distinction was to be made between the programmes and the advertisements, and references to advertising within programs would not be allowed. Commercials would take up no more than six minutes per hour. There would also be strict regulations as far as the content was concerned, and a special supervisor - the Advertising Advisory Committee - would enforce them. These and other conditions were part of the First Television Act, which was voted into law on July 30, 1954. From then on, commercial television was only a matter of time.

2.4. Uncertainty

The Television Act implied that advertisers, advertising agencies, and production companies would ultimately work with the new medium. Several articles on television advertising appeared in the trade press in which authors discussed its features and possibilities from different angles. What do they reveal about professional attitudes towards television advertising?

'There is no doubt about it, commercial television is the big advertising mystery of the year', Thomas Reid Burnett, public relations consultant for P&O Steam, stated in *Advertiser's Weekly* in February 1955.[71] He was not the only one who wondered what commercial television would mean for advertising. Through his contacts with advertising professionals, Cyrus Ducker, chairman of the IPA Television Advisory Panel, observed that many of his colleagues were far from enthusiastic about television advertising. '"It probably hasn't occurred to you", one is told, "that this novelty, which seems so exciting, might become the cause of a public outcry against advertising"'. In Ducker's opinion, this was nothing else than a cumbersome way of saying: 'I know nothing about commercial television, and frankly my ignorance appeals to me'. The fear among professionals was understandable but unjust because in his view television advertising was comparable to other forms of advertising, and there was a 'common ground upon which all effective advertising campaigns have been built'.[72] Of course there were differences between media. 'The purely graphic forms of advertising have probably not demanded of us so much vigilance, so much honesty as will

television. The climate of communication becomes suddenly much more neighbourly: and alas, people are always more demanding, more critical of their friends than of anyone else.'[73]

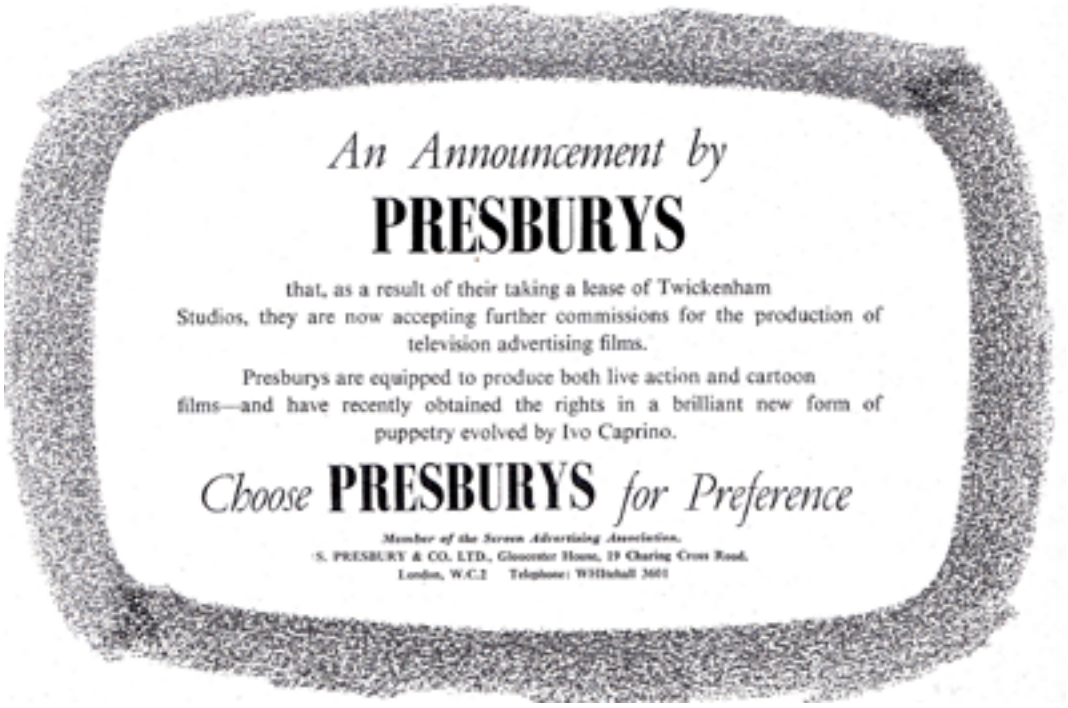


Figure 10. Presbury, advertisement, Advertisers Weekly, February 10, 1955

While Reid Burnett and Ducker spoke about the general attitude in the advertising industry toward the new medium, most trade press articles dealt with more practical matters. Mastering the techniques and getting the details right were seen as an important prerequisites for making successful television commercials.[74]

Advertising on television meant that advertisers, advertising agencies, and production companies had to take all kinds of things into account, according to Harry McMahan, vice-president of the American advertising agency McCann-Erickson, and author of *The Television Commercial. How to create and produce effective TV advertising* (1954). In *Advertiser's Weekly* McMahan presented several how-to tips, varying from the use of live action, 'the most believable technique in television commercials', showing 'how your product fits into their [the viewers] own lives and experiences', to offering the viewer news, 'new products, new benefits'.[75] The same kind of advice can be found in a 1955 *Advertiser's Weekly* article by Mark Quin, publicity manager at J. Lyons & Co, Ltd, titled, 'How to get the utmost advertising value from a TV commercial'. He argued that it was essential to ensure that products were presented in an attractive way. Quin stressed the importance of testing images of, for example, warm soup or the color combinations on packages. 'There are hundreds of do's and don'ts which have to be watched in the making of commercials'.[76]

200 experts give how-to-do-it tips for the new medium

By HARRY WAYNE McMAHAN

vice-president, McCann-Erickson, New York

These extracts from Harry McMahan's book, "The Television Commercial," were shaped with the advice of 200 advertising and film men. The book—pictures from which are used in this supplement—will be available shortly in this country only from Business Publications Ltd., 180, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4, at 35s. per copy postage paid.

TELEVISION commercials are constantly "on the move" through new techniques in art and production. The need is to marshall all the creative and production forces closely with advertising aims and viewer believability.

Times change and the new medium offers newer problems. The novelty begins to wear off and the weak commercial no longer has that early advantage.

Let's define the areas where the commercial must change with the times.

The move is away from:

1. Irrelevant "gimmick" openings.
2. Over-use of optical tricks.
3. Jingles-for-jingling sake.
4. Obviously paid "testimonials."
5. Extravagant claims, not substantiated.
6. Too-perfect results with product, obviously gained through film trickery.

The move is to:

1. Believability in honest claims.
2. Believability in demonstration of product.
3. Simple, useful information.
4. Better psychological understanding of the viewer.
5. Better public relations, building good will and loyalty.
6. Combating rising costs of production.

TWELVE POINTS

Three research groups have studied television viewers at length. From their separate studies, our own experience joins in agreeing on the following 12 points:

Viewers are wide open for messages that are personal, that mean "you." This is basic advertising, but television makes it even more personal. Show how your product fits into their own lives and experiences.

The viewer's world begins with family. The man wants to be loved and respected by his wife and children. And she wants recognition for her job of holding the family together, and satisfying their basic needs at reasonable cost.

Viewers are wishful about success, but in a small way: a little higher pay, a little better school for the children, a nicer home. Products and advertising that propose to elevate far out of class in one leap are discounted as unrealistic.

EMOTIONAL HUNGER

Viewers are not static. Basic emotional hungers have not changed, but "experience" has. To-day, only one person in three can remember growing up without radio. Only one person in three can remember growing up without sound movies.

Viewers resent negative attacks on their way of life and habits. They want to change and improve, but don't try to "shame" them out of their old ways or they'll resist.

Viewers are outspoken against four things in TV commercials: extravagant claims, artificiality in all its forms, bull-headed repetition, and "talking down." Don't insult their intelligence.

Viewers do not want to be told—they want to be shown, tactfully. They want to know how to do things, how to improve, but they don't want to ask, and often won't read directions. Let them absorb it "through the pores" as interested bystanders, not as students being taught.

Wild claims look absurd on TV

DON'T make wild claims you cannot prove. TV exaggerates the exaggerated claim — more than any other medium — and makes it ridiculous.

Viewers are sometimes confused as to which product you are advertising and what it will do. That fault often is yours, because you try to crowd too fast. So keep it simple; repeat skilfully; fasten your brand name on securely.

Viewers are interested in NEWS: new products, new features, new benefits. But they are sometimes sceptical of anything too new, if it doesn't relate to something old that is already known. Use the known to sell the unknown. The viewer wants to be conversant with what's going on. He wants to be as smart — or smarter — than his neighbour.

CAREFREE ATTITUDE

Viewers love "bargains," but don't want to be known as "penny-pinchers." Boom years have made them forget the last depression and they are—to a certain degree—on a "live-for-to-day" kick, looking for fun, for pleasure, for comfort, for easy living—as long as the penalties aren't too great.

Viewers want convincing sales arguments, despite the fact they don't like obvious "high pressure." They really want you to help them "make up their mind"—but do it in such a way that they can rationalise that they have made it up themselves.

Finally, viewers have become pretty good judges of the "atmosphere" and quality of the commercial. They judge you by the calibre of your presentation. If it shows thoughtfulness, it would seem you try to please your customers. Remember, they are pretty wise about photographic trickery, so keep your demonstration honest. They pride themselves on being able to spot "phoneys," so avoid insincerity in all its forms.

Budgeting

THE budget for the commercials should be set *before* the scripts are written. This can be determined on the basis of past experience and compar-

● Continued on page 6

Figure 11. Page from an article by Harry Wayne Macmahan in *Advertisers Weekly*, February 10, 1955

The focus on do's and don'ts reflected the search for a stable footing. This same search led almost automatically to the question of upon what knowledge base should TV advertising be oriented. Were there any lessons to be learned from other media or from other countries?

As far as media were concerned, it seemed logical that advertising practitioners would model their works after the cinema. Wasn't the cinema the theatre of the moving image, which allowed advertisers the opportunity to experiment with combining sound and image? According to Humprey F. Chilton, publicity

manager at Horlicks and chairman of the Incorporated Society of the British Advertisers' Radio and TV committee, however, these experiences had little use for TV advertising. In a speech for the Lancashire Section of the Incorporated Society of British Advertisers, he pointed to the differences between television and other media: 'Material that is made for the cinema won't do. Material for TV must be tailored to the special new look, largely because you are dealing with a small screen.' In addition, the public was of a fundamentally different nature. The television public was 'free', the cinema public 'a captive one'.[77] David Hilberman, an American producer who had worked at Walt Disney before starting a television commercial design and production company, also compared cinema and television. He remarked in a 1955 *World's Press News* article that both media differed on an essential point. 'In cinematic approaches to animation the entertainment story is the vehicle. When the vehicle becomes television advertising, a new element of major importance is introduced. The story as entertainment disappears, to be replaced by the story as a sales idea'.[78]

Another new source of orientation were experiences from abroad. From the moment television advertising was discussed among British advertising practitioners, the American example provoked mixed feelings. According to some commentators, the United States offered a treasure trove of knowledge that would be very useful for British advertisers. One of these advocates was Leon Goodman, chairman of the production company TV Commercials Ltd., who remarked in May 1955: 'Teams have been sent to the United States to study methods. Such visits were necessary although the pattern that will eventually emerge will be different from the American.'[79] During a visit to the US, Mark Quin observed that 'There are still plenty of bad commercials being shown on the 350 odd US television stations'. But there also was 'a great fund of knowledge on this subject, which we can, with care, draw upon'.[80] One of the things to be learned from American advertising was that the type of the product should influence the choice of medium: 'there are some products which lend themselves much more readily to sound (audio) and visual (video) demonstration than others, and they require special handling'.[81]

Others were less convinced that American television advertising could be a valuable guide to British advertisers. In his review of McMahan's *The Television Commercial* ('A must volume for the TV admen'), Byron Lloyd, director of the production company Pearl and Dean, stated that while American advertisers might have far more experience in commercial television, their British colleagues could benefit from their late start by first asking themselves how they could make television advertising more attractive to viewers. Lloyd had visited the United States several times and observed that the general standard of commercials was not very high. 'In about 50 percent of the material there was clearly to be seen the legacy of radio advertising: an over-emphasis of the aural at the expense of the visual. For the rest, a good idea was a rarity. Too often the pitch was the market place and the means of persuasion a sledge hammer.' Lloyd held the opinion, therefore, that British advertising could not rely on the American example. 'I am with those who think that the British commercial will, creatively, owe little to the American pattern.'[82]

The view that British advertisers should not turn their attention to the United States seems connected with the cultural anti-Americanism that was manifest in Britain after World War II, especially in the influential work of the literary and social critics Frank Raymond.R. and Queenie Dorothy Leavis.[83] Yet, this was not the only reason. In an interesting article on British advertising for menswear in the 1950s cultural historian Frank Mort states that 'British advertising professionals remained skeptical of techniques imported from New York's Madison Avenue, not on account of any cultural hostility, but for sound business reasons'.[84] The American approach to advertising was more aggressive than the British, because the British consumer was less charmed by hard-sell advertising.

The question whether British advertisers should follow the American example was closely related to the more general matter of style. Was it preferable to stress the sales message in TV advertising, or should advertisers choose a soft-sell approach?

Chilton contended that the sales message should lead. 'The commercials have to achieve personality and impact in a very short space of time'. This meant only a limited number of subjects could be mentioned in a given commercial 'Don't overcrowd the TV commercial. If too many sales points are mentioned, if too much is said and too much is shown, the viewer is left with no definite conclusion.' Besides, television was an ideal medium for demonstrating a product. 'Demonstrate whenever and wherever possible. One good demonstration is worth a 1000 "claims".' Perhaps the most important and most characteristic advice of this early period that Chilton gave his readers was not to advertise in a cumbersome manner. 'Don't apologize for your commercial. It is unwise and unnecessary to sugarcoat the pill - cuteness, entertainment or humour for their own sakes are out of place in a TV commercial.'[85]

Don Archer, author of a February 1955 article in *Advertiser's Weekly* on the role of the salesman in advertising, also believed that the sales message should lead in all advertising, and thus also on television. 'It has been said that the best service any advertising agency could give a client would be to place a salesman and his message before each potential buyer of the product (...) Now television advertising goes a long way towards fulfilling these conditions. It not only presents the salesman before the buyer in his own sitting room, but does so by invitation.'[86] The metaphor of the television commercial as a 'surrogate salesman' was not new; it was common in the United States in the 1940s and 1950s.[87]

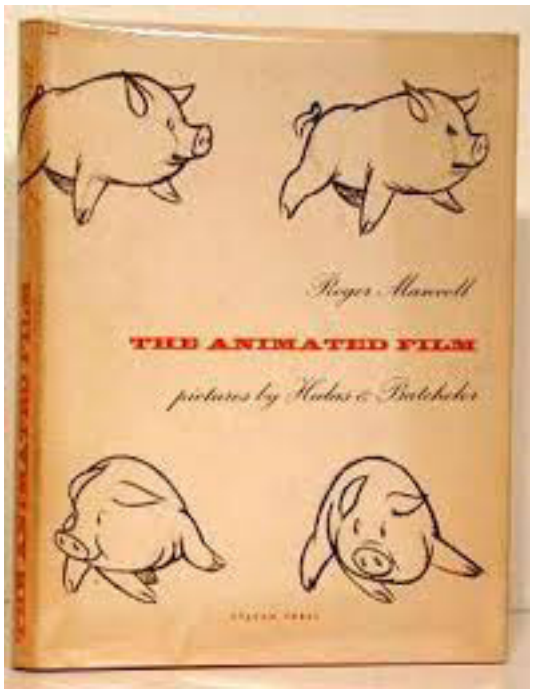


Figure 12. Cover of Roger Manvell's book 'The Animated Film'

But there were other practitioners who preferred a more moderate approach to television advertising. One of them was Godfrey Howard, head of the radio and TV group in the American advertising agency FCB's English office. 'Excitement, showmanship and humor must be the elements in the make-up of TV commercials', he stated in April 1955. 'It must always be remembered that TV is first and foremost, an entertainment medium.'[88] The same kind of remarks were made in an advertisement by Robert Sharpe

and Partners Ltd, in which the agency wanted to show its expertise in television advertising. 'It's largely a question of originality (...) Nor are we going to get bemused or lose the lightness of our touch, under the impact of commercial TV. It will just become more important than ever to entertain in order to sell.'[89] Duncan Ross, head of the Dorland Advertising agency's TV department, advised advertisers not to bawl or to shout at people in their own homes. 'There is a tremendous intimacy about television and, although an advertiser might be reaching ten million people, he has to remember that his audience is only four people around their set.'[90] Roger Manvell, author of several books on filmmaking and the first director of the British Film Academy, expected advertisers to choose for an entertaining approach, and consequently foresaw a bright future for animators. 'The increased demand from commercial television for brief animated films playing for only a minute or two may offer a chance for new artists to enter this very restricted field of film making, but great and unusual talents are needed to develop this work into major forms of production. If the film and television industries provide the opportunities, the future for the artist in animation is secure.'[91]

What these differing opinions show is that there was a dividing line in the opinions on the content and style of television advertising during this early period. For commentators like Chilton and Archer it was clear: television advertising should be straightforward and purely directed to sales. On the other hand, there were those who pointed to the value of entertainment in television advertising. It was a difference in perspective that reflected a well-known advertising dichotomy: hard versus soft sell. Hard sell advertising has been described as referring to 'a more direct approach to selling, with the focus on encouraging a quick sale, whereas "soft sell" approaches are more subtle and indirect'.[92] According to Stephen Fox, the variation in preference for hard or soft sell among advertising practitioners, is one of the most significant developments in the history of advertising.[93] In the following years, the battle between the hard and the soft sell would become an important aspect of the discourse on TV advertising in Britain.

2.5. Preparing for the start of TV advertising

So far we have gained an impression of what practitioners thought of TV advertising in the period before its launch. But what did the coming of television advertising actually mean for the daily practice of these professionals? How did advertisers prepare themselves? And what did advertising agencies and production companies do to ready themselves for the new medium?

In 1958 Walter Taplin, research fellow at the London School of Economics, conducted a survey among British advertisers. One of the questions asked what advertisers had expected from the new medium. Many advertisers were not altogether optimistic, and many were uncertain that television would be an effective medium in the long term. Serious doubts among advertisers had been raised due to commercial TV being subject to fierce discussion in Parliament and in the general press. The question of whether television advertising would lead to 'exaggeration and bad taste', and would therefore harm the image of advertising in general was also a matter of concern.[94]

These doubts did not imply, however, that advertisers had decided to avoid the new medium. There were many reasons for them to take television advertising seriously. To begin with, there was a shortage of advertising media in the early 1950s (due to the ongoing paper shortage and the consequent rationing of advertising space by many newspapers and periodicals), and television advertising seemed a welcome addition.[95] Besides, the new medium offered advertisers a new channel to reach their public. Television made it possible to enter the living room of the consumer, and 'many advertisers saw clearly that television might do for them something which the older media alone could not do'.[96] Even more important was the

fact that as advertisers could not know how their competitors would act, they could not permit themselves to leave this new terrain to them. The fear of falling behind seems to have been one of the main reasons for advertisers to invest in television. Taplin quotes one prominent advertiser who put it this way: 'We said to the agency, "Here's £ 50.000 for television. See what you can do with it." And that's how we started'.[97] Although advertisers acknowledged the strong cultural opposition to commercial television, and were unsure whether its results would be worth the cost, they still decided to invest in the medium.[98]

The views of the advertising agencies on television advertising were closely related to the attitude of their principals. Although many agencies were wary, they had little choice: the interest of their clients - the advertisers - compelled them to invest time and money in television advertising. In a retrospective account, Teletaster (a pseudonym for an advertising practitioner who wrote regularly for *Advertiser's Weekly* on television advertising and on whose writings we will return) provided a lively description of the immediate pre-TV era: 'Agency managements, uneasy, bewildered by the magnitude of their ignorance, frequently angry at being jostled out of the serene comfort and measureable profitability they enjoyed with the existing media they understood so well, reacted in weird and desperate ways. By and large they foresaw no material advantages for them; just the same appropriations now split between two media, a lot of new headaches, and the need for extra staff, equipment and accommodation.' His own managing director told Teletaster 'a widely held view with bull-dog British bluntness when he said to me: "It's all right for you creative people, you've got a new toy. But to me and the other shareholders the whole thing's a waste of money and a bloody nuisance."' Yet, as Teletaster added, major clients were interested in television, which meant that the agencies had to involve themselves in the new medium despite their misgivings.[99]

Agencies recognized the need for expertise, though it was far from easy to find experts in television advertisting. 'Many agencies in the late 1950s suffered from this severe lack of specialists with sufficient experience of this new medium. In sheer desperation, British agencies resorted to bringing in people from the BBC, from cinema, theatre and photography. At great cost American advisers and TV consultants were flown in from Chicago and New York.'[100] According to Schwarzkopf the contribution of the Americans, however, was not particulary decisive. Most of the American experts were more familiar with the system of sponsored advertising than with the spot advertising that the British had adopted. The expertise of British television and cinema professionals also turned out to be less useful than expected; advertising was an entirely different profession.[101]

Lacking expertise, advertising agencies had to try out things for themselves. In 1953 J.Walter Thompson set up a department to prepare the agency for television. Colman Prentis & Varley started to consider television advertising as early as 1949, and the agency sought help and advice from both American specialists and experts from BBC Television. 'All agency people are trained to think in terms of press and poster and the other existing media.' In collaboration with advertisers, Colman Prentis & Varley made more than seventy commercials for purposes of training .[102]

While several advertising agencies invested heavily in the new medium, other agencies did not believe it necessary. As a result, many agencies 'failed to anticipate the arrival of a new advertising medium and then reacted in panic', writes Schwarzkopf.[103] One illustrative example of this is the Samson Clark advertising agency. In 1952 it had 130 clients and belonged among the larger British agencies. But within the agency there was little enthusiasm for television advertising, and a plan to create a special television branch was rejected in 1953. It took until the summer of 1954 before the agency started to recruit employees who had television experience. Samson's indecisiveness led to the loss of its largest account, the pharmaceutical company Aspro, to a competing agency, Masius.[104] Other agencies like Mather &

Crowther also had problems 'in managing the transition into the TV age'.[105] John Hobson, founder of the John Hobson & Partners agency, and one of the preeminent figures in British advertising in the 1950s, remembered the range of emotions among his colleagues over television advertising. 'While some were enthusiastic about the future potential of the medium, others, including some major agencies such as the London Press Exchange and Mather & Crowther, thought it would be a nine days' wonder.'[106]

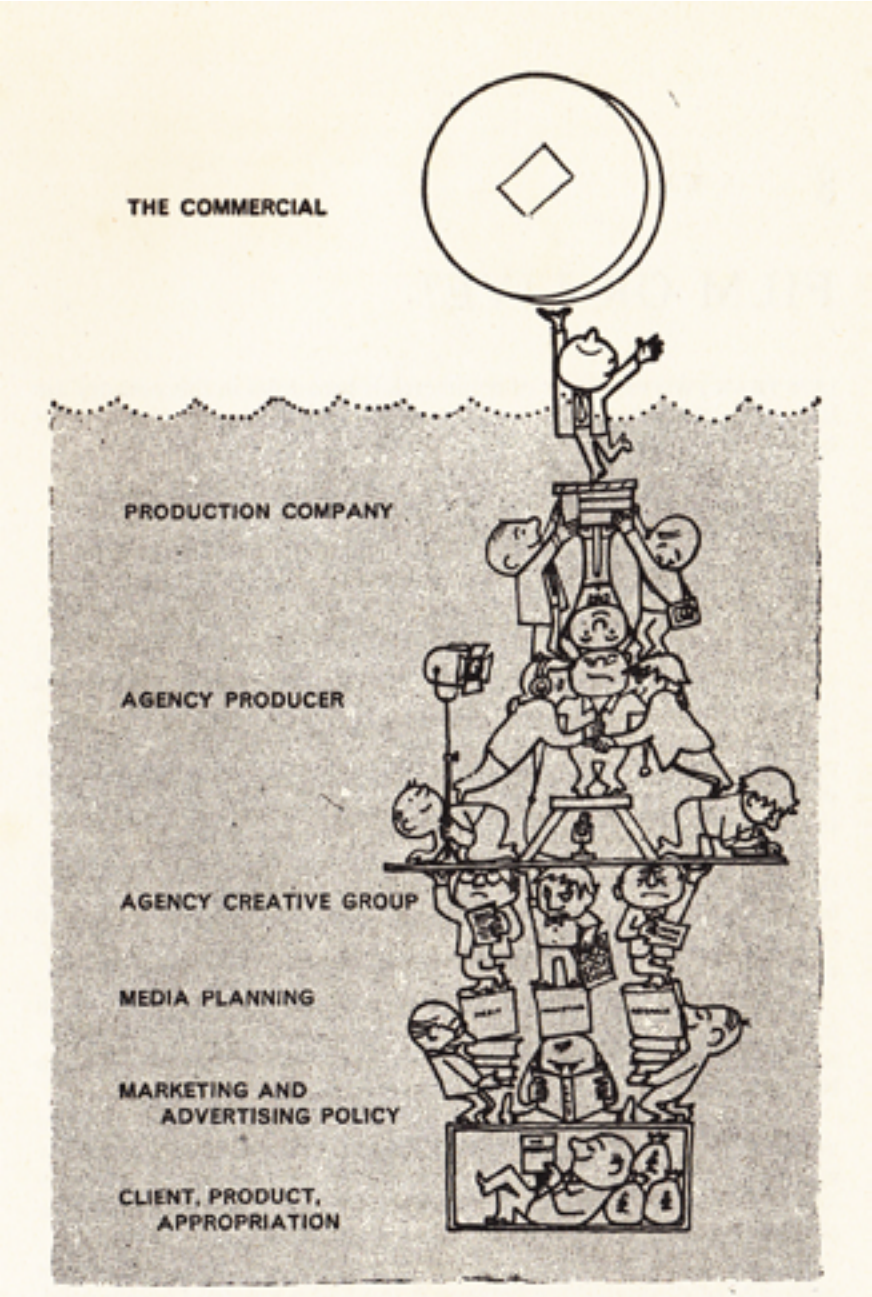


FIG. 5.
Television advertising is like an iceberg — most of it is not visible to the observer — the commercial is the piece that shows.
(*Young and Rubicam*)

Figure 13. 'The commercial', Cartoon from the agency Young and Rubicam, illustration (Ingman 1965, p.43)

This reluctance was shared among several prominent advertising men. One of them was Ashley Havinden, creative chief at Crawfords. According to Winston Fletcher, co-founder of two advertising agencies, president of the IPA and author of *Powers of Persuasion. The Inside Story of British Advertising* (2008), Havinden had done 'more than any other artist to bring new visual conceptions to the layout of press advertisements'. However, Havinden was not interested in television advertising.[107]

The importance (or lack thereof) that advertising agencies attached to television was also shown by the place it was given in their organizations. There were two main possibilities: television could be integrated into the organization, which meant that the agency's employees who did the press advertising would also take up television advertising. The English department of the American agency, J. Walter Thompson, started its own studio within the existing agency in 1953, where the creative employees could gain experience with television advertising. Another option was to place television in a special department that was separate from the rest of the agency, with employees who only specialized in television advertising. Creating separate television advertising departments seemed the safest bet to many agencies. It made it possible for the agency 'to drop them [the television staff] with the minimum of disruption when the nine days' wonder flopped', writes John Hobson.[108] It also meant that the best creative talent was reserved for newspaper- and magazine advertising, the forms most responsible for the agency's income. Moreover, segregating television prevented any creative cross-pollination among the agency's professionals.

Television advertising was no less problematic for production companies. According to James Garrett, founder of the James Garrett and Partners production company, there was considerable resistance against commercial television in the established film industry. 'Everyone concerned with the so-called 'legitimate' feature-film world regarded this upstart new service - quite rightly as it transpires - as a very real threat to their already ailing cinema-entertainment business. This distrust, hatred even, manifested itself in a whole host of ways - and it is important to remember that in those days there were no great independent suppliers of equipment and other support services to whom we could turn. Studios, laboratories, equipment, people were for the most part, financially, emotionally or morally, owned by, and committed to a world that rejected commercial television and all its works.'[109] Only a small group of production companies dared to invest in this new development and began to work on behalf of the advertising agencies. Most of these companies had their origin in sponsored and documentary film, Garrett remarks: 'So it was largely out of the documentary sponsored film world that our commercials-production industry was born.'[110]

By and large, the attitude of most advertisers, and advertising and production companies in the first half of the 1950s was a mixture of curiosity, fear, and cautiousness. While many advertising agencies placed ads in the trade press that touted their expertise in television, this only belied the real picture of an industry defined by its uncertainty over the new medium.

2.6. The first commercials

The proof of the pudding is in the eating. On the eve of the broadcast of the first British commercials, Sir Robert Fraser, director-general of the Independent Television Authority, the agency that supervised the creation of ITV, said that their success or failure would determine the fate of TV advertising. Commercials should be easy to digest, otherwise, he foretold that the public would not accept the new phenomenon: 'If the public does not like them and becomes irritated and contemptuous, we are all in trouble, but the shouts of annoyance will break the very windows of the agencies'. In his view, advertising practitioners bore a heavy responsibility: 'Well used, it is the most powerful, memorable, and civilizing medium for

the communication of most things that was ever devised by the incredible brilliance of modern science. Ill used, it is just too awful to be believed'.[111] Starting on September 22, 1955, it would become clear whether advertisers, advertising agencies and production companies had succeeded in using the new medium in an effective and appealing way.

Figure 14. Fairy Snow, commercial, 1950s (Fletcher 2008, p.104)

What do these first broadcasted British commercials show us? Regrettably there are few extant commercials left from that first evening, so we have to rely in large part on later descriptions in the trade press. The very first was a commercial for Gibbs SR toothpaste. We first see a river in a snowy landscape. In the river a large ice cube appears which contains both a package of Gibbs and a toothbrush. While a voice-over talks about Gibbs's unique and fresh quality, the camera switches to a woman brushing her teeth. Then a diagram is shown, followed by an image of a little bottle with one of the toothpaste's ingredients. The commercial ends with a shot of the package and a message to see the dentist regularly and to brush one's teeth with Gibbs. One of the others was a commercial for Kraft Cheese in which a novelty - open sandwiches - was shown in 'extreme close-up'. 'The pack was established well at the end, in a manner which left no doubts as to the brand name.' Clearly different in style was a commercial for Dunlop tyres, which showed a man seated at a desk, talking to the viewer about the product. In a commercial for Ford, the public 'were shown lots of precision machinery, and were told how that made better cars', the aforementioned Teletaster wrote in his extensive review. 'I do not remember seeing one of their beautiful new models, however, and I was always taught to sell the finished product, not the process by which it was created.'

Teletaster was also somewhat surprised about an Oxo-commercial in which a furry puppet played an important role. 'Although I find nothing displeasing about this advertisement, I cannot help feeling that our little furry friend - for whom I have a great attachment - could do a much better job on another product.' Teletaster was bewildered because the puppet was used to sell Oxo stock cubes to grown-ups.[112]

One conclusion to be made from these descriptions is that several advertisers did not choose a

straightforward approach in these first commercials. While the Gibbs commercial placed the product in an unusual setting to stress one of its qualities (freshness), another one (Dunlop) used a salesman-approach, and a third tried an entertaining approach by using a puppet as its main character. From the Gibbs commercial, we can conclude that a direct and simple message was not a self-evident mode of communication. The commercial contained three different messages, each accompanied by its own set of images. The first commercials also made it clear that British advertisers did not at all copy the American way of advertising. The Ford commercial is a good example: instead of promoting the car or its attendant status, as was usual in the States, it showed the process of producing it in a rather elaborate way. According to Bernstein, this was also the case with later commercials. 'Indeed, it would be wrong to suggest that there was a uniform approach to the commercial', Bernstein stated in a look back on the early days of TV advertising. 'There were thinly adapted radio and cinema ads, transplanted US commercials, mini TV programmes, presenter sales pitches, documentaries, simple animation, unsophisticated jingles and occasional forays into experiment.'[113]

How were the first commercials reviewed? When we look at the comments in the newspapers, there was apparent relief that most advertisers had not chosen the vulgar American approach that the critics had feared. TV advertising had not turned out so badly after all. According to the *Daily Telegraph*, the commercials were 'throughout fairly unobtrusive and in reasonable taste. They did not break awkwardly into the programmes. But they lacked the sparkle and the novelty of American television advertising and did not make so much use of singing jingles.'[114] *The Times* was glad that the first advertisers had 'resisted the temptation to indulge more vulgar commercial impulses' and added: 'Offensive would be too strong a word by far for these comic little interruptions of the entertainment'.[115] And *the News Chronicle* welcomed the commercials as 'a novelty - between variety turns, between boxing rounds, between programmes. But how long will it take before viewers are quite used to them?'[116]

Representatives of the advertising industry were almost unanimously positive. 'We can look back with satisfaction', said Clifford Harrison, president of the Incorporated Society of British Advertising. Alan Wilkington, president of the IPA likewise asserted that, 'We have earned more praise than kicks'.[117] *World's Press News* was no less enthusiastic. In an article published a week after the debut broadcasts, the magazine expressed its satisfaction. 'Tackling an entirely new medium, using materials of which they were largely ignorant a few short months ago, and tackling the film and show business world in many cases almost from scratch, advertising agents are to be congratulated on the generally brilliant standard of their first attempts at TV advertising.'[118]

2.7. An effective medium

According to Nevett, the first years after the start of commercial television proved quite satisfactory for the advertising industry. Commercial television was 'remarkably successful' from the beginning. One of the main reasons for this success was the increasing demand for advertising space because of economic growth. There was also the 'sheer novelty of advertisements on television', which had a 'considerable impact upon viewers'. Television advertising also influenced retailers's purchasing decisions as they tended to prefer products that were promoted on television. Last but not least, the advertising agencies had finally become enthusiastic about the new medium because of 'the advantages offered by sound and movement, by reaching audiences in their own homes, and by the ability to repeat a message several times in one evening'. According to Nevett, all this made television into an attractive medium for advertisers.[119]

In April 1956 *Advertiser's Weekly* stated that, although British advertisers were not willing to share their results, there was only one answer to the question of whether TV advertising was a success in terms of sales: 'The answer for most products is a resounding YES'. This was confirmed by a report by the Nielsen market research firm on the Greater London Area: *Sales Effectives of Commercial Television Advertising*. 'It shows that, on average, brands using television advertising enjoyed more favorable sales than the company brands that did not use television advertising.'[120]

But does this imply that the advertising industry as a whole was now confident in its approach to television advertising and knew how to handle the new medium? Taplin states that it is incorrect to presuppose that television advertising was a 'straightforward business operation' from the start. In his book *The Origin of Television Advertising in the United Kingdom* (1961) he argued that the opposite was true: 'Uncertainty, in the introduction of British commercial television, was almost total'.[121] Schwarzkopf notes in his article, '"A moment of triumph in the history of the free mind?" British and American advertising agencies' responses to the introduction of commercial television in the United Kingdom' (2009), that several British advertising agencies were still reluctant when it came to developing television advertising.[122] And as we have already seen, while many advertisers felt the need to jump on the band wagon, many remained uncertain about the effects of TV advertising and whether it was worth the investment. This reluctance would lead to serious problems for ITV. By the end of the first twelve months, it was clear 'that the early backers of ITV had been hopelessly over-optimistic about the ability of the medium to attract advertising revenue'.[123]

How to make 'watch-the-budget' commercials which sell

by NEAL ARDEN

One of the first experts to contribute to "Advertiser's Weekly" on the highly specialised subject of making commercials for television, Neal Arden has had experience as producer and telecaster on both sides of the Atlantic. In Britain he has recently been engaged in the making of experimental shopping guides, and in this article he allies American experience with the knowledge of British requirements to give point-by-point advice on those aspects of production which mean money saved—or wasted.

WRITING for film commercials begins with story - telling. The major difference in copywriting for a space advertisement and writing for a television commercial is in story-telling qualities and in continuity.

The good TV commercial writer must be a good story-teller. The technique must be a single one. The writer must not go flying off into different directions or the viewer will be confused. A storyboard which is lavish, or requires a world tour on film, is wrong.

If you have got about 60 seconds it is useless to write commercials so overloaded with ideas, actions and selling points that they could run for sixty minutes; it will be impossible to get them all in or clearly see any of them.

NOTHING OBVIOUS

Obvious? Not in my experience! Nothing is obvious to the man who wants to sell his product but has no idea of the requirements of a medium. When the writer understands what is to be highlighted in his story he should tell it clearly, simply and with great economy both of words and scenes.

Although the new television will be a purely commercial matter, or maybe I should say because of this, it will have to be made within a close budget. The writer can help here. So long as the quality of his story is high and his dialogue perfect, the number of scenes, camera angles, sets and so forth can be held to a minimum.

USE NOT NEEDED

To write reverse angle shots, for example, is unnecessary. They are not possible in live television, and need not be used in films made to be shown on television. One may hold a shot in television for longer than is acceptable in the cinema; the close shots bringing out the facial expressions and thoughts of actors should be held. This technique is not only the correct one to follow but obviously has the effect of saving shooting time and thus saving production costs.

A writer should always have a feeling for timing. Suppose you want to ask some well-known and beautiful person to appear in your commercial. The audience may well want to look at her for as long as they can—in silence, or at the most in company with some suitable music.

If anything is being said by anyone else, however interesting it may be to the agency, it will be a distraction to the audience and the good impression you are creating by offering a feast of beauty to your viewers will be lost.

On the other hand, there are moments when you will want to show the viewer what you are selling and insist on his hearing what you have to say about it.

When to do what—that is the essence of proper timing. When to talk, when to preserve a distant silence, when to show something or someone beautiful, even though nothing to do with your product, when to sell.

These points cannot be learned easily. They will only come from an instinctive feeling for timing possessed by all great showmen, or learned with some difficulty by the rest of us.

There may be a tendency to overwrite on a purely visual point. This must be watched. The medium is mainly one of vision. Sound is but an adjunct to it which, used without care, can, wrongly, become of first importance. If you allow this to happen, all you have got is photographed radio. Television is not radio—and has little connection with it.

In America, some advertisers insist on an unseen announcer reading all the credit titles and all words appearing on the television screen.

They say that in this way you can overcome the reluctance of people to look at a screen showing a commercial message; that the face the announcer is reading

● Continued on page 12

The heart of the matter

COMMERCIAL television is exactly what its name implies; television in terms of commerce. Its purpose, to sell the advertiser's product.

That being the case, commercial television must be entertaining, artistic, gripping and full of vitality.

In any thirty minute show a great deal of money is likely to be spent but the commercial is that part of the whole in which the advertiser is vitally interested. By its success he will be able to pay the programme contractor and keep the show running. By its success everybody employed in the overall show will be kept in continuous work; by its success the good name of commercial TV will be established and developed.

The advertiser has a personal interest in the whole show. If this is not interesting, there may be nobody watching by the time his advertisement appears on the screen.

It is the commercial about which the country has been warned over and over by the critics of the new medium. Let us see then that it is excellent, entertaining and effective selling. ¶

Comic situations need great care

DON'T break your neck trying to stage live actors in comic situations. Comedy is a tough, hard business and rarely comes off in live action commercials.

Figure 15. Page from an article by Neal Arden in *Advertisers Weekly*, February 10, 1955

The question how the medium could be best used was a different matter. In 1955 Neal Arden, a television producer who had worked in the U.S. and in Britain, stated in an *Advertisers' Weekly* article that the script writer should be the leading figure in the making of TV commercials. 'Writing for film commercials begins with storytelling', he argued, and this implied that the writer had to take the lead and compose the story on which the storyboard should be based. Because of the TV commercial's brevity, the camera work should be not too complicated. 'So long as the quality of his story is high and his dialogue perfect, the number of scenes, camera angles, sets and so forth can be held to a minimum.'[124] According to the recollections of several practitioners, this approach was dominant during this first phase of British TV advertising. 'The early commercials, written by copywriters brought up in print advertising, were mostly wordy, earnest, and informative', Fletcher states.[125] Bernstein argues that the preference for a wordy approach was closely related to the aforementioned view that TV ads should serve as a 'surrogate salesman.' 'There was every reason to regard the commercial as a surrogate personal sales pitch'. Therefore the presenter commercial (which was centered on a spokesperson who verbally pitched the product) was a favourite among advertising practitioners. 'It was moreover, quite easy to write.(...) The writer did not have to rely on complicated filming technique or, indeed, much help from outside.'[126]

2.8. Reviews by Teletaster and Barnes

In its review of the British commercials's debut, *World's Press News* remarked that it would take time before judgment could be passed on the specific commercials. 'We may yet find that those commercials most criticized professionally have a pulling power equal to those for which there has been high praise.'[127] But as hardly any advertisers were willing to publish their results, presumably out of a concern for aiding the competition, it would remain difficult to assess the commercials's effectiveness and what lessons could be learned from them. The lack of certainty among practitioners that we have seen before with the launch of ITV persisted and both advertisers and advertising agencies sought ways to work within the new medium.

To better understand the views that practitioners held, we will look more closely at the aforementioned Teletaster's reviews in *Advertiser's Weekly*, and at several articles by Howard Barnes, director of television at the TV department of the S.H. Benson Ltd advertising agency.

As we have already seen, Teletaster was an advertising practitioner who regularly contributed reviews of TV commercials to the magazine. His views, clearly those of a professional writing for other professionals, make him interesting from the perspective of this monograph. While in most of his columns Teletaster commented on specific commercials, he also made clear how he viewed the new medium. He viewed TV as a medium that left little room for distraction. What he disliked most of all was using tricks and gimmicks that were not convincing on the screen. He cited an early commercial for BP as a typical example of this kind of poor craftsmanship in early televised ads. 'The scene opened with Mr. Nixon pulling up outside a garage. He shows the attendant a card trick and then, after ordering a fill-up, gets the inevitable sales plug from the garage man. Echoing the man's sentiment with regard to the fine qualities of BP petrol, Nixon then flourishes the missing "Ace of Spades," which now has a BP selling slogan printed on it. He drives off and the garage attendant tells us that "He didn't take long to become a BP Superman!" If this description of the commercial sounds dull and lacks imagination, it is because the commercial was just that'.[128] Yet, this does not imply that Teletaster advocated pure entertainment either. Humor in his view was 'dangerous stuff', and he pointed to the campaign for Guinness Beer which showed that good advertising was perfectly possible without being funny.[129]

Figure 16. Strand, advertisement, 1959 (Fletcher, 2008, p.104)

His review of the ad campaign for Strand cigarettes is also telling. The central figure of the campaign was a lonely man whose one true friend was the Strand cigarette. The figure was inspired by Frank Sinatra's eponymous role in the American movie, *Pal Joey* (1957). The campaign was designed in 1959 by John May, copy chief at the S.H. Benson advertising agency, and consisted of press advertising, posters, point-of-sale, and television spots. Although it became quite popular, with the actor who played the lead even receiving marriage proposals, it achieved no commercial success. According to Fletcher, the quality of the cigarette was one possible reason for this while another was that people did not want to identify with the lonely Strand man.[130]

In his review, Teletaster called the Strand commercial 'a direct antithesis of the "commercial" spot. 'It relies entirely on mood and suggestion. (...) The music fits the mood perfectly and is as memorable as any I have heard. On the visual side, the filming is first class although the choice of character is questionable.' All in all, he felt that it was a courageous attempt to be different. But 'although it is full of atmosphere',

according to Teletaster, 'the commercial, like the copy, simplifies absolutely nothing.'[131]

This did not mean that Teletaster thought that TV advertising should always be simple and straightforward, and concentrate solely on the sales message. His review of a Pond's cream commercial demonstrates a more nuanced view. Here, the importance of guarding one's skin was illustrated through a juxtaposition of scenes of houses, factories, and a whistle-blowing train with a boudoir-scene featuring a model applying the cream to her face, and a voice-over asking, 'What are you doing to guard your skin against dirt?' 'Here is a selling line,' he writes, 'which has used with intelligence one of our leading social problems to good effect. One cannot help but feel that this commercial will have a good deal of persuasion with most classes of female viewers'. Teletaster allowed for comparisons and metaphors as long as they were functional.[132]

Figure 17. Employees from Hals and Batchelor Cartoon Films making drawings for a 15-second animated TV commercial, early 1960s (Ingman 1965, p.96)

In an extensive review article from September 1956, in which he surveyed the first year of British TV advertising, Teletaster summed up the different kind of commercials that had been broadcast. Besides cartoon ads, he listed prestige commercials, demonstration commercials, and live commercials. He did not identify his preferences, stressing instead the importance of mastering techniques. Successful television advertising at this stage meant knowing how to use the right techniques in the right way. 'Creative men will have to strive much harder to achieve the same results from the potential buyers this next winter', he noted. 'This means that they will have to make a much wider study of the techniques the medium has to offer than they have ever done before.'[133] More variation was also to be welcomed, especially in live-action commercials. Cartoon commercials could be repetitive without becoming boring, live-action ones had to be refreshed regularly to stay interesting.[134]

Although Teletaster was critical of many of the commercials he reviewed, his general opinion of early advertising was positive. In a column written some months after the commercials's debut, he defined the attitude of most British agencies as careful, which he thought 'very wise'. 'They began by taking a look at current American formats and selecting and rejecting from the accumulation of an eight-year experience. They then started to devise that particular concoction which they thought would go down with their own public. The result has been that in most cases, we have been spared the terrible atrocities that were perpetrated on the American public during the first years of the television boom.'[135] In the later 1956 review piece, Teletaster was still positive. 'Speaking as a professional commercial watcher, I can recall very few plugs that were downright bad', and he concluded that the agencies's creative employees had done 'not bad at all'.

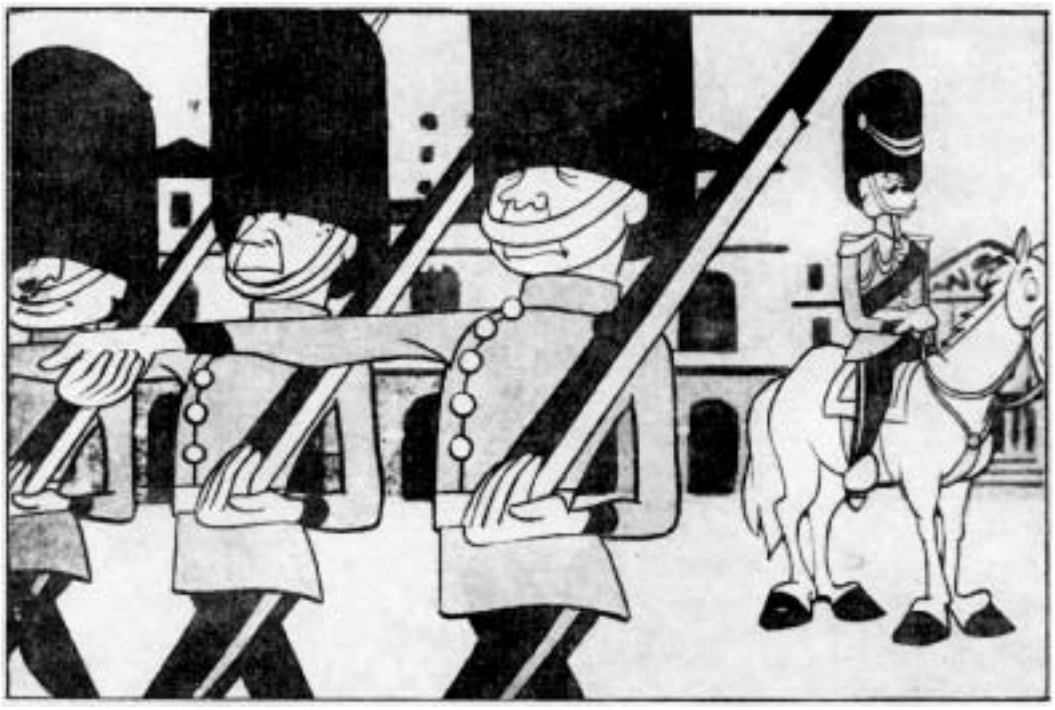


Figure 18. Murray mints, Two Guardsmen, commercial, 1950s

This was not to imply, however, that television advertising could continue along the same course as it had in its first year. In the beginning, advertisers had profited from the public's open attitude. 'The viewers, primed with all the ballyhoo published by rival media, were agog to watch the commercials - even more than the programmes themselves.(...) The surprise at finding that some of the commercials were even en-

tertaining and worth watching was quite widespread.' In the future, he felt that a bit more daring would be welcome. 'It would be wise for both advertisers and agencies to experiment a little and take the chances associated with developments of this nature. We should try to get away from the standard formats now being used before the British public gets weary of them.' This became clear when one compared British and American TV advertising. According to Teletaster, American commercials were either 'very bad or very good'. 'Hardly ever were they downright boring. This is the primary defect of the British commercial. In bending over backwards in an effort not accidentally to offend the public, the advertiser, on the whole, has produced commercials which are just like so many mouthfuls of cotton-wool.' What were needed, were 'commercials which help to combat the dreariness of our fog-laden atmosphere, and the people will buy your products.'[136] Teletaster here appears to contradict himself: earlier he had praised his colleagues because they had avoided 'the terrible atrocities' with which the American public was confronted. His change of view, however, might have developed from his insight that TV advertising had to change to stay interesting.

In a 1957 overview of commercial television's second year, Teletaster picked up the themes he had written about the year before. He concluded that TV advertising had become more varied, and that this variation had 'stimulated public interest in them to such an extent that they have now taken their place with sport & politics as topics of conversation.' Not all commercials received his approbation. Teletaster was annoyed by the commercials for Daz detergent: 'They neither entertain, amuse, nor even say anything new'. The commercials for another detergent, Omo, were far better, and even 'outstanding' because of the animation of the 'delightful' spots and the soundtrack. Teletaster also praised the commercial for Brooke Bonds tea, featuring chimpanzees as the main characters. 'The hilarious antics of the little monkeys would not fail to amuse and win the attention of the viewers and the visual was aided by an admirably gay commentary'. Teletaster concluded that there was 'more emphasis on humour' in British TV advertising than in the previous year. Once again he expressed his hope that advertisers would have the 'courage to try something new'.[137]

Figure 19. Brooke Bond PG Tips, commercial, 1957 (Henry 1986, p.vi)

Another practitioner who commented extensively on early television advertising was Howard Barnes. In his first-year overview, Barnes concluded that although 'an enormous amount of experience had been gained in the first year, still a lot had to be learned.' Barnes argued that choices in TV advertising had to be based first of all on effectiveness. In the debut 1955-56 year, he noted that cartoons had been most popular. Ad campaigns like those for Murray Mint and Esso Happy Motoring scored high in the popularity polls. Another reason Barnes cited was that cartoons were less annoying than other forms. Nevertheless, live-action was by far the most dominant form of TV advertising, and was almost exclusively used for food and cosmetic brands. This was not surprising as live-action offered far more possibilities for providing a visual demonstration, and Barnes argued that this aspect was one of television advertising's main strengths. 'It is, therefore, my belief that live-action will increase in effect as the medium becomes better established and as its curiosity factor lessens.'[138]

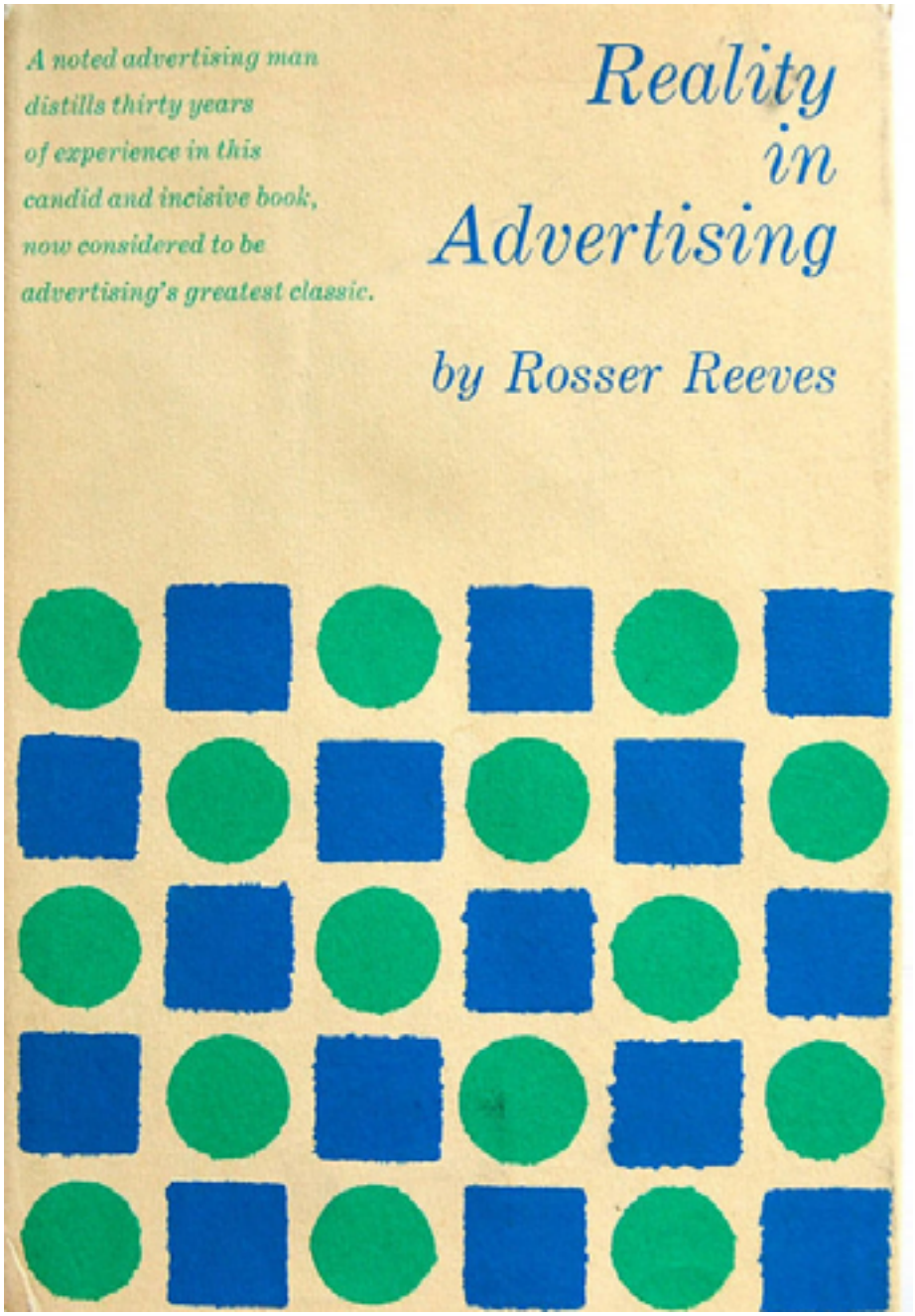


Figure 20. Cover Reality in Advertising, Rosser Reeves

Barnes felt that television advertising's first objective was to sell; entertaining the public was of lesser importance. Years later, in a 1965 article in the Dutch trade magazine, *Revue der Reclame,* Barnes claimed to be an adept of Rosser Reeves (the well-known American advertising executive, who advocated hard-sell advertising, and in the 1960s became famous in advertising circles for his book *Reality in Advertising* (1961) in which he opposed the growing interest in creativity) and quoted his maxim that 'A salesman is not a thing of beauty'.[139] According to Barnes the same applied to TV commercials. 'They are our sales people. If they make an impression which is too beautiful, they might distract the viewer.' This implied that a commercial had to be simple. 'Let the art director of your agency or the man at the studio compose the visual element, the scene that has to be played on TV, the "shot", so carefully that the result is easily "readable". (...) Make sure your commercial is well-considered, and the message is communicated quickly and complete, and in the easiest way.' Many advertisers still lacked confidence in the power of TV advertising, which resulted in 'pretentious tricks', noted Barnes. 'Many of these tricks tried to attract attention, which was already there.'[140]

The views of Teletaster and Barnes confirm what we have already observed – early advertising practitioners focused on the technique, and saw this as the means to create better advertising. Although both authors called for advertising that was clear and not distracting, their preferences were somewhat different. Barnes was an outspoken hard-sell advocate who believed in the salesman-metaphor and was convinced that commercials had to foreground the sales message and demonstrate the product in a simple way. The entertaining effect was far less important. While less strident in his views, Teletaster also stressed the importance of clarity and directness. TV advertising had to sell, everything else was a side issue. At the end of this first phase of TV advertising, however, some commentators, and especially Teletaster, began to express concerns: was it not time for a different, more daring, approach that would appeal to the public?

Another interesting element is their attitude towards American advertising. As we have seen, Barnes was a follower of Rosser Reeves and an advocate of hard sell-advertising. Teletaster held a more nuanced view. At first, he praised his colleagues for not following the American example, but would ultimately credit American advertising for providing the inspiration for what was needed: a more outspoken style.

This brings us to the question of the ways and the extent to which British advertising practitioners oriented themselves to the American example. American TV advertising was understandably seen as a valuable source of expertise and experience. The United States had first introduced TV advertising in the 1940s, well ahead of Britain. But what did this mean for TV advertising practice in Britain? Nevett argues that 'British television advertising originally drew heavily on the American experiences'.[141] The same view can be found in Fletcher. 'Everything was spelled out, with simple demonstrations', and 'this condescension was misappropriated from America, where English was not the birth-language of much of the audience, and simplicity of communication was essential'.[142] According to Taplin, the uncertainty of television advertising's effect on the public led many advertisers to choose the American style hard sell-approach.[143] This was the case especially with live action-commercials, in which little was left to the viewer's imagination. Advertising had to sell and had to present the message in a clear and forceful way.

It is difficult to judge the veracity of these statements given the lack of statistics, but there is good reason to take a more nuanced view. Although many commercials were undoubtedly inspired by American examples, British advertisers realized that it was a dangerous terrain. Several comments showed that British advertisers were looking for ways to differentiate their commercials from the American style from the start. It was estimated that one-third of all British commercials were animated in commercial television's

initial years. It is probable that animation's popularity among advertisers was related to their desire to avoid purely hard-sell advertising.[144] Yet there were also practitioners who complained that British advertising was not more in line with American examples. One of them was Barry Barrum, television director of the British office of the advertising agency McCann. In an *Advertiser's Weekly* article, he looked back at the days before commercial television when he and his colleagues went to the U.S. for inspiration. But after two years of televised commercials, however, the 'selling commercials we cheered so hard for' were not to be seen on British television. The 'real power of television is to sell' and this power was not used nearly enough. The reason, in his view, was the focus on frequency, which implied that most commercials be no longer than 15 seconds. 'We must hammer away at our audiences several times a week, sometimes more than once in an evening. Only this way do we expect to make the desired impact'. The 15 seconds cartoon was 'fine for certain purposes': it could communicate the brand name but could hardly inform the viewer. What were needed were longer commercials which were not only more informative, but also original and imaginative.[145]

Figure 21. Image from a live-action commercial for Toblerone, early 1960s (Ingman 1965, p.225)

An important, but somewhat neglected aspect in this television advertising discourse from the initial years is the relationship between advertising in TV and in other media. Several authors have since argued that British advertising practitioners oriented themselves too much on other media. Schwarzkopf states that this was one of the reasons that early British TV advertising was not appealing. 'Given the lack of experience, the best that most British agencies could come up with were uninspired short movies, animated versions of the familiar press advertisements.'[146] According to Bernstein, it was natural that advertisers copied other media.[147] He cites a Cross and Blackwell commercial that was broadcast on the first night which was, in his view, an adaptation of the brand's press advertisement, and the first Persil commercials that were 'cartoon treatments of their posters - dancers and sailors in different shades of white'.[148] Another example is given by Jeremy Bullmore, director at J. Walter Thompson, who created his first commercial for Parker Pen in 1955, which he described as 'a direct translation of the hugely successful press campaign, which was quite common practice at the time'.[149] These examples are reason to conclude that the relationship with other media did play a role in British advertising practice, although there was little apparent reason for practitioners to elaborate on this in these early years.

2.9. Growing criticism

Notwithstanding the popularity of some of the animated TV campaigns, the British public's general attitude towards television advertising seemed to become less favorable during the early years. After an initial burst of fascination with the medium's newness, more critical remarks about TV advertising were heard. both in the trade press and in public opinion. The Lord Major of Bradford gave a typical speech at a May 1959 meeting of his city's Publicity Association. He complained about the large volume of advertising. 'I wish some of your newspaper advertisers could alter our television set-up. Newspaper advertisements seldom irritate the public, but a lot of the television stuff does. Viewers, and particularly housewives, are getting extremely irritated at some of the oft-repeated advertisements which break into the programs about every ten minutes.'[150] Similar complaints were expressed in a 1959 letter to the editor in *Advertiser's Weekly*. 'What some advertisers seem to forget is the fact that they are intruders into the privacy of the individual's home, right in the middle of this evening's entertainment.' Was it not the advertiser who was 'really to blame for the discourtesy and impotence demonstrated daily on commercial TV?'.[151] Philip Phillips, television writer for the *Daily Herald*, wrote in November 1959: 'I shall now stop arguing about whether viewers dislike TV commercials or not. I know. They don't dislike them, they loathe them.'[152] Much of the criticism focused on soap and laundry detergent ads.[153] One of the most fiercely criticised campaigns was for Daz laundry detergent. No less annoying for many viewers was the campaign for the competing brand, Tide, with its slogan, 'Next to my family, I like Tide clean clothes'.[154]

These and other comments show that public opinion grew more negative and that resistance to television advertising was emerging. According to a 1958-59 Gallup poll, more than 60 percent of respondents 'were annoyed a lot' with television advertising.[155]

How did advertising practitioners react to this criticism? When we look at the articles in the trade press, we see that they quickly began to become more critical after the introduction of commercial television. Pat Henry, sales director at ATV, expressed in a comment in *Advertiser's Weekly* in 1956: 'I am appalled at how bad some of the agencies are at producing commercials' (...) 'Some agencies do a good job, but some should give back to their clients some of the money they take from them.'[156] The chief editor of *Advertiser's Weekly* commented on Henry's opinion, pointing to the problems that 'creative men' had

to deal with since television advertising's introduction. In his view their cautiousness and supposed lack of imagination was not a proof of a 'lack of ability to produce selling commercials. It was the result of the desire of all connected with the development of the medium not to offend the critics' (...) 'The best British commercials are excellent and given a few more years of experience the agencies will produce spots as good as any in the world.'[157] Criticism was also voiced by the aforementioned Chilton. In February 1956 he looked at the state of TV advertising where he found most of the commercials lacking: 'They tried to cram too much into the time: they copied press advertising too slavishly; there was too much reliance on the jingle; or they tried to be too clever.' In 1957, the well-known art historian and TV presenter Sir Kenneth Clark, who was the first chairman of ITA, even stated that 'the appeal of the spot has begun to decline'.[158] Several advertising practitioners also started to grow skeptical about the medium's future. A. Graeme Cranch, a director at Mather & Crowther, wondered whether the public would become immune from advertising in the next five years. If so, the 'cumulative, deadening impact of television commercials' would be to blame.[159]

2.10. The debacle at the Cannes Advertising Festival

The increasingly negative atmosphere surrounding TV advertising was manifested in the aftermath of the Cannes Lions International Advertising Festival in 1957. The festival had its origin in a British initiative and featured advertisments from all over the world that were judged by juries of practitioners. The best entries were given awards. In 1957, the Cannes Festival permitted entries in the field of television advertising for the first time. British advertisers, advertising agencies, and production companies exploited this possibility on a large scale. A total of 142 cinema- and British television commercials were submitted out of a world total of 655 entries. None of the British commercials received an award.

In the eyes of British advertising representation this was not only disappointing but revealing as well. The comments in *Advertiser's Weekly* were severe. 'British Ads Fail at Cannes' ran one headline, and it cited a film critic, who said that 'the bulk of the British films were distinguishable by their average competence & total lack of imagination. The little touch which lifted many Continental productions from mediocrity was missing. They were replaced by the blows of so-called hard selling'.[160] Sir Ernest Pearl, one of the founders of production company Pearl & Dean, discussed the Cannes debacle in an interview. Pearl, who was also one of the founding fathers of the Cannes Festival, stated that, while the scripts were good, 'it is in the treatment of those ideas that British production goes down.' Compared to other countries, say France, what Britain lacked was creativity. In France 'the use of colour and music, the imaginative set design and above all, the sensitive direction of the camera, are clearly the work of artists. The director, the cameraman, the art director, are not just technicians, they are creative artists. Theirs is the ability to take a (...) script and make of it something that sparkles, has rhythm, excitement, impact.'[161]

Can the debacle in Cannes be seen as a turning point in the thinking about television advertising by the British advertising industry? Was this the moment when British practitioners started to realize the gap in quality when their commercials were compared to those of other countries? And did the 'humiliation' of Cannes convince them to make commercials that were 'welcome - or at the very least unobjectionable' (to quote a later remark from Fletcher)?[162] It would be too simplistic to pin down these changes to a single event. As we have seen, critical comments could be heard from the beginning. But when we chart the developments in professional attitudes towards TV advertising, it seems unmistakable that views were changing. Being clear, simple, and straightforward was no longer enough, TV advertising had to deliver

something more. In 1959 Denys Gales, marketing manager at Huntley & Palmers Ltd., stated in *Advertiser's Weekly* that it would only be a matter of time before advertising people became even more involved with the new medium. 'Two or three years ago when television was still a new experience for us all, the appearance of a product in a television commercial was often sufficient to raise a new and unprecedented demand. Frequently, commercials that were far from brilliant examples of the art of advertising succeeded in starting a rush on the shop, on the days following transmission. (...) This initial impact of television with effects that were probably unique in the history of advertising, persisted for many months.' People were getting used to TV advertising, which 'makes it necessary to give an additional impetus to it if a television campaign is to score a success.'[163] But what should this impetus be? What was needed to make commercials that were less annoying and more successful?

2.11. Continuity and change

In 1961 the British department of the J.Walter Thompson advertising agency researched the attention patterns of television audiences. It turned out that between 20 and 25 percent of the female audience - the main target group for most advertisers - were out of the room when the TV was switched on, and 40 percent of the remainder combined the viewing with other activities or did not watch at all. In the same year another advertising agency, LPE, also published a far from auspicious report of the medium. LPE found out that the viewers's attention during advertising breaks was less than for the rest of the programming. During the breaks between 5.45 and 8.30 p.m. an average of only 27 percent of the audience were watching TV and nothing else.[164] These results were not the advertising industry's only concern in the early 1960s. TV advertising had been criticized fiercely at the outset, but since the late 1950s the barrage criticism seemed to intensify.

The early 1960 debate reflected this desire to limit TV advertising. Advertising was depicted as an evil force by the psychiatrist James A.C. Brown in his book *Techniques of Persuasion: From Propaganda to Brainwashing* (1963): 'Advertising occupies today in the public mind the social position hurriedly abandoned by the stockbroker in 1929 - it is seen as glamorous, financially rewarding, and somehow not quite honest'.[165] And rightly so, Brown added, because advertising was 'often misleading or lying'.[166] He singled out the TV commercials for laundry detergents. 'It would take a very stupid person to believe that all the detergent "tests" carried out on television were genuine, and television advertisements often deceive the public in other ways'.[167] Advertising in his view could not support its claims to being scientifically based, 'and the great bulk of it is culturally repulsive to a reasonably educated person'.[168]

Brown's opinion was shared by other cultural critics in these years.[169] In his article, 'Salesmen of the Will to Want' (2010), Sean Nixon looked at the debate on TV advertising in the 1950s and 1960s, and depicted a clear shift in tone from the early 1960s onwards. A turning point was the publication of the Pilkington Report in 1962. The Pilkington Committee was established by the government in 1960 to consider the future of broadcasting in Britain and to advise on the provision of additional services.[170] In its report, they depicted TV advertising as a highly dubious phenomenon. According to the Committee, 'too many adverts played on impulses which were discreditable, for example, upon acquisitiveness, snobbery, fear, uncritical conforming and "keep up with the Joneses". (...) The charge is not that it is wrong to add to the gaiety of pleasure of life by using this or that product. The criticism is rather that advertising too often implies that unless one buys the product, one will have cause for shame, or loss of self-respect, or cannot hope for happiness.' This was especially the case with TV commercials. By playing on 'human weakness'

TV advertising had a 'more immediate and emotional impact' than did press advertising. One committee member, the well-known sociologist Richard Hoggart, highlighted the TV campaigns for Fairy Liquid and Persil. 'These adverts, he suggested, were socially problematic, because they used a range of important human emotions, such as 'mother love', and linked these with the use of the product. In the process the commercials not only hijacked these values, but also reduced the complexity of human relationships'.[171]

Figure 22. Images from several Persil-commercials, 1950s-1960s (Henry 1986, p.256)

The advertising industry tried to defend itself against these accusations. In a response to the Pilkington report, the former IPA-president Sinclair Wood stated that advertising had a social role 'to serve the public'. The fact that TV advertising was more than merely functional was, in his view, not a problem. 'In our opinion, the manufacturer and his agency (rightly) use techniques to attract attention and to persuade - sometimes to persuade emotionally. It is all part of legitimate selling.' Besides, Wood added, one underestimated the public by presuming that people were not able to understand its persuasive techniques and to judge whether a commercial consisted of factual content or was meant simply to create positive feelings

for the product. According to Nixon, both critics and defenders of advertising were moralistic in their arguments. While values like self-control and restraint were advocated on the one hand, another more hedonistic and 'relaxed' attitude was also promoted. Whether or not these arguments were moralistic is not the issue here. What is interesting is the ways that this growing criticism influenced TV advertising by producing in which TV ads were deemed 'vulnerable', and thus open to further restrictions.

One of the affected areas was the advertising for washing and household cleaning products. Their ads had been the single largest product category in commercial television's first five years, and TV had become the most important medium for large manufacturers like Unilever and Thomas Hedley by the end of the 1950s. According to Henry, 'Hedley's and Unilever had been among the first to recognize that the dramatic power of television to establish a brand, theme or slogan, worked not only on the consumer, but also on the retail trade. (....) Unfortunately, the two major advertisers had also discovered that a more subtle and oblique approach in their commercials was far less effective than straightforward demonstrations and claims to performance.'[172]

Because these TV ads were inciting increasing criticism, the Independent Broadcasting Authority decided to reduce the permissible number of commercials for washing and household cleaning products. There were also limitations set to use of visuals. Comparing whiteness was no longer allowed, as well as any claims of absolute superiority, like in 'Daz washes whitest of all' and 'Persil washes whitest - and it shows'.[173] Detergents were not the only products that saw restrictions for their television advertising. In 1960 ads for medicinal products were restricted, and followed by limits on cigarette ads in 1962, because of growing concerns about the latter's health effects.

The advertising industry did its best to defend itself against this criticism. Yet, when we look at the comments in the trade press on TV advertising from the early 1960s onwards, we also see a growing discontent among practitioners. 'We're not using TV properly', advertising practitioner Ron Grovers wrote in September 1961. 'Commercials have been everything under the sun from hysterical to tedious, with the effect that the public are slowly being weaned to regard the natural break with disdain.' One of the main problems was the standardization of many ad campaigns. 'Critics of TV advertising point derisively at the simulation to be found in rival campaigns. The number of products which are "kind to hands" are a fair example. A stamp of originality is vital to the success of a commercial.'[174]

The discourse in trade circles in the second half of the 1950s had already shown that TV was a more difficult medium to deal with than had been expected. At first, TV advertising seemed mainly a problem of mastering technique, of following the right principles and applying the right do's and don'ts. From the early 1960s onwards, another notion began to dominate the discourse: creativity.

2.12. Creativity in general

The priority on being different and, therefore creative, was not new in advertising. Earlier in this chapter I mentioned Schwarzkopf's piece on the Crawford advertising agency, which was one of the first British agencies to see the value of creativity. 'The strong emphasis placed on creativity was part of the agency's strategy to define a unique competitive niche for itself, in the market for advertising services', Schwarzkopf remarks.[175] His article, however, does not provide a clear and convincing definition of creativity in advertising. He describes it as 'not merely as artistic, tasteful or aesthetically beautiful design, but as the calculated break with all sorts of visual norms'.[176] In the latter 1950s the interest in creativity among British advertising practitioners further increased. One source of inspiration was the United States.

At this time, creativity became a 'hot item' in American advertising, with William Bernbach, one of the founders of the Doyle Dane Bernbach agency, as the main exponent of the so-called 'creative revolution'. In his groundbreaking study, *The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counter Culture and the Rise of Hip Consumerism* (1997), the American historian and journalist Thomas Frank argues that the 'creative revolution' in American advertising was part of the broader cultural changes of the late 1950s and 1960s. A general feeling of unease with conformity, combined with the rising standard of living and the coming of youth culture, paved the way for a new style of advertising. Bernbach and his followers succeeded in developing advertising campaigns that were greeted warmly by an increasingly critical generation of Americans. The co-optation of the counterculture by advertising, Frank argues, helped American capitalism come to terms with the changing mental climate. He also shows how creativity was a part of a struggle between what might be called the 'established powers' in the advertising profession and a new, upcoming generation. One of the outcomes of the 'creative revolution' was that most of the leading American agencies were seen by the industry as 'old-fashioned,' while other, newer agencies became 'hip' and enjoyed overnight success.[177]

The American example became a source of inspiration for British practitioners. While American advertising in the 1950s had often been described as an example not to be followed, by the 1960s it was seen as stimulating and innovate. To learn more about creativity, British advertising professionals needed to look at developments in the U.S., advised Dennis Blairman, director at Crane Publicity. 'Creativity is a religion to U.S. admen', he wrote in *Advertiser's Weekly* after a visit to a creative workshop in Chicago in 1960. He also lamented that his British colleagues had a lot to learn from the Americans: 'Why can't we be really different here?'[178] Eldridge Peterson, *Advertiser's Weekly's* New York correspondent, also believed that the U.S. had become a valuable site for British advertising practitioners. 'Having been privileged to watch the progress of American advertising for more years than I care to admit, I can't help feeling that the changes that have taken place during the past few years add up to a creative revolution.' In his analysis of American developments, Peterson characterized this revolution as adding up to a new style which could involve humor, irreverence, sex, and a 'certain 'what-the-hell, let's try it' quality'. Campaigns for brands like Levy's Bread, Avis, and Volkswagen showed the potential of this approach. The same conclusions could be drawn from a report by the Association of National Advertisers (U.S.), *Study on Management & Advertising Problems* (1961). 'It stated that creativity in advertising has more potential leverage in corporate profits than virtually any other factors in a business where advertising is truly important', Peterson wrote in his *Advertiser's Weekly* piece. 'In advertising, the selling power of a great idea can exceed that of an ordinary idea by a multiple of ten - or more between extremes - even though the budget supporting the two are identical. Nowhere inside is there any factor as potentially valuable as "the big idea" - in new products and in advertising'.[179]

When we look at the discourse among British advertising practitioners in the 1960s, creativity clearly became a dominant term. The number of articles in the trade press which had creativity for their subject increased. In the earliest of these articles, the question of what creativity actually meant was often raised. A typical article was, 'The creative approach' (1961) by Ernest Walker, an advertising practitioner who worked at the Rumble, Crowther and Nicholy agency: 'This word "creative" bothers me. It bothered a number of people at the "Creative Session" in Brighton this year. And it becomes even more difficult to define when one starts trying to pin-point the creative function in campaign planning. Frankly, I wonder whether the word should be restricted to copywriters and artists. The best advertising strategists in budgeting and administration think creatively too', and the same could be said about the commissioners,

'who make a brilliant creative contribution to the direction of their companies' advertising'.[180] Walter was convinced that creativity should be seen from the perspective of the "total" impression that advertising made. 'For, in the ultimate, it is the idea which the public has of the product which is going to determine its future sales. And the idea is more than the sum of the selling points, more than gimmicks, hard-selling or even prestige advertising. The creation and maintenance of this idea, this "personality" is the real creative job in advertising.'[181] The broad approach advocated by Walker, however, was not generally accepted. In practice, creativity would become the domain of the so-called 'creatives,' - copywriters and art directors.

Not everyone was convinced it was the task of advertising to be creative. Some commentators asserted that practitioners should not forget what advertising was about: selling the product. 'All this talk about high artistic and professional standards is laughable', a reader of *Advertiser's Weekly* wrote in a letter to the editor in 1961.[182] Advertising should be functional, and people who wanted to be artistic should try their luck in the arts. He was not the only one who had his doubts about 'artistic' advertising. Anthony J. Harrison, copy group head at the Erwin Wasey agency, was highly critical of this artistic tendency. 'The general public does not share the ad men's views about the artistic appeal of advertisements. The average man simply wants to know what's in it for him.'[183] Harrison felt that the advertising industry was 'full of disappointed artists - people who wanted to make films, write poetry, paint pictures. People who WILL make films - and slip the product unhappily in at the end and call it a commercial.' In his view the only standard for the success of a commercial was its contributions to the sponsor's sales figures.[184] John Tatman, copy director at Foley-Brickly & Partners, London, fully agreed with him. 'Artistic temperament is as out of place in advertising as a wrong font in a line of type. Whatever our creative specialty may be, we must never lose sight of the fact that we are first and foremost advertising men and women; our sole job is to create effective advertising'.[185]

These remarks show that several advertising practitioners felt unease with the new focus on creativity. This did not prevent creativity from becoming a paradigm in the 1960s advertising world. According to the British journalist Sam Delaney, author of *Get Smashed – The Story Of The Men Who Made The Ads That Changed Our Lives* (2007), advertising changes were related to general developments within British society: 'During a period of rapid transformation in the early part of the decade, advertising would become the first demonstration of the sixties mentality being applied to business'.[186] Advertising practitioners believed there were other explanations, one of them being the imperative to stand out. 'If there ever was a time when we would should be more, not less, creative, that time is now', Cerry O'Connol, copy group head at McCann-Erickson, wrote in 1959. The main reason creativity was needed was because 'the sheer volume of advertising is simply staggering'.[187]

Whether or not the growing demand for creativity can best be explained by cultural changes or by the need to attract attention, the climate was clearly changing in British advertising by the early 1960s. This was also embodied in the establishment of the British Design & Art Direction (D&AD) in 1962. The initiative to found the D&AD came from Bob Brooks, an American advertising creative who had come to Britain in the late 1950s and worked at Benton & Bowles's London office. Brooks believed that the British industry did not take advertising seriously. In his view, the Layton Awards, the yearly awards (launched in 1955) for the best British advertising, were organized and presented in an old-fashioned way. Together with some colleagues Brooks set up a British variation of the New York Advertising Club, which - like its American counterpart - would judge ads on their creative value, and would pay attention to the people who made them.

New advertising agencies like Collet Dickenson Peace (CDP) also sought to use creativity to renew

the hidebound British industry. Founded in 1960, CDP would make successful and highly original campaigns for brands like Whitbread, Benson & Hedges, Hamlet, and Heineken, and become one of the most creative agencies in Britain. In their memoir of the agency, John Salmon and John Ritchie, former directors of CDP, wrote: 'If we agreed on anything it was that formulas and rules don't lead to good advertising'.[188]

Figure 23. Image from the famous Hamlet Cigars-commercial Photo booth, advertising agency CDP, 1987

The establishment of D&AD and the success of new agencies like CDP were a clear sign that the self-consciousness of advertising practitioners was growing in the 1960s. Advertising practitioners became more conscious of the value of their work and of the importance that creativity had for their own professional status.[189] A 1969 open letter in *Advertiser's Weekly* by M. Onderwood Thompson, director of Lonsdale-Hands, one of the leading British design firms in the 1950s and 1960s, illustrated this point. 'Today, perhaps creative people in agencies reflect the outside world far more than before. It seems to me, anyway, that there are fewer poets manqué and fewer artists lowering themselves to commercial work. Today these young advertising people are not ashamed to be in the business.' And was it not the case that, thanks to these creative people, advertising had become 'more lively and amusing than it ever was?'[190]

2.13. The role of creativity in British television advertising

In the British trade press of the 1950s and 1960s, the question was seldom answered as to what creativity exactly meant. Since then, creativity has remained a vague term. Fletcher quotes Sir John Tusa, radio and television journalist and author of the book *On Creativity: Interviews Exploring the Process* (2003), who called terms like 'creative', 'creation' and 'creativity' 'some of the most overused and ultimately debased words in the language'.[191] Research in recent decades has shown that it is difficult, if not impossible, to define creativity in advertising. El-Murad and West (2004) state that creativity is 'at once the least scientific aspect of advertising and the most important'.[192]

Figure 24. Image from a commercial for the Egg Marketing Board from the 1950s, with the actor Tony Hancock (Henry 1986, p.275)

In spite of the lack of a clear definition, the British advertising industry's interest in and attention to creativity grew. The growing professional recognition of creativity as one of the most important aspects of advertising also affected the views on television advertising. In February 1955, Cyrus Ducker, the IPA Television Advisory Panel's chairman, had already called television 'a great creative challenge'. 'The last thing I want to see is a dreary succession of gentlemanly commercials bending over backwards to avoid the faintest suspicion of daring and devilry.'[193] However, most early-period reviews and comments on television advertising disregarded creativity and mainly pointed to the practical and technical aspects of TV. From the late 1950s onwards, this slowly started to change. In 1957, Sir Ernest Pearl of Pearl & Dean declared that creativity was an important criterion for judging TV advertising; in the same year, advertising practitioner Tony Denereaz also stressed the need for a creative approach. To reach this goal, all kinds of influences could be helpful: from film and theatre to art and music, 'any creative man should keep stored away any bright idea that he feels may be useful. It could be a certain technique of writing, a use of different music form, or even just a dramatic effect which can be used to enhance a certain point in a commercial.'[194] But there was no recipe, he added. 'There is no such thing as a universally successful pattern for commercials. Each new campaign presents fresh problems which cannot be solved by a pre-established formula.'[195]

In a review of British TV advertising that was broadcast in 1964, the well-known theatre director Joan Littlewood complained about its current state. Although she found some campaigns amusing - for example, the one for the British Marketing Egg-board – she seldom saw an effective combination of attractive and visually appealing advertising and sales power, which had to go together to form a successful campaign. She pointed, by contrast, to American developments, singling out the famous TV commercial that

DDB made for Volkswagen, called 'The Snow Plough,' and called attention to its visual impact. 'These pictures, neatly wrapped up by these few words, tell one all one ought to know about the car... that it starts easily from cold, that its design and suspension enable it to cope with impossible road conditions, that there is no danger of its freezing up. The temptation to spell out all these claims in manufacturers' language and so to fog up the message must have been great. That it is resisted makes this one of the most powerful advertisements I have seen... and I do mean "seen".'[196]

Figure 25. Image from the famous American Volkswagen Snowplough-commercial, 1964

Another critic of the poor state of British TV advertising was Robert Brownjohn. Brownjohn, a graphic designer who would become known for his title sequences for several James Bond movies (*From Russia with Love* (1963), *Goldfinger* (1964)), was one of the speakers at a meeting organized by the Creative Circle, where he criticized the creative level of British TV advertising. 'Mr. Brownjohn had yet to see one idea (he spelt it out: I-D-E-A) in a British TV commercial, apart from one by Benson and Hedges, and then only the first of the series'. (Cheers and Counter cheers).'[197]

Were Littlewood and Browjohn right in their harsh assessment of British TV advertising? Was British TV advertising seriously lacking in creativity in the 1960s? Or had it become better and more appealing in comparison to its initial years? In 1965 the aforementioned Teletaster summarized the balance of the first ten years of commercial television in Britain and raised the question whether the quality of the ads had risen. 'How much better are the commercials that will appear tonight than those that appeared on opening night?,' he wondered. In his opinion, the general level had risen. 'They will be a lot crisper and economical and a few of them will have creative flair that was missing way back.' There were also differences in the length - while in the beginning most commercials were sixty seconds, thirty seconds had become the standard length by 1965. Yet, there was still reason to be critical. Too often commercials were dominated

by words instead of images. 'Still it's chat, chat, chat. It really is rather remarkable.' To Teletaster it seemed as if advertisers were still not able to exploit TV's visual possibilities. At the same time, he expressed a slight hope for change. 'It is not so long ago that the "grey men" in advertising were preposterously proud of vulgar, boring, repetitive, mechanical television commercials scientifically contracted to appeal to the lower conscious levels of a race of stupefied morons. In rare moments of humanizing they would say "We know it's vulgar, boring, etc., etc., but it sells. And it did and it will probably continue to do so for a while. But now one sometimes, though rarely, hears the reverse from the same "grey men".'[198]

2.14. Changing views among practitioners

There was a change of tone in the discourse among advertising practitioners on television advertising in the course of the 1950s and early 1960s. In the early years, the focus had been on the effectiveness and on the selling power of TV commercials. A commercial had fulfilled its task if it presented the sales message in a clear and understandable way. It should be simple and straightforward, and not distract the viewer too much. Although some professionals pleaded for entertaining and original advertising, these features were not yet seen as essential elements of successful TV advertising. 'Don't apologize for your commercial', Chilton stated in 1955; a commercial should sell the product above all.

This did not mean that all British advertising practitioners advocated a hard-sell approach. TV advertising was also seen as potentially problematic from its earliest days. There was a broadly shared sensitivity among practitioners regarding the intrusive character of TV advertising. Because it entered the living room in an obtrusive way, advertising was considered far more irritating than press advertising. Many British advertisers's choice of animated commercials can be explained partly by the popularity of this genre: cartoon commercials were seldom criticized.

There were still more than enough TV commercials to give viewers reason to be annoyed, not only because of their hard-sell approach, but also because they were often repetitive. Criticism of TV advertising developed from the late 1950s onwards. While comments in the press on television advertising had varied from positive to lightly critical in the earliest years, the tone became different by the end of the decade. Besides journalists, the public also expressed dissatisfaction and annoyance. Advertising, and especially television advertising, lay under siege. It was in this hostile climate that attention on advertising creativity emerged. Although advertising practitioners came up with their own explanations for their focus on creativity, especially the need to have their ads stand out, there is reason to believe that the growing criticism heightened their professional self-consciousness as well. The comments in the trade press show that, while criticism of TV advertising grew, originality and creativity became more important than ever before.

Television Advertising in the Netherlands

1964-1975

3.1. Prelude

The introduction of television advertising in the Netherlands had a long initial period. More than fifteen years passed from the first Dutch television transmission on October 2, 1951, until the broadcast of the first commercials on January 2, 1967. Although the general opinion was, from early on, that an expensive medium like television needed extra financial sources, political and economic elites felt that television advertising was not a self-evident response. The attitude towards television advertising was more positive in the advertising agency as one would expect. Even here, however, practitioners did not seriously consider how 'advertising in television' should be approached until the mid-1960s.

The Netherlands may have been late to introduce television advertising, but it was not a new phenomenon. In the 1920s the Dutch company Philips was already experimenting with the new medium, and such experiments were resumed after the Second World War. In 1948 the company started Philips Experimental Television. Three nights a week short programmes were broadcast from Eindhoven. The station's reach was limited and broadcasts could only be seen in the immediate vicinity. The first television-commercials were shown during these early experimental broadcasts, including those for Bata-shoes, Polak & Schwartz perfumes, the fashion houses Lampe and Witteveen, and Royal Dutch Shell.[199]

Most Dutch politicians were initially reluctant as far as television was concerned. Besides the economic implications - what would it cost and who would pay for it? – concerns were also voiced as to the potential cultural effects, especially the risk of commercial influences on programming. In 1951, Jan.M. Peters, a member of parliament for the KVP (Catholic Peoples Party) expressed the fear that 'television would contribute to the creation of a dangerous product: the mass man'.[200]

These concerns did not halt the government from permitting the establishment of a public broadcast television network in the early 1950s. Philips, one of the main advocates for television in the Netherlands, was willing to contribute to the costs, and the member-based broadcasting associations that already produced the radio programming would develop Television content. Along with these existing associations, a new institution would be introduced: the NTS (Netherlands Television Service) that would be also be responsible for developing programming. The government's attitude towards television's introduction, however, cannot really be described as having any real enthusiasm. Hesitation and uncertainty could also be seen outside the political sphere. Several newspapers and magazines were also critical of this new medium. Was there not a risk that the coming of television would heighten the influence of American culture on Dutch society?[201] Dutch citizens also expressed a lack of enthusiasm. Sales of television sets were slow

in the beginning. In 1957, six years after the first broadcasts, only eight percent of the Dutch households owned one.[202] Besides their high costs, the lack of broadcasts (initially, there were no more than three hours a week) and the limited reception (the programmes could only be seen at first in the western part of the Netherlands) hindered their widespread adoption.

Additional money was needed to change this stagnant situation and to increase the broadcasting time. In 1953 Jo Cals, Minister of Education, Culture and Science, proposed the idea of television advertising in a memo. In the Second Television Memo (Tweede Televisienota), he averred, however, that one was 'not to be blind for the possible objections against broadcasts of this kind' and advocated research into safeguards in order to guarantee an acceptable level of television advertising.[203] He stressed that advertising would be limited to short breaks and that a clear division would be made between the editorial and the advertising parts of broadcasts.[204]

Figure 26. First Dutch television transmission with Minister of Education Culture and Science, Jo Cals, 1951. Source: Sound and Vision

The Second Television Memo produced diverse responses. Several members of parliament had their own doubts about introducing television advertising, 'not in the least because the experiences in America were far from fortifying'.[205] In a 1955 debate, Sieuwert Bruins Slot, a member of the conservative ARP (Anti-Revolutionary Party), emphasised that sponsored broadcasts in the US 'were not made out of cultural motives, but to be subordinate to advertising for the sales of products', and therefore did not suit the Dutch situation.[206] The Labour party had objections too. Only the VVD (People's Party for Freedom and Democracy, comparable with the Tories in the UK) advocated advertising's introduction on television.[207] The broadcast services were no less explicit. In 1957 the press officer of the KRO (Catholic Radio Broadcast Service) declared that the KRO feared that commercial television would reduce the status of broadcasting organisations to that of the 'national babysitter for grown-ups' and would lead to 'mental poverty'.[208] The VARA (Association of Workers Radio Amateurs) thought that Dutch people deserved better than 'bank- and beer television'.[209]

The press was also critical about the government's proposals. Several newspapers and magazines had strong objections against introducing television advertising. Their resistance showed clear signs of anti-Americanism. The American example was undesirable: they cited the quiz-show scandal in the U.S. in the late 1950s (which revealed that televised quiz shows were manipulated) as an example of the evil in-

fluence of commerce on television.[210] In an essay in his book *Testbeeld. Essay over mens en televisie* (1963), theologian Fokke Sierksma strongly opposed the introduction of commercial television in the Netherlands. 'The combination of a medium which is able to hypnotise us, and the advertising, which on the basis of its nature eliminates the critical capacity even with the most innocent slogans, make commercial television in both form and content to a seeping poison.'[211]

But there were other opinions too. In 1957, the liberal weekly, *Haagse Post,* pointed out that the resistance of the broadcast services was not free from self-interest, and that the existing associations seemed to be afraid of losing ground with the introduction of commercial television.[212]

3.2. Advertising in the Netherlands in the 1950s and 1960s

The advertising industry followed the discourse on television advertising with interest. The trade press reported extensively on the debates held in The Hague and discussed many of the objections raised. Advertising trade magazines like *Ariadne* and *Revue der Reclame* disagreed with the view that television advertising would have a malign influence on programming. Were not newspaper advertisements clearly separated from the articles? And was it not necessary to gain money from advertising for the transmission of broadcasts?[213]

Although advertising practitioners did not agree with the politician's objections, the television advertising lobby does not seem to have been very active. There are no indications of intensive contacts between advertising industry representatives and political parties. All in all, the Dutch advertising industry seems to have played the waiting game. In their striving for professionalisation, advertising practitioners sought respect and recognition, and this seemed to exclude an active engagement in national politics.[214]

Figure 27. Advertisement for Erres television with the famous Dutch actor Ko van Dijk, 1957

By and large, Dutch advertisers were far from innovative in the first decade after the Second World War. Advertising was a highly labor-intensive profession that still relied to a high degree on craftsmanship. The most important medium was the newspapers, and the choice of media depended on the print run and profile of newspapers and magazines. One of the few innovations was the use of market research among advertisers. According to psychologist Jaap van Ginniken, advertisers began to realise in the second half of the 1940s that 'campaigning without thorough research was a waste of money'.[215] Yet the Dutch advertising

industry operated all in all in a state of consolidation and restoration.

Practitioners' lack of interest in innovation was related to the Netherlands's economic situation. In the 1950s the Dutch economy was dominated by demand and most producers had little problem selling their products. This meant that advertising innovation was not seen as important as it would later become.[216]

The attitude of practitioners towards advertising content was in line with these circumstances. Within advertising agencies, the copywriter led the creation of most campaigns; he came up with its concept and then the studio took charge of the illustrations. The goal of most campaigns was primarily to stimulate sales, and this was done mainly through a rational approach. The advantages and quality of the product were often extensively described; the text was predominant and the image was secondary; the so-called 'hard sell'-style was most conspicuous in these years.[217] Although some agencies and advertisers attached importance to originality, creativity was not generally held in high regard. W.H. van Baarle, the author of the most important Dutch advertising text-book of the 1950s, *Reclamekunde en Reclameleer,* wrote that an agency's management had 'a far from easy job, on the one hand to stimulate the creative powers, and on the other to keep them in check, the last maybe even more than the first'.[218]

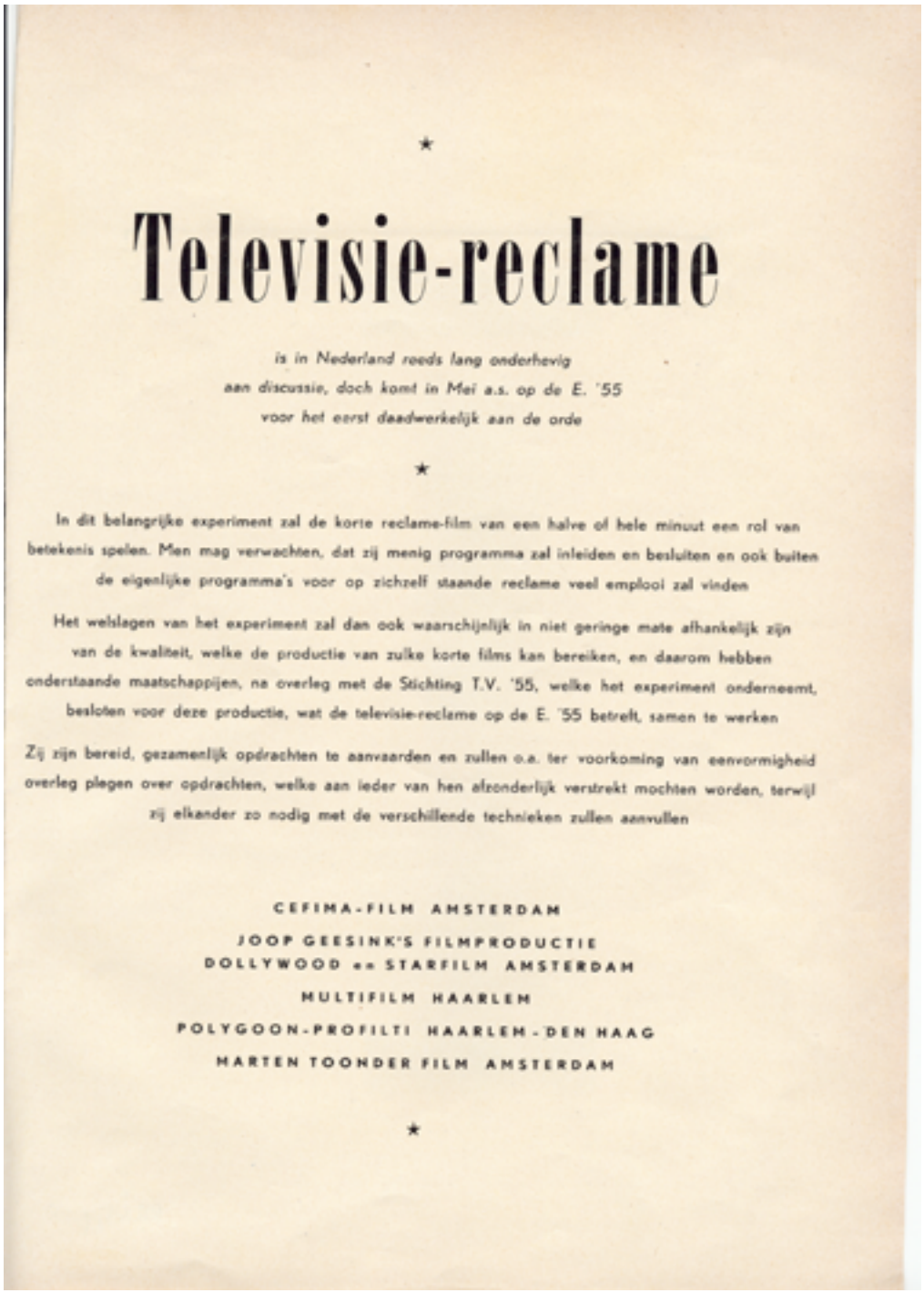
A plea for change could occasionally be heard. In 1955 H. Pellikaan, advertising manager for the Dutch trade company Stokvis, stated that Dutch advertising lacked tension and did not reflect the 'spirit of the times'. According to Pellikaan 'creative thinking' was needed to fight the increasing ossification of many campaigns.[219] Young practitioners like Dimitri Frenkel Frank and Hans Ferrée, both working as copywriters, also called for innovation.[220] Television advertising, however, was seldom mentioned in these appeals. The medium was, by most advertisers and advertising agencies, seen as a matter for the distant future.

3.3. E55

In 1955, a unique opportunity was offered to agencies and production companies to gain experience in television advertising. In Rotterdam from May 18 to September 3, the National Energy Event E55 was held, an exhibition designed to show the public what progress had been made by Dutch companies and government since the end of World War II. One exhibit was an experiment with a closed television-circuit in which also commercials were shown. Daily twelve short programmes were broadcast. They could be seen on 450 television sets, both at the exhibition complex and back in Rotterdam and its surroundings.

Several well-known Dutch companies took part in the E55 advertising broadcasts, among them were Van Nelle, Shell, Unilever, Bols, Philips, and Laurens. Most commercials were live recordings that featured famous artists and entertainers including the comedians, Willy Walden and Piet Muyselaer, better known as Snip & Snap, who advertised for Van Nelle coffee and tea, the members of the *Familie Doorsnee* (*Average Family*), a popular radio show, who advertised for Erres radios and television sets, and the journalist-writer Jan de Cler, who promoted cigars. TV Director Erik de Vries was enthusiastic about this combination of television and advertising, though he advised that commercials be recorded beforehand rather than be broadcasted live.[221]

After the exhibition, television viewers in Rotterdam and its surroundings were asked their opinions about the broadcasts and the accompanying advertising. A clear majority judged television advertising as 'positive' or 'very positive', and no more than one out of ten viewers rejected it. The advertisers who had participated in E55 also had reasons to be enthusiastic. Although not all broadcasts went smooth, research showed that viewers remembered the brands that were successfully shown.[222]



★

Televisie-reclame

is in Nederland reeds lang onderhevig
aan discussie, doch komt in Mei a.s. op de E. '55
voor het eerst daadwerkelijk aan de orde

★

In dit belangrijke experiment zal de korte reclame-film van een halve of hele minuut een rol van betekenis spelen. Men mag verwachten, dat zij menig programma zal inleiden en besluiten en ook buiten de eigenlijke programma's voor op zichzelf staande reclame veel emploi zal vinden

Het welslagen van het experiment zal dan ook waarschijnlijk in niet geringe mate afhankelijk zijn van de kwaliteit, welke de productie van zulke korte films kan bereiken, en daarom hebben onderstaande maatschappijen, na overleg met de Stichting T.V. '55, welke het experiment onderneemt, besloten voor deze productie, wat de televisie-reclame op de E. '55 betreft, samen te werken

Zij zijn bereid, gezamenlijk opdrachten te aanvaarden en zullen o.a. ter voorkoming van eenvormigheid overleg plegen over opdrachten, welke aan ieder van hen afzonderlijk verstrekt mochten worden, terwijl zij elkander zo nodig met de verschillende technieken zullen aanvullen

CEFIMA-FILM AMSTERDAM
JOOP GEESINK'S FILMPRODUCTIE
DOLLYWOOD en STARFILM AMSTERDAM
MULTIFILM HAARLEM
POLYGOON-PROFILTI HAARLEM-DEN HAAG
MARTEN TOONDER FILM AMSTERDAM

★

Figure 28. Advertisement of Film Companies dor the E55, 1955

Politicians were divided in their views of E55. During a parliamentary debate two months before the opening, Bruins Slot stressed that television in the Netherlands had primarily a cultural function, which conflicted with sponsored programmes.[223] On the other hand, Johan Cornelissen, a member of the VVD, felt that advertisers should get a free hand to make television advertising. 'Advertising in our country is on a high level and therefore I think it will not be necessary to control the broadcasts before. Companies that have a good reputation can be left alone.'[224] And the government? Jo Cals, the minister responsible for television, thought it too early to take a stand: 'I do not insist on bringing advertising into television, but the government is not a priori against commercial television'.[225]

Figure 29. E55, poster designed by Kees van Roemburg, 1955 (collection ReclameArsenaal)

Although the combination of television and advertising at the E55 was mainly seen as positive, commercial television itself seemed to be far off in the distant future. But attitudes began to change in the early 1960s. In 1961, the De Quay government drafted a memo, *Advertising Television* (*Reclametelevisie*), that proposed to introduce a separate commercial TV station, similar to the British model. After parliament debated the memo in March 1963, however, a majority voted against commercial television.[226]

Figure 30. Advertisement for Erres television sets with a plead for commercial television, 1959

3.4. Towards a more active orientation

In the second half of the 1950s, the attitudes of sponsors, agencies, and production companies towards commercial television began to change. Despite persistent reluctance among the Dutch parliament, many believed that it was high time for a more active engagement with the new medium, and the number of articles on television advertising in the trade press increased. These articles discussed many aspects of TV

advertising: from brand image's influence on viewers, the ideal frequency and length of commercials, their psychological dimension, as well as the costs of producing them. Theorising and speculating were accompanied by practical experiments. 'Tens of film 'spots' are being made or lie in the safe', Piet Beishuizen, public relations-officer at Philips, wrote in the *Revue der Reclame* in 1959: 'Several Dutch agencies invest in television by establishing separate creative departments for this new medium'.[227] Joop Geesink's production company, Dollywood, had already made television commercials for about thirty Dutch companies at the end of the 1950s, and Toonder Studio's had undertaken to work with the advertising agencies Van Maanen, HVR, and Nijgh & Van Ditmar. Advertisers were also eager to start. International companies like Unilever and Procter & Gamble knew from other countries that television was a highly effective medium and anticipated the introduction of television advertising in the Netherlands.[228]

Figure 31 Dimitri Frenkel Frank, 1966 (nl.wikipedia.org)

These experiments and collaborations showed that most parties within and around the advertising industry had high expectations. Yet there were also concerns about potential consequences. Copywriter Dimitri Frenkel Frank was afraid that Dutch advertising would copy the American example. In the later 1950s he worked for Prad, one of the leading agencies in the Netherlands, and regularly contributed to the trade magazine, *Revue der Reclame*. During this time, he visited a Dutch production company where he was shown a film reel featuring American and British commercials. '...I had seen such reels several times and I think I felt like a TV viewer who has swallowed commercials every night for two years. And for the first time I understood why the American public has become so irritated by commercials in the course of time. Because all these commercials were sledgehammer blows! Sometimes they were subtle blows, but the next time they were nasty knocks - but every spot seemed to say: "Even when you watch with only one eye, even if you don't watch and only listen, even if you are on your way to the kitchen – damn, I will nail my sales message into your brains!' After Frenkel Frank had seen the foreign reel, he was shown a commercial the production company had made for the Dutch market. While the production company was very satisfied with this American-style commercial, Frenkel Frank held a different opinion. Although he fully attested to its level of craftsmanship, he felt that it would be 'a terrible crime' to confront the Dutch viewer with this commercial. 'The genuine man will look at the first commercial with interest and will receive a hammer blow right away. The first time he will smile because it is new and different and interesting. But in a year? Then he will yawn when he sees this commercial, and the only way to reach your goal will then be to use vitriol.'[229]

Figure 32. Diana schoenen, advertisement referring to presence on commercial TV Noordzee, 1964

Frenkel Frank's fears were shared by producer Joop Geesink. 'A prerequisite is that we will not start in the American way with hard-selling methods', he said in the newspaper, *Algemeen Handelsblad*. 'Entertainment should play a main role in our advertising.'[230] Morton Kirschner, an art director of American origin and one of the directors of the Van Hees/Vettewinkel agency, held the same opinion, and warned his colleagues accordingly. If the 'hard sell' would dominate Dutch television advertising and if the viewing public were to be bombarded with these kinds of commercials, the chances were 'that viewers will be irritated so much that potential clients will not be interested in television any longer'.[231]

3.5. The Reclame Exploitatie Maatschappij (REM)

In 1964, a few entrepreneurs decided to wait no longer for the outcome of the political debates on commercial television and started their own commercial television station. Cornelis Verhoeven, a shipping magnate, and Will Hordijk, a newspaper publisher who had been involved in the creation of the commercial radio station, Radio Veronica, began the REM (Advertising Exploitation Company). Their plans were stimulated by the success of Radio Veronica, which had been broadcasting since 1960 from the Scheveningen coast. The new television station started broadcasting from an offshore platform that was built off the Dutch coast near the town of Noordwijk.

Figure 33. Stills from several REM commercials, 1964

In June 1964 REM started with radio broadcasts, adding television emissions in August. Advertising between programmes began on September 1st. Companies were eager to advertise on REM. Well-known brands like Fanta, Van Houten, Prodent, Jamin, Van Nelle, Jordan, and Vredestein were represented in REM's transmissions.[232]

These REM broadcasts were far from technically proficient. They were regularly interrupted by technical troubles and suffered from inconsistent sound quality. Nonetheless, just like the earlier E55-experiment, the new station won over the Dutch public. After only two months, seventeen percent of Dutch television-owners had purchased the special antenna needed to receive their transmissions.

Although the government had not taken action against Radio Veronica, they decided to clamp down on REM. A new law making REM was rapidly introduced and approved in a few months, and the station was silenced on December 17, 1964. The REM episode was not without consequences, however. Sensing impending political defeat, the founders decided to pursue a legal course and created the TROS (Television and Radio Broadcast) in November 1964.[233]

REM had been received rather well in the press. Most newspapers seemed to have had hardly any objections to commercial television. The first broadcasts made clear, however, that television advertising was something one had to get used to. Several newspapers were somewhat critical that commercials were shown in the midst of programmes: would it not be better to show them in between different programmes? 'It is evident that the interruption of programmes for advertising, especially during an exciting movie, is at the expense of the enjoyment of watching television', the *Haagsche Courant* wrote in September 1964.[234] The liberal newspaper, *Algemeen Handelsblad,* in contrast, did not have many problems with these kinds of interruptions, though the commenter added they might become annoying in the long run.[235]

A week after REM's debut television broadcast, *Revue der Reclame* reflected on the station's TV advertising. The magazine concluded that the commercials were far from perfect and observed that they 'showed, besides the good intentions, also the hurry of the advertiser'.[236] It seemed that they had not really been prepared for the introduction of television advertising. *Revue der Reclame* also remarked that the station should be considerate enough not to advertise in the so-called 'natural breaks' within programmes. Perhaps, they suggested, that it would be better not to program commercials for maximum exposure, to avoid irritating the public.[237]

In February 1966, more than a year after REM was shuttered, *Revue der Reclame* once again looked back on this turbulent episode. It had shown that the Dutch advertising industry still had a lot to learn as far as television was concerned. According to J.W. Beck, director of the Toonder Studio's, most advertisers wanted 'to say too much and use too many selling arguments in these few seconds'.[238] For Ronald van Vleuten, director of advertising agency HVR, one of the most important lessons learned was that both the advertiser and agencies could not work within modes and styles of older media – they needed to adapt. Television added a third dimension. Although this extra dimension was a step forward in many ways, two-dimensional ads also had their advantages that were difficult to renounce. One of the most important was that all ad's elements (illustration, headline, price, brand name, etc.) could be seen at the same time and could be read at one's own pace. On television, images passed by quickly and making it impossible to re-read a passage or linger over a detail. 'That is one of the reasons the theme of the press campaign cannot be translated into television that easily', Van Vleuten remarked. André Schmidt, an account executive at the Hees Vettewinkel agency, noted that many advertisers bypassed advertising firms and went straight to production companies for their commercials. These companies, in his view, hardly knew anything about marketing. 'The consequence is that the TV-spots they make are seldom integrated in the overall

marketing- and advertising conception as far as communication is concerned.'[239]

The experiences with REM showed some of the dilemmas that would manifest themselves more strongly in the following years. Several advertisers seemed to have chosen television mainly for reasons of prestige without really considering if TV advertising was commercially relevant for them. Another matter was the tension between advertising agencies and production companies: who would ultimately determine and lead ad campaigns? And to whom should the advertiser listen? To the advertising agency, who traditionally was responsible for the execution of campaigns, or to the production company, who had greater experience in film technique? A related question was the essence of the medium itself. In what ways did television differ from other media? The differences between television and such media as newspapers and magazines would weigh on practitioners's minds for years to come.

3.6. The myth of creativity

In the early 1960s television became more ubiquitous in Dutch society. In 1961, the millionth television set was sold, and TV took over from radio as the Dutch people's favorite medium. In 1964, a second public television station was founded. To further expand the programming in order to meet this growing demand, the government needed additional money. Although advertising still offered a reasonable option for financing programming, the government endured much effort to devise a proposal that could satisfy the majority in parliament. The matter was finally settled in 1965. All broadcast associations were assigned a certain amount of broadcast time on television, largely based on the number of members of the association, with the exception of the NOS (Netherlands Broadcast Foundation), that had no members and would broadcast more general topics, including the news.

The government's plans also dealt with television advertising. It preferred the so-called Bayern model, in which advertising was broadcast in separate breaks (*blokken*) on the existing stations, instead of within programmes as in British commercial stations. In 1966, a special organisation was installed, the SUR (Foundation to Broadcast Advertising), which was rechristened as the STER (Foundation for Ether Advertisement). Its task would be to broadcast television and radio ads, and the income of the STER would be used to partly finance public broadcasting. On January 2, 1967, the first commercials were officially shown on Dutch television.

Much had changed in the Dutch advertising industry from the late 1950s to this historic 1967 debut. During the 1960s a new generation emerged, both among advertisers and agencies, that criticised the methods of their predecessors. Young creatives like Hans Ferrée and Dimitri Frenkel Frank were inspired by developments in the United States. The American advertising agency, Doyle Dane Bernbach (DDB), was one of their main inspirations. According to Frenkel Frank, creativity was held in higher regard at DDB, while research was seen as less important and the consumer was taken more seriously than in the Netherlands. The creative philosophy of William Bernbach, which was based on the idea that advertising had to be original, entertaining, and intelligent to be effective, was increasingly embraced in the Dutch advertising world. Advertising agencies like Prad, FHV, and KVH followed the DDB example and started to work with teams of copywriters and art directors on campaigns. In 1966, the ADCN (Art Directors Club of the Netherlands) was founded, inspired by the American ADC and the British D&AD, to stimulate creativity in Dutch advertising.[240]

These changes did not take place without opposition. Many elderly practitioners had difficulty with

the new developments. In 1964 an interesting and revealing debate began in *Revue der Reclame*. The topic was creativity and economist Anton Baart, a market researcher who published regularly in the journal, initiated the debate by denouncing creativity. Baart was far from enthusiastic about the growing attention paid to creativity within the industry, and stated that it was merely a myth and a cover for the inferiority complex of the so-called creatives. Advocates of creativity, in his view, overvalued the importance of originality. Advertising was a profession that demanded craftsmanship and adherence to objective criteria. For Baart, the notion that advertising was closely related to the arts stood in the way of achieving the necessary objectivity for a successful ad.[241]

Baart's article provoked a voluminous response. While some readers agreed with him, most were negative. One typical response was by Morton Kirschner, who was a true believer in Bernbach's approach. According to Kirschner, creativity was not at all obscure but was instead a clear and practical approach that resulted in higher sales.[242]

It was not easy to decide whether creativity was a myth. In the mid-1960s it had a somewhat vague character. What it really meant in practice was far from clear. Now and then attempts were made to explain the phenomenon. In 1967 Freek Holzhauer, a psychologist who worked in the Dutch office of the J. Walter Thompson agency, published several positive articles on creativity in the trade press.[243] Yet even to him it seemed difficult to clarify the impact of creativity was on advertising practice.

Creativity was not the only topic in which views were changing. Another was marketing, which ultimately became more important. Marketing involved producers determining the needs and wishes of their consumers before launching their products, and then bringing advertising into line with distribution, targeting, price setting, sales promotion, and so forth. Having a nice slogan or an appealing illustration was no longer enough.[244] Companies like Unilever and Procter & Gamble were among the first to show interest in marketing. Most Dutch advertising agencies, with certain exceptions, later followed. The arrival of American advertising agencies in the Netherlands beginning in the 1950s also led to changes in advertising practice. To service their American clients in Europe, they bought Dutch advertising agencies. For both Dutch advertisers and agencies, this was often their first real confrontation with marketing techniques. In spite of the criticism of this American 'invasion' in the trade press, it was clear that the Dutch had a lot to learn in the fields of organisation and marketing.[245]

3.7. Preparing for the new medium

At first sight television seemed to complement the 1960s reinvigoration of the Dutch advertising industry perfectly. Did not television advertising require a completely different approach from print-based media? 'We are forced to think more visually', the young copywriter Paul Mertz declared in a 1967 *Revue der Reclame* article.[246] He hoped television advertising would stimulate a change in thinking within the larger Dutch industry.

Yet it seemed that Mertz was one of the few practitioners who regarded television as the ideal instrument for the industry's reinvigoration at this time. Along with political developments, most trade press articles focused on the technical and economic aspects of television advertising. What was needed to produce and broadcast commercials? And how could TV advertising be used most effectively? Several organisations and agencies invited foreign experts to the Netherlands to instruct their clients and employees in it. In 1961, the Genootschap voor Reclame (Society for Advertising) asked Sidney George Gogswell, head of the Lintas agency's London office, to speak about his experiences with TV advertising. Cogswell

called TV unique because it 'entered the privacy of the family of the consumer'. In his view, it was the ideal medium in which to demonstrate a product, and implied that TV advertising should be primarily sales driven. 'The task of a TV commercial is to advertise and to sell goods. It is not its task to entertain the public.'[247] Charles Wainwright, an American producer of commercials and author of *The Television Copywriter* (1966), spoke to clients and employees of the Prad agency about TV advertising. In his view, television advertising did not need much creativity; the sales message was the most important part of the television commercial.[248] The Dutch office of the Ted Bates agency invited Howard Barnes.[249] His advice was to feature as many ordinary people as possible in commercials and not to make ads too intellectual and high-flown. 'In that case the message will not come across.'[250] The Smit's agency hired another British expert, Harry McMahan, to lecture its clients.[251] And at the Dutch office of Young & Rubicam, Alexander Brodie, the firm's international creative director, showed his audience commercials from the U.S., Britain, and Germany, and listed five rules-of-thumb: be quick in capturing the attention of the viewer; stress one or two sales arguments; don't forget to demonstrate the product if possible; be believable; and always make sure there is an element that people can remember.[252]

Op de helling

Reclame-t.v. de panacee voor onze kwalen?

Gehoord: 'Televisiereclame geeft een nieuwe impuls aan ons vak, brengt verandering teweeg, verjongt ons'. Wij worden gedwongen ons visueler in te stellen, bewuster te gaan denken. Het is nodig bestaande waarden te toetsen, de hele boel op de helling te zetten.
Nodig is dat zeker ja, maar zal het ook lukken? Er is immers al zo lang beweging om ons heen.
De damesbladen zijn ingrijpend veranderd. Opmaak, illustraties en foto's zijn sterk verbeterd, de tekst is eindelijk volwassen geworden. Toch zijn veel advertenties duidelijk achtergebleven.
Er is een bevolkingsgroep belangrijk geworden: de tieners. Met eigen wil, eigen geld, eigen taal, eigen bladen. Toch maakt heel wat reclame zich in hun ogen nog belachelijk.
Hele steden zijn verrezen met nieuwe winkelstraten en nieuwe winkelcentra. Toch ziet men hier vrijwel geen nieuwe vormen van buitenreclame.
De mogelijkheid tot het gebruik van kleur is ook in de dagbladen enorm uitgebreid. Toch is er nauwelijks sprake van een functioneel gebruik van kleur.
De mogelijkheid tot het bekijken van kleurproeven is (zij het schoorvoetend) door enkele diepdrukbladen opengesteld. Toch maken maar weinig reclamemensen van de gelegenheid gebruik.
Het aantal reclamemedia is de laatste jaren toegenomen. Toch werkt men nog heel vaak volgens een verouderd, star patroon.
Zal dan nu plotseling de reclame-t.v. de panacee zijn voor onze kwalen?
Zal de reclame-t.v. ons de moed en souplesse geven?
Zal de reclame-t.v. ons aanzetten tot hernieuwd inspirerend denken over media-vraagstukken, mediakennis, mediafrequentie, interval, onderzoek, dokumentatie, opleiding, presentatie, creativiteit, relativiteit en ga zo maar door?
Ik help het hopen, samen met deze mensen-van-over-de-grenzen, die al eerder hebben gepleit voor de helling.

C. L. Mac Nelly, creative director Kenyon & Eckhardt (V.S.):

'All you have to do is get a bankrupt client who has no choice but to be permissive, write kooky advertising, get it in 'The New Yorker' and the subway, and you'll have a creative agency. Everyone will run to you and give you business. And they'll never ask how well the product did.'

Mike Feld, creative director St. Clair Associates (Engeland):

'Let's have a little forthrightness - even clumsiness - as long as it's original and does the job it's meant to. It'll work a lot harder than the processed, the slickety-slick copy of what's been done before. This is a time for returning to fundamentals.
For goodness sake let's start by restating what our business is trying to do. I'm tired of the tame and defensive thinking which has crept into advertising attitudes, into advertising itself.'

Jim Johnston, creative director The Griswold-Eshleman Co. (V.S.):

'The basis of the new creativity is not necessarily pretty ads, or even entertaining ads, but functional ads. The key word is functional. The ad must work. And the job of an ad is, today as ever, to reach, to communicate, to persuade. So the new creativity reveals as much - or even more - in functional small space ads or in a functional black-and-white commercial as it does in more lavish, more spectacular and more expensive examples of advertising imagination. The critical element is not the slickness of the advertisement but the soundness of the concept. The point of the new creativity is simply this. It is no longer enough to solve a creative problem. The problem must be solved in the most efficient way.'

H. P. Brigham, director p.r. and advertising American Optical Co. (V.S.):

'This is an urgent plea for advertising to get back to first principles, to fundamentals that are just as sound today as they were 25 years ago. Show and tell the benefits of ownership in pictures and words. Answer the unspoken but ever present question 'what's in it for me?'. So - take a good hard look at the advertising you are running today and the advertising you propose to run next year. Make sure the advertising appeals to all the people you want to sell. Let's forget the bizarre and get back to the bazaar. That's where the art of persuasion thrives.'

Paul Mertz

Figure 34. Article by Paul Mertz in Revue der Reclame, 1967

As the prospect for television advertising became more apparent, several agencies hired people with television experience. Prad employed both Max Appelboom, a former television director who had experience in the U.S., and Jeff Simpson and Malcolm Praton from the U.K. J. Walter Thompson's Dutch office recruited experts from its London office, while Smit's hired Theo Strengers, who had developed broadcasts for the AVRO (General Association of Radio Broadcasting), and for advertising agency NPO (National Publicity Company) employed TV-director Erik de Vries (who had been active as a television director at E55), and HVR, which was based in the Hague, hired Gidi van Liempd. He had worked for the AVRO and had been involved in making commercials for REM.

While advertising agencies were inexperienced, many Dutch production companies had already produced several commercials. In his book *De Documentaire Film 1945-65. De bloei van een filmgenre in Nederland* Bert Hogenkamp points at the interplay between the (longer) commissioned film and the advertising films; many Dutch producers, film producers and script writers worked for both.[253]

Geesink, in particular, had gained a formidable reputation for producing commercials for other countries. Other companies like Toonder Studio's and Cinecentrum also had experience in producing TV commercials. In the mid 1960s film production companies were preparing themselves for the coming of television advertising. That they took TV advertising seriously, was proved by the fact that Carillon Films started a new company that specialized in the production of commercials, TopSpot

Figure 35. Cover of TV Reclame Maken by Bert Kroon, 1967

Bert Kroon, managing director at Toonder's Studios, one of the leading film production companies, used his experiences to write the first Dutch textbook on television advertising, *TV Reclame Maken* (1967), whose cover described it a 'practical text book for advertisers, advertising agencies, and the interested TV-viewer'. The blurb also stated that, although a lot had already been said about television advertising in the Netherlands, it was remarkable that 'hardly anything was written about the technical peculiarities of this medium, which is new to our country'. In his introduction, Kroon pointed to the large interest in TV advertising among the press, public, and practitioners, and added that this was disproportionate to the miniscule scale of actual advertising within the medium. While nearly half of the newspapers in the Netherlands were filled with ads, only approximately three percent of the total broadcast time on Dutch television would be allotted to advertising. Television advertising's multifaceted character was the main reason, in Kroon's view, that it had gained so much attention: 'the combination of the moving image and sound is and will be so intriguing for the public that the advertisement that is brought alive on television will gather more attention and will be remembered longer than all other forms of advertising'.[254]

In his book, Kroon describes the making of television commercials step by step. Commercials had to be clear and to the point. The product should always be the starting point and should play the leading part in a commercial. Jokes that had nothing to do with the product should be avoided. Kroon asserted that it was not necessary to use humour to win viewers's attention; advertisers had no reason to be afraid that the public would lack interest. 'Because it is proven, once again abroad, that many viewers turn on their television set to view the commercials: they want to be told about where the best buys are, what news there is, recipes, new brands and better products'.[255]

Kroon saw a central role for the script writer in the commercial making process. He had to write the script using his information about the product and take into account earlier advertising for the same product. 'The easiest lead is generally the advertisement. If a product is advertised [in print] for months or years using the same sweet girls in a meadow full of flowers who present a bottle of *eau de cologne*, then these same girls, presuming they are still available, will also show this bottle in the television commercial.'[256] This did not mean that the TV commercial had to be an exact copy of the print ad: the script writer should limit, for example, dialogue in the script.[257]

Besides the script writer, the production leader and the director also made important contributions to the end result. The production had to coordinate the production and oversee all the details; he had to select, among other things, the director and the composer (if music was needed). The director had the 'artistic responsibility' of turning the script into an advertising movie. 'He may protest against the storyboard if he knows that it is not possible to make a believable commercial out of it. If he comes up with sensible arguments, his authority will surely be recognised.'[258]

For Kroon press advertising was an important precedent. He described the commercial as 'an advertisement that was brought to live on the television screen', but also advised the script writer to draw from the respective press ad. Interestingly, Kroon expected beforehand that commercials would grab the viewing public's attention. Thus, TV ads should be to-the-point and informative, and avoid any narrative detours.

Kroon was not the only one who wrote extensively about television advertising content. Beginning in November 1966, two months before the launch of STER, Christiaan Oerlemans, a copywriter at the Amsterdam advertising agency Masius NV, regularly wrote about TV advertising for *Revue der Reclame* under the pseudonym 'Spottenkijker' (Spot viewer). Oerlemans formulated his principal views on television advertising in an article 'Television asks for a new guild of copywriters'. Because the centrality of

images was one of the main differences between television and press advertising, a new kind of copywriter was needed for TV, who was able to think in images. The TV viewer was watching, not reading. Therefore script writers had to learn to think visually and to realise that campaigns from the so-called 'static [i.e., print] media' could not always be translated directly for television. In the days of REM, these insights were not common knowledge. Copywriters had made storyboards for television, without any idea of the technical possibilities and limitations of the medium. 'This way combinations of moving advertisements and radio commercial were produced in many cases.'[259]

Like most experts, Oerlemans listed several do's and don'ts that advertisers and agencies had to consider. One was not to forget the aim of the commercial: to present the product as positively as possible. 'First (and only!) the TV commercial has the goal to sell the product. And however strange it may sound, the TV viewer expects nothing else. He will feel betrayed if the sales message is not presented in a relevant way.'[260] Commercials always had to contain news, drama, or amusement, because most viewers were interested in these things. Amusement should be used carefully, Oerlemans added. 'Humour generally is not welcomed, unless it is about cheap articles like candy.' Another suggestion was to use voice-overs instead of the voices of actors because he felt it was hard to find actors and actresses who were able to speak in a natural way. Furthermore, television advertising should not be disturbing. 'Anything that can lead to annoyance or criticism should be avoided. Therefore the hard selling advertising that tries to hammer the message down in a ruthless way cannot be recommended.'[261]

As we have seen, the advertising industry began to take a more active interest in television beginning in the mid 1950s. Besides technical and economic aspects, several issues were discussed in the trade press over the following years. Would it be best to concentrate purely on sales, and to choose the American-style hard sell approach? Or was it better not to follow the American example and not to confront the Dutch public with sales driven advertising? Closely related to this issue was the question of the degree to which TV advertising differed from print. Although TV's novelty and uniqueness was widely acknowledged, several practitioners also pointed to its familiarity. According to Kroon, advertisers could expect the full attention of the public, and therefore commercials should not distract viewers too much. TV commercials should be first of all informative. Oerlemans held a similar view. He also expected that viewers would be interested in television advertising beforehand, and advised advertisers to stay as close as possible to the product and the intended sales message in their commercials. Oerlemans warned his colleagues, however, to prepare themselves for criticism and to avoid anything that might be construed as annoying or irritating. The future would show that Oerleman's concerns were not misplaced.

3.8. The beginning of Dutch TV advertising

On Monday January 2, 1967, at seven o' clock in the evening, the first advertisements on Dutch public television were officially broadcast. The seven commercials lasted no longer than a total of three minutes. Viewers were shown a mêlée of short advertising films for brands like Kwatta chocolate, Gero, a cutlery manufacturer, Jumbo, a producer of board games, and the Zenith watchmaker firm. Seen today, the first commercials make a somewhat clumsy and amateurish impression. The actor's movements are rather slow, and elements like humour and emotional appeals – nowadays a regular part of most television advertising – are absent. But does this mean that advertising practitioners had made it easy for themselves by choosing a hard sell-approach, as was feared by Frenkel Frank and Kirschner among others? It does not appear so. The Cebuco commercial, created by the agency Young & Rubicam-Van Staal en Koster, and directed by

Theo van Haren Norman (who had been a cameraman at E55), revealed a deliberate attempt to use the possibilities of television. The camera zooms out to create a surprising effect of reflecting the letters in the eyeglasses of the actor. This was a clear attempt to give the commercial a greater aesthetic appeal. Advertisers tried to use the new medium in an original way in other commercials too. In the one for Syntraciet coals, the coals were playfully displayed as musical notes. The Kwatta commercial showed the popular Dutch singer Ramses Shaffy eating a chocolate bar to a musical accompaniment. In short, these January 1967 commercials embraced a diversity of approaches, without taking a hard sell approach.

Figure 36. Image from a commercial for Kwatta chocolate with the famous Dutch singer Ramses Shaffy, 1967

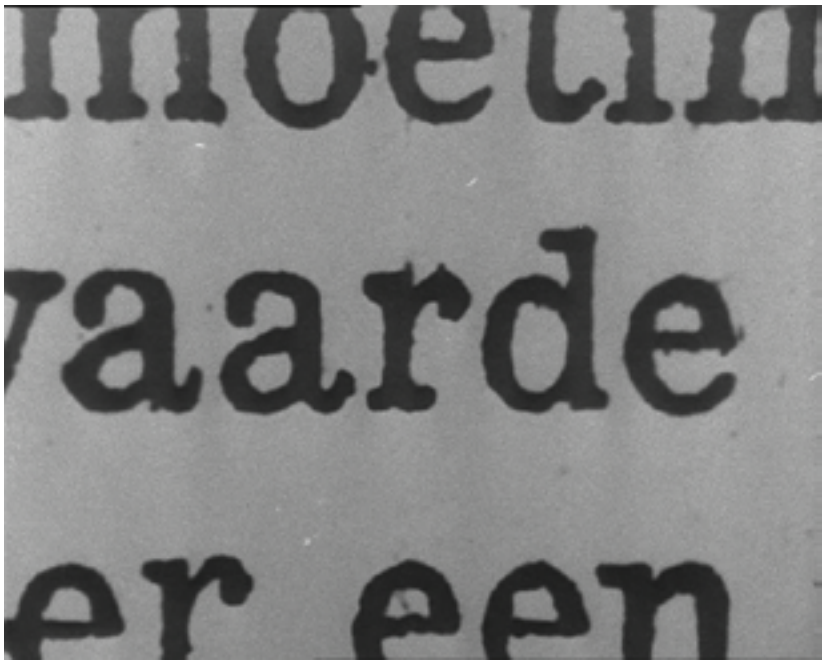


Figure 37. Image from the first official Dutch television commercial, for Cebuco, the organisation of newspaper publishers, 1967

Figure 38. Images from a commercial for Zenith, 1967

De commercials van 2

De commercials van maandagavond 2 januari 1967, op deze pagina aan de vergetelheid ontrokken en voor de geschiedenis bewaard.

Naam	Produkt	Lengte (sec.)
Cebuco	dagbladen	30
Gero	tafelzilver	20
Kwatta	choc.repen	15
Jumbo	spellen	30
Calgon	wasmiddel	20
Eyssen	smeerkaas	15
Zenith	horloges	30
Syntraciet	steenkool	20
AEG	wasmachines	30
Philips	goodwill-film	60
V & D	spec. aanbieding	30
Penaten	baby-artikelen	10
Prodent	tandpasta	20
4711	eau de cologne	30
Steenkolen	collectief	30
Dreft	wasmiddel	45
Velpon	lijm	15
Cebuto/ Censouri	reisbureau/ vliegreizen	30

Figure 39. Images from commercials that were broadcast on January 2, 1967 (Revue der Reclame Express)

The newspaper reviews during the first weeks of January were varied and not altogether positive. The liberal newspaper, *Algemeen Handelsblad*, characterised the commercials as 'a nice set of mediocre spots', and added: 'In general, it is obvious that the advertising was civilised, as insiders had predicted, but it was not very exciting'. The socialist newspaper, *Het Parool,* held the opinion that the commercial breaks consisted mainly of 'rather hollow slogans' and that 'much was said, sometimes in a few seconds too much'.[262] The trade press was also largely critical. 'Dutch TV advertising's start [was] below expectations', was the

verdict of *Revue der Reclame Expres* (the special news edition of *Revue der Reclame*). That first night, eighty advertising practitioners had watched all broadcasted advertisements from two separate locations. In Amsterdam, A. Emens, director of DelaMar agency, summed up the opinions of the gathered practitioners by stating that 'the notion of creativity, that is so often invoked when TV advertising is concerned, had manifested itself too seldomly'. The Amsterdam group felt that many of the commercials had too much information and they hardly exploited TV's potential for product demonstration. Practitioners in the other city, Hengelo (in the east), were dismissive. They generally felt that 'several of the commercials seemed to be made for the board of directors of the companies instead of the consumer'.[263]

I. TARIEVEN

Onderstaande tarieven zijn gegrond op schattingen aan de hand van kijkdichtheidscijfers op verschillende tijdstippen van de uitzendtijd in afgelopen perioden. Zodra over een langere periode mechanisch gemeten bereikscijfers (aantal ingeschakelde toestellen) tijdens de verschillende reclameblokken verzameld zullen zijn, zal een nieuw gedifferentieerd tarief kunnen worden vastgesteld. Het huidige moet dan ook als een aanlooptarief worden beschouwd.

Secondenprijzen per reclameblok (excl. O.B.)

Nederland	I blok 1	na	nieuws van 19 uur	*f* 164,—
Nederland	I blok 2	vóór	nieuws van 20 uur	*f* 272,—
Nederland	I blok 3	na	nieuws van 20 uur	*f* 272,—
Nederland	II blok 4	na	nieuws van 20 uur	*f* 110,—
Nederland	II blok 5	vóór	nieuws van ±22.15 uur	*f* 110,—
Nederland	I blok 6	vóór	zaterdagmiddagprogr. (volwassenen)	*f* 164,—
Nederland	I blok 7	na	zaterdagmiddagprogr. (volwassenen)	*f* 164,—

Deze secondenprijzen kunnen met max. 3 x 5% worden verhoogd, wanneer bepaalde schriftelijk geuite wensen van aanvragers van zendtijd door STER worden ingewilligd. Men vindt deze wensen en toeslagen omschreven onder het hoofd „Opties".
De secondenprijzen worden met 10% verlaagd voor uitzendingen in de maanden juli en augustus.

Lengten der televisie-advertenties
Standaardlengten zijn 15 sec., 20 sec., 30 sec., 45 sec. en 60 sec. Advertenties van 10 sec. zullen in beperkte mate, zulks ter beoordeling van STER, voor uitzending worden aangenomen. De uitzendprijs wordt bepaald door de standaardlengte van de advertenties in seconden (= het aantal beelden gedeeld door 25) te vermenigvuldigen met de secondenprijs. Bij overschrijding van de opgegeven standaardlengte in seconden wordt de prijs van de volgende standaardlengte berekend. TV-advertenties van méér dan 60 sec. lengte kunnen bij uitzondering, ter beoordeling van STER, worden geaccepteerd.

Figure 40. Page from Tarieven Algemene Voorwaarden Technische Voorschriften Nederlandse Televisiereclame, STER september 1966

Figure 41. Logo STER, 1967

In spite of these criticisms, their comments also evinced some feeling of relief. As we have seen, TV advertising had been portrayed as a potentially dangerous and manipulative influence on public opinion. These first transmissions, however, seemed to belie those concerns. STER reported that most television set owners seemed pleased with the introduction of TV advertising after the initial broadcast.[264] Subsequent research conducted among 500 television set owners by the research firm NIPO (Dutch Institute for Public Opinion) at the end of the first two weeks, confirmed STER's initial findings. 51 percent of the respondents felt that ads had enhanced the programming, 35 percent reported no difference, and only 11 percent preferred TV without advertising.[265] Following these first STER broadcasts, TV advertising was integrated into regular programming. Every day (with the exceptions of Sundays), several commercial breaks were broadcasted of three to five minutes each. Based on STER's annual reports, we can conclude that in the first years of Dutch commercial broadcasting, ads occupied no more than half an hour out of an entire evening's transmissions.

The lack of archival records, however, makes it difficult to provide a representative overview of Dutch TV advertising in these first years. We have to rely mainly on reviews and comments in the trade press, and on the few campaigns and commercials that have been preserved.

What do we see when we look at these commercials? First, it is striking that most commercials were rather 'literate' - text played an important, if not central, role. Typical is the frequent use of voice-overs that commented on the images. An invisible background voice often delivered the advertising message with an air of authority. A good example of this is a commercial for Trenco IT shirts. We see a man who tries on a shirt from an unknown brand, but when he pulls on his sleeves, he tears the shirt. A female voice-over then comments: 'Forget these shirts from an unknown brand. Now there is Trenco IT.' Another example is a commercial for Prodent toothpaste that features a woman brushing her teeth. While the camera focuses on her beautiful teeth and shows the tube, the voice-over claims that Prodent is the most popular toothpaste in the Netherlands, takes care of white teeth, has a fresh taste, and is cheap. In a Schick electric razor commercial, fifteen barbers do a 'cheek-test'. They shave one cheek with electric razors from an unidentified brand,

while the other is shaved with a Schick razor. The voice-over claims that the judgement is unanimous: Schick is clearly better.

Laundry detergent commercials played an important part in the early years of Dutch television advertising. There was a fierce competition, partly fought on TV, between brands like Omo, Dash, Sunil, Fuz, and Dreft. There was no lack of superlatives in this battle, with all brands claiming that they washed whiter and more powerfully than the others. All kind of techniques and tricks were employed to convince the viewer:

Figure 42. Stills from commercials for the laundry detergent brands Dreft and Dash, 1967

Figure 43. Sunil, commercial, 1968

cartoons, demonstrations, and dialogues between women. A 1967 commercial for Sunil was typical. A woman hangs her laundry outside to dry. Then a man appears, accompanied by a few female assistants. He asks if she would allow them to do her laundry once more. The result is not surprising: the laundry has become very white, and the woman declares that she will buy Sunil from now on.

Figure 44. Sunil, detail of an advertisement, 1965

Retail advertising was another important component of TV advertising in the beginning. In most of these commercials, the products played the leading part and the text was dominant. A commercial for De Gruyter-coffee alternated images of packages of coffee with shots of a woman in a supermarket taking a package of coffee from a shelf, making coffee at home, and concluded with her husband drinking the coffee. Meanwhile, a voice-over commands: 'De Gruyter-koffie. Kies die koffie. Koop die koffie.' (De Gruyter coffee. Choose that coffee. Buy that coffee). A comparable approach can be seen in a TV campaign for a cooperative supermarket called Co-op. The campaign consisted of sale items from the supermarket's products. Within a consistent format, different articles are presented, and the commercials have a structure that appears to be based on press advertisements: instead of making the products part of a story, each commercial is built on loose, more or less independent parts to advertise different products.[266]

Figure 45, 46 and 47. Images from a commercial for De Gruyter coffee, 1960s

Although serious 'reason why'-advertising dominated Dutch TV advertising's first years, there were also commercials, such as animated ads, that were clearly meant to be entertaining. Dutch production companies like Geesink and Toonder Studio's had specialised in animation for many years .[267] It offered the possibility of giving commercials a lighter touch. A well-known example are the cartoon commercials for the Dutch Dairy Institute (Nederlands Zuivelbureau), in which the figure of Joris Driepinter fulfilled heroic deeds because he drank three glasses of milk each day. Animations were also used in commercials for products meant for grown-ups, such as the candy manufacturer Red Band, in which a little man played the main part by rescuing grown-ups from all kinds of situations thanks to Red Band-products. Albert Winninghoff, director of the Noordervliet & Winninghoff agency, explained that for these kinds of impulse-based products, a 'light' unpretentious atmosphere featuring animations was most suitable. 'We want the consumer to find us sympathetic'. [268] A commercial for Zanussi refrigerators, in which hockey players skate in the direction of a refrigerator, provides another example. The commercial received an international award.[269] Combinations of animations and live-action were also quite popular. In a commercial for Esso, an animated tiger serves as a service station attendant. Its competitor BP used the same format with a few 'smurfs' at a gas station.[270]

Figure 48. Nederlands Zuivelbureau, Joris Driepinter, early 1970s

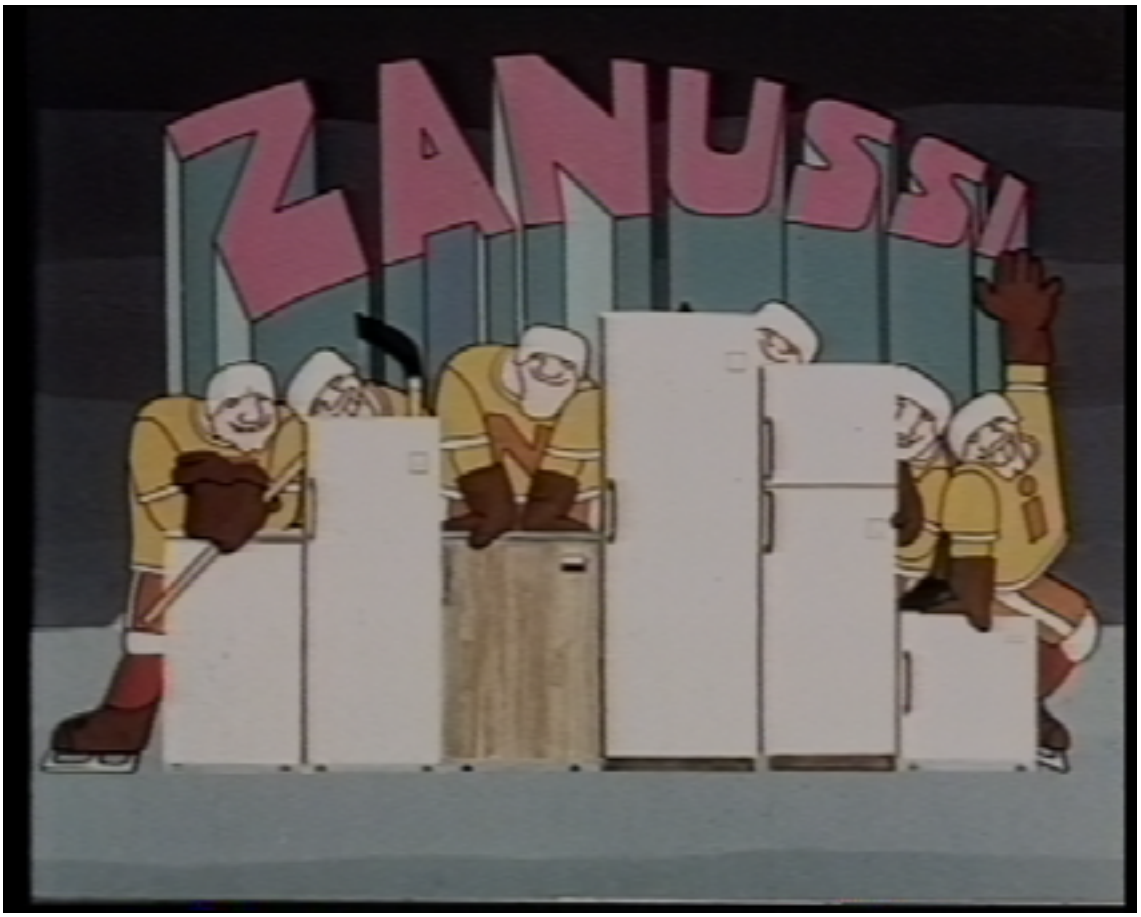


Figure 49. Zannussi, commercial directed by Max Fischer, 1970

Besides animations, there were live-actions 'soft-sell' campaigns that were designed to be entertaining. The ad campaign for Jamin, a national chain of candy stores, became very popular. It features a presenter (played by the well-known actor Ton van Duinhoven) who talks about the firm's products in an amusing way. In one commercial, he recounts his visit to Jamin and tells the viewers 'secret' information about a new product, asking them not to betray his confidence. 'It was typically a campaign in which each advertising agency would say: this will not work', Gidi van Liempd, producer of the Jamin-campaign, remembered. 'It was outside of all the norms that were accepted for advertising, like being informative and making sure the name of the brand gets better known.'[271] No less amusing was the campaign for King Corn, a brand of bread sold at supermarkets. Its most famous commercial shows a little boy who is planning to run away from home. When his father asks him why, he replies that at his friend's house, they have King Corn bread. Instead of ordering his son to stay home, the father decides to follow him. A commercial for Volkswagen, in which a dealer and a female customer discuss the form of the Beetle, is also noteworthy. She is surprised when he tells her that the model's name is 'Beetle'. It does not look like a beetle to her, but more like an apple. According to Guido Hasselaar, creative director at HVR, the agency responsible for the VW commercials, the TV-campaign was unique, even from an international perspective, because of 'the lack of any advertising message'.[272]

Notwithstanding these examples, reviews in the trade press indicate that intention in most early television advertising was to use the 'hard-sell' techniques to convince consumers. In a comparison of Dutch and Swiss TV advertising, J.A. van der Houten, director of the Recla agency, concluded that there were huge differences between the two. Besides the inferior quality of the Dutch commercials ('the combi-

nation of sound and image is horrible'), the main difference was in the use of humour. 'In Switzerland you see little stories with nice songs, etcetera. Most commercials here are far too serious.'[273]

Figure 50,51 and 52. Images from a King Corn-commercial, 1969

During TV advertising's first years, live-action, the form usually associated with a hard sell-approach, became the most important type of TV advertising by far. According to the STER's annual reports in 1968, 59,8 percent of commercials were live-action, and this had grown to 84,4 percent by 1971. In these live-action commercials, product demonstrations and user situations were prevalent. Most advertisers apparently expected TV advertising to present the qualities and advantages of the product above all else. Entertaining the public had little or no priority.

3.9. The reviews by Spottenkijker

How did practitioners themselves react to television commercials in this period? The comments in the trade press show that television advertising was at the centre of their attention. Bert Kroon's remark remained true even after the start of STER: although a relatively small part of the total spending on advertising went to television, it was a prominent topic in the trade press.

One main focus of practitioners's attention was the question of effectiveness. Reports were regularly published on the results of television advertising. After the STER's first broadcast, NIPO measured the impact of several commercials. Respondents were asked what they remembered of the commercials and if

they were planning to buy the products.[274] Here, as in other, later research, the focus was squarely on the memory of the consumer; there was little or no attention for their appreciation of the commercial itself.

This should not imply, however, that the content of television advertising was fully neglected. One practitioner who regularly wrote about TV advertising from this perspective was the aforementioned Christian Oerlemans. His reviews not only made clear the commercials he valued most, but also his views on their content.

In his November 1966 article 'Television asks for a new guild of copywriters' (see earlier in this chapter), Oerlemans formulated his basic ideas on TV advertising. In his monthly reviews from 1967 onwards he applied these principles. He claimed, for instance, that many of his colleagues did not really know how to cope with the televisual medium. A typical example was a commercial for Belofast shirts, which was based on wordplay. A cello player is seen playing his instrument and explaining that, as he does not like to iron, he prefers self-ironing Belofast shirts. In Dutch, 'strijken', the word for 'ironing', also means to play a bass or cello, hence the joke.[275] For Oerlemans this was a typical example of a TV commercial that was based on a purely textual, rather than visual, approach.

This is similar to his description of a commercial for Zwanenberg, as a 'typical radio commercial (...) to which images were added'.[276] In a comment on a Sunil ad (see also p. 72), Oerlemans elaborated on the differences between TV and press advertising. The concept of a 'lesson' was not unusual in Dutch press advertising and hardly anyone found it irritating, he claimed. 'But now we do it on television. And immediately it appears so real, so direct. They all become real people, a real washing team that will show a stupid housewife how lousy her washing is.'[277] He was no less critical about a commercial for Ovomaltine, in which a series of 'wiped' (slide-like transitions) images were shown, while a voice-over read the text. It was characteristic of commercials made by people who still thought in terms of static media, Oerlemans argued. 'Is this television? The medium that derives its power from the "moving" images, the medium with the limitless possibilities?'[278]

Oerlemans's comments generally adhered to his belief that that the specific possibilities of the medium TV had to be used in advertising. Yet, he fundamentally changed his opinion in another respect after the debut of television advertising. Although he had warned against using humour in ads, in 1968 he stated that 'entertainment (or call it fun) is very important in TV advertising'[279] He also changed his view on the issue of originality. Before 1967, he had paid hardly any attention to it, but his thoughts on the subject changed afterwards. In a 1967 review of several soft drink commercials, Oerlemans remarked that they all looked very much alike, making it difficult to recall the specific brands. This proved how important it was to be different.[280] And to make commercials that were really different, creativity was needed. 'Being creative is nothing but making the usual unusual'.[281]

Oerlemans ended his column after two years. In his last article, he concluded that, from a technical point of view, Dutch TV advertising had improved. Yet, the industry could not become complacent; too many commercials were still not *real* commercials and were not really suited to the medium due to a lack of creative TV specialists in the Netherlands. Too often advertisers hired production companies to make the commercials, and these firms knew little about the televisual medium's demands, especially concerning communications and marketing. What advertisers needed was a strong television-oriented advertising agency, with a particular focus on creativity. Until now advertising practitioners had followed too slavishly the patterns and rules with which they were familiar. TV advertising would enter into a bright future only when they could let go of these rules.[282]

Oerlemans's views on TV advertising showed some remarkable and interesting shifts over the

course of the early years. Before the start of the STER, he had stressed the importance of effectiveness and directness, and counseled against making commercials that were humorous and distracting. Afterwards, he developed a somewhat different view, stressing creativity, humour, and the need for commercials to be distinctive.

Oerlemans repeatedly remarked that TV advertising was still in its infancy, a perspective shared among practitioners as shown in an interesting debate organised by *Revue der Reclame* after TV advertising's first year. Representatives of STER, advertising agencies and advertisers also took part in this debate. Most participants argued that the majority of the problems with Dutch TV advertising were technical. Sometimes there were difficulties with sound-image synchronisation, while in other commercial the voices could hardly be heard. Their messages also often lacked in clarity. As Chris Smeekes, adjunct-director of STER, remarked, 'More than once we were watching a commercial and even after looking twice, we didn't know what the product was about or what the intention was.'[283] In his view, there was often too much focus on the text - the images should do the job. Moreover, TV advertising should be pleasant to watch, STER director G. Vogelaar added. 'Every advertising movie that is not in some way enjoyable, is a priori missing the point.'[284]

According to the debate's participants, the inferiority of many Dutch TV commercials was due to the lack of professional or technical experience. Dutch directors did not really grasp that TV was different from other media. Another problem was the Dutch language. 'Using English as an instrument is much easier and more effective than Dutch, in which it is nearly impossible to say what you have in mind in a terse, quick, short, and penetrating way', said Vogelaar.[285] Besides, the Dutch lacked a strong film tradition. 'We are able to produce beautiful documentaries. If we can take time, the mills will run, the water will bubble, the clouds will hang over. It is all brilliant. But being quick, terse, and champagne-like is not in our nature.'[286] Jan Woerlee, director of Lintas agency, argued that as a TV-commercial seldom lasted for more than a minute, there was no time for detours, and especially not for humour and entertainment.[287]

In spite of these and other shortcomings, the overall judgement of the debate participants was positive. Advertisers had not attempted to deceive people with words, claimed Joop Oppenheim, advertising manager at Van Nelle. Moreover, was it reasonable to expect TV advertising to be perfect after just one year?[288] All in all, the bumpy start was no reason to be pessimistic. The negative expectations of some critics had not, after all, come true. TV advertising turned out to be less intrusive than had been expected.

Oerlemans's articles and the *Revue der Reclame* debate are some of the more extensive treatments on television advertising content in the trade press. They share the observation that television was a medium in which practitioners were still ill at ease and where a lot still had to be learned. In these and other comments, television was frequently compared with press advertising. Practitioners knew how to handle press ads, and they slowly came to realise that they had to do things differently on television where images played a much more important part. Yet, it turned out to be difficult to put these and other insights into practice. Before the introduction of television advertising, it had seemed that success would be mainly a matter of observing the appropriate do's and don'ts. After January 1967, however, it became clear that something more was needed. TV was a medium that made its own demands.

3.10. Continuity and change

During this same period, there was a growing discontent over TV advertising. As we have seen, the public had been rather positive about TV advertising after the start of STER. After a few years, however, public

sentiment began to change. In 1969, the Makrotest research agency, on behalf of Prad, asked people their opinion on advertising. The results were published in the report, *The irritated consumer/the absent viewer* (*De geïrriteerde consument/de afwezige kijker*). In a list of daily annoyances, advertising took in a middle position - television programmes and the behaviour of Dutch students rated higher on the irritability index. When asked what kind of advertising irritated them the most, nearly half of the respondents - 43 percent – mentioned direct-mail advertising. TV advertising came second with 41 percent. In addition to its intrusive character, respondents were irritated by the frequent repetition of commercials and their tendency to portray products too rosily. They were mostly irritated by commercials for laundry and soap detergents. Although TV advertising was still rather new and only a small percentage of advertising spending went to television, 66 percent of respondents, when asked what they associated with advertising, thought of television first. After two years of STER broadcasts, consumers had apparently come to regard TV commercials as the most important form of advertising. The Makrotest report also showed that TV advertising's hold on viewers' attention was less than generally assumed. Many TV set owners did not often watch the commercials. A 1971 report by NIPO also showed a growing critical attitude among the public. The percentage of viewers that preferred TV without advertising had increased from 11 to 28 percent.[289]

For the advertising industry, *The irritated consumer* was already a cause for concern. A second report, *Advertising and the Public. A research into identity* (*Reclame en Publiek. Een onderzoek naar Identiteit*) (1973), gave them far more reason to be pessimistic. This time, research was done on behalf of the NRS (Netherlands Advertising Foundation), an organisation founded in 1972 to represent the advertising industry. While no more than 17 percent of the respondents thought of TV-advertising as disturbing in 1969, this had risen to 55 percent four years later. The researchers found no correlation between negative attitudes towards advertising and discontent on broader societal developments. Unease with advertising did not represent a similar disquiet with the consumer society, environmental pollution, etc. Advertising was, in itself, the source of people's growing annoyance.

In 1974, only a year after the NSR report, a new research report came out, titled *Consumerism. A research into the consumer in a changing society* (*Consumentisme. Een onderzoek naar de consument in een veranderende samenleving*), by Inter/View, the Institute for Psychological Market Research (Instituut voor Psychologisch Marktonderzoek). It showed that, once again, public irritation against advertising had risen. Out of 734 respondents, at least 65 percent had little or no appreciation for advertising. This time the researchers looked more closely into the connection between attitudes towards advertising and towards society in general, and their opinions differed from their colleagues at the NRS. In their view, there was a clear correlation between the two - criticism against advertising reflected the broader concerns of the Dutch public. Growing prosperity had led consumers to expect increases in their happiness and satisfaction, and the researchers argued that TV advertising had strongly stimulated these expectations. 'It is advertising that shows the viewer of the STER broadcast each night how happy he will be if he only... uses X, does Y, buys Z.' But the dreams that advertising evoked were not fulfilled. 'People find out that the possession of different products – instead of adding up to their happiness – lead to new frustrations and dissatisfaction, and they discover that the products do not fulfill the psychological needs they expected. (...) Besides, the consumer nowadays is confronted with all kinds of information about the ways companies are destroying our collective fairytale of welfare, for instance by polluting the environment, and wasting scarce resources. This can further strengthen and channel already existing feelings of frustration and discontent.' According to the researchers, criticism of advertising should not be taken as a sign that people want to take an active part in a changing society, but should be seen as a passive expression of their dissatisfaction. After years

of material prosperity, the consumer now opened his eyes, felt disappointed, and blamed it on advertising.

It was not only the public who were irritated by TV commercials. Journalists also expressed their annoyance. In the first half of the 1970s they penned several articles against the 'evil force' of TV advertising. 'The indoctrination of the STER messages pushes the people into buying things they do not really need', a journalist of the Catholic newspaper, *De Tijd*, wrote in 1975.[290] Writing in the magazine, *the Woman and Her House* (*De Vrouw en haar Huis*), two years earlier, the journalist Leo Pronk accused advertising practitioners of making people feel uneasy if they did not fit the images sketched in their commercials. 'He [the advertising practitioner] makes them feel that they should conform to the "masses". And he more than once implies that they commit a crime against their family if they do not use a certain kind of washing powder, toothpaste, soap, or deodorant.'[291] The politicians Joop Voogd (PvdA) and Jan Nico Scholten (KVP) were very active in their battle against TV advertising, and in the mid 1970s came up with a proposal to abolish the STER.[292] Criticism was also expressed in the movie *Identity* by journalist and film director Jan Vrijman (1971). In this 'docudrama' (a combination of a documentary and a drama) a Dutch advertising agency was portrayed in a rather negative way. In the daily work of its employees ethical considerations seemed far less important than making money. Identity, that was partly financed by the GVR (Society for Advertising) was critized by representatives of the advertising industry for giving a 'false impression'.[293] The research reports and reactions from journalists and politicians garnered a lot of attention in the trade press. Not everyone was impressed, though. In a letter to the editor of *Ariadne*, one reader argued that the rise in public irritation was exaggerated. Was not irritation a natural part of advertising, especially in such an intrusive medium as TV? Was it really, then, such a problem if TV advertising was irritating? And did not the same report show that the same housewives complained about TV ads for laundry detergent brands like Dash, Dreft, and Omo, still bought these same products?[294]

Nonetheless, many advertising professionals were worried. Walther Schaper, chief editor of *Ariadne*, noticed a 'growing anti-mood against TV advertising'.[295] Schaper concluded that TV advertising had brought no good to the advertising industry. 'To be honest, TV advertising has caused a change in the general image of advertising, and it is clear that this change is far from positive.'[296] STER director Smeekes was no less concerned and advised advertisers 'not to disregard the criticism'.[297]

Figure 53. Hans Ferree, 2000 (nl.wikipedia.org)

A interesting analysis was provided by the copywriter Hans Ferrée, in a *Revue der Reclame* article from 1968. After one year of television advertising, he concluded that it had influenced the industry's general image, and had made people more advertising-conscious than ever before. 'Before the coming of television advertising, the public hardly ever thought about the phenomenon of advertising. That was the way it should be. Advertising should not ask attention for itself, but it should only deliver a message. Television has made everything different. Television advertising confronts millions of people with the essence of advertising. People become conscious of advertising and start to be annoyed by it.' In countries like Britain and the United States, this had already resulted in mounting criticism, and even in restrictions on advertising practice. The same process was already underway in the Netherlands and advertisers were slowly realising that they had to change course. 'The era of the so called 'hard sell' is over', Ferrée stated. 'Slowly, very slowly, there is appreciation for the fact that a style of advertising in which it is said that life is only worthwhile if you buy this or that product, is irritating, because such a statement is ridiculous.' This change had to have consequences for the industry itself. Advertising had to change. 'It can be done differently and it has to be done differently'.[298]

3.11. After the honeymoon

By the beginning of the 1970s, things had changed in the Dutch advertising industry. One of the changes was in the situation of the film production companies. According to Ariadne, in 1970 no less than fifty companies were working in the field of TV advertising, and fifteen of them produced TV commercials on a regular basis. But there was not enough work available for all of them. While in 1967 2253 new TV commercials had been presented to the STER before broadcasting, in 1968 the amount had dropped to 1283 and in 1969 to 1170.[299] Besides, Dutch film production companies were confronted with the fact that several advertisers and advertising agencies preferred working with foreign, and especially British production companies, because of their experience and their professional attitude. According to Michiel Beishuizen, who worked as a radio- and TV producer at Prad, Dutch production companies had no fantasy. 'They are able to put everything on celluloid neatly, but that's it. They have no creative input at all.'[300] In the early 1970s it turned out that production companies had been too optimistic about TV advertising. Several of them decreased or completely ended their activities in TV advertising: TopSpot was liquidated in 1972.

It was clear that the honeymoon between Dutch TV advertising and the public was over. It was no longer seen as a new phenomenon that deserved the benefit of the doubt. Along with growing public irritation, articles in the trade press increasingly stressed the need to approach TV advertising differently.

But of what should these changes consist? In 1971, Peter Selsby, a British director of commercials, remarked in an *Ariadne* article that making a good commercial was far from easy. 'In 20 or 30 seconds we have to amuse, to interest, to entertain, and to communicate. Making a commercial is much harder than making a press ad or a poster'. If Dutch advertisers and advertising agencies wanted to make better commercials, they had to give their creative talent more freedom. Many advertisers, as we have seen, were apparently afraid to indulge in creativity. 'Dutch TV advertising is wasteful and, above all, expensive because most Dutch TV commercials are bad and lack any creative marketing ideas.'[301] Teun Notten, a radio- and television director at the Recla-Janssens agency, was also convinced that the problem was technical limitations or international competition. 'It is much more important that the ideas for both TV and radio

commercials improve drastically.' In his view, the mediocrity of Dutch commercials was due to a lack of 'guts': 'the real good scripts are put aside both by the bureaus and by the clients because they think they cannot be realised.'[302]

Aan de Ster heeft het niet gelegen...

Wat waren wij toch ondersteboven van de mogelijkheden van de televisiereclame.

En hoe werden wij weer met beide voeten op de grond gezet door de uitspraak, dat de teevee-reclame minder effect heeft gesorteerd dan wij allen destijds verwachtten.

Aan u, mannen van het jubilerende STER-team, heeft dat niet gelegen. In die vijf jaar kreeg u naast goede en eerlijke spots ook tal van films met bedenkelijke boodschappen, met tweederangs acteurs, met geënsceneerde interviews. Soms ook films qua vorm oh zo mooi, maar vol van on-echtheden.

In die jaren keken wij ook met plezier naar programma's, waarin de teevee op haar sterkst was door echte gebeurtenissen, zoals de avonturen van de astronauten, de strijd van 22 top-voetbal-lers, aangrijpende documentaires, onthullende interviews en zelfs een wankelend decor verhoogde de kijkwaarde van een feilloos Mies Bouwman-programma.

Wij, de filmers van Cineteam, keken niet alleen naar zulke programma's, we maakten ze ook: documentaires, reportages, interviews.

Wonderlijk, hoe die ervaring fijn te pas komt bij het maken van reclamespots voor de STER.

Ferenc Ka'lma'n-Ga'll
CINETEAM FILMPRODUKTIE
Lindelaan 2 Bussum

Figure 54. Advertisement for Cineteam, 1972

Figure 55. cover Revue der Reclame, What is creativity?, 1971

In their search for a new approach, several practitioners looked to the United States. Gidi van Liempd traveled there and visited several American ad agencies. The trip had convinced him that TV advertising in the Netherlands remained behind that of the U.S. American agencies not only had the advantage of a large pool of experienced directors and actors upon which to draw and much larger budgets. They also knew how to get down to the root of the matter. 'There is a platform from which a creative director and a copy director determine the approach. They think straight – sidelines are out of the question. And if this straight line does not lead to the approach, they start again.'[303]

Michiel Beishuizen also believed that the United States could serve as an inspiring example for Dutch advertising practitioners. After attending the 17th International Advertising Movie Festival in Venice, he compared the Dutch entries with commercials made elsewhere, and concluded that Dutch practitioners still had a lot to learn. 'As far as direction, camera work, film editing, light, sound, color, and opticals are concerned, our entries surely do not rank as the worst in the World. The reason we did not win any prizes (...) is that our commercials, to say the least, are weak in ideas. Besides a few exceptions, they are all rather clumsy, without fantasy, and without any subtlety. It seems we are not able to elaborate on an idea until a script exists in which advertising and entertainment are in balance.' In these respects, the American entries were completely different. 'The American commercials are, without any doubt, the best', Beishuizen stated. 'In most cases the product is presented in a logical situation. No unnatural upgrading, no corny jokes, but good comedy work, excellently written, excellently acted, seemingly recorded on location, clearly lighted, filmed without nonsense, a good balance of entertainment and advertising, and therefore not irritating.'[304]

3.12. Tensions

Practitioner comments like those of Van Liempd and Beishuizen show once more that TV advertising content was a matter of fierce debate. From the moment it was first discussed by Dutch practitioners, it was seen as a two-sided topic. To be effective, TV advertising had to show in a clear and convincing way the product it had to sell. But practitioners realised from early on that there was another important element: irritation had to be avoided. The early warnings against following the American hard-sell approach too closely were not taken lightly.

The tension between these two dimensions characterised TV advertising discourse in the Netherlands in the early years. After the beginning of STER in 1967, the emphasis was clearly placed on the effectiveness of conveying the advertiser's message. In line with the expert's do's and don'ts, most advertisers chose a rational, hard sell approach, especially in commercials for laundry detergents. The dangers of this approach, however, soon became clear. The initial expectation that TV advertising could count on retaining viewer's interest and therefore had only to provide a clear, direct, and largely text-based message, did not hold true. As public criticism grew, voices in the trade press encouraged practitioners to depart from hard sell and to choose a more appealing and creative approach. In the professional discourse, attention shifted from the do's and don'ts to the concept of creativity. This meant that a strong idea was now seen as an essential prerequisite of a successful TV ad campaign, and that entertainment, and more specifically humour, should receive greater emphasis. By the 1970s, a new advertising paradigm emerged in which creativity, originality, and humour were the central values.

Does this imply a radical change in the way Dutch advertising practitioners looked at TV advertising? No, there was a strong professional sensitivity to TV advertising as early as the 1950s. Even then,

advertising professionals realised that TV was a medium that could easily generate criticism if it was not used in the right way. Yet there is still reason to conclude that, after the launch of TV advertising in 1967, mounting criticism heightened this sensitivity. Hans Ferrée argued that with the growing consciousness of the public regarding advertising, stimulated by the introduction of TV advertising, his colleagues had to change their methods and to adopt a soft sell approach.

Growing criticism of TV advertising seems to have paved the way for the victory of 'creativity' in Dutch advertising thinking. As the trade press comments reveal, Dutch practitioner's views on TV advertising became more critical during the 1970s. Later, beginning in the 1980s, this would lead to a growing number of ad campaigns that became highly popular with the public.

Comparing the British and Dutch Experience

If we want to understand the early history of television advertising, we need to pay close attention to the views of the professionals who were involved in the making of TV commercials. How did advertising practitioners address the content of television advertising in the first years of its existence? On which notions did they rely? From what perspectives did they look at TV advertising? What were their expectations? Did their views change in the course of the first years and, if so, in what direction? This monograph addresses these questions by looking at the discourse among advertising practitioners in both Britain and the Netherlands.

The comparison of the British and Dutch discourse among practitioners on early TV advertising makes clear the circumstantial differences in which TV advertising developed. To begin with, there is the difference in historical context. In Britain, TV advertising was introduced far earlier than in the Netherlands, which implies that there were less other countries from which the British could model their own practices, with the U.S. being the only significant example. In the Netherlands, where TV advertising developed a decade later, practitioners could draw on a wider range of national examples, including Switzerland and Britain itself. Another difference was each national media's respective organisational form. In the U.K., TV advertising was an essential part of a new institution, ITV, which needed advertising revenue to sustain itself. In the Netherlands, TV advertising was integrated into the existing structures of public broadcasting. The commercial model was introduced only in 1989. These differences had only a minor influence, however, on the discourse over TV advertising content. When we look at this discourse, we can see a high degree of similarity in the way that the views of practitioners developed in both countries.

The first phase

According to Bignell and Fickers 'every time a new medium has entered the existing mass media ensemble, the consequences of technical innovation, real and imagined, provoked both euphoria and unease within and without the communication industries'.[305] Although the introduction of advertising on television is not the same thing as the launch of a new medium, their argument is still helpful when we consider the reception of TV advertising in Britain and the Netherlands.

In the first phase, which runs from the years preceding to the first two to three years after the introduction of television advertising, we see a mixture of euphoria and unease. TV advertising was fiercely debated, especially among politicians and in the general press. In both Britain and the Netherlands, commentators feared that TV advertising might have major social consequences. It would endow advertisers with new powers to influence and even to manipulate the public, and thus, was seen by some as a threat to their societies. These fears, which were closely related to anticipations over TV advertising content, were

one the main reasons that TV advertising was seen as a phenomenon that needed supervision and control in the period before its introduction in both countries.

In these early pre-transmission years, the United States, where TV advertising had been part of the television landscape since the 1940s, was invoked. American culture was presumed to focus on consumption and status, and was seen by many critics as a spectre. 'The omnipresence of advertising' was one recurring feature of this criticism.[306] The American approach to commercial television, including its extensive room for advertising, was regarded as something that should not be copied. The idea that TV could be used as an instrument to persuade the public to buy products ran counter to British and Dutch assertions that the new medium had, first of all, a cultural and informational task. British and Dutch views on television implied a paternalistic attitude, in which politicians determined what was good for the public, and where television advertising had to be controlled to prevent that public from being manipulated by advertisers.[307]

While politicians and the press fiercely debated the impact of TV advertising, advertising practitioners in both countries generally did not take a strong stand at first. There were some practitioners who pointed to the risk that TV ads might provoke public irritation and thus harm the image of the advertising industry. In Britain, Robert Fraser, director general of the ITA, warned advertisers in 1955 to be careful with the new medium: 'Well used, it is the most powerful, memorable, and civilising medium for the communication of most things that was ever devised by the incredible brilliance of modern science. Ill used, it is just too awful to be believed'.[308] In the Netherlands advertising practitioners like Dimitri Frenkel Frank and Morton Kirschner warned their colleagues about the possible effects of choosing a hard sell approach in TV ads. These warnings were often accompanied by explicit references to American advertising, confirming once more the view that the American approach should not be followed.

But as far as the articles and comments in the trade press from this era allow us to judge, these concerns were not broadly shared in the advertising industry. Was it because most practitioners at this time were not really interested in TV advertising's possible impact on their respective societies? This was probably not the case. A more likely explanation is that, during this early phase, practitioners who were interested in TV advertising concentrated on the practical and technical dimensions of the new advertising medium. They regarded it as a welcome addition to their ability to both inform and persuade the public, which would add to the effectiveness of advertising in general.

When we look at this discourse, it becomes clear that the introduction of a new medium poses questions and dilemmas. Media scholars Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin argue, in *Remediation. Understanding New Media* (2000), that to understand a new medium, we need to see it in the context of other, earlier media.[309] When television was introduced as an advertising medium, one of the first questions posed by practitioners in this early phase was how TV was to be compared with other media as a medium for advertising. In the U.S. during the 1940s, TV advertising had often been compared to radio advertising and this led to the modeling of television programme sponsorship on that of radio. In Britain and the Netherlands this comparison was less relevant, because radio was hardly used as an advertising medium until after the introduction of TV advertising.[310] Instead TV advertising was compared with the most direct form of contact between the company and the consumer: the conversation between the sales agent and the potential buyer. One of TV's most recognised potentialities was the opportunity it offered, as a surrogate salesman, to demonstrate products. Both in Britain and the Netherlands, the metaphor of the 'surrogate salesman' was frequently used. As Don Archer from the John Haddoch & Co. advertising agency noted in 1955: 'It has been said that the best service any advertising agency could give a client would be to place a salesman and his message before each potential buyer of the product (...) Now television advertising goes

a long way towards fulfilling these conditions. It not only presents the salesman before the buyer in his own sitting room, but does so by invitation.'[311] TV was also set against such other forms of advertising as the cinema and the press, though these comparisons were apparently less appealing. Comparisons with cinema advertising stressed TV's greater sense of intimacy, while those with press advertising emphasised the latter's static quality and its lack of visual appeal.

Accompanying these inquiries over TV's relationship to other media, there also was the question of expertise, specifically the lack of personnel with experience in television advertising. In both Britain and the Netherlands, there was a strong interest in the views of American experts on TV advertising. These experts were invited to give lectures to commissioners and employees of British and Dutch agencies, and many of their articles were published in the national trade presses. In these lectures and articles generally the advantages of a practical, down-to-earth attitude were stressed. The dominant opinion of the foreign experts was that TV advertising should not be too complicated and hew closely to public expectations.

This strong reliance on experts from abroad shows how uncertain many British and Dutch advertising practitioners felt about the new medium. During this first phase, practitioners seemed quite aware that a lot had to be learned and that it would take them time to manage the new medium effectively. In Britain especially, several advertising agencies were unsure whether TV was worth all the necessary investments.

While some practitioners, especially in Britain, were reluctant or sceptical towards TV advertising, and even regarded it as a potential threat to the industry's existing situation, others saw it as an opportunity that offered new possibilities, and that should be received with optimism. Some held the conviction that advertisers should not worry whether the television advertisements sparked the public's interest. In both Britain and the Netherlands, several advertising practitioners expected that the public would respond to television advertising positively as an interesting and informative addition to the main programming. In Britain, publicity manager Chilton stated explicitly that advertisers had no need to 'apologise' for their commercials. 'It is unwise and unnecessary to sugarcoat the pill - cuteness, entertainment, or humour for their own sakes are out of place in a TV commercial.'[312] In the Netherlands, both the reviewer, 'Spottenkijker,' and the producer, Bert Kroon, expected the public to welcome the new medium. Their faith implied that TV advertising did not need distracting elements (entertainment, humour) to hold the viewer's attention. These would only divert the consumer and obstruct the ad's main goal: to tell the viewer why he had to buy the advertised product. In this first phase, then, the prevalent opinion among practitioners was that TV advertising should be able to stand on its own right. In both Britain and in the Netherlands, originality, creativity, and entertainment were, at this early stage, not seen as essential elements for commercials.

The second phase

Following the initial years of TV advertising in both Britain and the Netherlands, many of the early forecasts of a positive reception in both the press and the public proved to be over-optimistic. While the very first commercials had been judged as, at their worst, slightly annoying, later ads were fiercely criticised. Despite the decade-long separation between the introduction of ads on British (1955) and Dutch (1967) TV, this development was to a high degree identical in both countries. In Britain, comments on TV advertising quickly became more negative. In the Pilkington report (1962), TV advertising was condemned as an evil force that played on 'human weakness'. Richard Hoggart even stated that TV commercials for brands like Fairy Liquid and Persil were 'socially problematic, because they used a range of important human emotions, such as "mother love", and linked these with the use of the product'.[313] The same development took

place in the Netherlands. From the early 1970s on, several published reports showed that the public regarded advertising as a disturbing and irritating phenomenon. In a 1969 survey, 17 percent of respondents regarded TV as irritating, this percentage rising to 55 percent four years later.[314] Within a mere half-decade of its introduction, the 'honeymoon' between TV advertising and the British and the Dutch publics was over. The TV ad had lost its innocence.

What we see in the second phase - the period from six to eight years after the introduction of television advertising - in the discourse among practitioners in the trade press in both countries, is a longing for change. Practitioners felt increasingly uneasy about the course TV advertising had taken. Was it right to judge TV advertising mainly on its simplicity and effectiveness? Would it not be better if TV were used in a more appealing way? Was it not high time that advertisers concentrated on the entertaining and creative aspects of TV advertising?

This shift can be seen not only among new participants who engaged in the debates in the trade press, but also among commentators who had been active from the outset. The two most important figures – Teletaster in the U.K. and Spottenkijker in the Netherlands – shifted their view on TV advertising. Teletaster's comments increasingly stressed the need for originality, while Spottenkijker, within the first year of televised ads, was no longer convinced that the public would be automatically interested in them, and pleaded for more creative licence.

During this second phase, the views among British and Dutch American advertising also changed. While in the early pre-transmission period, American TV advertising had been depicted as a bad example, this attitude later changed to one where American advertising was regularly invoked as an inspiration.[315] This re-assessment is closely related to the so-called 'creative revolution' that took place in American advertising from the late 1950s onwards. The concept of creativity implied that advertising had to be both relevant and original, and that the strength of the idea behind the ad was crucial for its success.

What motivated advertising practitioners in Britain and the Netherlands to embrace the creative revolution? Why did they rely on creativity as the solution to their problems? According to Rutherford and Nevett, the development of British TV advertising can be partly explained by British culture and its history. Rutherford points to the British tradition of wit and humour, and at the widespread antipathy of the consuming public to 'trade, selling, and hucksterism'.[316] Nevett cites James Garett, who states that British TV advertisers realised from early on that they were an 'unwanted visitor,' leaving them sensitive to criticism, and anxious to please and entertain.[317] Earlier on I have argued that the development of TV advertising in the Netherlands was mainly a matter of professionalism: practitioners had to get used to the new medium.[318]

While these were all relevant aspects, to get a complete picture we need to look at the specific discourses in each country and divide the development of practitioner's attitudes to TV advertising during the early years into the aforementioned two phases. Articles in both the British and Dutch trade press show how practitioner's concerns shifted from technical and practical aspects, including the do's and don'ts, to creativity and entertainment. Instead of asking which do's and don'ts to follow, new questions were now being posed. Were commercials original? Were they based on a strong and convincing idea? Did they succeed in amusing and entertaining the public? This change in focus makes clear that attitudes of practitioners towards TV advertising cannot be completely explained by culture, and but also involved the industry's interaction with the press and the public. Growing annoyance with TV advertising seems to have spurred practitioners to develop commercials that entertained viewers instead of irritating them. Campaigns for brands like Brooke Bond and Heineken in Britain, and Jamin and Bokma in the Nether-

lands are examples of this 'soft-sell' approach. Instead focusing purely on sales, these campaigns offered an original and entertaining approach.[319]

This kind of advertising - original and entertaining - turned out to be an effective way of disarming the public and overcoming its resistance. After TV advertising's initial years had passed, creativity was no longer regarded as a distraction to be avoided, but as the best means of combining the advertiser's goal of stimulating sales with the public's expectation of televised entertainment and amusement. In the first years of TV advertising in both Britain and in the Netherlands, the conviction that it had to sell above all, and that any distracting elements were inadvisable, made way for a new, more creative approach. More and more, the word 'idea' became the crucial term, and entertainment was now valued as a welcome addition. The days when advertising practitioners were convinced that they did not have to apologise for their TV commercials were over.

The time has come for a short recapitulation. What strikes us most when we look at developments in both Britain and the Netherlands? As this chapter has shown, there are two different phases in both countries. In the years before and just after the launch of televised commercials, TV advertising received much public and professional attention. It was seen as problematic from the beginning, with different stakeholders caught in a web of conflicting interests and expectations.[320] Some politicians and opinion leaders regarded television advertising as a threat to cultural, social, and moral stability. Companies saw television advertising far more as an additional channel for distributing information about their brands and products. For advertising agencies and production companies, it was a new source of income and a new terrain on which they could show their talents. While there also was a respectable amount of skepticism and reluctance among practitioners, optimism seems to have generally prevailed, accompanied by the conviction that TV advertising should be simple and straightforward. Apologies were not needed.

During the second phase, attitudes among the different stakeholders, and especially advertising practitioners, began to change. A new appreciation for the making of TV commercials developed, in which the focus was less on selling, and more on entertainment and originality. This change allowed a new, more creative style of TV advertising to emerge.

In search for legitimation

'The interrelation of television and advertising is complex and reciprocal', states Cynthia Meyers.[321] This monograph confirms this notion, and is a plea both to broaden and to deepen the research agendas in the history of television advertising, and specifically into the relationship between advertising and society. One of the main insights of this monograph is that the choices advertising practitioners - and especially the creative people at the agencies, the directors, and others who were involved with the production of commercials – made regarding television advertising content, and specifically their preference for creativity, were not only based on aesthetic and artistic motives, but were also meant to legitimise television advertising. Advertising practitioners have continuously been searching for a balance between the prerogatives of their clients, what they themselves envisioned and what the public expected.[322]

Publications on the role of creativity in advertising seldom discuss its historical dimension.[323] And when we look at theories on the role of creativity in business, most authors regard it primarily as a means to stimulate innovation. This monograph proposes that the growing attention on creativity in the advertising industry also was a way to 'cope' with outside criticism.

This monograph also challenges the long-held view that the public had a purely passive role in the development of television advertising. Advertising practitioners - and especially the creative people at the agencies, directors, and others involved in the production of commercials – were indirectly influenced by public opinion. These different interests and forms of involvement have made television advertising into what it is today: an unapologetic form of advertising that can be annoying, but, in many cases, rewards the viewer with content that is original, amusing, and worth watching.

Endnotes

1. Schreurs, 2004, pp.137-143.
2. Richards et al, 2000, p.14; Leiss et al, 1997, p.1.
3. http:www.marketingcharts.com/television/tvs-share-of-global-ad-spend-to-stall-20265/.
4. Ellis, 1982, p.118.
5. According to Matthew McAllister, the television commercial is 'perhaps the most consistent and pervasive genre of content - maybe even of all modern culture', McAllister, 2005, p.217.
6. Feasley, 1984, p.5.
7. Ibidem, p.9.
8. Vaske, 2001, p.281.
9. See on advertising literacy O'Donohoe & Tynan, 1998.
10. McFall, 2004, p.53; also see Corner, 1999, p.72.
11. Caldwell, 2008, p.37.
12. Winston, 1998.
13. See Bignell & Fickers, 2008.
14. In Wheatley's *Introduction to Re-viewing Television History. Critical Issues in Television History* (2007) television advertising is not mentioned at all. Meyers remarks that by and large the same accounts for American television history: 'The role of the advertising industry in the history of American broadcasting has not been much discussed' (Meyers, 2011.p.353)
15. See for Raymond Williams' views on flow Williams, 2005, chapter 4.
16. See also Ellis, 1982, p.60.
17. Ibidem.
18. Fiske, 2003, p.262. See also Kelly, who states that 'consumers are not merely passive receivers of advertising messages who process intended meanings in the exact fashion intended by advertisers and marketers' (Kelly et al., 2009, p.134).
19. In *Brought to you by* Samuel remarks that the history of television advertising in the United States 'is conspicuously absent from both popular and scholarly literature' (Samuel, 2003, p.ix).
20. Ibidem, p.x.
21. Rutherford argues that television commercials should be seen as a form of 'art' and are to be compared with the icons from the Middle Ages in Europe: 'like the icon, the commercial is an instrument of cultural power, in this case of commerce rather than of a formal church, as well as an expression of a popular passion, consumption instead of Christianity' (Rutherford, 1995, pp.6-7.
22. Rutherford, 1995,p.11.
23. Ibidem, p.63.
24. Meyers, 2009, p.75.
25. Schwarzkopf, 2009, p.93. Schwarzkopf is not the first author who notes that many agencies were reluctant as far as advertising was concerned. In 1961 in his book *Pressure Group. The Campaign for Commercial Television* H.H. Wilson already remarked that a considerable part of the British advertising agencies were not very enthusiastic about the coming of the new medium.
26. Fox, 1997, p.ix-xi.
27. Rutherford, 1995, p.83.
28. Ibidem, p.86.
29. The terms hard and soft sell are often used in advertising to make a distinction between the rational advertising, in which the sales message is obvious and often repeated, and emotional advertising, in which the sales message is 'wrapped' in an attractive, often humorous or otherwise appealing form. The terms have their origin in the practice of advertising, but are somewhat less current among researchers.
30. Nevett, 1992, p 64-65.
31. Schreurs, 2004, p.87-90.
32. Cleven, 1999, p.16.
33. See the chapter 'The academic critique of advertising' in Richards et al, 2000.
34. For this research several companies have been approached with the request to search their historical archives. Regrettably in most cases no relevant material was preserve or companies did not want to cooperate.
35. The problem with using sources like the ReclameArsenaal, YouTube and Tellyads is that, apart from the brand name and the title, other details (like the specific date) often are missing.
36. Nixon, 2003, p.68.

37. *Journal of Advertising*, 2008, vol. 37, issue 4.
38. El-Murad & West, 2004, p.188.
39. Ibidem; Koslow et al, 2003, p.97.
40. This definition is based on Waarts et al., 1993.
41. Longer commercial broadcasts on television, like sponsored programs, can also be reckoned among television advertising. In Britain in the early years of TV advertising the so called advertising magazines were broadcast by ITV. This specific form of television advertising will not be discussed, because it was unique for Britain (and therefore not suitable for comparison), because it has been a temporary phenomenon and also because it has led to far less reviews and reactions than spot advertising.
42. Wyers, 1998, p.63.
43. See Leiss et al, 2005, p.116: 'The content, form and concerns of commercials mimicked each other as well as the surrounding shows'.
44. Cited by Henry, 1986, p.26.
45. See Bignell and Fickers, 2008; Corner 1999; Ellis, 1982; Schreurs, 2004.
46. 'Als een verbeterde vorm van radio zou het tot verbetering of ontwrichting van de samenleving kunnen leiden', Crone, 2007, p.67.
47. Ibidem, p.147.
48. Ibidem, p.148.
49. Henry, 1986, p.28.
50. Ibidem, p.26.
51. Bernstein, 1974, p.2.
52. Nevett, 1982, p.176-178.
53. Wilson, 1961, p.14.
54. Ibidem, p.50.
55. Schwarzkopf, 2009, p.84-85.
56. Wilson, 1961, p.122.
57. Ibidem, p.184.
58. The main reason was the fear that the coming of television would have a negative influence on the attention for other media. Ibidem, p.138.
59. Nevett, 1982, pp.176-8.
60. Ibidem, pp.184-191.
61. Fletcher, 2008, p.36.
62. Schwarzkopf, 2008, p.193.
63. *Advertiser's Weekly*, 1955, p.78.
64. Bernstein, 1974, pp.2-3.
65. See on the process of professionalization in the British advertising industry in the 1950s and 1960s Nixon, 2003, p.58-63.
66. Schwarzkopf, 2009, pp.86-87.
67. Henry, 1986, pp.29-30.
68. Fletcher, 2008, p.26.
69. Ibidem, p.25.
70. Wilson sums up several reasons for the success of the lobby for commercial TV. One of them was the fact that the opponents underestimated the lobbyists, and expected to 'win' and therefore did not organize their actions, and especially their public relations, very well. Besides, the lobbyists convinced many opponents by stressing the element of freedom, that in their opinion was strongly related to the introduction of commercial television. Wilson, 1961, p.206-215.
71. *Advertiser's Weekly*, 1955, p.410.
72. *Advertiser's Weekly*, Commercial TV Supplement, February 10, p.1.
73. Ibidem.
74. Also see the establishment of the Technical board to make recommendations for television film, by the British Kinematographic Society, on behalf of the Association of Specialized Film Producers, which had the task 'to ensure that TV commercials will get off as good a start as is technically possible', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 1955, p.260.
75. *Advertiser's Weekly*, Commercial TV Supplement, February 10, pp.5-8.
76. *Advertiser's Weekly*, 1955, p.144.
77. Ibidem, p.580.
78. *World's Press News*, 1955, May 6, Commercial TV Supplement, p.iii.
79. Ibidem, p.viii.
80. *Advertiser's Weekly*, 1955, p.90.

81. Ibidem, p.92.
82. Ibidem, p.740.
83. Elteren, 2006, pp.30-31.
84. Mort, 1997, p.24.
85. *Advertiser's Weekly*, 1955, p.576.
86. Ibidem, p.272.
87. Samuel, 2003, p. xv.
88. *Advertiser's Weekly*, 1955, p.162.
89. Ibidem, p.749
90. Ibidem, p.196.
91. Ibidem, p.78.
92. Okazaki et al., 2010, p.5.
93. See Fox, 1985, p.64.
94. Taplin 1961, p. 8-19.
95. Ibidem, p.40.
96. Ibidem, p.39.
97. Ibidem, p.34-44.
98. Ibidem, p. 30,85.
99. *Advertiser's Weekly*, 1965, sept 24, p.30.
100. Schwarzkopf, 2009, p.88; Fletcher, 2008, p.34.
101. Schwarzkopf, 2009, p.88.
102. *Advertiser's Weekly*, 1954, p.131.
103. Schwarzkopf, 2009, p.87.
104. Ibidem, pp.87-88.
105. Ibidem, p.88.
106. Hobson, 1986, p.426.
107. Fletcher, 2008, pp.42-44.
108. Hobson, 1986, p.426.
109. Garrett, 1986, p.391.
110. Ibidem.
111. *Advertiser's Weekly*, 1955, September 21, Commercial TV Supplement, p.3.
112. Ibidem, September 30, p.16.
113. Bernstein, 1986, p.260.
114. Ouoted in *Advertiser's Weekly*, 1955, September 30, p.7.
115. Ibidem.
116. Ibidem.
117. *Advertiser's Weekly*, 1955, September 21, Commercial TV Supplement, p.8.
118. *World's Press News*, 1955, September 30, p.8.
119. Nevett, 1992, pp.188-89.
120. *Advertiser's Weekly*, September 7, p.10.
121. Taplin, 1961, p.2.
122. Schwarzkopf, 2009, p.88; Hobson, 1968, p.421; Fletcher, 2008, p.27.
123. Henry, 1986, p.47.
124. *Advertiser's Weekly*, 1955, February 10, Commercial TV Supplement, p.10.
125. Fletcher, 2008, p.34.
126. Bernstein, 1986, p.257.
127. Ibidem.
128. *Advertiser's Weekly*, 1956, January 1, p.24.
129. Ibidem, 1963, July 6, p.35.
130. Fletcher, 2008, p.48-50.
131. *Advertiser's Weekly*, 1960, May 13, pp.36-38.
132. Ibidem, 1956, January 6, p.24.
133. Ibidem.
134. Ibidem, September 28, p.24.
135. Ibidem, January 20, pp.26-28.
136. Ibidem.

137. *Advertiser's Weekly*, 1957, September 13, pp.28-30.
138. Ibidem, 1955, September 21, Commercial TV Supplement, pp.10-14.
139. See on Rosser Reeves Fox,1984, pp.187-194.
140. *Revue der Reclame*, 1965, p.607.
141. Nevett, 1992, p.3.
142. Fletcher, 2008, p.35.
143. Taplin, 1961, p.71.
144. Gable makes an interesting remark on the preference of British advertisers for animation. 'Animation was able to transcend class, occupational and regional limits, of which agencies were so conscious in the early days. In addition, it was of enormous practical help to agencies striken by the prospect of creating TV campaigns with so little experience of the medium to go on.' Gable, 1980, p.141.
145. *Advertiser's Weekly*, 1957, September 20, p.34, 38.
146. Schwarzkopf, 2009, p.92.
147. Bernstein, 1986, p.259.
148. Ibidem.
149. Rayfield, 1996, pp.272-3.
150. *Advertiser's Weekly*, 1959, May 8, p.10.
151. Ibidem, October 23, p.11.
152. Gable, 1980, p.54.
153. Fletcher, 2008, p.55.
154. Ibidem; *Advertisers Weekly*, 1956, July 6, p.24.
155. Fletcher, 2008. p.92.
156. *Advertiser's Weekly*, 1956, October 12, p.3.
157. Ibidem, p.16.
158. Fletcher, p.35.
159. Ibidem.
160. *Advertiser's Weekly*, 1957, October 4, p.9.
161. Ibidem, November 22, p.20.
162. Fletcher, 2008, p.36.
163. *Advertiser's Weekly*,1959, September 18, pp.49-50.
164. Pearson and Turner, 1965, pp.165-166.
165. Brown,1965, p.170.
166. Ibidem, p.172.
167. Ibidem.
168. Ibidem, p.191.
169. The term 'cultural critics' is used by Nixon in his article 'Salesmen of the Will of Want', 2010.
170. Johnstone, 'Establishing The Pilkington Committee', http://www.birth-of tv.org/birth/assetView.do?asset=1413260435_1148662938. See on the views of the Pilkington Committee on advertising also Hogenkamp, 2000, p.68.
171. Nixon, 2010, p.222.
172. Henry, 1986, p.77.
173. Ibidem, p.78.
174. *Advertiser's Weekly*, 1961, September 22, p.20.
175. Schwarzkopf, 2008, p.181.
176. Ibidem, pp.193-4.
177. See Frank, 1997, chapters 2 and 4.
178. *Advertiser's Weekly*, 1961, January 13, pp.36-40.
179. Ibidem, September 3, p.50.
180. Ibidem, July 6, p.26-28.
181. Ibidem, p.26-28.
182. Ibidem, December 1, p.48.
183. Ibidem, 1960, January 22, p.30-32.
184. Ibidem
185. February 2, p.2
186. Delaney, 2007, p.23.
187. Ibidem, 1959, September 11, p.20.

188. See Fletcher, 2008, p.72.
189. Delaney, 2007, p.143.
190. *Advertiser's Weekly*, 1969, April 18, p.34.
191. Fletcher, 2008, p.54.
192. El-Murad & West, 2004, p.188.
193. *Advertiser's Weekly*, 1955, February 10, Commercial TV Supplement, p.4.
194. Ibidem, 1961, November 29, p.20.
195. *Advertiser's Weekly*, 1955, February 10, Commercial TV Supplement, p.4.
196. Ibidem, 1964, August 14, p.22.
197. Ibidem, 1965, August 8, p.4.
198. Ibidem, 1965, February 19, pp.34-35.
199. Schreurs, 2004, p.13.
200. Gros, 1960, p.113.
201. Crone, 2007, p.67.
202. Schreurs, 2004, p.16.
203. Gros, 1960, pp,191-192.
204. Ibidem, pp. 191-193.
205. Ibidem, pp.192.
206. Ibidem, p.197.
207. Ibidem, p.196.
208. Ibidem, p.247.
209. Ibidem, p.244.
210. See on the quiz-scandal Samuel 2003, pp.128-140.
211. Sierksma, 1963, p.265.
212. Gros, 1960, p.252.
213. *Ariadne,* 1960, p.79; *Revue der Reclame*, pp.184-186.
214. Cleven, 1999, p.249.
215. Ginneken, 1993, p.63.
216. Schreurs, 2009, p.913.
217. See on the differences between hard and soft sell Okazaki et al. 2010, pp.5-7.
218. Baarle, 1956, p.232.
219. *Ariadne,* 1956, p.177.
220. Schreurs, 2009, p.915.
221. Schreurs, 2004, pp.13-14.
222. *Revue der Reclame,* 1955, pp.324-326.
223. Gros, 1960, p.197.
224. *Revue der Reclame*, 1955, p.319.
225. Gros, 1960, pp.198-199.
226. Schreurs, 2001, pp.182-183.
227. *Revue der Reclame*, 1959, p.250.
228. Schreurs, 2004, p.11.
229. *Revue der Reclame*, 1959, p.63.
230. Cited by Schreurs, 2004, p.11.
231. *Revue der Reclame*, 1966, p.91.
232. Schreurs, 2004, pp.18-21.
233. See on the REM-episode also Idenburg and Ruigrok, 1991, pp. 51-84; Knot 1998 and 2000.
234. *Revue der Reclame*, 1964, p.689.
235. Ibidem.
236. Ibidem, p.675.
237. Ibidem, p.675.
238. *Revue der Reclame*, 1966, p.90.
239. Ibidem, p.90.
240. See Schreurs, 2001, p.224-226.
241. *Revue der Reclame*, 1964, pp.724-725.
242. Ibidem, 916-918.
243. See *Revue der Reclame,* 1967, pp.763-765, 868-869, 957-960; 1968, pp.27-31, 39, 172-173, 175, 180, 329, 332-334,

429-432.
244. Schuyt & Taverne, 1950, p.122.
245. Schreurs, 2009, p.914.
246. *Revue der Reclame*, 1967, p.153.
247. *Revue der Reclame,* 1961, p.922.
248. *Ariadne*, 1966, p.626.
249. For more information about Howard Barnes, see chapter 2.
250. *Revue der Reclame Expres* , 1966, March 30.
251. *Ariadne* , 1965 pp.663-665.
252. Ibidem, p.514.
253. See for instance Hogenkamp on director Ytzen Brusse, who had developed into someone 'whom we would nowadays call a feel good cineast, who inclined to advertising'.Hogenkamp, 2003, p.112.
254. Kroon, 1967, p.18.
255. Ibidem, p.28.
256. Ibidem, p.79.
257. Ibidem, p.141.
258. Ibidem, p.39.
259. *Revue der Reclame*, 1966, p.295.
260. Ibidem, p.300.
261. Ibidem, p.300.
262. *Revue der Reclame Expres*, 1967, January 11.
263. Ibidem, January 4.
264. Schreurs, 2004, p.29.
265. Ibidem.
266. The Co-op commercials are stored in the archives of Beeld en Geluid (Sound and Vision) in Hilversum, the Netherlands.
267. See on Toonder Studio's Vries, 2012, and on Geesink Ripmeester, 2012.
268. *Ariadne* , 1972, p.191.
269. Schreurs, 2004, p.51.
270. Ibidem, p.45.
271. Jungmann, 1987.
272. *Ariadne,* 1970, p.179.
273. *Ariadne* ,1967, p.1541.
274. Ibidem, pp.155-157, 208.
275. *Revue der Reclame*, 1967, p.363 ; *Ariadne* 1967, p.340.
276. *Revue der Reclame*, 1967, p.197.
277. Ibidem, p.270.
278. Ibidem, p.912
279. *Revue der Reclame*, 1968, p.62.
280. *Revue der Reclame*, 1967, p.567.
281. Ibidem, p.783.
282. *Revue der Reclame*, 1968, p.832. One can wonder if the plead by Oerlemans for the use of creative specialists and his warning for production companies was not partly in his own interest, coming from an advertising agency and being a creative himself.
283. Ibidem, p.94.
284. Ibidem
285. Ibidem, p.96.
286. Ibidem
287. Ibidem
288. Ibidem, p.94.
289. *Ariadne*. 1971, p.390.
290. Schreurs, 2001, p.256.
291. Pronk, 1973, p.20.
292. Schreurs, 2001, p.256.
293. http://www.reclamearsenaal.nl/index.php?id=413; http://www.idfa.nl/nl/tags/project.aspx?id=6333d85b-567d-4a39-9bda-e18bdde5116c (both consulted 02-01-2014)
294. Schreurs, 2004, p.41.

295. Ibidem, 1969, p.957.
296. Ibidem, 1971, p.699.
297. Ibidem, p.1679.
298. *Revue der Reclame*, 1968, p.35.
299. *Ariadne*, 1970, p.1111.
300. Ibidem.
301. *Ariadne*, 1971, p.886.
302. *Ariadne*, 1970, p.1765.
303. Ibidem, pp.1056-1057.
304. Ibidem, p.955.
305. Quoted by Bignell and Fickers, 2008, p.30.
306. Elteren, 2006, p.24.
307. Elteren, 2006, p.111.
308. *Advertiser's Weekly*, Sept.1955, Supplement Commercial Television, p.3.
309. Bolter & Grusin, 2002, p.45.
310. See on the introduction of commercial radio in Britain Wray, 2009, p.31-47 and, on the Netherlands, Schreurs, 2004, p.17-18 and Knot, 2000.
311. *Advertiser's Weekly*, 1955, p.239.
312. *Advertiser's Weekly*, 1955, p.580.
313. Nixon, 2010, p.222.
314. See Schreurs, 2001, p.257.
315. The change in the way in which America was viewed in the discourse on advertising, shows once more that (anti-) Americanism is a complex phenomenon, in which ideas about developments in the own country are mirrored. On the complex nature of Americanisation, see Elteren, 2006 and De Grazia, 2005.
316. Rutherford, 1995, p. 79-87.
317. Nevett, 1992, p.65.
318. Schreurs, 2004, p.86-90.
319. See on these campaigns Fletcher, 2008, pp.137-143, 200-1, and Schreurs, 2004, p.48-49, 82.
320. According to Richards et al. one of the features of advertising as a profession is constant tension. 'We will see that in the space which advertising occupies in everyday life and in the complex of marketing practices, a number of tensions are in play around the work of advertising creatives.' (Richards et al., 2000, p.14)
321. Meyers, 2009, p.69.
322. In the literature on creativity often a connection is made between creativity and innovation (see for instance Williams and Yang, 2008, and Florida, 2004). As the next chapters will show, this does not fully explain the role creativity plays in advertising.
323. See, for instance, the issue of *Journal of Advertising*, 2008, vol.37, that was dedicated to creativity in advertising, in which no attention was paid to the historical dimension of the concept of creativity in advertising.

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