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THESIS

TITLE: FROM MATCHBOX TO BILLBOARD, ADVERTISING AND CONSUMERISM IN MODERN DAY MOSCOW

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FOREWORD: INTRODUCTION

"There is no particular style of Perestroika, there are many different styles, with influences from the West and from the past" (*Aldersey-Williams 1992, p.114*). These are the words of graphic designer Lev Evzovich, on the topic of advertising in the Russian Federation today. The fact that Russian advertising design has not yet developed a distinctive style is hardly surprising. The question of what design is, and should be, has only begun to be addressed in Russia in recent years. Political and economic instability, shortages in materials and equipment and lack of trained designers and Marxism's opposing stance on advertising, have all contributed to the stagnancy in Russian advertising.

Because of Russian advertising's infancy I have not to date been able to find one book written solely on this subject. I have however found books written about this subject as a subtext to other topics such as consumerism and mass media. Much of my research has come from a variety of marketing and business journals and a selection of Russian magazines and newspapers. I have also had the opportunity to discuss this subject with a number of Muscovites and foreign journalists based in Moscow. Having visited Moscow in the years 1990, 1991, 1992 and 1993, I have been privileged to be able to observe the many different changes which have occured there within that period of time. I have chosen the capital city of the Russian Federation, Moscow as the centerpoint for discussion.

I was struck from my visit to Moscow in 1990 by an almost fatalistic opening of arms to the ways of the West. Marlborough cigarettes and Pepsi bottles (*fig 1*) are replacing the Russian icons of the past. They are, in the hands of a Russian, not just a consumer item but a symbol of a new way of life and a better future. The vulnerability of young Muscovites, in particular, unnerves me. They embrace everything Western without questioning. The young Russians are frantically discarding the old for the new. If it's



Western it's good. If it's Russian, it's bad. This creates a level of instability and superficiality in almost everything they embark upon. As in advertising they imitate Western ads but do not quite succeed.

Consumerism and advertising go hand in hand. There was not much room for advertising in an economy which had few goods to sell. Glasnost (openness) and Perestroika (re-construction (fig 2) instigated by Mikhail Gorbachev in the years 1985 and 1987, respectively, have opened up the way for the transition from a sellers market to a buyers market, which is by no means complete. It is almost impossible for Westerners to conceive how alien the idea of a free market of competing products made by different manufacturers for profit can seem to people brought up under a state run command economy. A 'command economy' demands that manufacturers operate under orders from the state and therefore they are not influenced by the consumer to the same extent as in the West. However, consumerism which was traditionally a low priority sector, has grown rapidly since the death of Stalin. The attitude that quantity is better than quality is beginning to wane. The introduction of product differentiation has meant that the Russian consumer is now offered a choice, even if it is a limited one. This has resulted in a more educated and demanding consumer. With the Russian market becoming more flexible in the 80s, and the rise of the Russian consumer, Russian commercial advertising has also begun to develop. It is this development which I have undertaken to explore.

-6-





FIG. 1



FIG. 1(b)







Chapter 1

The Incompatibility of Marxism and Advertising

Commercial advertising in the Soviet Union was banned by Stalin in 1935 and did not really exist in a Western sense until after the Second World War. The majority of ads in the Stalinist Era were in the form of propaganda, publicising political events and social gatherings. Some, however, advertised the sale or exchange of used goods. Revolutionary Russian posters are legendary for their excellent imagery, sense of tradition and imaginative use of symbolism. This strong form of Russian graphic propaganda, unfortunately, failed to infiltrate the commercial area of Soviet advertising. I strongly feel that the reason for this stems from Marxist ideology. Many Russians still find it hard to justify the use of advertising. They struggle to see the link between the use of imagery to promote the strengthening of state ideology, and the use of imagery to promote the sale of commodities (fig 3). Creativity can be applied when its function is of an ideological nature but not of a commercial nature. This has resulted in advertising that is bland, devoid of imagery and whose function is of a purely informative nature (fig 4 & 7). The use of imagery would be veering too much towards the sensationalism employed in the West to deceive the consumer into buying unessential goods. As Soviet advertising has increased, the advertising agencies still fail to utilise the tools employed by their ancestors to attract and seduce the viewer. Instead many have opted to imitate the West, unsuccessfully. This again shows how Russians still tend to see consumerism and advertising as alien to their own culture. This becomes understandable when we take a look at the role of consumerism in Russian history.

In the socialist state, Marxist - Leninist doctrine held that the workers would determine what goods were produced and state planning would make sure that they did it without the intervention of advertising.



лодписывяйтесь на заемъ свободы.



РОДИНА И СВОБОДА ВА ОЛАСНОСТИ. цанте государству деньги для борьбы съ врагомъ.

FIG. 3



FIG. 4



МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫЙ ФИРМЕННЫМ САЛОН «ИНТЕРОПТИКА»

Вы думаете о своем имидже: Вы хотите хорошо видеть и хорошо выглядеть? Вы хотите увидеть себя в готовых очках до того, как они будут изготовлены? Вы хотите попасть в «оптический рай»? Приходите в салон «ИНТЕРОПТИКА», он работает без выходных.





Адрес: Москва, Нахимовский проспект (бывшая ул. Красикова), дом 16а. Телефон: (095) 128-57-17. Факс: (095) 120-80-16.

FIG. 5



Advertising was considered the 'middle man', i.e. a selfish individual who through minimum labour extracted maximum profit at the expense of the mass public. Such initiative had no place in Marxist ideology. Marx clearly stated that there are two ways to distribute goods, one he called 'supplemental' and the other he called 'pure' *(Goldman, 1963; P. 3).* Supplemental distribution was considered by Marx to be a continuation of the production process and therefore the value of labour expended in such work should be included in the price of the commodity. Activities such as packaging, storing and transport were all listed as supplemental, so long as they were not dealt with in a capitalistic manner (for example, prolonged storage of merchandise so as to raise its price value). 'Pure' distribution, however, arose only because of the process of buying and selling. Advertising ranked high on his list of bourgeois activity. But as with any other ideology, Marxism has been adapted over the years to accommodate an ever-changing economic climate. This ambiguous approach is illustrated in Kosygin's speech at the 25th Party Congress of 1976 when he said:

Communists are not advocates of any artificial restrictions on people's requirements. On the contrary, the full and free development of all of man's faculties, man's creative forces, implicit in the Communist society, presupposes the creation of favourable material conditions of life, but our socialist lifestyle rules out the extravagance, the senseless waste of material values, labour and energy seen in Capitalist conditions.

(Skurski, 1983 P.5) Kosygin shows an opening for improvement in the consumer sector while still adhering to socialist theory.

With the rise of Stalin, the economic and political crisis of the 1930's, and the war of the 40's, emphasis was on heavy industry and defence and the consumer was neglected as a result. The choice of consumer goods available was limited, and also of very bad quality; nevertheless everything that was produced sold. This is what is termed a 'seller's market'. The sellers held the upper hand, simply trying to fulfill their plans without being concerned about the demands of the buyer.

The title of consumer, while simply meaning one who buys, also implies in today's vocabulary a buyer who is able to choose from a variety of goods, and who as a consumer is merited with statutory rights. Therefore there were no "consumers" in the western sense in Russia at this time. In fact the phrase 'the customer's always right', still does not apply to the Russian Federation



After the death of Stalin, some effort was made to improve the Russian consumer's standard of living. Thus, in 1953 Anastas Mikoyan, the Soviet Minister of Trade, pointed out that advertising did, in fact, have a role in the Soviet economy. "The primary task of Soviet advertising is to give a truthful, apt and striking description of the nature, quality and property of advertising goods". (Szeplaki, 1974, P.14). The fact that Mikoyan used the words 'striking' and 'advertising' in the same breath indicated recognition on his part, of the importance of eye-catching imagery in advertising.

The death of Stalin has been documented as the turning point for consumerism and its close ally advertising. After the mid 1950's personal incomes and the production of consumer goods increased, and, gradually, more consumer demands were answered. However, all consumer goods that arrived on the market no longer automatically sold. With this rise in consumerism, a more educated and demanding consumer began to evolve. Russians wanted better diets, commodities of higher quality and the demand for modern product and packaging design also increased. The evolution of the Soviet consumer will be examined in the next chapter. Old methods involved with the seller's market were no longer valid but were still being practised. The transition from a seller's market to a buyer's market is still incomplete. Consumer's demands have never been sufficiently fulfilled.

The new priority given to the consumer in post-Stalinist times and the new characteristics which the consumer developed which will be examined later, had a

big impact on the distribution sector. But the sector was not ready and able to cope with these developments; therefore its performance slipped. As a result, shops had surplus unwanted items, and shortages of desired items. In an effort to increase the overall turnover rate and simultaneously raise the standard of quality, differentiation



was introduced in the late 50's. Differentiation basically involves diversifying the appearance of products for competitive reasons. This was a very important step in the development of commercial advertising in Russia.

In 1962, A. Mikorov, a Soviet marketing expert, suggested that increasing the range of consumer choice by product differentiation would force firms to improve product quality to meet consumer demands, and presumably prompt some degree of competition. (Szeplaki 1965, P.14). The use of obligatory factory marks was also an attempt to introduce feelings of pride into state- owned industry; appeals such as "to value the honour of the factory mark is the duty of each group of workers", "protect the honour of the factory mark" and "let there be respect for the words 'made in Sakhalin'" appeared in newspapers. The use of trademarks (Tovarkyi Anak) was optional. Trademarks are a more elaborate and attractive form of the obligatory production mark, involving the use of a design or symbol whereas the production mark is solely for identification. The trade mark is designed to attract and hold the customer's attention, making it possible for the consumer to choose the goods which he/she likes With the introduction of differentiation, Russians began to find the function of advertising justifiable. Official support was given to commercial advertising at a European socialist bloc meeting in December 1957. The meeting listed the benefits of advertising as "moulding taste, developing demand, forming new tastes, broadening the knowledge of consumers, speeding the turnover of goods and services" (Levy 1962 P.32). Soviet advertisers suddenly became receptive to western advertising techniques and experience.



Chapter 2

The Russian Consumer

As I have pointed out, the consumer was up until recently an alien member of Soviet society. Shortages of consumer goods, inadequate distribution methods and a heavy time burden on the shopper all contributed to hindering economic development in Russia. "The inability to satisfy customer demand might be designated as one of the major destabilizing factors affecting the Soviet economy" (*Kroncher, 1977 P.23*). The huge stocks of unsaleable goods are building up, not because the consumers lack the money to buy them, but simply because they will not accept what is offered. Rather than buy the inferior goods on sale, more and more people are saving their money for when new improved products enter the market, hence the increase of investment banks in Russia over the past few years. Another phenomena has been a trend to purchase superior Western goods which hold their price in an era of declining value of the rouble. Why has the trade sector been so slow in responding to the demands of the times? The area of advertising illustrates this neglect clearly. Useful goods do not sell because of poor advertising, which in turn is due to lack of training and facilities. The strong belief is that advertising will not sell goods which people do not want anyway.

Advertising was first employed by Russians to sell surplus stock. One of their first successful advertising campaigns involved the clearance of a major surplus of canned fruit juice in 1966. A series of rather dull adverts promoting the good taste and health giving qualities of fruit juice were printed in <u>Vechernyaya Moskva</u> in recent years, however, advertising has grown from match box covers to billboard displays. Most of their advertising is still informative in nature, but it is increasingly becoming more competitive. Competition is normally between retailers rather than manufacturers, for example, Gum and tZum (Moscow's leading department stores) offer 'the best in service'. Shops introduce new services so as to compete. Adverts are seen in city



shop windows announcing things like 'this department store sells on instalment....for sale on credit! How Magnificent!" (Sovietskaia Russia, Aug 16 1959, P.5). Although competing claims are now appearing for items such as television sets and radios (fig 6 & 7) tactics such as advertising, differentiation, price reductions, trade fairs etc., are practised most effectively with more expensive products like cameras, stereos etc. Since only a few wealthier families can afford to purchase these items, once they have their stereo, something must be done to widen the market. This is where sales promotion comes in.

In capitalist countries an overwhelming portion of labour expenditure in distribution is spent on merchandising the goods i.e. advertising, book-keeping etc. These make up half of the retail price. Distribution costs in America are five times higher than in Russia. The reason for this being that marketing in Russia is less a matter of advertising and personal service than it is in the U.S. Service and convenience have been sacrificed up until recently. Russians are now realising that their marketing efficiency is not up to scratch. More attention is being given to advertising, service, customer demands, and, because of this, their distribution costs will increase further in the future, as will the prices of their products. It is safe to say that marketing in Russia is less a matter of advertising and personal service than it is in Western Europe or America. So how do the Russians sell their goods and who buys them?

A Muscovite materialist is still a communist in comparison to a New Yorker. The stereotypical materialistic Muscovite is a young person with a keen interest in the West. He/she likes "rock music and will buy any record with an English title available in his local state record shop, 'Melodya'. So far his record collection ranges from Megadeath to the greatest hits of Morris Dancing. He chain smokes Marlborough cigarettes and drinks Pepsi at every opportune moment. His clothes are "Adidasovsky" (Russian for 'cool'). He wears his Russian-style 'Aidas' woolly hat, hoping that no one will notice the missing letter 'D' which shows it to be counterfeit.


ЭЛЕКТРОНИКС ОФИЦИАЛЬНЫЙ ДИЛЕР nasonic echilics

	- can a alloud an
DNY	МАГН
M1401KR/M2100K\$370/\$492	SONY
	SLV-43
M2155K/M2151KR\$510/\$560	
X2571/X2971K\$912/\$1100	SLV-P5
A2941K\$1450	HITAC
	M328E
	M348E
INICA Buneovaccema F-180 SSR	

вилео-

PHILIPS

FIG. 6





He owns many t-shirts with meaningless English slogans, one for example which I saw proudly proclaimed 'I am king of potatoes'. He hangs around McDonalds on the Arbat, but when he gets hungry he takes the metro home. A lot of Russians cannot afford to be materialistic.

However two more influential types of Russian consumer have emerged within Soviet society since Perestroika and Glasnost. They are the Russian business man and the Mafia. There is a significant overlap between these two groups, with many business men being involved with the Mafia. These are truly the 'Elitist' classes within Russian society, many of whom are millionaires. Members of these categories are really the only Russians who can afford to buy the goods advertised in Russia today. They drive BMW's (*fig 8 & 9*) they shop in, and run Western style stores. They are the 'Class A' consumer, towards whom the many advertisements are directed (fig 10,10(b), 10(c), 10(d). The average wage in Russia today is around \$25 a month (92,500 roubles). It is hardly surprising therefore that money is not spent on ads directed towards the common person. The other group of consumers with spending power is the foreign community (fig 11) which is based in Russia's main cities, Moscow and St. Petersburg in particular. It is quite easy to live comfortably in Moscow as long as you have dollars in your pocket. Many Westerners in Russia can avail of most of the conveniences they have become accustomed to. It is also easy for the Westerner to ignore the hardships that the normal Russian on the street must overcome daily. Apart from shortages of goods which are in demand and surplus of those which are not, the Russian system of shopping is a very time-consuming and unpleasurable experience.

The <u>Kassa</u> system is the traditional Russian system. It involves queueing three times, first to discover the price of an article and to examine the quality of the merchandise, then to go to the cashier (<u>Kassa</u>) and pay the correct amount; only then can you queue again with your receipt in hand and collect the item to bring home (*fig 12*).



ВМW — МАРКА КАЧЕСТВА, НАДЕЖНОСТИ И ПРЕСТИЖА.



Официальный дилер BMW акционерное общество "Артекс" предлагает на выгодных коммерческих условиях: новые автомобили и мотоциклы BMW со склада в

Москве, а также на заказ в индивидуальной комплектации (с гарантией на 1 год независимо от величины пробега);

оригинальные (прошедшие специальный контроль и аттестацию BMW) запасные части и аксессуары;

высококачественное гарантийное сервисное обслуживание и ремонт автомобилей и мотоциклов; прокат автомобилей BMW.

Все реализуемые через АО "Артекс" автомобили и мотоциклы адаптированы к реальным условиям эксплуатации в России.



Автосалон: Москва, ул. Нижняя Масловка, д. 10, тел.: (095) 203-65-17, 203-39-89 Автомагазин: Москва, ул. Б. Филевская, д. 20а, тел.: (095) 142-21-05 Магазин "Запчасти": Москва, Волоколамское ш., д. 13, тел.: (095) 158-87-73 Автосервис: Москва, ул. Ижорская, д. 13/19, тел.: (095) 484-22-65, 483-43-74 Информационная служба: тел.: (095) 203-39-89 факс: (095) 202-82-55







ВМW седьмой серии третьего поколения на презентации в гостинице Penta





FIG. 10



FIG. 10(b)



CUNERFORM ™ OCR System for MS Windows[™] Распознавание текстов для MS Windows[™]

Объявление)

Компьютерная программа для автоматического создания текстовых файлов из бумажных или факсимильных текстов с использованием сканера или факс-модема.

Единственная интеллектуальная система распознавания русского и 9 европейских языков! Поддержка самых популярных моделей сканеров и факс-модемов! Единственная программа позволяющая расслабиться!

...и у Вашей машинистки будет больше времени...

ТЕПЕРЬ МЫ МОЖЕМ ЗАНИМАТЬСЯ ЛЮБОВЬЮ



Россия, Москва, 117311 проспект 60-летия Октября, 9,апп.60 тел. 135.50.88; факс 135.42.31

FIG, 10(c)



Некоторые из Ваних серьезных конкурентов уже используют Power Macintosh.

Сните дальше.



Их программы работают быстрее. «Photoshop»—в 4 раза. «FreeHand»—в 4 раза. «Quark»—в 10 раз быстрее.* Они работают с программами для Макинтоша. Они работают с программами DOS и Windows.** Они успевают сделать больше. Они, вероятно, больше зарабатывают. Подумайте об этом. Позвоните 978-4262 или 978-1257. Спросите телефон Вашего дилера Apple. Не теряйте время.

Power Macintosh уже в Москве. Чего же Вы ждете?

*Сравнение производительности с Macintosb Quadra¹⁴⁴ 950. **Используя программное обеспечение SoftWindows¹⁴⁴ фирмы Insignia Solutions Inc. Adobe Photosbop—торговая марка Adobe Systems Incorporated, которая может быть зарешстрирована в некоторых хөрисдикциях. Adus FreeHand—торговая марка Addus Corporation. QuarkXPress—торговая марка Quark, Inc. Windows торговая марка Microsoft Corporation, SoftWindows—торговая марка Microsoft Corporation, используемая по лицензии. Сделано на компьютере Apple Power Macintosb.



YELLOW PAGES MOSCOW

actually arranged systematically

... the 1992nd edition is coming! ... without your advertisement?

> How else could you be found by your potential business partners?



Escherstr. 25, D-3000 Hannover 1 Telefon 0511-161915, Fax 0511-17368, Telex 9218244 euma d





Call 203-3644 to receive our rate schedule and promotional literature.



FIG. 11(b)









These queues can take a long time, depending on the popularity of the article on sale. Queues form frantically for no apparent reason. On one occasion in a state shop that I visited in Moscow, a queue formed which led to nowhere. At first I thought that perhaps Muscovites, being conditioned to queue all their lives, queued as a past-time. But I was enlightened about a half an hour later when a surly shop clerk arrived with peroxide blond hair and cheekbones painted dangerously close to her forehead, (this seemed to be the uniform in this particular shop), wheeling a trolley full of dried ice and ice cream.

There are no fridges in these shops and meat and fish are displayed on counters alongside other foods. The products on the shelves blend in with their bland surroundings. Choice does not really come into the shopping experience in Russia, nothing stands out on the shelves to grab your attention (*fig 13 & 14*). The atmosphere is tense naturally as people spend hours queueing for inferior quality goods. During my first visit to Moscow in 1991 I noticed a glass case displaying three Mars bars in the local state shop. Having been unable to purchase any Western chocolate for at least a month, I immediately set upon the process of buying them. To my surprise the shop assistant removed all bars from the glass case, as there were no others bars in stock. To the horror of other customers, and one old lady in particular, I devoured one of my purchases on leaving the shop. I did not realise that such a purchase would have cost the average Russian a weeks salary! So why have goods on display in shops where people cannot afford to buy them and why are they advertising for goods that are not yet available? Companies such as Mars advertise their goods in preparation for a market which they anticipate will develop.

The <u>Kassa</u> system has been, and still is, useful in reducing the possibility of theft during a time when goods were in very short supply, and also for hygenic reasons, the people who handle the money do not handle the food. Now that economic conditions are changing, the state can afford to trust the public more and so new systems have

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been developed. The stepping stone from the Kassa system to the most efficient system, self service, was 'Bez Prodavtsa'. This system reduced the number of queues from three to two. Articles are displayed securely in cases with prices attached. This system is often seen in operation alongside the Kassa system. Self service (samo obsluzhivaniia) is a relatively new phenomenon in Russia. Russian self service, however, differs in some ways from the Western system. Customers' bags are checked for security reasons on entering the supermarket. Only a few customers are allowed in at a time, resulting in large queues outside the shop, also there are as many shop assistants as there are customers. The customer can then select the products he/she wishes to buy, although there is not all that much to choose from. He then proceeds to the cashier who adds up the total price of his items on an abacus and then registers it onto a cash register. Russians do not have many cash registers that also add, as technology has played such a minor role in the development of the consumer sector. The introduction of the self service system to Russia has meant that the shopper spends more time shopping and buying than he does queueing. Whereas the supermarket first appeared in America in 1912 it was not until the 50's that it was introduced to Russia. From the 50's to the 70's, self service outlets grew steadily but slowly in Moscow and St. Petersburg. By 1978, however, the growth was spectacular; Russia had almost tripled its 1970 total of 84,000 supermarkets (universam). The result is that more than half of all the country's stores operate, the Russian style, self service system today. There have been other minor improvements in sales procedure such as the founding of a state run mail order service, the provision of vending machines for soft drinks and beer. A machine has also been developed that sprays Soviet cologne over the customer's hair for a small fee. Customer services are improving, with more and better advertising, the introduction of home delivery, credit sales, advance order taking etc. All add to the possibilities of what the consumer can receive. Russians have made decent progress, but there is still much room for improvement.



Although service has improved, its quantity and quality still remains low and the sector is still relatively less developed than in other economies. The consumer has been given some importance since the eighties, with the realisation that the emphasis should be put on the amount sold rather than the amount produced. The development of advertising in Russia has been from non-existent to existent. Its development can also only be measured in quantity rather than quality. The Russians cannot afford to spend the billions of dollars that the U.S.A. spends each year on advertising. Accordingly the role of advertising is less important than in the U.S. The role of advertising in Russia is now considered to be that of developing good taste and to be an aid to the consumer, but the means for doing so are small. For many years, the right of consumer choice was denied to the Russian people. Now that they have begun to participate in the marketing process and look at advertising in a new light, it will be interesting to see how the country's economy adjusts to the new type of consumer they are beginning to create.





I

FIG. 14(b)



FIG. 14(c)



Chapter 3

Influence of the West

Although there have always been ads for products of some form or another in Russia, the present concern for quality probably owes something to such things as Western Industrial Design Exhibitions, such as the American Industrial Design Exhibition held in Sokolniki Park in 1965, which have been held in Moscow since the 60's, and also the increasing number of advertisements from Western firms that appear in trade journals, such as Soviet Export. These have shown the Russians how great the difference is between the best foreign methods of presentation and their own. The speed of Western visual perception is incompatible with the speed of production in the East. Our visual senses are saturated, as is our consumer goods market. There can be no doubt that Soviet ads are much poorer in terms of clarity, style and impact (fig 15). This is not the result of any lack of artistic ability, but the eclipse of modernism under Stalin and the fact that since then advertising has not been prepared to pay enough to attract customers; this has kept ads dull, messy and banal. The present concern for eyeappeal is just one further example of revival after the sterility of the Stalinist period. By the 80's the main subject of interest was the void between consumer and product and the unavailability of the product. Design and language were neglected and products which imitated Western design were, and still are, most sought after (fig 16). Edward Lucie-Smith defined the chief objectives of product packaging and promotion as follows: "To make the product recognisable, to establish a particular manufacturer's or retailer's connection with it, but also to generate appropriate feelings about the product in a potential purchaser" (Hedler, Ernst, 1990 P.24). Although differentiation has addressed the first two objectives listed above, the last objective has been substantially neglected. It is mainly the role of advertising to generate such feelings of desire or need for a product. This again points to the inefficiency of Russian advertising on the whole.



NPABAA,

the.

19 февраля 1993 года

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ЧАСТНЫЕ ОБЪЯВЛЕНИЯ

ПРОДАЮ

ПРОДАЮ • Продаю щенков немецкой овчарки. Тел. 944.27.62. • Продаю болгарские сигаре-ты в неограниченком количест. ве. Доставка в порт Ильичевск. тел. 272.76.78. Георгий. • В экологически чистом рай-центре Приморского края про-дается 2-комк. мебл. приватизир. квартира (комн. смеж.) 692890. Лазо, Приморского края. Предъ-явителю паспорта 728273. • Продаю женские демисезон-ны сапоги совместного произ-водства США – Китай. Цена 7550 рублей за пару. Упаковка-Жесткие коробки. Тел. (095) 203.51-10, 290-24-27. • Предприятие реализует:

203-51-10, 290-24-27. Предприятие реализует: бензин АЭЗ (46 руб.), А76 (39 руб.); — диз. топливо (35 руб.); — мазут (17 руб.). Тел. (8350) 22-13-52. — м/ск. К561 ЛА7. ТМ2 (8 руб.); — конденсаторы К50-35; тел. (0422) 44-70-78, 44-21-43.

КУПЛЮ

Куплю номнату или квар-тиру. Тел. 362-18-81, 360-10-41. Куплю кв-ру. Тел. 461-48-62. Куплю 1-комн. кв-ру. Тел. (095) 283-75-28, 216-43-69. Куплю новые а/м. Тел. 210-75-22.

УСЛУГИ

Помогу приобрести а/м УАЗ любых модификаций, г.
Ульяновск, Тел, 36-01-09.
Как заработать СКВ? Про-сто, 607200, г. Арзамас-16, а/я 1772 конверт с адресом.
Созданный пенсионерами благотворительный фонд «Дру-

Зъя» ждет помощи от возможных спонсоров, Москва, 117330, Мосфильмовская. 35, Тел. 143-87-18. Расчетный счет № 700305 в МФ «Тверьунивер-салбанка», 113191, Москва, Б. Тульская, 46. • Сдам в аренду брокерскую контору на бирже «Гермес» и торгово-брокерские места в тор-говом доме «Гермес». Тел. 482-02-25.

• Лечение и восстановление

 Лечение и восстановление слуха у тугоухих детей. Писать: 11116. Моснва. а/я «Центр слу-ха». Тел. 360-38-32, 362-19-33.
Грузовые перевозки по Мо-сиве и области. Тел. 283-05-74, 283-48-33.
Помогу значительно увели-чить семейный бюджет. Вышлю методику, как заработать мил-лион за 2 месяца, имея старто-вый капитал 2—3 тысячи. П/п 200 руб. 676400. Амурская обл., г. Свободный-18, предъявит. у/д ПЗ № 078439. Высылку гаранти-рую. рую.

PA3HOE

С Независимый яхт-клуб «Аль-батрос» ищет спонсоров для финансирования возрождаемых крейсерских соревнований «Ку-бок Жигулей». Р/с № 8467103 в коммерческом Ладабанке г. Тольятти.







The use of imagery is also spared in product packaging. For a foreigner it is impossible to tell from the packaging what the product is. Packaging is purely informational, as is advertising. But when I say informational, the name of the product is printed simply on recycled rough cardboard, with perhaps some repetitive achromatic decoration. As in the case of condoms and other articles, no indication is given to what is inside the packaging. Bottles of household detergent are difficult to distinguish from bottles of mineral water (*figs 17, 18 & 19*).

Advertising has started to become visual in the cities of Russia, Moscow in particular, within the last few years. On the 15th of October 1994, the first billboards were erected in the busy Moscow metro station Komsomolskaya. Only eight advertisements are on display at the moment; most of these are for investment banks. At present investment banks are the main employers of advertising in Russia (fig 20, 20(b), 21). One such investment firm is the 'MMM' Investment Company which began its advertising campaign in July 1994. It was a very successful campaign, created by Russians for Russians, which showed a new approach to Russian advertising. Its advertisements appeared on television (99% of Russians own televisions) over a period of three months. They took the form of a soap opera. The whole of Russia tuned in to see what would happen next. It started off with the characters Lyonya Golubkov and his domineering wife, Rita. Lyonya invests his money in MMM and begins to reap the benefits. He keeps a graph of his growing wealth. Rita demands a fur coat so he buys her a fur coat. Then he invests more money so he can buy his increasingly greedy wife a car. The graph goes steadily upwards as Lyonya invests more and more money in MMM. As the episodes develop, Lyonya divorces his wife and buys an apartment in Paris. Eventually he goes to the World Cup in America with his brother Ivan. This episode shows Lyonya and Ivan drinking Budweiser. Lyonya turns to his brother and says "This beer is excellent but our Vodka is better". New characters were then introduced to show that all members of Russian society can reap the benefits of





FIG, 17














Moscow's AIDS information campaign is so far limited to metro posters

FIG. 22



investing with MMM. Two pensioners, because they invest, are able to buy a dog to keep them company and safe from burglars. The final episode of their campaign is set around the character of Marina Sergeyevna, who tells us how lonely she is and pleads to know what she will do; with that, a man's voice masterfully repeats 'MMM', 'MMM'...

The next ad shows a glamorous new Marina with a handsome boyfriend in hand. This advertising campaign was massively different from the types of informational advertising which the Russian has become acclimatised to. Because of its use of the Western tool of sensationalism, it attracted a massive ten million investors. In keeping with good old capitalist tradition, the company which worked on a pyramid scheme, went bust in November of last year. This example highlights the vulnerability of the Russian consumer.

Another Russian advertising campaign, of a completely different nature, the Aids campaign has not proved, unfortunately, to be quite as successful as the 'MMM' campaign. This poster campaign was organised by both Russians and members of Western Aids Awareness groups, which were brought to Russia by the International Centre for Better Health (ICBH), in 1992. This campaign has been successful in that it has tried to reduce the stigma attached to Aids, by distributing leaflets with information on the disease. A support group for families and friends of those infected with HIV called 'Mi i Vi', (us and you) has also been set up. However, posters have been limited to the Moscow Metro (*fig 22*). Surprisingly, however these posters displayed very little information about the disease. There is a tendency for Russian posters on the subject of Aids to portray a mystical satanic vision of the disease (*fig 23 & 24*) without attempting to tackle any real issues on this subject, such as precautions etc.

Some consumers are more dependent on and vulnerable to advertising than others; for example, children, people who are in transitional states in their lives, and countries

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FIG. 24



where people have been exposed to the world of mass marketed consumer goods. T.J. Jackson Lears (*Schudson, 1993 P.214*) states that these 'exceptions' account for most people on the planet and all people on the planet at some point in their lives. Age, education, station in life, government guarantees of consumer protection are factors which decide on a consumer's vulnerability. The most prominent image in Western news media is that of Eastern Europe coming to terms with the wonders of consumer capitalism. Views contrary to this, such as that of a senior economist of the West German Deutsche Bank who told the London Independent that the opening up of Eastern Europe to capitalism, 'freedom' and 'democracy' was "the equivalent of the discovery by Europe of Latin America, exploiting cheap labour and cheap supplies" (11.11.'89) are not quite as common.

Where Western products are concerned they have the free run of the market since Western goods are not just products, they are status symbols. Companies such as Pepsi are so powerful that they do not need to advertise. The extent of their power was demonstrated in late October 1992 when the Pepsico beverage group announced a barter deal with the Ukrainian Government. This agreement was basically an extension of the original version signed by the Soviet Government in 1990. This deal involves the barter of Cola Syrup and business advice for Soviet ships! Pepsi has sold a number of these vessels and in turn has opened a substantial amount of Pizza Hut restaurants in the Russian federation.

McDonalds are the other western giants who have jumped at the opportunity of exploiting the Russian market. Their first outlet opened on Pushkin Square, one of Moscow's busiest commercial areas. This restaurant is architecturally unique with a glass pyramid bursting through a tiled roof. This, I presume, is to symbolise some sort of wondrous breakthrough which McDonalds have made into the Russian market. The fact is however, that the Russians who avail of their services do so as a special treat,



rather like Westerners going to a top class restaurant. McDonald's huge rouble profits are being re-invested into improving their Soviet operation, as they can take little profit out of the country.

Placement of an ad for a Western company in a Russian magazine is a long slow process. Moscow approval may take six months and acceptance of the ad is not guaranteed, but those which are accepted are assured an open market for their product. In 1966 Vneshtorgreklama (a state-run advertising agency) was set up to deal with the influx of foreign advertisements. Its function is to advise western manufacturers on the suitability of their product for the Russian market. Western producers, basically, can advertise what they like. However, in some cases they are advised not to introduce products which are already manufactured in Russia, for example, steel rails and other steel goods. The types of goods which Westerners are strongly encouraged by Vneshtorgreklama to advertise in Russia are consumer products, such as shoes, stockings, make-up, refrigerators (fig 25 & 26) and frozen food. Nina Ricci and Estee Lauder shops (fig 27 & 28) are to be found in Moscow. Nina Ricci alone sells one million bottles of perfume a year in Moscow (Soviet Perspectives, Sept 1992, P.6). The Estee Lauder shop which opened in Gum in 1991, is almost like a ghost shop. It is designed in accordance with all their other outlets around the world, but the goods are not Western Estee Lauder products but lower quality goods produced in their A factory (fig 29).

Russians are especially gifted at concealing shortages through lavish displays. Even since the Sixties, so as to suggest a wide choice of goods, ornamental window decorations began to appear. The lack of variety was disguised by arranging less desirable, yet readily available, products into abstract patterns around a particularly sought after display article that was not for sale (*fig 30*).

Vneshtorgreklama are very cautious about handing out information to western



новое поколение холодильников GoldStar



Ваши продукты сохранятся вдвое дольше обычного, потому что холодильники GoldStar - это: - уникальная система «NO FROST», предотвращающая

- образование изморози; - регулируемое многоканальное охлаждение;
- фильтр влажности.

Элегантный дизайн и совершенная технология GoldStar в Вашем доме.



FIG. 26



KNOWING



Духи для женщины, которая знает...

ESTĒE LAUDER

Салон Эсте Лаудер в ГУМе на Красной площади









FIG. 29





companies who are seeking to advertise in Russia. W. Arlt, director in export media for a Swedish advertising agency dealing with Russia and East Europe, knows all too well about Vneshtorgreklama's stance on such matters. Arlt was hoping to use direct mail services to contact potential buyers in Russia for a client of his in the printing industry. Vneshtorgreklama had a list of 2,200 buyers of printing equipment but wouldn't release them to him; instead they wrote to him saying "Send us 2,200 envelopes, product folders, covering letters with letterhead etc., and we will translate and send them out for you. This time you're asking for the geographical location of printing plants, but next time, you will have a client in meteorological instruments and you will want the addresses of all our aircraft manufacturing facilities!" (O'Keefe, Sheinkopf, 1976, P.85).

The cost of advertising in a Russian product magazine is very low in comparison to the rates in the U.S.A., but is more similar to rates in Western Europe. Ads placed by Russians in their own magazines are almost non-existent. Those which do appear cannot make any lavish claims, such as 'Pal Electronics....first with a portable transistor radio'. The Government does not want to be reminded by Western advertisements that perhaps they were not the first to design a machine or product. The majority of ads, be they Russian or Western, are directed to industrial buyers and not consumers (*fig 31*). Ads are also found in magazines such as 'Domovoii', a glossy magazine for young up-and-coming Muscovites. Magazines of this nature are expensive and therefore attain the same status as a book.

Firms offering services at Western price levels are mushrooming in Moscow. Their whereabouts, though, are often not known and potential clients do not often know who offers what in the city. This is why there has been an emergence of special guides for foreigners to various Moscow outlets. Consequently Western style outlets do not really need to advertise independently. Foreigners learn of their services through these English language weekly newspapers such as the 'Moscow Times' and the 'Moscow Tribune' which are to be found all around the city.







Chapter 4

Russian Poster Art and Advertising

With Perestroika a flood of posters reflecting the harsh reality of Russian life emerged. Because of the fact that censorship was an integral part of the former communist regime, artists hid their meanings behind symbols and their criticisms behind metaphors (fig 32). Russians at present are slowly forgetting their suppressed past. Former creators of poster art have found in advertising another outlet for their work. The emergence of private firms in Russia's new market economy gives graphic artists a new field in which to earn a living, newly formed companies are looking for advertising. Accordingly both the artist and the state are becoming increasingly more susceptible to the alluring qualities of commercial advertising. The poster publishing house of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, which was founded in 1917 to produce state propaganda posters, in recent years has turned to the production of very commercial sex magazines so as to be more profitable. Traditional Soviet graphic design is vanishing. As for the new design, its emergence is fostered by western style market forces, its appearance is also accompanied by a lowering of professional standards. The poster designed in 1990 by Vladimir Chaika, entitled 'No Beer' (fig 34) is an ironic assessment of the current state of design in Russia and its frustrated efforts to simulate western style advertising at a time of economic bankruptcy. The present boom in graphic design has not yet produced anything promising. There is a void in Soviet design, with traditional Soviet design no longer existing and nothing substantial to replace it. Russian designers, suffering from amnesia, create superficial advertisements based purely on imitation. Not only is there a shortage of equipment and materials there is also a shortage of trained designers. With only three major design schools in Russia, (one in Moscow, one in St. Petersburg and the other in the Ukraine), Advertising Agencies have found themselves employing people from a wide





FIG. 34



range of backgrounds. The soviet notion of design is, therefore, both broader and narrower than the Western one. It is broader in that it includes more disciplines and it is narrower because it is still seen to some extent as a purely aesthetic exercise.

Perhaps the outlet for natural progression has been thwarted by Russia's history of totalitarian regimes. As Jaroslav Andel put it, "While postwar democracies allowed artists to re-examine their own experiences and to continue to develop their view in a constant dialogue with the past, the present and the future, totalitarian regimes prevented this vital exchange, trapping individuals in an artificial system" (Sylvestrova, 1993, P.110).

The posters of the 80's and 90's are in sharp contrast to the perpetually optimistic posters of the past (*fig 34b*). In pre-revolutionary times, posters were commissioned by the state and by public and private charitable societies to advertise exhibitions, lotteries, donations, social events etc. These posters were colourful and optimistic (*fig 35*). Very rarely were posters used to show the darker side of life. It was not until World War One that the 'political poster' came to the fore. At a time of an underdeveloped mass media, the poster was a very powerful tool. With its strong use of imagery, it was effective in communicating with the proletariat, which became accustomed to the vocabulary of these posters (*fig 36*). He/she could tell that the depiction of a rising sun symbolised a better future and that a poster with an illustration of smoking chimneys signified Russia's industrial progress. Symbolism and slogans worked together to promote communism.

In more recent times, poster designers stood at the forefront of the revolution of 1991. Ordinary people used posters in their struggle against totalitarian power. They marched with posters pinned to their bodies (*fig 37*). Posters appeared on the streets, in the metro, in shop windows. Posters were seen hanging from monuments, Government buildings. New symbols were introduced, such as the symbol of mother





fig. 34b














and child signifying new freedom and a better future. Street graphics (*fig 38*) i.e. leaflets, inscriptions on walls, placards and posters became an inseparable part of daily life in Moscow within an incredibly short period of time. Another conspicuous mark of Glasnost and Perestroika has been the low quality, semi-professional newspaper publications which are free from censorship. The streets of Moscow are full of old women selling everything from pornography to publications of Pamyat Propaganda (Pamyat is a Russian neo-nazi organisation). Street graphics are less visual than these publications. Simple messages such as 'I would like to buy a pram' are scribbled on pieces of paper and stuck to walls and bus stops. This is the most prominent form of advertising in Moscow today. Groups of people gather to study intensely imageless adverts. This is something you most definitely would not see here in the West. Some advertising agencies have recognised that these street born graphics may prove capable of breathing new life into future design. One such agency is 'Greatis'.

Greatis is a financially independent Russian advertising agency which was set up in 1989. This company is proud of the fact that they are not dependent on the state or any foreign investors for financial support. Greatis began publishing an annual graphics magazine in the year 1992. This magazine covers different aspects of Russian and foreign fine art and design but still finds time to promote their own work. Greatis is an example of the direction in which Russian advertising agencies are heading. This company is trying to address advertising in Russia in relation to culture and not just on an informational basis. Their objective is to put "high art imagery in low economy areas" (*DA! 1994, Vol , 1 P. 15*). What is most refreshing about them is the fact that they draw their inspiration from home. Their use of both traditional symbolism and contemporary street graphics is testament to this. However their range of clients is rather limited to that of investment banks and insurance companies, which can be quite restrictive creatively. Old symbols and traditional Russian paintings are used in conjunction with an old typeface of the Russian alphabet to create an image of strength and stability for these banks. Logos derived from Russian folklore are also employed







by Greatis. The logo of a golden bee to signify hard work ethics, and that of the butterfly to symbolise the vulnerability of all things and freedom to flourish under the wing of such and such insurance company, have been some of Greatis's more successful designs. There are very few Russian advertising agencies who are able to compete with Greatis. So why do they spend so much money on promoting themselves? Greatis work on the same principle as other up and coming businesses: they are preparing their market. With the imminent increase in private businesses, there will also be a greater demand for advertising and consequently an increase in advertising agencies. Greatis, through promoting themselves are now putting themselves at an advantage.



Chapter 5

Media and Advertising

The Russian mass media is just beginning to be transformed by commercial advertising as we know it, and to affect the Soviet economy in return. The development of advertising has been retarded because of the longtime prevalence of a seller's market. However, as consumer goods become more plentiful, the problem of sales is beginning to be addressed. The media have been selected, by the state, to help resolve this problem. Its role is partly to create a demand and partly to inform the buying public of what goods are available where. As Russia's consumer sector becomes larger and more varied, the media will be increasingly used its merchandising capacity. Consequently, newspapers, television etc., will become less dependent on the state financially. Traditionally Russian daily newspapers are very thin with most papers consisting of four to six pages, with a maximum of half a page given to advertising. The larger the circulation, the less advertising has appeared. Large papers (8-10 pages) with national circulation did not advertise at all. By the Seventies things began to change slightly with advertising beginning to creep into Pravda and Izvestia, although e.g. this took the form of cultural listings rather than commercial advertising. This is how it still is today. Izvestia, by the way has become quite liberal and one of the most respected papers in Russia at the moment. In the orthodox communist view, newspapers are the most important medium. They are the main forum for presenting material to the general public and for relaying information to the party's members. Radio and television officially rank second but are closing the gap simply because of their efficiency in reaching the mass of people quickly. It is natural for us in the West to question the freedom of the Russian media. Dalpat S. Mehta's argues in his booklet entitled Mass Media in the USSR (1987) that it is better that the media is under the full ownership of the state than under the full ownership of some private industrial owner whose "bourgeois ideology serves capital and monopoly profits, reckless designs and



social revenge". He goes even further to elaborate on these goals when he says "its goals are clear, to embellish capitalism by whatever means, to disguise its inhuman nature, to impose on others its way of life and culture, to defame socialism and to distrust the essence of such values as democracy, freedom, equality and social progress" (*Dalpat, 1987, P.6*).

However, some Russians involved in the media have made a conscious decision to shift from a state-funded network to a network which sought dramatically to reduce state support of the local press. In 1968 'Raion', the huge network of Russian newspapers, also took it upon themselves to do exactly this. Their editors were instructed to look for advertisements from Soviet businesses, industries and private individuals. This was to make up a major source of their financial income in addition to subscriptions. Newspaper are about the only area of the media which have become in any way privatised. Within the last two years there has been an element of foreign investment into Russian newspapers, the most significant of these being that of a Greek millionaire who began financially supporting Pravda in 1993. Nezavisimava Gazeta was the first of the independent newspapers, founded in 1989. Its advertising rates are substantially lower than other newspapers. Izvestia, for example, charges \$39,000 per full page advertisement and Nezavisimaya charges a mere \$5,000 dollars in comparison. However being an independent paper, it lacks computerised equipment which limits its ability to produce ads to western standards. Independent newspapers in Russia are dependent on sales and advertising to survive.. Sevodnya which was founded in 1994 by some former employees of Nezavisimaya Gazeta, is also sponsored by the very powerful Russian 'Most Bank', (fig 39) whose adverts regularly grace the full pages of this paper. Rospechat, formerly known as Soyuzpechat is an organisation whose job is to distribute Russian newspapers. Rospechat conducts rigorous advertising campaigns every year to increase press circulation.





FIG. 39



Their efforts have been successful partly due to new improved newspapers and their use of advertising so that the circulation of newspapers has almost doubled in recent years. Rospechat has also been the victim of political policies which the Government has imposed in the past insisting on maintaining huge circulations of politically favouring papers such as <u>Pravda</u>, though they were not as popular as other papers. Rospechat addressed this problem by introducing 'Tie-in' sales, whereby Soviet subscribers had to buy a slow-selling newspaper in order to get the publication they really wanted.

Commercials began being broadcast on radio in the year 1947. Today advertising is grouped into a single programme of eight to ten minutes duration, which is broadcast three times a day. The announcements are read alternately by male and female announcers without interruption. Commercial advertisements are issued in the form of matter-of-fact instruction as to where goods can be bought with perhaps a word of encouragement to buy them. These commercial programmes represent a type of shopper's service. There are six hundred Russian radio stations which reach 97% of the population. As with the Press and television there has been an effort to liven up their broadcasts so as to attract more listeners. Youth programmes have been quite successful, with programmes entitled 'Hello Comrade', 'What will you be?' and 'Arms Race - No!, being some of the most popular. Television, however, has proved to be more consumer friendly. Programmes are broadcast daily on four Russian channels. These programmes reach 28,000,000 television sets with an audience of 123,000,000 Russians. In 1965 24% of Russians owned a television set, today it is more in region of 99%. Satelite T.V. is also available but only to the minority who can afford it. Most Russians can only receive state channels, such as, Ostankino and RTR. Game shows and tacky Mexican soap operas have hit Russia like a storm. (A Russian voice shouts over the Mexican actors' voice, in a monotonous drone). These programmes serve the function of attracting an audience for more propagandist items such as news



programmes which devote their time to praising Yeltsin. They also however attract an audience for advertisements which are aired frequently. NTV is the only television station not financially dependent on the state. It broadcasts for two hours a day and is only available in Moscow and St. Petersburg.



Conclusion

Although advertising is on the increase in Russia, it is still very much on a small scale in comparison to advertising in the West. Russian advertising is confined to the area of Banks and Investment companies, and therefore, has not developed a vocabulary in which to relate directly to the consumer, through the promotion of consumer products. Today in a free Russia there is still 'no beer'. And not only beer is in short supply. The most prominent examples of Russian Graphic design are not to be found in advertising, but in shop windows announcing 'no sugar', 'no bread', 'no vodka'.

Within the last few years, however, considerable progress has been made in Russian Graphic and Fashion design abroad, including successes at shows in Europe and the U.S. These advances, however, have not been pursued at home. One Russian Fashion Designer, Slava Zaitsev, whose clothes have proved a hit in Paris and New York, had this to say: "Unfortunately, within Russia these achievements are not put into practice and are unknown to the public". *(Aldersey-Williams, 1992, P.115)*. It seems to be more important to the Russian Government to project a competitive image abroad, than to use their resources to facilitate their ability to compete.

The task of combining capitalism and communism is, as one would expect, immensely difficult. But if achieved could prove to be extremely effective and would create an ideal environment in which Russian advertising could thrive. There is a general sense of optimism for the future. The belief of a new freedom and a better future has been expressed in posters and advertisements through symbols such as that of mother and child. (*fig 40 & 41*). Whether this belief is well founded or not only time will tell.

The emergence of commercial advertising, even if it is purely functional and rather bland, is symbolic, however, of yet another step away from communistic mentality. Having very few cultural references to draw from in this area, the obvious choice was

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to look to the West. This, however, has resulted in a free Russia which has led to the destruction of its own heritage. Traditional icons are being substituted by Western commercial commodities such as Pepsi-Cola. Such extremes are, however, typical of a country in a transitional state. Perhaps it is, Advertising Agencies such as 'Greatis', who draw from the past as well as the present, that lead the way for the future of Russian advertising.





ΡΕΚЛΑΜΗΑЯ ΓΡΥΠΠΑ ΝΩ1

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Изготовление и размещение рекламы на ТВ 921-7894 Изготовление и размещение рекламы на радио 921-9653 Изготовление и размещение рекламы в прессе 923-4046

M

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Изготовление и размещение наружной рекламы 923-4684 Организация конференций и презентаций 928-1038 Аналитические и маркетинговые исследования 209-6005

ГИБКАЯ СИСТЕМА СКИДОК ДЛЯ РЕКЛАМНЫХ АГЕНТСТВ

acante,

сследования 209-600 ТСТВ

Цветной бульвар, д.З

FIG, 40





ХОЛОДИЛЬНИКИ МОРОЗИЛЬНЫЕ КАМЕРЫ ГАЗОВЫЕ И ЭЛЕКТРОПЛИТЫ ПОСУДОМОЕЧНЫЕ МАШИНЫ СТИРАЛЬНЫЕ МАШИНЫ



ARISTON * INDESIT * NOVALUX * MOULINEX * KRUPS * ROWENTA * PHILIPS * TEFAI

Магазин «МЕЛОЧИ ЖИЗНИ» Москва, Центр, Садовое кольцо, См. «Красные ворота», Боярский пер., 6/2. Тел.: (095) 924 6183.

ТОРГОВАЯ СЕТЬ ВОСТОЧНО-ЕВРОПЕЙСКОЙ КОМПАНИИ





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- Michael Khorev; First Secretary, Russian Embassy, Orwell Road, Rathgar. October 1994
- Robert Haupt; Russian Correspondent for <u>The Australian Financial Review</u>. December 1994
- Prom Graphica; Russian Graphic Agency. November 1994
- Mark Hollyoake; Regional Manager North Eastern Europe of Guinness Brewing Worldwide Ltd. November 1994.



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