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August 1987

THE VALUES PORTRAYED IN THE ADVERTISING OF MILK
AND MILK PRODUCTS IN INDIA

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study was to learn the values promoted in advertisements by Amul, the marketing federation of the dairy cooperatives of Western India, to explain their success in making infant formula and packaged dairy products acceptable in a traditional society.

A content analysis of Amul's advertisements compiled from consumer magazines, journals and one major daily published during 1986-1987 was made to identify the values. The values were taken from a list compiled by researchers from studies by social scientists in the major social sciences.

As part of the study, Indian journals of pediatrics, the veterinary and dairy sciences were examined because of the enormous influence these professionals have in promoting the products. The industry's views enunciated in these advertisements were compared with the fears expressed by environmentalists that a dairy industry in India overtaxes the country's natural resources and could threaten man's survival on the subcontinent.

The findings of the study were that Amul's ads claimed to aid the customer by promoting his/her health. The dominant values varied from wisdom to status. The relationships depicted were all family, even when the ads talked of sharing fun and food with friends. The subsidiary values were usually convenience, an emphasis on the natural ingredients used in the product, instructions on how to use the products to complement traditional Indian dishes and a detailed description of the technology that went into the packaging to keep the product fresh.

The advertisements in the professional journals studied placed special emphasis on the nutritional value of the products and the economic benefits to the small dairy farmers from marketing the foods. The ads did not mention the fact that traditional Indian cuisine offers the same nutrients, nor were the unintentional consequences to the Indian environment in supporting a dairy industry mentioned.

The study supports conclusions made by researchers who studied the shift to bottle feeding in the Third World at the time of the infant formula controversy that the superior marketing and financial strengths of the commercial firms ensures that only their views on the subject are heard, especially through advertisements placed in the various media.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

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In the years following World War II several Asian, African, Middle Eastern and Latin American nations gained independence from colonial rule. The newly independent countries, termed the "Third World," share certain common characteristics besides a colonial past. These include a degree of socioeconomic and technological underdevelopment when compared to the industrialized nations of Europe and North America; a cautious approach to the adoption of western social and economic advances; a reluctance to get involved in super power politics; and a commitment to an equitable distribution of wealth in the world through social and economic change (Braveboy-Wagner, 1986, p.3).

But there was a time, especially after the War, when western economists charted a path to modernize the economies of Third World countries. Rostow (1960) identified five different stages of growth in the transformation of a country's economy from a traditional to a mass consumption one (p. 4). The process involved changing the "major characteristics" of the traditional society to stimulate "regular growth." The changes would have to be brought about in its political and social structures, the economy and its values (p. 5-6). The material inputs such as capital and technology would come in the form of foreign direct investment and aid. The cultural patterns such as democratic attitudes and belief in free enterprise would be diffused through education and the mass media (Gereffi, 1983, p. 5-6).

Despite foreign aid and investment, the gap between the rich and the poor nations widened, giving rise to another school of thought which advocated that western capitalism perpetuated dependency (Cardoso and Faletto, 1979, p. xxi). Dependency theorists allege that multinational corporations and the mass media, instead of helping to modernize society in developing nations, penetrate every aspect of the national economy, the government and all cultural institutions to mold consumption patterns that would ensure a perpetual market for their products (Kobrin, 1979, p. 110).

The modernization theory traced the stages in the growth of a subsistence level economy to a mass consumption society, characterized by growth and availability of disposable income. Dependency theorists showed how such a growth in the Third World created an emerging elite which actually widened the gap between the rich and the poor classes despite a growth in per capita income and the Gross National Product (GNP). The two theories have helped shape the new concept of development as envisaged by the United Nations. The concept shifts its emphasis from a measure of economic indicators to the development of human beings by meeting basic needs like food, clothing, shelter, health and education (Cocoyoc Declaration, quoted in Ghai, 1977, p. 6).

The three approaches to the concept of development in the Third World help explain the attitude of people towards multinational corporations (MNCs) which have long been identified as the organizations with the capital, technology and skilled manpower to assist Third World countries in development. They also explain the suspicion with which

these countries view the superior marketing practices and communication techniques employed by MNCs to create demand by transferring patterns of consumption to their societies. The United Nations Economic and Social Council in a resolution adopted unanimously on 28th July 1972, requested the Secretary General to appoint a Group of Eminent Persons to study the MNCs and assess their role in shaping the development process in the Third World by shifting priorities and creating needs instead of fulfilling the ones that already exist (United Nations, 1973, SC/ECA/190 p. vi).

The fear of transfer of what has been termed as "consumerist capitalism" stems from the fact that MNCs do not develop products suited to the needs of consumers in developing countries (Kobrin, 1979, p. 111). They tend to transfer expensive consumer products, differentiated by brand names and advertising by using superior marketing and promotion strategies (p. 111). The problem is further aggravated by the fact that poverty, illiteracy, lack of information and the absence of watch-dog agencies like the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) make Third World consumers especially vulnerable to the blandishments of advertisers (Schudson, 1984, p. 121-122).

The marketing of infant formula is a case in point, especially as the unintended consequences of promoting the product proved to be disastrous. Infant Formula, the product of a technically advanced society actually increased infant mortality rates from diarrhea caused by mixing the formula with contaminated water; malnutrition brought on by diluting the expensive formula to make it last longer; an increase in

birth rates as breast feeding is a natural way of spacing births and an unnecessary diversion of the country's foreign exchange reserves for importing formula to replace a more suitable natural resource, breast-milk (Jelliffe, 1978; Almroth and Greiner, 1979, p. 1; Berg, 1973, p. 89).

The origins of the infant formula companies in the West explain both their marketing strategies and their current problems in the Third World. The infant formula industry began with the establishment of the Walker-Gordon Milk Laboratory in Boston by Dr. Thomas Morgan Rotch in 1891 (Apple, 1980, p. 403). At this laboratory, cow's milk was "humanized" by diluting it according to a physician's prescription to lower the percentage of casein and then by adding sugar to increase the sugar and fat content to make the laboratory-prepared milk closer to the composition of human milk (p.403). The belief at this time was that the doctor had to tailor the formula 'scientifically' to suit the needs of each infant (p. 403). Many doctors found the task of prescribing such a formula difficult (p. 404). So they turned to the ready-to-mix formula developed by a German Chemist, Justus von Liebig (p. 404). The first commercial manufacturer of Mellin's Food in the United States was the Doliber and Goodal Company which introduced the product in 1876 (p. 405). Horlicks introduced its version of the Liebig formula in 1882(p. 405). Nestle began marketing a formula which was a combination of condensed milk, sugar and wheat flour in the United States in 1873 (p. 405). These manufacturers appealed to both the medical profession

and the general public in order to develop the broadest possible market (p. 405).

Concerned with the growing problem of infant malnutrition brought on as a result of bottle feeding, the World Health Organization (WHO) and the United Nations International Childrens' Fund (UNICEF) sponsored a meeting of pediatricians, nutritionists and formula manufacturers in 1970. The bone of contention at the meeting held at Bogota, Colombia was the marketing practices of formula companies to promote their product. However, it was at the next meeting under the auspices of the UN's Protein Calorie Advisory Group (PAG) that a statement was drafted to express a consensus among the various groups with regard to marketing the formula. The statement known as PAG 23 that was drafted at this meeting, was later revised and issued in 1973. A year later the tone of these meetings changed when the World Health Assembly adopted a resolution identifying the marketing practices of formula companies as the cause for a decline in breastfeeding. Nations were urged to review the marketing practices of the companies and regulate them if necessary. In 1975, the International Pediatrics Association called for controls on the promotion of infant formula (Post and Baer, 1981, p. 55-56).

The marketing strategies of the MNCs operating in the Third World were largely dictated by whether the company was a pharmaceutical or a food processing one. The pharmaceutical firms worked through the medical profession, offering pediatricians free samples, sponsoring their postgraduate studies and hosting seminars and congresses (Patal, 1978 p. 19). Another practice was the use of "milk nurses," women

representatives of manufacturers who directly promoted the formula to new mothers at clinics (Jackson, 1978, p.8). Posters adorned the walls of clinics, while entire nurseries were equipped with bassinets, clocks and air conditioning donated by the firms (Margulies, 1978, p. 34). Radio, TV and newspaper ads promoted the formula, which was freely marketed through all shops (p. 35). In the face of protests from concerned groups, the formula industry adopted its own code, the International Council on Infant Food Industries (ICIFI) (Post and Baer, 1981, p. 55). But tired of documenting violations of the Code, the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility (ICCR), a coalition of Protestant and Catholic groups who are shareholders in American formula companies, decided that sterner measures were necessary as the code was weak and was being used by the firms to legitimate practices that should not have been used in the first place (Margulies, 1978, p. 37).

The controversy over the increased use of formula in the Third World gained world attention with the publication of a cover story entitled "The baby food tragedy" in the August 1973 issue of a U.K publication, the New Internationalist (Chetley, 1980, p. 220). The story contained interviews with two tropical medicine experts who said that marketing of baby food by large corporations had partly contributed to the problem of diarrheal disease and gastro-enteritis among Third World infants (p. 220). The magazine's cover carried the picture of a baby's grave with a feeding bottle and a used can of Nestle's Lactogen on it. A part of the caption read, "... the use of these items was one of the main causes of the child's death" (p. 220).

The story was followed by a report titled "The Baby Killer," written by a South African journalist, Mike Muller (p. 220). The report was published by a British charitable organization, War on Want. A German translation of "The Baby Killer" under the title "Nestle Kills Babies" was published by the Third World Working Group located in Switzerland. Nestle sued the Group for libel in a lower Swiss Court (p. 221). The company won the case, but the judge who found the title libelous urged Nestle to "change its advertising practices" (Wall Street Journal, 25 June 1976, p. 29). A film titled "Bottle Babies" made by Peter Kreig, an independent film maker, brought the matter into focus visually, especially since the film was widely distributed by the Third World Institute in Minneapolis and Church action groups like the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, which is a related agency of the National Council of Churches (Chetley, 1980, p. 221).

Meanwhile the controversy escalated when successive shareholder resolutions were filed with the top four U.S. formula manufacturers, Abbot Laboratories, American Home Products, Borden and Bristol-Myers, requesting information on sales and product promotion methods used in the developing countries. Bristol-Myers in reply stated that its products were not intended for, nor promoted in markets where poverty and ignorance could lead to misuse or cause harm. The accuracy of the statement was challenged by The Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility (ICCR), an agency made up of 14 Protestant denominations and 150 Roman Catholic orders who are shareholders in the formula firms (Sisters of Precious Blood v. Bristol-Myers Company, 431 F. Supp. 385

(S.D.N.Y. 1977). The Corporation agreed to a voluntary settlement. According to the terms, Bristol-Myers had to devote its first 1978 Quarterly Report to the bottle feeding issue, including a joint preamble, an eighteen-page statement by the Sisters, and an eight-page reply by the corporation (Hewson, 1977, p. 151). The Sisters would be allowed to present their views on the issue at the 1978 Board Meeting (pp. 151-152). The corporation would revise promotional material to doctors and the labelling on formula tins to emphasize the superiority of breastfeeding. The feeding instructions on the labels would use more symbols to be easily intelligible to illiterate consumers (p. 152). Bristol-Myers would restrict the use of mothercraft nurses to contact physicians and hospitals, and stop distributing free samples of formula to mothers (p. 152). Above all, the corporation agreed to stop advertising infant formula in the mass media (p. 152).

Two other corporations, Borden and Abbot Laboratories, agreed to make policy changes. In February 1977, Borden agreed to reposition "KLIM," a brand of powdered milk manufactured by the company as a food for older children, instead of marketing it as a breastmilk substitute. The company withdrew all advertisements promoting KLIM as a breastmilk substitute (p. 146). Abbot Laboratories agreed to prohibit "mothercraft nurses" from wearing nurses uniforms (p. 146). The nurses would be company representatives but would not visit families to promote the product directly to new mothers (p. 152). The company also agreed to spend \$95,000 on radio spots promoting breastfeeding and to provide

detailed instructions on formula use in pamphlets placed inside packages (p. 146).

Nestle, the largest marketer of infant formula in the Third World could not reach such an agreement. The International Nestle Boycott Committee representing 87 labor, religious and health organizations in 10 countries was thus formed to pressure the company into changing its marketing practices in 140 developing countries where it sold its formula. Nestle's chocolates and other products sold in these countries were boycotted for seven years from 1977 to 1984. The company then came to an agreement with the committee. It agreed to curtail free supplies to hospitals and health care centers and stop providing favors to doctors in exchange for promotion of products. Nestle would use warning labels and highlight the hazards of formula use in its promotional literature (New York Times, Jan. 27, 1984 p. 1, A 4).

The controversy reached not only the Courts but the U.S. Congress as well. The Subcommittee on Foreign Appropriations considered the role of the Agency for International Development (AID) in promoting breastfeeding (95th Congress, 1st Session, 1977 p. 286-287). The Senate Subcommittee on Health and Scientific Research of the Committee on Human Resources under the Chairmanship of Senator Edward M. Kennedy held public hearings on the 'Marketing and Promotion of Infant Formula in the Developing Nations, 1978' (Washington, D.C: U.S. Government Printing Office, May 23, 1978). After hearing the testimony from both the formula manufacturers and concerned groups, Senator Kennedy requested

that the Director-General of the WHO bring the parties together and find a solution to the problem.

The WHO Secretariat commissioned a study by experts on various aspects of the problem. In October 1979, the participants met to discuss issues they had researched and recommended a Code for marketing the formula. Thus the Code of Marketing of Breastmilk Substitutes was drafted and presented to the Thirty Fourth World Health Assembly (WHO Chronicle, 1981, pp. 112-117). Under the WHO constitution, the Code can be adopted in one of three forms--as a convention, regulation or recommendation (Post and Baer, 1981, p. 57-58). The formality of a convention made it impractical, so the debate focused on whether the Code should be adopted as a regulation or a recommendation (p. 58). As a regulation, the Code can be enforced by WHO. In the case of a recommendation, individual governments would have the choice of framing suitable legislation that conformed to the guidelines of the Code. The size of MNCs makes it easier for them to handle local laws drafted in accordance with the Code. So the exporting nations where the MNCs lobbied were unwilling to lose important markets and therefore wanted the Code to be adopted as a recommendation. The WHO, on the other hand, hoped for a consensus and a universally acceptable set of norms as infant feeding problems in a developing country are the same as the ones in the poorer sections of developed nations. So the WHO Code reached the Thirty Fourth World Health Assembly as a recommendation, and was adopted on 21st May 1981 by 118 votes in favor to 1 against, with 3

abstentions (WHO, 1981, p. 7). The lone dissenting vote came from the U.S. and the abstentions from allies of the U.S.

The U.S. vote led to another public hearing in Congress on the 'Implementation of the World Health Organization (WHO) Code on Infant Formula Marketing Practices' (June 16, 1981). The objective of the hearings was to determine the administration's position on the issue and the basis on which the decision was made (p. 1). The spokesperson for the administration claimed the Code was 'irrelevant' to the U.S. where conditions under which the formula could be misused or have harmful effects did not exist (Constable, 1981, p. 6). Further, the representative stated that the Code 'raised questions' under U.S. law and constitutional provisions (p. 6). Former Senator Sam J. Ervin who spoke for the manufacturers contended that 'the code is replete with unconstitutional provisions and sets a dangerous international precedent by imposing severe restrictions on the advertising, marketing, and labeling of all infant foods (1981, p. 36). But the economics of the issue as pointed out by Dr. Carl Taylor, Chairman, Department of International Health at Johns Hopkins, weighed more on the minds of the manufacturers (1981, p. 144). Quoting recent statistics from a U.N. survey, Dr. Taylor in his testimony pointed out that the trade in infant formula was of the order of \$2 billion, with a profit margin of 15 to 25 percent. The ratio of advertising to sales was 10 to 15 percent. Thus Dr. Taylor concluded: "Can anyone pretend that companies would invest in this kind of sales promotion if it were not influencing mothers to use formula?" (p. 144).

The WHO Code is comprehensive, prohibiting the use of marketing and promotional methods that the industry had come to rely on to sell infant formula in the Third World. Specifically, Article 5.1 of the Code imposes a ban on formula advertising and all forms of promotion to the general public (WHO, 1981, p. 16). Donations to health care systems, use of milk nurses, inducements to doctors and distribution of free samples are prohibited under the Code (Article 6 p. 17 and Article 8 p. 19-20)

Both critics and supporters of the Code are aware of the fact that the Third World's problems of high infant mortality rates and malnutrition stem from poverty, lack of clean water and sanitation. The United Nations General Assembly has designated the 1980s as the 'International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade' (Baum and Tolbert, 1985, p. 306). But the cost of providing safe water and sanitation facilities by the year 1990 to nearly 2.2 billion people amounts to \$30 billion a year in inputs at 1983 prices (p. 309-310). However, the population growth in the intervening years would again leave many people with no access to such facilities. (p. 310). Hence the Code banning active promotion of formula in the Third World and reestablishing the practice of breastfeeding seems a more feasible way of reducing infant mortality.

The Indian Dairy Industry

India is a signatory to the WHO Code. The late Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi addressed the World Health Assembly at which the Code was

adopted: "Hard sell advertising and publicity makes us victims of habits which are economically wasteful and contrary to good health" (WHO Chronicle, 1981, p. 110). But the Indian government provides subsidy to dairy cooperatives that manufacture and market the formula in the country. Unlike other developing countries, the largest manufacturer and seller of infant formula in India is not an MNC but the Gujarat Cooperative Milk Marketing Federation, which markets both infant formula and weaning food under the brand name "Amul." As the dairy cooperative is the manufacturer, a look at the Indian dairy industry provides insights into the marketing strategy adopted to sell formula foods in India.

The first successful dairy cooperative in India was located in Anand, a small town in Kaira District of Gujarat State. (Gujarat is also the home state of Mahatma Gandhi, the father of India's nonviolent freedom movement). A young dairy scientist, Dr. Veghese Kurien came to this cooperative in 1949 to fulfill the terms of a government scholarship which had enabled him to study at Michigan State University. Kurien soon became a champion of the farmers who produce 48 percent of India's GNP. The cooperative provided him with a means of helping the farmers to free themselves from the clutches of middlemen, thus procuring a fair deal for the person who actually produced the food (Kalbag, 1984, p. 127).

Kurien's success in organizing cooperatives in Gujarat State led to his appointment in 1965 as Chairman, National Dairy Development Board, charged with the task of establishing similar cooperatives throughout

the country (Fryer, 1981, p. 619). This was also the time when the European Economic Community (EEC) had plans to donate surplus milk powder and butter oil as food aid to India under the United Nations World Food Programme (p. 619). Dismayed that the food aid would prove a setback to the cooperatives he had nurtured, Kurien devised a scheme under which the donated milk powder and butter oil would be reconstituted into milk and sold in urban markets. The proceeds were to be utilized to pay a higher support price for milk to the rural producers. They would also be used to fund the various stages of an ambitious dairy development program by covering cattle rearing, production, processing and distribution. The program, Operation Flood Phase I was launched in July 1970 to flood the urban markets of Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and Madras with milk (p. 619). The four metro markets were covered by 10,000 cooperatives with a membership of 1.3 million milk producers and their families, grouped under 27 cooperative unions patterned after Anand (Eastern Economist, 1981, p. 963). In 1981 the second phase of Operation Flood was launched to cover urban consumers in towns with a population of 100,000. As a result, several Indian States like Andhra, Punjab, Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra were able to establish cooperative unions with a local membership of 2.1 million farmers (Singh, 1984, p. 125).

The Gujarat Cooperative Milk Marketing Federation's success has been phenomenal in marketing milk and dairy products in urban India. Kurien is thus a 'folk hero', popular with urban consumers who can now buy their milk in plastic sachets or from vending machines (p. 124-125),

and as a savior of the oppressed rural dairy farmer fictionalised in a highly acclaimed film, "Manthan," which means "churning," by India's leading director of art films, Shyam Benegal. Kurien claims that "India is the perfect milk market," as milk is prized not only for its completeness as a food but also for its miraculous flexibility (1970, p. 66). The sentiment translates itself into markets, as even the poor allot a considerable portion of their income for milk, increasing such expenditures as their income rises (p. 66). Kurien also claims that the ancient Indian culture's resilience equips its people with the ability to absorb the best qualities of an alien culture while appreciating the "need to recognize the relationship of society to ecology." However, even Kurien appreciates the inherent problems in "reconciling older Indian values with more recent Western attributes" which affect the country's development, "including advances in the dairy field" (1970, p. 66).

The cooperatives' modern methods of marketing frees the urban consumer from being exploited by traditional milk sellers who created chronic shortages while supplying adulterated milk. Kurien says the marketing strategy has been to stress convenience, price and quality in such an ideal milk market (1970, p. 66-67). The convenience foods include infant formula, weaning food, chocolates, malted milk, milk shakes, milk powder, cheese, butter and an enriched Indian yogurt called 'srikhand'. The packaged dairy products are targeted at urban consumers and are meant for infants, children and adolescents. A growing group of critics have begun to question the appropriateness of such dairy

products in a developing country (Fryer, 1981, p. 624). Others fear that the restructuring of the dairy industry and higher support prices have made dairying a part of the money economy. EEC surplus milk powder augments supplies during lean periods, while exotic cross breeds, improved cattlefeed and professional veterinary services ensure higher yields. These advances could drive the small landless farmer from the industry, while local yields are used to manufacture products not meant for the use of the milk producer as they are priced far above his reach. They could also mean higher prices for oxen, used by small farmers in India as draught animals to grow food. Above all the lack of fodder could lead to a shift in land use, food crops being replaced by grass for cattle. Environmentalists see in the trend a grave danger to the delicate balance between pastoralism and agriculture that has sustained human life on the Indian subcontinent (Crotty, 1982, p. 340).

Statement and Explanation of Problem

India's dairy industry has increased the production of milk powder from 20,000 tons in 1970 to 100,000 tons in 1984 (Singh, 1984, p. 125). A major portion of it goes to produce infant formula, weaning food and powdered milk in a country where the infant mortality rate is 120 per 1,000. But the sales of these products forms a third of Amul's total sales (Singh, 1983, p. 135). The milk powder is recombined into milk for sale to urban markets and to produce western dairy products and chocolates for the urban elite. The milk and dairy products account for the rest of Amul's total sales.

The purpose of the study is to identify the appeals and values manifest in Amul's ads which make the products acceptable to the Indian public. In order to identify the appeals and values this study is a content analysis of Amul's ads compiled from popular magazines and newspapers published during 1986. In addition to the copy, the logo, the pictures of the product and other visual elements are analyzed to supplement the information gathered from the analysis. These elements of the ads are important as they are addressed to consumers who are largely illiterate.

In the case of infant formula, a content analysis of ads by leading Indian firms and subsidiaries of multinational companies marketing the product is made to compare the values and appeals used by them with those used by Amul.

The following research questions will be discussed in the study:

1. What are the dominant appeals in Amul's ads for the year 1986?
2. What values do Amul's ads for 1986 encourage?
3. Do Amul's infant formula ads implement the WHO Code in letter and spirit?

This study also examines the advertising directed at the medical profession and the dairy scientists through ads placed in journals published by their professional associations. Studies (Greiner, 1975, p. 8) have shown that advertisements in these journals are a major source of information for the professionals who read them. Besides advertisements to professionals, certain social factors that make these products acceptable are examined. Some of these social factors have

been identified by researchers who studied the shift to bottle feeding (Jelliffe, 1972; Berg, 1973).

The following research questions are addressed as part of this study:

1. What are the interrelationships if any among the medical professionals, dairy scientists and commercial manufacturers whose firms stand to benefit from the establishment of a dairy industry?
2. What are some of the social factors that help create a market for these products?
3. What are some of the unintended consequences of promoting formula and dairy products in India?

Limitations of the Study

This study will cover Amul's ads for 1986. Though regional cooperatives have been set up in several Indian states to market the same products, their marketing strategies will not form part of this study. Amul's success led to the establishment of the regional cooperatives. Amul's marketing strategy served as the model. Amul's ads aimed at a national audience are taken to be representative of the marketing of the Indian dairy cooperative network.

Significance of the Study

Schudson (1984) described advertising as "capitalist realism," because it simplifies and typifies the life that is worth emulating in

order to make the ad universally acceptable (p. 215). This study of Amul's ads offers an opportunity to test if the ads use a similar approach as they have successfully bridged the gap between people of 14 major linguistic groups and daunting diversities (Ninan & Singh, 1982, p. 101). India has 14 official languages, while the influences of successive cultures on various regions of the country since the Aryan invasion of 1,500 B.C. account for the diversity. Not only the print ads but also the radio jingles, TV commercials and billboards appear in these 14 languages.

In India, advertising is accused of promoting materialism, which when combined with certain traditions within the country produces what can only be termed as aberrations in social behavior. The ancient custom of dowry is now equated with the number of consumer durables a bride can bring with her at the time of her marriage. Hard sell advertising increases the awareness of the number of such durables on the market, and their positioning as status symbols leads to the abhorrent practice of bride burning when families are unable to comply with the greed of the groom's family. This study hopes to trace the dominant values promoted by Amul as it involves the mother-infant relationship, the parent-children relationships and the concept of what constitutes a happy family. Rapid urbanization has led to the break-up of the joint/extended family system in India and the new definitions could have far reaching consequences.

The WHO Code was sponsored by the United Nations. But the Indian dairy cooperatives which manufacture and market the formula are part of

a dairy development project sponsored by the United Nations under its World Food Program. The Program involves donations of surplus milk powder and butter oil from the European Economic Community. The study examines the basis of a development program which hopes to raise the living standards of rural farmers from profits gained from marketing western dairy products and infant formula to India's urban population.

The impact of a new technology on the environment will be studied as part of documenting the unintended consequences of advertising packaged dairy products. India has a centralized economy, which aims at introducing appropriate technology to uplift the marginal farmers who usually belong to the economically weaker sections of society. The success of Operation Flood, which is a social program aimed at providing small farmers with a steady income to supplement their meagre earnings from seasonal agriculture, is therefore being measured against the professed, broad social objective.

Schudson (1984) acknowledges that advertising is not a shaper of our values, but usually picks up some ideas dear to people and 're-presents' them so relentlessly that the alternative choices to the ones advertised are forgotten (p. 233). With the second largest population in the world to support, India has looked for viable projects that are labor intensive. Among the notable projects for women, mention must be made of the cottage industry in rolling Indian cigarettes, incense sticks and several home-processed snacks. The industries supply raw materials to the homes of Indian women who in addition to the tasks of running a home and tending to children, find time to make a certain

number of cigarettes or incense sticks, every day. The manufacturer sends a representative at the end of the day to collect the finished goods and pays a fixed price for every unit manufactured. The success of Amul's advertising strategy is therefore being assessed against the benefits of an alternative cottage industry, the dairy products processed by which could be positioned to appeal to the peoples' social conscience, while satisfying the need for convenience.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Historical Considerations

A review of the literature on historical trends in infant feeding practices is a starting point in tracing the cultural norms replaced by bottle feeding. Pediatricians, nutritionists and historians have documented the practices through the ages to illustrate the fact that the controversy about what form of feeding is best for the child has existed from time immemorial, and certain patterns now visible in the Third World because of the vigorous promotion of infant formula existed in the U.S. during the period 1870 to 1940 (Berg, 1973, pp. 95-96; Davidson, 1953, p. 74-87; Jelliffe, 1968, pp. 13-31; Phillips, 1976, pp. 296-300; Levenstein, 1983, p. 75-94; Apple, 1980, p. 402-417).

Davidson's (1953) historical study found no evidence of bottle feeding in the pre-Ptolemaic period in Egypt. Breastfeeding was thus the norm for the first three years of the child's life (p. 74). In other ancient cultures like Rome, feeding practices closely followed the patterns in Greece. In Babylon, terracotta reliefs and figurines show the mother goddess Ishtar nursing her child. In India, he found feeding practices from the Brahministic period, 1000 to 800 B.C. codified in the 'Susruta Samhita', a second century B.C book on medicine. The newborn infant was breastfed either by the mother or the wet nurse from the fourth day after birth (p. 75). According to the Talmud, Israeli children were to be breastfed for the first eighteen

months or two years (p. 75), while the Koran gives the view that a child should be suckled for the first two years (p. 78).

Davidson's study (1953) found widespread use of bottle feeding in Hellenic Greece as evidenced by the feeding bottles excavated from children's graves of this period (p. 76). In this era, well-to-do women of Athens had their babies wet-nursed by slaves, captives or free women (p. 76). The practice spread to Egypt during the Alexandrian era (p. 75).

Davidson's study (1953) of the feeding practices in the Middle Ages found breast feeding was the rule, while wet nurses were not employed when unnecessary and nursing bottles were unknown (p. 79). He found that by the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, artificial feeding had come into vogue, children being given cow's milk and goat's milk from sucking horns, cans, bottles and spoons (p. 81). But despite advances in medicine Davidson found the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were characterised by high infant mortality rates as children were wet nursed or fed on nonbreast foods called paps and panadas (p. 82).

Levenstein's (1983) study of the infant formula industry during 1880-1920 found that the manufacturers had faced similar charges in the U.S as the ones now levelled against their practices in the Third World (p. 75). The first link between artificial feeding and infant mortality was found in New York City where milk depots had been established by philanthropists to provide milk for children of the urban poor (p. 89). Child welfare workers found the measure counter productive (p. 89). But

commercial pasteurization led to the failure of the campaign, as the problem of infection disappeared with the availability of pasteurized milk (p. 91). It was only with the discovery that breastfeeding bonds mother and child that organizations like the La Leche League began their movement in 1956 to reestablish breastfeeding (p. 91-92).

Apple's (1980) study of the industry during the period 1870-1940 found that doctors, at first reluctant to use formulas in the 1870s had grown to appreciate the use of bottle feeding by the 1930s, especially as it helped them in their practice (p. 402). However, the first attack on the advertising practices of the companies was launched by doctors in the 1920s, as instructions on tins made it unnecessary for consumers to consult a physician from time-to-time about the use of the formula for feeding infants (p. 412). The study found that companies like Mead Johnson began marketing their products for use "only under the direction of a physician" (p. 411). Even Nestle first introduced Lactogen as a product to be sold with a prescription, and no feeding instructions appeared on the package (p. 412). Horlick's, the company which refused to carry such labels, was boycotted by the American Medical Association and as a result could not advertise in medical journals (p. 412-415). Horlick's sales declined, and the company could not survive in America (p. 416).

Survey of Recent Research

The marketing practices of MNCs to promote infant formula in the Third World and its consequences have been extensively researched

(Greiner, 1975; Jelliffe, 1972; Berg, 1973). Much of the research dates back to the decade before the WHO Code was adopted in May, 1981. In fact, much of the data were collected to substantiate the claims of concerned groups for the need for legislation to regulate the advertising and promotion strategies of these companies.

Greiner's (1975) study revealed that the ads were not targeted at the affluent as claimed by the companies. Only two of the 186 ads recorded in low income Asian countries were published in newspapers which reached upper-income consumers. Instead, the companies used broad-based media like radio, billboards, and, increasingly, TV. The copy of most ads emphasized that the formula was a product of the developed world. Terms like 'B12' or 'folic acid' were used to impress upon the buyer the so-called beneficial nutrients in the formula (p. 6-7).

Langdon (1973) found that in Kenya, Swahili radio was the medium most preferred by infant food subsidiaries (p. 689). Nestle's Lactogen ads accounted for 86.9 percent of all infant food ads on Swahili radio (p. 689). There were no ads for the same product in elite-oriented newspapers during the period of the study (p. 689). The ads were clearly aimed at the African mass market, confirmed in interviews with ad professionals who created the ads and formulated the media plans (p. 690).

The industry executives who testified at the public hearings conducted by the Senate Committee on Human Resources and the Subcommittee on Health and Scientific Research (May, 1978), acknowledged

that the industry had borne no responsibility to investigate who was actually buying and using their products and the effect of such sales on infant health in developing countries.

Most of the studies about the formula industry in the Third World have not tried to establish a link between advertising and sales as it is difficult to prove such a link. Nutrition experts fear that the vast sums of money allotted for product promotion, estimated at 10 to 15 percent of the total sales of \$2 billion in 1980, would serve to drown the voice of the promoters of breast feeding. As Schudson (1984) noted, advertising is not a shaper of our values, but when a message is relentlessly presented and is all pervasive too, it makes people forget there are alternatives to the goods promoted. In the case of the infant formula industry, the pictures of healthy babies and the emphasis on the hygienically manufactured baby foods had succeeded in obscuring the unintended consequences of promoting the product in the Third World.

Unintended consequences

"Commerciogenic malnutrition" was the term coined by Jelliffe (1972) to describe the consequences of bottle feeding in unhygienic conditions (p. 199). He estimated that some 10 million babies could be saved from diarrheal deaths if breast feeding were reestablished (Jelliffe, 1972).

Berg (1973) estimated that if 20 percent of the 27 million mothers in urban areas of the Third World did not breast feed, the loss in economic terms would be \$365 million, as breast milk available free of cost would then be replaced by formula, for which these consumers would

pay in cash (p. 92). In addition, if half of the other 80 percent did not prolong breast feeding beyond the first six months, the loss would be around \$780 million (pp. 92-93). The value of breast milk was quantified to get the governments of developing countries to formulate national nutrition policies. As Berg (1973) notes, a national crisis would have been declared in an oil-producing country of Asia or Latin America had there been a drop in reserves of crude oil instead of breast-milk (p. 89).

Almroth and Greiner (1979) developed a model to estimate the economic value of breast feeding. Based on the model it was estimated that if every infant were breast-fed for two years in the Ivory Coast, the nation could save \$16 to 28 million annually. In Ghana, rural to urban migration caused a 20 percent increase in formula imports. If government restrictions were to be relaxed and formula imports replaced one percent of the national breast-milk production, imports would increase dramatically to 5 times the present rate.

Research has also focused attention on the decline in breastfeeding in countries where formula foods are marketed. The World Health Organization's (WHO) study of nine countries found that in the urban areas of the Philippines and Guatemala, breast feeding had declined. On the other hand in all social groups studied in Nigeria, Zaire and India, mothers still breast-fed their infants. In all, 42 MNCs operated in these countries, and annual sales at the time of the survey was 40,000 tons valued at \$125 million (Carballo, 1978).

A 1976 study by the Human Lactation Center for the Agency for International Development found that the duration of breastfeeding and not the practice of breast feeding had declined (Raphael and Davis, 1985). The World Fertility Survey (1981) data support the hypothesis that the duration of breast feeding declines with the increase in urbanization and modernization. In the nineteen countries surveyed, fertility rates could increase as prolonged breast feeding acts as a contraceptive, spacing births. One of the unintended consequences of the shift to formula foods is the loss of natural contraception (Jelliffe, 1978).

James (1983) from his study of consumer choice in the Barbados concluded that formula companies compete for the mother's initial choice by distributing free samples in hospitals (p. 157). Once introduced to formula, the mother continues using it at home even when her child falls sick (p. 157). Following the theory of cognitive dissonance, which states that the consumer looks for reassurance about the choice made, James found that mothers denied the link between the symptoms and formula use especially since they could not switch back to breastfeeding (p. 157).

Studies by Greiner (1975) and Jelliffe (1978) reach similar conclusions with regard to the role of doctors and milk nurses in introducing mothers to the formula in hospitals. Patal (1978) and Margulies (1978) in their testimonies presented similar evidence from across the world. Free samples of formula had even reached the Amazon jungle.

Measuring the Cultural Values Manifest in Advertising

Pollay (1986) found that advertising was viewed as 'intrusive and environmental', its effects 'inescapable and profound' by scholars in the field of social science and the humanities (p. 18). Their concern stems from the fear of the social and cultural consequences, which is viewed as 'reinforcing materialism, cynicism, irrationality, selfishness, anxiety, social competitiveness, sexual preoccupation, powerlessness, and/or loss of self-respect' (p. 18).

Reviewing the literature on the use of content analysis in Consumer Research, Kassarian (1977) found that studies had been done to measure the portrayal of minorities, the image of the role of women in the mass media and the changing values in society as reflected in society (p. 10).

But Pollay (1983) found no method to measure the values manifest in advertising, though scholars have documented its cultural consequences (p. 71). Belk and Pollay (1985) used a longitudinal content analysis of advertisements appearing in popular U.S. magazines for the period 1900 to 1980 to assess the image of the good life as depicted in the advertisements (p. 887). The study showed no evidence of an increasingly luxurious life being portrayed over the years as claimed by critics. But the significant change in the advertisements was the fact that the more recent ones portrayed consumption as an end in itself rather than as something the consumer bought for his/her well-being (p. 887).

McCracken (1986) sees in the strategies used by the art director in choosing a set for an ad, the creation of a culturally constituted world, the meanings from which are transferred to the goods advertised (p. 81). The meaning in the goods is transferred to the consumer by a series of rituals (p. 78). One of the rituals is the custom of exchanging gifts at Christmas, when the customer buys the product because of a belief that the properties possessed by the product will be transferred to the receiver (p. 78).

Pollay (1983) finds that in the transfer of values in a society, advertising has joined the ranks of such institutions as the family, military, courts, universities, etc. (p. 73).

James' (1983) study of advertisements promoting detergents revealed that advertising is no longer a product of affluent societies, for it has become a significant phenomenon in poor countries (p. 155).

Advertising as an institution is said to find a 'fertile seedbed' in a society where the individual is supreme (Rotzoll and Haefner, 1986, p. 14). In traditional societies where authority of established institutions is still largely unquestioned, the influence of advertising can only be through a reinforcement of values advocated by other institutions or by a relentless repetition of a set of values that present a more attractive alternative. Amul's success in marketing formula and dairy foods in a traditional society offers a chance to analyse the appeals and values used in the dairy cooperative's advertisements. The appeals and values manifest in the ads can be measured to determine the role of advertising in bringing people to

accept a new set of cultural values in the feeding practices of infants. The studies done at the height of the controversy regarding the marketing of infant formula in the Third World have not attempted to measure the same.

CHAPTER III

FACTORS INFLUENCING SALE OF FORMULA
AND WESTERN DAIRY PRODUCTS

Advertising is one of several factors identified by researchers to explain the spread of bottle feeding in the Third World (Berg, 1973, p. 100; Jelliffe, 1972, p. 200; Greiner, 1975, p. 3; Latham, 1975, p. iv). However, they also recognize the fact that advertising is effective when factors like rapid urbanization, a belief that the bottle is superior because it is a product of the western world and endorsements by health professionals, are present (Greiner, 1975, p. 23; Latham, 1975, p. iii, iv; Berg, 1973, p. 99-100, p. 92-93). In order to get the health professionals to endorse their products, the infant formula industry uses professional journals to advertise to pediatricians. Similarly, manufacturers of dairy equipment and pharmaceutical companies selling proprietary drugs for treating cattle use journals of the dairy and animal sciences to reach dairy scientists and veterinarians. The advertisements in these journals are examined to study what the firms are saying to the professionals. Social factors that help make dairy products and infant formula acceptable to the public are examined to determine their role in Amuil's success in marketing its products.

Urbanization

According to the 1981 census, 160 million Indians now live in cities (Ninan and Singh, 1984, p. 84). The growth of new urban centers

has been equally rapid, with 150 of the country's largest towns showing a three-fold increase in their population since 1960 (p. 84). The urban family is largely unitary as urbanization has meant the break-up of the joint family system. Women in these families have entered the workforce and find it difficult to hire domestic help which is fast becoming expensive and scarce (p. 84). There is thus a great demand for Amul's products, which are convenient to use.

Of the estimated 160 million Indians in the urban market, around 100 million or 10-15 percent of the total population form the country's emerging middle class (Ninan, 1985, p. 74). This middle class market is larger than the population of several countries and equals the size of the consumer market in an advanced country like Britain (Ninan and Singh, 1984, p. 90). So every fourth Indian now lives in a town and several states like Kerala are largely urban, while Maharashtra and Gujarat which feature as pioneers in Operation Flood will be transformed into major urban states in the coming decade (Ninan, 1985, p. 72).

The advertisements compiled for this study were all published in magazines and newspapers that cater to a largely urban audience. However in a country where literacy levels are low, the printed media reach a limited audience even in the urban areas. The broad-based media like radio, TV and short ad films screened in movie theatres reach every corner of the country. But the print advertisements compiled for the study are representative of the advertisements released by the cooperative, for, in order to make the campaigns economical, the models, copy and general layouts are adapted for television and short ad

films. They are reinforced by billboards using the same visuals and often the copy is adapted in jingles for radio.

A growing regional market in towns with populations of over one hundred thousand and the proliferation of special-interest magazines has led to the launching of regional campaigns or campaigns in the local languages (Ninan and Singh, 1982, p. 104). With the launching of Operation Flood II and the growth of urban towns in India, Amul's products command a large section of this regional market. But the models in the Amul advertisements are not the cowherds and milkmaids of rural India. Nor do they try to capture scenes from the country's ancient folklore and literature celebrating the pranks of the divine baby "Krishna," or his legendary life with the "Gopikas" or milkmaids of Brindavan, Hinduism's Garden of Eden. The Amul advertisements portray the ad man's "archetypal woman," the 18-year old college girl, the 18-24-year old younger housewife and 25-34-year old older urban woman (Katrak, 1986, p. 70). The children in the advertisements are also part of urban India, dressed in western styled clothes and reflecting the aspirations of the middle class in the country.

The "social type" and "demographic category" (Schudson, 1984, p. 212) in the advertisements appeal to a larger market because of infrastructural improvements made by the government. As a result, over 3,000,000 villages have been electrified and 1.6 million kilometers of roads have opened up remote villages (Ninan and Singh, 1984, p. 87). In addition, in the rural countryside the green revolution has created pockets of prosperity and the gentleman farmer wants all the

conveniences of the city in his farm house (p. 85). The advertisements and such families provide concrete examples of a life style the rest of the countryside aspires to.

Improvements in the infrastructural facilities available in the rural countryside and the growing urban areas do not decrease the dangers of using products in the absence of adequate drinking water, refrigeration and availability of fuel for cooking food. The pressure on land brought on by an increase in population has led to deforestation, fall in water levels in major rivers because of surface runoffs. More than half the Indian states are reeling under water shortages, with water being supplied in tankers (Bidwai, 1987, p. 1). The drought caused by the ecological mismanagement of lands has led to shortages of electricity and fuelwood used by the urban and rural poor. In addition to the poor, the lower middle class too face these shortages, which several nutritionists and pediatricians fear could cause the infection and diarrhoeal diseases that led to the formulation of the WHO Code to contain the marketing of infant formula (Singh, 1983, p. 135).

Health Professionals and the Indian Infant Formula Industry

During the height of the controversy over the promotion of infant formula in the developing countries, researchers studied advertisements addressed to pediatricians because of the enormous influence they have had in endorsing the use of these products (Greiner, 1975, p. 8).

The advertisements directed at the medical profession form one of the sources of information for the doctor, and this is true of infant formula which is marketed by pharmaceutical firms (Greiner, 1975, p. 8). Amul is a dairy cooperative which has three major professions it would wish to recruit as advocates of its products. These include pediatricians, veterinarians and dairy scientists. Indian journals published by these professions were examined for advertisements by major manufacturers of infant formula, pharmaceutical drugs for cattle and dairy equipment firms interested in installing plants for mixing cattle feed, pasteurizing milk and processing dairy products. The journals scanned included the Indian Journal of Nutrition and Dietetics, The Indian Journal of Pediatrics, The Indian Veterinary Journal and The Indian Journal of Animal Sciences. All issues of the journals published during the period of the first phase of Operation Flood, from 1970 to 1981 were scanned. In the case of journals of the medical profession, issues from 1981 to the latest issue published in 1987 were included to see if the ads complied with the guidelines contained in the WHO Code. Only two journals contained advertisements from infant formula manufacturers, dairy equipment firms and the pharmaceutical companies with drugs for veterinary care. The two journals that were the vehicles for these firms were The Indian Journal of Pediatrics and The Indian Journal of Animal Sciences.

Advertisements published in The Indian Journal of Pediatrics in issues dated January 1976 to June 1987 were analysed for this study. The issues numbered 93, as the Journal switched from a monthly to a

bimonthly in January 1980. The issues were chosen for this period to determine the differences if any in advertisements published before, during and after the 1981 WHO Code. In all there were 108 advertisements on infant nutrition, of which four advertisements were published by the United Nations International Childrens' Fund (UNICEF) to promote breast feeding, oral rehydration, hygiene and local weaning foods. There was no advertisement from Amul. In fact only one advertisement was published by a regional dairy cooperative organized by the state government on the same lines as Amul. The cooperative which sells its products under the brand name "Vijaya," advertised its skim milk powder and not infant formula or weaning food.

There were only four advertisements promoting infant formula or a breast milk substitute. Of the four advertisements, the "Milk Care" Company published two advertisements on their formula and weaning food. The third advertisement was from Nestle, promoting Lactogen infant formula and weaning food. The advertisement carries the line "Breast Milk is ideal for infants" as the opening line of its copy on infant formula. It also carries an "Important Notice" advising pediatricians of the WHO's recommendation that pregnant women and new mothers be informed of the superiority of breast-feeding, the difficulty of reversing a decision to discontinue breastfeeding and the social and financial implications of the decision to use infant formula. The notice advises doctors to guide mothers on the preparation and maintenance of lactation and asks doctors to avoid the unnecessary introduction of formula including the partial use of bottlefeeding. The notice is drafted in

accordance with Article 4.2 of the Code (WHO, 1981, p. 16). The Nestle advertisement appeared in the March-April 1983 issue. However, the Milk Care formula developed according to the advertisement at the Central Food Technological Research Institute (CFTRI), an Indian research center and published in the July-August 1985 and March-April 1986 issues carries no notice or the slogan that breast milk is best for baby. The fourth advertisement promotes a lactose-free, soya protein under the brand name "Soyal" for infants who cannot tolerate lactose. The advertisement carries the "Important Notice: Breast Milk is best for babies" at the top right hand corner, even above the headline.

Mention must be made of the fact that the formula advertisements in the Journal do not contain visuals of bonny babies. The only pictures of babies are the ones on formula tins which are featured in the advertisements. The advertisements are meant for the medical profession only, as is stated in a line at the bottom of the advertisement. The copy therefore gives charts of the composition of the formula and emphasizes how their formula conforms to the recommendations of either the Indian Council of Medical Research or the Codex Alimentarius Commission guidelines. The copy is informative providing the doctor with facts, and is clearly aimed at introducing the product to the pediatrician, who will then hopefully prescribe it extensively when necessary. This is true of the new soya milk formula, which upon introduction is advertised in several issues for a period of time.

Nestle's Indian subsidiary, Food Specialities Limited, published an advertisement in the March-April 1984 issue of The Indian Journal of

Pediatrics with the headline "Nestle Nutrition: A commitment to the improvement of infant health through better nutrition." The advertisement is about Nestle's programs to 'stimulate research in the field of nutrition'. The programs according to the copy include 'The Nestle Nutrition Research Grant Programme' which provides 'funds for original research projects undertaken by younger medical scientists.' The other two programs are the nutrition workshops conducted by Nestle aimed at raising standards of infant nutrition worldwide by applying scientific principles, and the "Annales Nestle," a publication to provide pediatricians with topical information on their field. The infant formula companies' practice of providing grants for research or sponsoring pediatricians from Third World countries as delegates to conferences came in for criticism during the controversy (Patal, 1978, p. 19). The Code therefore included Article 7.5, under which formula manufacturers have to disclose to health institutions the names of their employees sponsored and the type of grant or support provided to them by the commercial firms (WHO, 1981, p. 19).

Another product advertised in the Journal is weaning or 'complementary' food as defined in Article 3 of the Code (WHO, 1981, p. 13). Nestle and Glaxo are the two companies whose advertisements for the product appear in issues published before the Code. Nestle has three different weaning foods, sold under the brand names 'Cerelac', 'Nestum' and 'Lactogen milk cereal'. Glaxo's weaning food is advertised under the brand name 'Farex'. The Farex advertisement which appears in the form of a letter to doctors advises them of the nutritional

qualities of the baby food. In the introductory paragraph of this letter advertisement the company makes the important distinction between 'weaning completely away from certain drugs or foods', and weaning, which in this case means that 'milk alone is not enough and the baby needs some solids'. This advertisement was published in 1976. In the subsequent year, Nestle's Lactogen milk cereal advertisement carries the subheading that the baby food "can replace one of baby's daily milk feeds from 3 months onwards." But the advertisements by Nestle for Cerelac and Nestum published in 1978 and 1979 describe the product as the "complete infant cereal food," without making mention of the fact that while breast feeding should be continued, the cereal food can be introduced as a supplement to provide for the growing nutritional needs of the baby. Article 2 of the WHO Code makes the provisions of the Code applicable to complementary foods which are marketed as suitable for partial or total replacement of breast milk (WHO, 1981, p. 13).

The combined advertisement for Lactogen formula and baby food published in 1983 mentions that the protein-rich baby food is "especially formulated to complement less nutritious weaning foods if breast milk is no longer given." The combined advertisement for Milk Care describes the baby food as "part of a mixed feeding scheme intended for use 3-4 months of age, as per the advice of the doctor."

The Journal contains a series of four advertisements published by UNICEF, one of the agencies of the United Nations responsible for framing the Code. The advertisements are designed to reinforce breast feeding among Third World mothers. The logo of a mother breast feeding

her child has the slogan, "Breastfeeding is best for baby and mother ."

The dominant visual is an Indian mother nursing her baby. The headline "Breast milk is the most priceless gift for your baby" is followed by copy that dispels local suspicions and ideas reinforced by formula manufacturers about the inadequacy of breast milk to satisfy the needs of a growing child. The UNICEF advertisement on weaning food stresses the need to continue breastfeeding as long as the mother can, but advises the mother to give the child home-prepared foods once the child is of 4-6 months of age. The copy describes the soft foods that can be prepared at home by using cereals, lentils, tropical fruits, vegetables, eggs and fish. All the foods listed are ones that form part of the daily menu in the Indian home. The mothers are advised to mash the food and add a little clarified butter, locally known as 'ghee' or oil to make the food palatable and easy to digest. Unfortunately, though nutritionists of the UN have tried to develop special mixes of locally used foods to be used as weaning food, and hoped that governments would promote them as part of their nutrition programs, the foods have not been successful like the commercial foods(Latham, 1979, p. 124). The UN hoped to promote simple, nutritious weaning foods to help mothers in developing countries continue the tradition of breastfeeding the baby for the first two years, while complementing the feeds with home-made weaning feeds. But the formula manufacturers have developed commercial foods that seem to be another threat to breast feeding. The feeds are introduced early, thus curtailing the length of time a mother breast feeds her baby.

The advertisements in the Indian Journal of Pediatrics help establish the kind of endorsements the manufacturers would like for their products from the health professionals. Amul, which is not a pharmaceutical company, does not advertise to the medical profession. Like dairy and food companies it depends on promotion to the public and sales in stores. This was true of Nestle, a food company which changed its marketing strategy of selling its products to the public by building the capability to promote to the medical profession because of competition from pharmaceutical firms selling formula (Post and Baer, 1980, p. 55).

Mechanizing the Indian Dairy Industry's Processing Operations

The infant formula advertisements in the Indian Journal of Pediatrics help support the Journal and reflect the manufacturers' attempts to provide information to the physicians whom they try to recruit as unpaid salesmen (Greiner, 1975, p. 8). The professional journal of the Indian dairy industry, the Indian Journal of Dairy Science was scanned for advertisements from manufacturers of dairy equipment. The issues scanned were for the years 1965 to 1982, to cover the first period before the launch of Operation Flood, and the ten years it took to establish dairies on the Amul model during the first phase of the project. The Journal contained advertisements by manufacturers of dairy equipment and multinational pharmaceutical companies whose products include vitamins to enrich dairy products and drugs used to treat animals.

In all 64 issues were scanned, in which 346 advertisements were published among others by Indian pharmaceutical companies, infant formula manufacturers, dairy cooperatives and the major MNCs mentioned above. Two advertisements were from Amul, one for its infant formula, the second an institutional campaign on how the cooperative educates women. The infant formula advertisement was published before the Code, and so has a healthy baby leading a line of vitamins that the formula contains. Two regional cooperatives and two other infant formula firms also used the journal as a vehicle for their advertisements. But the advertisements from manufacturers other than the dairy equipment and pharmaceutical firms numbered 41. The reason for this is the fact that the cooperative and the formula manufacturers market their products to the public. The Journal caters to dairy scientists who would be interested in the processing operations, hence the advertisements from the dairy equipment firms.

In issues before the launch of Operation Flood, the company advertising dairy equipment is Larsen and Toubro Limited (L & T). The strategy for developing the dairy industry in India is explained in an L & T advertisement published in the December 1966 issue of the Journal. Entitled "Milk- An Index of Prosperity," the copy explains how the per capita consumption of milk is "taken as the index of prosperity in economically advanced countries." The advertisement explains how the development of the dairy industry could help meet the recommended daily per capita requirement of 10 ounces of milk in India. At the same time

the industry could provide the farmer with a regular income to supplement his earnings from seasonal harvests.

According to the L & T advertisement the dairy industry has risen to the challenge, with the indigenous manufacture of "road milk tankers, milk receiving tanks, pasteurising plants, refrigeration equipment, bottling plants, spray drying plants and a wide range of dairy equipment including butter and cheese making plants." The advertisement also refers to the cattle feed mixing plants, 80 percent of which L & T manufactures in the country. The advertisement's claim that L & T supplies 80 percent of the dairies in India with equipment helps explain the absence of advertisements by other companies. The other four advertisements of L & T that appear regularly in issues published before the launch of Operation Flood focus attention on one aspect of the operation like the collection and transportation of milk by L & T tankers.

The advertisements appearing in issues of the Journal published at the time when the first phase of Operation Flood was coming to a close are by the two major companies that supplied dairy equipment to the project, L & T and Vulcan Laval Limited. Both companies talk of their technical contribution to the dairy development project. L & T stresses the four-decade long association but acknowledges in a dramatic headline perched just beyond the reach of outstretched hands the fact that "the glass still isn't full." The reference is to the fact that despite the efforts of the organized dairy sector a full glass of milk is beyond the reach of many Indians as per capita consumption according to the copy is

105 grams, which is 180 grams short of the basic nutritional requirement of the citizens. Vulcan Laval's advertisement in the March 1981 issue also uses the visual of a glass of milk. But the headline and copy emphasize the fact that there is milk in plenty, 60 million liters a day, but only 5 percent of this milk is channelled through the dairies. The company stresses its role in installing equipment that can preserve and process the milk for consumption. The dairy equipment manufacturers in their advertisements echo the philosophy of the organizers of the Program--to build a dairy industry capable of processing and supplying from rural areas for the urban consumer and thus helping the farmer with a steady income while assuring the urban consumer of nutritious, pasteurized milk and dairy products.

Critics of Operation Flood point to the fact that earlier when UNICEF aid helped equip dairies, one of the stipulations of the aid was that the dairies would repay by supplying milk for a specified period of time to children, nursing and expectant mothers at subsidized rates (Khurody, 1974, p. 50). Advertisements by L & T released in the December 1968 issue of the Indian Journal of Dairy Science talk of the company's association with the project, especially in installing plants. The headline: "One third of the world's children have no milk today ," sums up the task of UNICEF. However, there is no program to subsidize milk for children and nursing mothers under the cooperative's project. So with the launch of Operation Flood, the L & T advertisements focus attention on the task of collecting milk from rural areas and transporting it over great distances to urban consumers. The

dairy movement now in the advertisements becomes an instrument of change in the lives of the farmers, while at the same time providing for the nutritional requirements of the urban Indian.

The issues of the Indian Journal of Dairy Science published during the period when phase one of the dairy development project was in progress contain advertisements from leading pharmaceutical MNCs. These multinationals include Roche Products Limited, Merck Sharp and Dohme of India Limited, an affiliate of Merck and Co., Inc., U.S.A., Cyanamid India Limited of American Cyanamid Company, Wayne and Pfizer Limited of Pfizer Inc., U.S.A. Roche advertises synthetic vitamin A used for enriching cattlefeed and dairy products. The Indian subsidiaries of the three U.S. pharmaceutical firms mentioned above, advertise deworming medicines and antibiotics used to treat animals.

The Unintended Consequences of Developing a Dairy System On Western Lines

The advertisements in the Indian Journal of Dairy Science talk of organizing the dairy sector on a scale that is both economical and efficient. But the consequences of balancing both a dairy industry and agriculture is difficult and can endanger the natural resources of a subcontinent that sustains the second largest population in the world. Food habits in India have thus evolved over the years in such a way as to maintain the balance between the use of natural resources and their renewal for further sustenance. As an example of this one can see that in advanced countries where dairy products, poultry, meat and fish form a large part of the diet, crops are grown for feeding these animals. In

India, a continuous civilization has existed since the fourth millenium B.C. because of a balance between the existing system of agriculture in the Indo Gangetic plain with the pastoral tradition brought by the Indo Aryans who came to India in 1,500 B.C. (Crotty, 1982, p. 338; Maletas, 1987, p.18). Together the two systems can spell disaster, for when people consume milk they deny calves their nourishment thus depleting the source of new draught animals to replace old ones in agriculture (Crotty, 1982, p. 338).

Secondly, animals slaughtered for beef help deplete the source of draught animals and when cows are reared for milk on pastures as in modern dairying they threaten agriculture which in India is largely carried on with the help of draught animals (Crotty, 1982, p. 338). In order to prevent such a disaster, the Indian Zebu cow evolved into an animal that is reluctant to yield milk except in the presence of its calf and the practice of vegetarianism, especially the taboo against beef-eating was mandated by Hinduism to ensure a continuous supply of draught animals (Crotty, 1982, p. 338; Khurody, 1974, p. 6-13).

The western system of dairying talks in terms of only the milk yields of the cow as agriculture in these countries is highly mechanized (Maletas, 1987, p. 25). A large part of Operation Flood is the improvement of cattle, by developing a national milch herd of Indian bovines, cross bred with European breeds to increase yields (George, 1985, p. 84). But as environmentalists point out the high yielding breeds from Europe have evolved as a result of selective breeding within their countries and when translocated to India face problems of

acclimation, require superior feeds and are not resistant to local diseases (Alvares, 1986, p. 52). Moreover, dairy scientists lose sight of the fact that Indian agriculture is heavily dependent on animal draught power (Maletas, 1986, p. 20). In fact machines account for only 20 percent of the work that goes in to produce the phenomenal harvests of the green revolution (p. 20). The majority of the country's population, nearly 70 percent work on the land using a pair of oxen to till small farms with wooden implements and then transport them to markets by bullock carts, the only vehicles that can run on unprepared roads during the monsoon (Centre for Science and Environment, 1985, p. 277). The bullock cart which modern Indian technologists wanted to banish is now the center of research and development as it contributes 40,000 hp or 32,000 mw of energy which equals the sum total of the country's installed capacity (p. 277). Research has centered on improving the yoke and substituting cart wheels with rubber or pneumatic tyres (p. 277). The Indian scientist has realized that animal power, a cheap source of renewable energy, provides employment to 20 million people, generates power at one third the cost of other generating capacities, and is the most versatile farm implement, helping in tilling, manuring, threshing and transporting the produce on India's largely small farms (p. 277).

If the western model of dairying shifts the emphasis from draught animals to milch cattle, the introduction of exotic breeds from temperate climates makes dairying more than supplementary to agriculture. In the traditional system of agriculture, livestock

depended on crop residues and the nomads were welcomed by the farmer to rest their cattle on the farm to provide manure (CSE p. 9). Today this symbiotic relationship has broken down, the common lands have been encroached upon by the wealthy and the forests closed to the graziers (p. 9). Fodder is scarce, making even straw expensive. A ton of straw costs the equivalent of 25 days wages (Crotty, 1982, p. 338). The milk cooperatives could have organized their members to manage small woodlots of fast-growing trees that can be harvested for fodder and fuelwood. One of India's most successful social forestry movements organized women in the lower Himalayas to protest against the felling of trees by timber contractors (CSE, 1985, p. 341). The "Chipko" movement which involves the hugging of trees by women protestors to prevent the felling of trees was organized by concerned environmentalists who also wanted to save women from hours of labor collecting fuelwood and fodder which were fast disappearing from the deforested hillsides (p. 341). The movement now involves the planting of common woodlots that are harvested periodically to provide the women of the village with fodder and firewood. Unfortunately the Anand system concentrates on introducing exotic cross breeds that require costly feeds and deplete the country of oilseed cake, a cattle feed prepared in India and now supplied to Kaira district to feed milch cattle while local breeds forage (Alvares, 1986, p. 52). Further, a third of the country's oilcake production is exported to EEC countries, which if used locally could increase yields by 50 percent making India less dependent on donated skim milk powder, a donation which could one day be stopped (George, 1985, p. 230).

The dairy development project could have been used as an instrument of development in the rural countryside. In the hands of rural women it could have been converted into an integrated development program to reforest woodlots, help with the installation of communal bio gas plants, freeing women from hours of backbreaking labor collecting fuel wood and fodder in the surrounding countryside. The women dairy cooperatives in other parts of India have shown how these women can be trained to administer simple first aid to their animals and manage the administrative affairs of the cooperative (Srinivasan, 1987, p. 4). Perhaps small plans limited to a cluster of villages would have been far more effective than a colossal project that depletes the resources of a country whose land to population ratio is far from ideal.

CHAPTER IV

MEASURING THE CULTURAL VALUES IN AMUL'S ADS

Methodology

Leading consumer magazines, journals and The Times of India, one of India's leading daily newspapers, were scanned for Amul's advertisements. All the publications scanned were in English. Several publications belong to large publishing houses that have sister publications in the regional languages. Though several publications were scanned, the advertisements studied are from a few leading magazines and one major daily. This is because the advertisements are repeated in several publications. During the course of a campaign the same series of advertisements appear in most consumer magazines and papers. The daily was scanned because when a product is introduced, the cooperative usually publishes an advertisement in the newspaper announcing the availability of the product in local stores. The aim was to get a representative sample of advertisements of all the products of the cooperative. Some products like the malted drink for children, the infant formula and weaning food advertisements could not be found in the publications scanned. This is probably because the products are now being advertised in the regional press or broad-based media like TV and radio. In fact a report on the trends in the Indian advertising industry states that companies like Horlicks have shifted their ads for malted drinks to the regional press (Ninan & Singh, 1982, p. 104). There are two major reasons for such a move. The state boundaries in

India are largely drawn on linguistic lines and increasing pride in the regional language has made the vernacular press very popular in the states. In addition increasing prosperity has opened up new markets in the towns and semi-urban areas of the states. These new markets are being tapped through the regional press (p. 104).

Another product for which no print advertisements could be found in the publications scanned was Amul butter. The absence of print advertisements can be explained by the fact that Amul butter is heavily advertised on billboards. These outdoor advertisements which are changed almost every fortnight are very popular with the Indian public. They appear in English and the regional languages, with a slogan which is usually a pun on an issue of public interest. The issue can be anything from a win by the Indian cricket team to a victory in the local election or an event of international significance that makes the news. Amul's billboards are thus automatically associated with the cooperative's butter.

The popular magazines scanned included news magazines, film publications, womens issues magazines, general interest magazines and journals that usually carry institutional advertisements of the cooperative. The institutional advertisements were compiled to present the cooperative's point of view as contrasted with the concerns of environmentalists who in recent years have put together two documents on the state of India's environment (CSE, 1985, p. 5-10). In the case of the infant formula and weaning food ads, publications prior to and after the WHO Code were scanned. Advertisements of competing firms

manufacturing formula were also compiled to compare Amul's advertisements with those published by other commercial companies. Some of the manufacturers are subsidiaries of multinationals, while others are leading Indian firms. In addition, a series of four advertisements published by UNICEF to promote breast feeding were included, as these advertisements counter the arguments used by infant formula manufacturers to sell their products. The advertisements compiled for the study are from publications for the year 1986, and upto June 1987. Some of the advertisements were published as a series, or part of a single campaign for a particular Amul product. In order to get a representative sample, the advertisements were compiled from issues published in 1987 too. In the case of some products like the Amul milkshake, the advertisement announcing the availability of the product in local stores was published in 1987. Hence the advertisement was included to have a sample of ads of as many products of Amul as was possible.

The readership of the English magazines and newspapers in India is limited mainly to the middle class. But in a country where even one percent of the population means 7.5 million, this class of people account for a substantial 10-15 percent of the population (Ninan, 1985, p. 70). In addition, pass-along readership is very high in India. The high cost of paper and newsprint makes it prohibitively expensive for individuals to subscribe to several magazines and newspapers. So most offices, even departments in offices, ladies clubs and even libraries of periodicals that offer door-to-door delivery to members subscribe

collectively to these magazines. A monthly fee takes care of the cost of subscription, while resale of old newspapers and magazines covers the cost of overheads. The old paper is recycled, first as shopping bags made by women who are paid a fixed price for each unit they make. Several womens' organizations and cooperatives involved in development work buy old magazines to provide a steady source of income for their members, who among other things make the paper bags. The advertiser in India gets more for his message by virtue of the fact that an attractive and colorful advertisement becomes a colorful grocery bag to be seen by thousands when carried home in a crowded bus or suburban train. In fact it took the author of this study several months to get over the shock of seeing people in the US dump bulky packages of newspapers in their plastic bags in the garbage. In India where old newspapers are sold by their weight, the rate paid by the recycler for such packages would easily cover the cost of the next month's subscription.

India is also the emerging market for special-interest magazines. Most of these magazines were launched during the last decade, which led to a change in advertising patterns with magazines recording a 35 percent share of the advertising revenue (Ninan and Singh, 1982, p. 102). The increased market share was at the expense of daily newspapers (p. 102). But advertisements are still conceived in English and once approved, translated into local languages for publication in the regional press. The Amul advertisements compiled for this study are representative of the type of advertisements that appear in the regional press because there is no local advertising agency that conceives

campaigns in Indian languages and presents them to the client in the same languages (Katrak, 1986, p. 74). However, mention must be made of the fact that increased market research, psychographic segmentation and the availability of special interest magazines has led to several different campaigns being launched for the same product aimed at a particular target audience (Ninan and Singh, 1982, p. 102). But in the case of food advertisements the frequency with which the advertisements are published in the English press varies, rather than the advertisement itself.

A content analysis of 41 advertisements was made for this study. Of the 41 advertisements, 19 were from Amul, published in leading consumer magazines, journals and dailies during the period, January to December 1986 and January to July 1987. Of the remaining 22 advertisements, 10 advertisements are from Amul. These include three advertisements on infant formula and weaning food, two institutional advertisements on the Amul cooperative system, three advertisements promoting Amul cheese in 1984 and two Amul milk powder advertisements published in 1983. The cheese and milk powder advertisements have themes which are used in the 1986-1987 advertisements. The two institutional advertisements published in 1985 and 1972 help to compare the cooperative's philosophy with what is being said in 1986. The infant formula advertisements represent the layouts used before and after the Code. To compare the values in these advertisements with those in the advertisements by MNCs and local companies marketing the product in India, seven advertisements published prior to and after the Code were

included. In addition, UNICEF's campaign on breast feeding in the form of four advertisements published in 1984 were also analysed to compare the appeals used by the agency with the ones employed by the firms.

The headline and visual were first scanned for the dominant value in the advertisement. The dominant values were taken from a list of values prepared for a longitudinal study of advertisements (Pollay, 1986, p. 80-84). The values and the categories under each were defined in detail in the study (p. 80-84). These values were used because they are universal and mutually exclusive, helping the researcher avoid duplication. These values were compiled after a study of the literature on the subject by social scientists in various fields (p. 77-78). The list is now being used by researchers in different fields (p. 71). The dominant value is then recorded in the coding form. The copy is scanned next and subsidiary values are recorded after analysing the dominant words and phrases (p. 85). These values are also recorded in the coding form. The subsidiary values are taken from the exhaustive list from which the dominant values were taken (p. 80-84). The sign-off slogan and logo were also analysed for this study and categorized while analyzing the copy.

The dominant and subsidiary values were recorded on a rating form. This rating form was also taken from the above mentioned study (p. 86). The rating form is divided into three major sections. The first lists values that describe why the product in the advertisement is a "good" (p. 86). The second section identifies the values by promoting which the product becomes a "good" (p. 86). The third section lists the values

that tell us that the product is a good by aiding the consumer to be something, like "healthy" or "vain" or "neat" (p. 86). Table I in the Appendix gives the value analysis and ratings for Amul's ads compiled for this study. Table II in the Appendix gives the analysis for infant formula and weaning foods advertisements published by Amul and other Indian companies.

Findings

The advertisements for Amul's dairy foods analysed in this study claim to aid the user by promoting his/her health. Three of the cheese advertisements were the only ones that appealed to the vanity of a housewife to host a perfect party. The dominant values, shown in Table I, vary from wisdom to status. But the relationships depicted are all family, even when the advertisements talk of sharing fun and food with friends. The subsidiary values are usually convenience, the natural ingredients used in the products are emphasized in the copy, references are made to how the product can be used to complement traditional Indian dishes, and the technology that has gone into the packaging to keep the product fresh is also described.

The women in the advertisements conform to a set pattern. They are the advertising professional's "archetypal woman" (Katrak, 1986, p. 70). In advertisements featuring a housewife with older children, the woman belongs to the 25-34 age group, is from an urban background, has a high school education, belongs to the upper-middle income group, wears a saree and the traditional red dot on her forehead, "buys detergents,

scourers, cooking media and food products" (p. 70). The advertisements showing a woman with a younger child is younger, perhaps the 18-24-year old, while the chocolate advertisement has the typical 18-year old college girl who wears western clothes. (p. 70). Children in all the advertisements are healthy, well-scrubbed and neatly dressed urban school kids. The characters belong to a "social type" or a "demographic category" (Schudson, 1984, p. 212), who seem to provide role models to consumers of Amul products.

The institutional advertisements of the cooperative which sell the idea of the Amul pattern talk of the economic health of the farmers. The copy extols the advanced processing plants and the marketing organization the small dairy farmer can command because of the cooperative. The only direct reference to women who largely manage dairy operations in the village was found in an institutional advertisement released in the Indian Journal of Dairy Science, June, 1972, during the first phase of Operation Flood. The ad talks of the education of illiterate women in scientific matters like the artificial insemination of cattle. The woman is shown peering over a microscope in a laboratory. The advertisements emphasize the services the farmer can now command, including veterinary care for animals.

The infant formula advertisements from Amul aim at promoting the health of the child. The advertisement published before the Code emphasized the technology involved in preparing the product and enriching it with essential vitamins for the child. The advertisements published after the Code make references to the benefits of breast

feeding. In fact one of them forms part of a series to educate the public about the benefits of breast feeding. But in the same copy spray-dried Amul formula is introduced as a substitute when the mother cannot feed or does not have enough milk. The combined ad selling both the formula and weaning food points to the advantages of a product designed to contain all the nutrients a child needs. The pictures of healthy babies are still part of the advertisement. The advertisements of MNCs manufacturing formula now promote weaning foods. Glaxo ads talk of the faster growth of children fed on Farex, the baby cereal manufactured by the company. Nestle promotes its weaning food Cerelac by positioning it as the food that can give the infant an edge over its peers.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The final chapter will provide a summary of the major findings of the value analysis of Amul's advertisements. Some conclusions, along with some possible areas for future research, will be suggested.

Summary

The purpose of this study was to measure the values in Amul's advertisements. The aim was to identify the unintended consequences of marketing infant formula and dairy products in India.

The study revealed that both the proponents of the products and the critics hope to achieve the same ends. The goal is to raise the living standards of small farmers by providing them a steady income and improve the nutritional intake of urban consumers by providing them with quality milk and dairy products. The cooperative, the manufacturers of dairy equipment, infant formula and pharmaceutical drugs for cattle believe that this end can only be achieved by establishing a modern dairy industry. The urban consumers seem to agree as the industry provides them with quality products that are convenient to use. The capital invested in the industry is thus justified. However, at the time of the infant formula controversy researchers found that it would be cheaper and more desirable for Third World countries to use scarce funds to support programs to supplement the nutritional intake of expectant and nursing mothers (Berg, 1973, pp. 91-92). These women could breast feed

their babies and at the same time be healthy. The unintended consequences of bottle feeding in unhygienic surroundings could have been avoided, saving lives and money that went towards purchasing medicines for sick infants.

The critics of Operation Flood point out that improving the living standards of the small farmers begins by making life easier for rural women. Studies have revealed that when fodder and fuelwood are available, rural women are saved hours of back breaking labor which means they are healthy too (C.S.E., 1985, p. 173). Instead of processing plants, products like formula and cross-bred milch herds, the Indian government could have invested its funds in helping village cooperatives establish common woodlots, bio gas plants and herds of cattle of local breeds that could be fed on crop residues. Such an industry would not tax the country's natural resources. The same women could also have been trained to administer first aid to cattle. Dairy products used in Indian cuisine could have been processed by the women at home by updating indigenous technology. These products could have been marketed in urban areas as they are already part of the Indian diet. The study revealed that the major professions involved in promoting a modern dairy industry in India have the financial strength to express their point of view in the media in advertisements. Their target audience, the middle class is based in urban areas and is willing to support any industry that assures it a quality product, especially well-marketed packaged food products because its migration from a self-sufficient agricultural economy to a market economy has created a

situation in which it can be exploited by middle men who supply these products.

Conclusions

1. A housewife's desire to serve a perfect meal, her wish as a mother to provide her child a nutritious glass of milk, her desire to enjoy an evening with her family serving a dessert straight from a pack and a general ritual among people to share a token or gift of love--these are the dominant appeals in Amul's advertisements analysed for this study.

2. The advertisements stress the importance of family relationships, suggesting the use of Amul products to provide nutrition, as a token of love and to make meals interesting when served to the family or friends at a party.

However, the Amul advertisements promoting chocolates positions the product as an ideal gift for any occasion. In a country where dating is not the norm and arranged marriages the rule, it seems strange to promote the product as the perfect gift to help in reconciling differences with a girl, or to send her a bar of chocolate in the mail.

The visuals are radically different from the ones in earlier advertisements where a bouquet of flowers and six bars of chocolates arranged around it were used to inform consumers that the chocolates are good gifts for people you love.

The chocolate advertisements are divided into two separate campaigns of three advertisements each. In the second set the

chocolates are associated with warm family relationships between a grandfather and his granddaughter, a brother and sister and a mother and her grown son.

The cheese advertisements have changed over the years too. The recipes are not for pasta or lobster, nor do they refer to the legendary Italian or French associations that cheese conjures up. The copy now gives recipes for Indian dishes, with the ubiquitous burger thrown in to please the urban school child whose tastes know no cultural barriers. These advertisements reflect the changing concerns of urban India, where parties and social occasions are no longer limited to festivals and family functions. The change is reflected in increased demand for consumer durables, a consumer revolution that has even changed the government's tax policies.

3. Since Amul's infant formula and weaning food advertisements were not found in the publications scanned for this study, conclusions can only be drawn about the advertisements published after the Code was adopted. The advertisements continue to feature healthy babies and sprinkle their copy with words like "vitamin-enriched" and "more calcium, Vitamin A and C." The advertisements of MNCs promoting cereal food continue to talk of the "ideal Calcium-Phosphorous ratio" and the "nutrition advantage" their products offer. As Greiner (1975, p) concluded in his study, the advertisement does not reveal the fact that both breast milk and native foods that form part of the daily diet in the average Indian home provide all these nutrients. In fact the four UNICEF advertisements analysed in the study stressed just these facts in

their copy, merely instructing the mother to mash the food well to make it easy for the baby to digest. The precooked, easily soluble and carefully processed foods do the same task with the help of what is described as sophisticated technology.

4. As part of the study of the dairy cooperative's interrelationships with the professionals in the dairy, veterinary and medical professions, journals published by the associations of these bodies were scanned. Manufacturers of dairy equipment talk approvingly of the cooperative's twin objectives of providing the urban consumer with milk, while assuring the farmer a steady income. Amul's institutional advertisements in a similar vein talk of the modern processing and marketing facilities the farmers now command. MNCs that manufacture pharmaceutical drugs for cattle advertise heavily in the same journal. However, Amul's infant formula or weaning food advertisements were not found in the official journal of Indian pediatricians.

5. The unintended consequences of the marketing of dairy products in India are mainly environmental. The institutional advertisements published by Amul and those put out by dairy equipment manufacturers reflect the bias towards large-scale mechanization. The project also involves the development of infrastructural facilities like roads, cross-bred cattle and cattlefeed mixing plants to provide factory-mixed feeds. The environmentalists point out that the development of woodlots, planted and harvested by the village community, would provide the feed and improve milk yields. Further, the village women can be

trained to administer to sick cattle, the same way in which they have been trained as mid-wives and village health workers in several health programs. Most of the dairy products that form part of the traditional diet like clarified butter, cottage cheese and sweets could have been produced for the urban market by updating processing methods used in the villages. The operations could then have been handled by women on a cooperative basis.

We therefore have a marketing structure which promotes its products by using appeals very basic to all human beings and portrays the Amul pattern of cooperatives as the answer to the farmers' struggle to get a just return (Schudson, 1984, p. 215).

Some Issues for Future Study

Scanning Indian publications for advertisements by Amul revealed that advertisements for men's suitings, paints for the modern Indian home, consumer durables and, cigarettes and indigenous oral satisfaction products far outnumber food advertisements. Some of the issues that bear further study are advertisements in these categories.

1. Consumer durables, men's suitings and paint company advertisements need to be studied to see if they have influenced escalating dowry demands.

2. Several nonprofit organizations have launched public service media campaigns to counter the spread of smoking and chewing tobacco. These advertisements have won several awards in various local contests. The appeals in these advertisements and the ones in advertisements

released by the commercial firms manufacturing the products along with their promotional tactics need to be studied to document the changes in the social habits of a society that is on the threshold of a consumer revolution.

3. Indian publications carry several advertisements by federal agencies on the development work they have done in the rural countryside. Data from anthropological studies done of these regions could provide a basis for contrasting the life-styles reflected in the advertisements.

India is the largest democracy with a mixed economy. The emerging consumer market which will be the largest in the world therefore affords the social scientist a society in which stated public objectives can be contrasted with actual market trends which have been shaped both by advertising and marketing strategies employed by commercial firms.

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APPENDIX

TABLE I

VALUE ANALYSIS OF AMUL'S ADS PUBLISHED IN 1986-1987

Product	Headline	Visual	Product Visual	Dominant Values	Subsidiary Values in Copy	Aids Consumer by Promoting the Value
1. Milk	"More milk. It's a must for healthy growers"	A mother measuring her son's height.	2 glasses of milk	WISDOM: stresses the accepted fact that milk is a must for the healthy growth of children.	1. CONVENIENT: milk offers calcium in a convenient form. 2. NATURAL: essential nutrients are in natural form. 3. FAMILY: ad addresses the mother about her child's needs.	HEALTH: milk promotes the health of the child in the ad.
1b. Milk	"More milk. It's a must for your little one to thrive."	A mother catching up with her little child who has just learn't to walk.	2 glasses of milk	FAMILY: appeals to a mother's desire to nurture her child	1. CONVENIENT: milk provides calcium etc. in a convenient form. 2. NATURAL: these nutrients are in their natural form.	HEALTH: ad stresses milk promotes the health of the consumer's child.
2. Milkshakes	"Really real milkshakes are here at last."	5 teenagers and an elderly man drinking milkshakes with a Mr. Real mascot.	2 packs of the milkshakes	NATURAL: milkshake made from real milk flavored with saffron and cardamom, renowned natural, oriental flavors.	ENJOYMENT: copy emphasizes it is a fun drink.	HEALTH: a healthy drink made from real milk and flavored with natural flavors.
3. Milkpowder	"Our house never runs short of milk. Our dudhwalla has been a family friend for over twenty years."	Mother approvingly patting her son who is drinking a glass of milk	A tin of milk powder on the table at which the child is drinking milk.	AFFILIATION: between housewife and Amul, the milkpowder being compared to an instant milkman.	EFFECTIVE: ad positions the product as versatile, can be used to make desserts. CONVENIENT: available at all times. FAMILY: the housewife ensures her family a steady supply of milk by buying the product.	HEALTH: use of the product helps the family stay healthy as the quality of the milk is consistent.
4. Yogurt	"There's more than one way to enjoy Amul. Shrikhand."	A family of father, mother, son, and daughter enjoying sweetened yogurt.	Carton and pack and the two flavors in which the yogurt is available.	ENJOYMENT: a dish to be enjoyed with family and friends.	CONVENIENT: versatile food, as it can be served as dessert or a side dish with various Indian dishes. FAMILY: to be enjoyed with the family. NATURAL: made from milk, flavored with cardamom and saffron.	HEALTH: the yogurt is healthy.
4. The Amul Coop	"Some day, all Indian farmers will have it this good."	A farmer in the traditional dress of the region in which the Amul Coop is located.	Nil	MODERN: copy refers to pasteurization plants, factories, veterinary services and the marketing organization of the coop of farmers.	AFFILIATION: 10 lakh farmers have come together to make this modernization effort possible. COMMUNITY: the Cooperative is part of the community.	HEALTH: of the members who now have a better standard of living.

TABLE I (continued)

Product	Headline	Visual	Product Visual	Dominant Values	Subsidiary Values in Copy	Aids Consumer by Promoting the Value
5. Chocolates	"I'm too old for dolls too young for the disco. But I think you're just right for Amul Chocolates."	2. preteenage children, a girl and boy, the boy offers the girl a bar of chocolate.	Six bars of chocolates in 6 different flavors.	YOUTH: refers to the preteenage years as the right age for chocolates.	EFFECTIVE: versatile, for any age, as a token or gift to people you love. NURTURANCE: the visual shows children, probably siblings.	HEALTH: the receiver gets a quality product.
5b. Chocolates	"I'm too old for karate too young to give up chess."	A pause in a game of chess, when granddaughter offers grandpa a bar of chocolate.	"	MATURITY: refers to a youthful old-age of the grandpa.	NATURAL: flavors are all natural. FAMILY: shows a grandpa and granddaughter.	"
5c. Chocolates	"I'm too old for miniskirts too young to be a grandma. But I think you're just right for Amul Chocolates."	Housewife who is mending clothes is offered a bar of chocolate by grown son.	6 bars of chocolates	MATURITY: refers to the youthful maturity of the housewife.	NATURAL: flavors are natural. NURTURANCE: gift giving. FAMILY: involves a family relationship.	HEALTH: receiver gets a gift that is delicious and a quality product.
5d. Chocolates	"A gift for someone you love."	A bouquet with six bars of chocolates around it.	A bar of chocolate opened to show its packaging.	NURTURANCE: gift as a token of love.	EFFECTIVE: versatile, suitable for any occasion. TRADITIONAL: refers to its texture as creamy, like Swiss chocolates. TECHNOLOGICAL: packaging.	HEALTH: receiver gets a quality product.
5e. Chocolates	"Six delicious chocolates from Amul."	Six bars of chocolates, with one opened to show packaging.	"	EFFECTIVE: versatile, with a variety of six flavors to suit most tastes.	TRADITIONAL: comparable to the creamy texture of Swiss chocolates. TECHNOLOGICAL: packaging. NURTURANCE: gift giving a token of love.	HEALTH: receiver gets a quality product that is tasty too.
5f. Chocolates	"When she won't accept diamonds and can't be bothered with trinkets...give her something she'll really love...Amul Chocolates."	A young woman relaxing with a book and a bar of chocolate.	6 bars of chocolates. One bar opened to show the chocolate's creamy texture and superior packaging.	EFFECTIVE: versatile, a gift that is acceptable and appropriate.	WISDOM: advice on how to win over your girl. TRADITIONAL: in comparing the texture of Amul chocolate the creamy texture of Swiss chocolates. TECHNOLOGICAL: packaging.	VANITY: appeals to the consumer's ego and aids him find the perfect gift acceptable to the lady.
5g. Chocolates	"When she won't talk to you and yet can't seem to forget you...win her over again with Amul Chocolates."	A preteenage girl relaxing in a hammock with a book and a bar of Amul Chocolate she has just received in an envelope.	"	EFFECTIVE: as a gift in any circumstance, here to please a stubborn girl.	WISDOM: advice on how to win over your girl. TRADITIONAL: chocolate's texture compared to the creamy texture of Swiss chocolates. TECHNOLOGICAL: packaging.	VANITY: appeals to the consumer's ego and aids him find the gift to please his girl.

TABLE 1 (continued)

Product	Headline	Visual	Product Visual	Dominant Values	Subsidiary Values in Copy	Aids Consumer by Promoting the Value
5h. Chocolates	"When she's too young for perfume and too old for dolls...she's just right for Amul Chocolates."	A teenage girl in a swing reading a book while eating a bar of Amul Chocolate.	6 bars of Amul chocolates. One bar open to show the creamy texture and packaging.	EFFECTIVE: as a gift for a person of any age.	WISDOM: advice on how to win a girl over. TRADITIONAL: has the attributes of the legendary Swiss chocolates. TECHNOLOGICAL: packaging.	VANITY: appeals to the consumer's ego and aids him in winning his girl over.
6. Cheese	"An all-time celebrity."	6 cheese toppings	Tin and carton of cheese.	POPULAR: a favorite with everyone.	ENJOYMENT: positions the food as a fun food. NATURAL: made from pure milk. AFFILIATION: talks of two kinds of people, those who love the taste of cheese and those who like it because it is fun to enjoy it with people.	VANITY: pride of the host in serving food that adds to the fun time they are having.
6b. Cheese	"Cheese curry's favor with tradition."	A cheese dish against a backdrop of a hand-made tapestry.	Tin of Amul cheese	DISTINCTIVE: makes traditional dishes unique.	EFFECTIVE: VERSATILE. can be used in Indian and Western recipes. WISDOM: ad provides information on how to make dishes distinctive.	VANITY: appeals to one's desire to make a success as a hostess.
6c. Cheese	"In every party that I host, the chief guest is Amul Cheese."	A slice of cheese and a toothpick in it. Two dishes for which recipes are provided in the copy.	None	STATUS: pride in belonging to the group that counts and hosting a party for them.	TRADITIONAL: copy provides a recipe that goes back to the Great Mughals. ENJOYMENT: the product is positioned as good for parties.	VANITY: the product is used to impress people invited to a meal.
6d. Cheese	"However busy he is in the office, my husband keeps his appointment with Amul Cheese."	Slice of cheese with an executive pen as a pick.	Nil	FAMILY: wife's concern for what her husband eats.	EFFECTIVE: in making food tasty. TRADITIONAL: dishes suggested for which the product be used are part of the famed Mughlai cuisine. recipes and instruction are provided in the copy.	HEALTH: the product offers the user a healthy meal.
6e. Cheese	"Amul cheese. My son's first lesson in nutrition."	Slice of cheese with a pencil in it, in place of a toothpick.	Nil	WISDOM: provides recipes and educates user about the importance of protein in a child's diet.	MODERN: recipes are for dishes like burgers. NATURAL: cheese is made from milk and is a natural source of protein. FAMILY: appeals to the mother who is concerned with providing her child a nutritious diet.	HEALTH: promotes the health of the user's family.

TABLE II
VALUE ANALYSIS OF AMUL'S AND COMPETING FIRM'S FORMULA ADS

Product	Headline	Visual	Product Visual	Dominant Values	Subsidiary Values in Copy	Aids Consumer by Promoting the Value
1. Amul milk food--infant formula ad publd. before the Code.	"7 vitamins at your command in Amul Milk Food for babies plus protein, carbohydrates and minerals for happy, healthy growth."	A plump baby playing a pipe with a lot of animals following, to indicate nutrients.	Tin of Amul Infant Food is placed just above the 7 vitamins.	TECHNOLOGICAL: the product is enriched with vitamins, etc.	WISDOM: the copy offers a free booklet on the right way to feed a baby.	HEALTH: the user is promised a healthy child.
1b. Amulspray --ad publd. after the Code.	"No milk like mother's milk... It costs nothing, is guaranteed pure and available when your baby is hungry."	Three postage stamps with pictures of mother and child.	A tin of Amulspray with the picture of plump baby on it.	WISDOM: ad advises the reader about breast milk and when to use the formula.	CHEAP, CONVENIENT, NATURAL & SAFE: values associated with breast milk. STATUS: talks of how even the West now recognizes the value of breastfeeding. TECHNOLOGICAL: formula is spray dried. FAMILY: copy refers to the bond between the mother and child.	HEALTH: the aim of the product is to promote the child's health.
1c. Amulspray & Balamul--infant formula & weaning food--ad publd. after the Code.	"The Amul Baby Growth Plan."	A healthy baby seated. Two of insects--one of a baby feeding bottles and the other of a baby eating the Cereal.	Two tins--one of Amulspray and one of Balamul.	TECHNOLOGICAL: precooked, easy to digest and vitamin enriched.	WISDOM: doctors recommend this product. NATURAL: when referring to breast milk. CONVENIENT: easy to digest. CHEAP: twice the value of other brands.	HEALTH: of the child fed on the products.
2. Farex, weaning food from Glaxo--ad publd. after Code.	"A tastier way to grow--the Farex way!"	A plump baby standing up, holding on to the railing of a playpen.	A tin of Farex with pictures of three healthy children.	EFFECTIVE: tasty and good for healthy growth.	TECHNOLOGICAL: nutrition packed. WISDOM: ad provides growth charts for Indian children. FAMILY: addresses mothers, who are asked to check their child's growth.	HEALTH: the aim of the food is to make children healthier.
3. Prosoyal--infant food ad published after the Code.	"For protracted diarrhoeas: Now Prosoyal."	A housewife at the clothesline drying a long line of diapers.	A tin of Prosoyal.	TECHNOLOGICAL: sucrose free, talks of the contents of the product.	DISTINCTIVE: unique as it is good for infants who cannot digest milk. WISDOM: advises doctors about the product and when to prescribe it.	HEALTH: product provides a healthy substitute for infants who cannot tolerate milk.
4. Parag: Infant formula--ad publd. before the Code.	"Ensure healthy growth of your baby with Parag (spray-dried) infant milk food."	A tin of the product with the picture of an infant on it.	A tin of Parag.	TECHNOLOGICAL: processed, spray-dried, vitamin rich.	CONVENIENT: instantly soluble. FAMILY: the mother is asked to use Parag to make her child grow.	HEALTH: product promises a healthy, fast growing child.
5. Milk Care--formula ad publd. after Code.	"Two-phase nutritionally balanced plan for the most balanced growth."	An inset of mother and infant	Two tins of formula and baby food.	TECHNOLOGICAL: refers to the research and clinical trials that went into making the product.	WISDOM: carries advice for the doctor and the WHO notice.	HEALTH: product helps the pediatrician in ensuring the health of patients.

TABLE II (continued)

Product	Headline	Visual	Product Visual	Dominant Values	Subsidiary Values in Copy	Aids Consumer by Promoting the Value
6. Lever's Infant Formula--ad publ. before the Code.	"Are you really satisfied with your baby's growth-rate?"	Blow-up of a very healthy infant, wide-eyed and appealing.	Formula tin with picture of mother and infant on it.	EFFECTIVE: in making babies grow.	DISTINCTIVE: only brand that contains Vitamin B12 and Folic Acid. TECHNOLOGICAL: copy talks of research about baby's growth rates. WISDOM: refers to the food as one proven by doctors. FAMILY: appeals to mother's concern about her child's growth.	HEALTH: product helps in making an infant grow into a healthy child.
7. Cerelac from Nestle--cereal food ad publ. after Code.	"Give your baby the Cerelac advantage from the very first taste of solids."	A smiling baby's close-up. The child is being fed Cerelac.	Two tins of cereal, wheat and wheat-apple.	DISTINCTIVE: provides the child an edge over its peers.	CONVENIENT: precooked, easy to prepare. TECHNOLOGICAL: copy explains the process involved and ingredients used in making the food. WISDOM: provides instructions and offers free booklet. FAMILY: addressed to mothers, to give child the advantage.	HEALTH: ad claims to promote healthy baby.
8. Breast-feeding--ad by UNICEF publ. after Code.	"Breast milk is the most priceless gift for your baby."	Mother breast feeding child.	Nil	FAMILY: emphasizes the bond between mother and child.	EFFECTIVE: helps child fight infection. CONVENIENT: hygienic and available when required. NATURAL: nature has given every mother the capacity to breast feed. WISDOM: copy dispels misconceptions about colostrum, and mother's fears about her figure.	HEALTH: breast feeding is healthy for the child.
8b. Homemade complementary foods--UNICEF ad publ. after Code.	"Breastfeeding is best. But 4 to 6 months your baby must also get a share of the family's foods."	Mother feeding her child.	A plate of homemade food.	NATURAL: copy describes homemade foods naturally rich in proteins.	EFFECTIVE: homemade foods are effective as they provide all that a baby needs to grow. FAMILY: stresses bond between mother and child as breast feeding is contd. and only supplemented with solids.	HEALTH: Aim is to ensure the health of the child.
8c. Breast-feeding ad by UNICEF publ. after Code.	"Diarrhoea. It can be dangerous--don't take it lightly."	A child lying down, tired and sick.	Nil	WISDOM: offers advice on how to look after a child suffering from diarrhoea.	NATURAL: babies fed the natural way, i.e., breast-fed, are less prone to diarrhoea. NURTURANCE: copy offers on how to rehydrate child. FAMILY: emphasizes mother's role in nursing sick child.	HEALTH: aims at preventing infection to ensure child's health.
8d. Hygiene and breast-feeding--UNICEF ad published after the Code.	"Hygiene. It's what you don't see that does the most harm."	A mother feeding child from a cup.	Nil	WISDOM: copy carries information on how to ensure an environment for the child in which it can be safe from infection.	NATURAL: hygiene the natural way by breast feeding. FAMILY: appeals to the mother to protect the child.	NEATNESS: with tops to help mother keep her house clean. HEALTH: all precautions are to ensure the health of the child.

VITA

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After completing her graduate studies, she hopes to work with nonprofit community organizations in India to mobilize support for various social causes.