

EFFECTIVENESS OF A SPECIALIZED ADVERTISING AGENCY
AMONG BLACK CONSUMERS

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The undersigned, appointed by the Dean of the Graduate Faculty, have
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EFFECTIVENESS OF A SPECIALIZED ADVERTISING AGENCY
AMONG BLACK CONSUMERS

presented by Steven Jay Thor

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Advertising may be called a type of persuasive communication. Many studies have attempted to prove the "effectiveness" of various advertising campaigns and how successful a specific advertising agency is or has been. Yet, most studies have not substantiated what their original objective hypotheses postulated. It seems that the only accurate measure of effective advertising is the dollar sign. Researchers discover that the sales for a specific product have soared and therefore the conclusion is: the advertising campaign has been successful and effective.

During the past decade a new type of advertising agency has evolved--the specialized agency. Once again, researchers will attempt to show how "successful" these specialized shops are in their attempts to reach specific segments of the mass audience. A minimal amount of study has been done in the area of specialized agencies attempting to bridge the communications "gap" that exists between advertisers and the Negro population, between whites and blacks and between blacks themselves.

One factor, which psychologists have labeled "empathy", seems to be necessary in all communications--including advertising. However, little work if any has been conducted concerning advertising and empathy. The term empathy is very difficult to define, let alone study and test. However, several existing definitions will be presented. Yet, the concept of empathy, if employed properly by the personnel of an advertising agency, may mean the difference between a message that is not received or accepted and a persuasive message that works

both for the specific audience and the client.

THE PROBLEM AREA

Without a doubt, the most effective sales messages in the world have been created by American advertising agencies. The evidence is everywhere. One toothpaste is preferred over another when one knows he will be close to someone, different breakfast foods supposedly react within the blood stream to cause an immediate or slow rejuvenation of the human's total working machinery and the "blahs" can be conquered with one fizzing tablet. By checking the sales and profits of the companies that manufacture these products, it can be assumed that the advertising for these products has been effective. Agencies claim to have spent billions researching the life styles--established attitudes, shared experiences, customs and habits--of the people in carefully selected markets. This is called a necessary factor when creating persuasive advertising campaigns.

Following on the heels of all this careful research is the thorough strategy--marketing and advertising--that the advertising agency creates. Advertising agencies have always explained their copy and marketing strategies in both a practical and efficient manner. The strategies will state as a conclusion that the advertisements created by the agency personnel will be aimed at one or more specific segments of the mass market.

Yet, the Negro market, which is one of these specific segments, has apparently not been "reached" effectively. Agencies are faced with closing the communications "gap" that exists between advertisers and the black market. Despite all of the in-depth research techniques employed and specific strategies created, a market composed of approximately 23 million persons who spend more than \$30 billion per year (black consumer expenditures should top \$75 billion by 1975) has not been persuaded by mass advertisers to buy products, services,

etc.¹ as effectively as some would wish.

The Negro market, one of the fastest growing markets in the country, has not been reached effectively. According to Kelvin Wall, failure to reach the Negro market occurs when "Sutton's Law" is not applied. "Sutton's Law" is derived from bank robber Willie Sutton's famous reply to a reporter's question, "Why do you rob banks?" His reply was: "Why, that's where the money is."² In other words, the Negro market exists, yet advertisers and marketers have failed to apply the appropriate fundamentals to reach this large minority group.

The problem seems to lie in the area of mass-advertising techniques. "They approach the low-income white consumer as if he were a guy with a capital-gains problem. They talk to the Negro as if he were a white man in black-face."³ These techniques have been formulated in response to a white middle-class life style (See Chapter II).

But is this the life style of inner-city residents? Skin color has little to do with the complexion of the inner-city. For example, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Irish and Italians live where they do because they do not earn a lot of money. Basically, their whole life style is determined by budget restrictions.

Mankind is going through a series of drastic changes. We are faced with specialization in all areas and advertising is no exception. Specialized agencies that appeal to core city residents are becoming important to society because of their ability to open the channels of communication among people. Their primary task is thought to be economic, but their complementary role may possibly lie in the field

¹"The Black Market," Chain Store Age, May, 1970, pp. 101-103.

²Kelvin Wall, "Why Products Fail in the Negro Market," Media/Scope, 14:5:55, May, 1970.

³Raymond A. League, "The Challenges of the Negro Market," The Chief Executive--Marketing Leader in the '70s, ed. Walter Joyce (New York: Decker Communications, Inc., 1970), p. 170.

of social development. "Advertising plays a role in easing urban tensions and improving the reputation of a company."⁴

Social unrest, riots, boycotts, withholding of funds from various companies . . . both communications and marketing specialists are faced with a multitude of problems in this area. These specialists cannot talk to the low-income market the way they are accustomed to talking. If they attempt to communicate in their "normal" manner, it may be accepted by the low-income market as some type of "foreign language". To be understood in this particular market, the communications expert must learn to speak fluent inner-city or core-city language. One or two words interspersed within a block of copy, something that has been done by many advertising agencies, is not the language of the inner-city.

In order for communication to fulfill its role of being a two-way process, it is obvious that reaching the low-income market requires special training. It will require not only having an intimate knowledge of the low-income life style, but also the skills and experiences plus the sophisticated techniques used by leading advertising agencies.

In recent years, specialized advertising agencies have opened "shop" with the goal of reaching specific markets. Some specialize in reaching the Spanish market while others attempt to reach the low-income black market. The usual criterion utilized in determining whether an agency is successful or not is by checking the actual amount of billings of the agency in question. This type of "success" evaluation can be determined by checking an agency's billings in the latest edition of the Standard Directory of Advertising Agencies.

Yet there is a more important factor--the empathy process--that must be considered relevant to these specialized enterprises if they are to achieve their complementary role. While studies have been

⁴Ibid., p. 168.

done based upon the economic factor (profits), research has not included the "human factor" of empathy.

Zebra Associates, Inc., a specialized advertising agency located in New York City, has applied its knowledge, during the one and one half years that it has been in existence, to creating advertisements that attempt to reach the core city markets. In dollar terms (the economic factor) they have demonstrated tremendous growth. After six months of operation, total billings had climbed to \$1.5 million and presently, they are above the \$3 million mark.⁵

Therefore, they have been successful as far as profits are concerned. However, research is required to ascertain whether a certain degree of empathy may account for a measure of Zebra's success and the effectiveness of its advertisements.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The present study is an investigation of the concept of empathy and what importance, if any, it plays in the advertising created by specialized agency personnel attempting to reach a minority group within society.

Empathy shall be defined as follows in this study:

Empathy is the basic action of human behavior . . . is deliberate identification with another, promoting one's knowledge of the other as well as of oneself in striving to understand what is now foreign but which one may imagine . . . to be something similar to one's own experience . . . is grounded in feelings, pre-supposes goodwill, and strives for mutual understanding . . . not just putting of oneself in the other's place. . . .

To empathize is not only to feel, think and act like another person but also to learn how one differs from him. . . .⁶

⁵ Statement by Raymond A. League, personal interview, December 23, 1970.

⁶ Kenneth Gompertz, "The Relation of Empathy to Effective Communication," Journalism Quarterly, 37:4:533, Autumn, 1960.

Various attempts at defining the term empathy will be covered in detail in the literature review.

Studies have been completed that show the importance of particular media when attempting to reach the Negro minority or the importance of including black models in advertisements. Research has also shown that there is a definite need for specialized agencies to reach specific segments of the population. However, studies have not determined whether the process of empathy functions as an aid to successful communication between a prospective audience and the personnel in the advertising agency.

The general emphasis of this study is both exploratory and descriptive in nature. Attempts shall be made to show that an "empathy factor" facilitates successful persuasive communication (in the form of advertising) between the personnel of Zebra Associates, Inc. and the black community they are attempting to reach.

IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

Much attention has been focused upon the urban poor. Block has shown that

most of this attention has been directed toward such critical subjects as unemployment, malnutrition, crime, inadequate housing, discrimination and the like. These efforts certainly have been enlightening; however, little attention has been given to a subject which is quite fundamental in dealing effectively with all of these problem areas. It is the issue of communication.⁷

It was thought that possibly the mass media have not reached the inner-city areas. People in these areas were blamed for this problem because of their lack of education and poor income levels. However, Block has shown that the mass media do reach the poor even though

⁷ Carl E. Block, "Communicating with the Urban Poor: An Exploratory Inquiry," Journalism Quarterly, 47:2:3, Spring, 1970.

they do not have as much access to various types of information and he shows that in order to "achieve optimum effectiveness in communicating with these people through the mass media, the advertiser must understand their media exposure patterns and their information usage patterns."⁸

Greenberg's studies indicate that

many of the urban poor, black and white--but black to a greater extent than white--are beyond the effective range of most means of mass communication. TV captures much if not most of the 'free time' of the poor of all ages, black and white. Yet, ironically, this medium may serve only to alienate them further, for they are inclined generally to believe that TV pictures life 'as it really is' and as they would like to live it. . . . The findings also suggest that non-establishment media are needed to effectively reach low-income blacks.⁹

This may be true, but there also seems to be a language problem. It has been shown that there is a particular inner-city language.¹⁰

Advertising agencies can usually tell if they are using the incorrect words in their headlines and body copy by applying one simple rule. According to several members of the creative staff at Zebra, the rule seems to be: If an agency's personnel believe that the word choice in an advertisement sounds up-to-date to them, it really won't have an effective meaning for the urban poor. Individuals living in the world outside the ghetto utilize words that were "in" for the ghetto resident several months earlier and words or phrases that agency people believe are "in" are really "out". The above axiom must be applied in most cases when preparing advertisements for the urban poor.

What about advertisers who are attempting to reach these specific markets? Concerning their money expenditures, Wall has

⁸ Ibid., p. 4

⁹ J. Carroll Bateman, "The Professional Reader," Public Relations Journal, 27:3:21, March, 1971.

¹⁰ League, "The Challenges of the Negro Market," p. 168.

said that "for every \$1 million put into television in top markets by major advertisers, about \$250,000 goes toward reaching an audience of black Americans. Because most TV campaigns today are not geared to that fact, the waste is appalling."¹¹

One can only guess at the underlying reasons why this is true. However, a large majority of Negroes live in crowded inner-city areas, where their life and language are shaped by limited educational and social horizons. Since they have substantially different backgrounds from white middle-class Americans, it follows that often their responses to mass advertising will be different. "Yet advertisers are accustomed to using a general approach, directed at a homogeneous white middle-class audience, to elicit a favorable response throughout the marketplace."¹²

Others have looked at the problem from the standpoint of general agency personnel make-up. Whites have been placing advertisements in Negro media for years and have not really understood the wants or needs of the black audience. If one looks through an edition of Ebony, an overabundance of advertisements appear for skin whiteners and hair straighteners, whose only reason for existence is that they offer what has been called "whiteness". Agency personnel believe in the importance of choosing light skinned models for advertisements. This occurs despite the fact that the demands for a specific product may no longer be as great as the disproportionate emphasis of their advertising suggests.¹³ But this situation varies according to the attitudes of a specific agency.

¹¹ Kelvin A. Wall, "The Great Waste: Ignoring Blacks," Marketing/Communications, 298:2:43, February, 1970.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Dave Berkman, "Advertising in 'Ebony' and 'Life': Negro Aspirations vs. Reality," Journalism Quarterly, 40:1:63, Winter, 1963.

In general, the white community appears to be deficient in understanding the situation of the black and other minority groups. One might contend that an increase in comprehension of any sort is a basically good thing. For example, most whites have the erroneous belief that blacks do not save any money but spend it all on luxury items and alcoholic beverages. Several studies have shown that when blacks and whites on the identical economic level are compared, the black person saves much more than the white. It has also been shown that they spend less on unnecessary wants but more on individual needs as compared to a white family.¹⁴

Yet how can one permit a communications gap to exist between the low-income black market and the other classes in society? The advertiser has confused the white middle-class consumer with various claims for superior products, better health and products for better living. Therefore, one frequently wonders what goes on in the mind of the inner-city resident. According to Block,

Most of the facets of poverty have been discussed in terms of economic deprivation . . . there is unparalleled abundance in the market place which provides new want-satisfying opportunities to all consumers. This same technology, however, has made the consumer's choices more difficult . . . the average shopper hardly can be expected to choose wisely, much less the ghetto resident. . . .¹⁵

The inner-city resident is now faced with a two-fold problem. Not only does he lack sufficient income but he also does not benefit from the communication channels aimed at other markets. Zebra originally was established to help advertisers reach the urban poor of all races. However, most of the major advertisers felt that their present advertising was reaching lower-middle-class, and below, whites. Advertisers, therefore turned to Zebra for help in reaching

¹⁴Raymond A. Bauer and Scott M. Cunningham, "The Negro Market," Journal of Advertising Research, 10:2:9, April, 1970.

¹⁵Block, op. cit., p. 4.

the black market, and the agency's growth has occurred principally along these lines. The agency uses experienced white and black admen and women and employs several young people who, according to Raymond League, president of Zebra, "know little about advertising but a lot about being poor."

Zebra is a specialized agency that appeals to minority groups in other ways also--specifically in the field of social development. Basic social problems, such as housing shortages, riots, urban tensions . . . have grown in intensity and it is the author's opinion that they can only be resolved through human compassion and understanding. Zebra is creating advertising messages that somehow have opened the closed channels of communication to the black minority (see Chapter III).

There has been some type of "meeting of the minds". Perhaps "empathy" is responsible for this successful communication. A specialized agency that is composed of whites and blacks who are from the inner-city areas may possibly possess some empathic ability. They should be able to understand how to reach their fellow man in the urban centers of the country. Zebra, as a specialized agency, should be able to see the people as they really are, living in depressed conditions. It should be obvious how to reach the black man. Large agencies that service general clientele and attempt to appeal to the mass audience may not have this ability and sensitivity to see people as they exist within the ghetto areas of the city. The personnel of these large agencies may hold as their major belief that large obtrusive campaigns are the only way to reach these particular specialized markets. In other words, utilize the campaign that is designed for the mass audiences and substitute one or more black models for the white models.

Specialized agencies now hold the key to many of the problems mentioned above. Although they are in business primarily for profits, these agencies have the ability to reach the urban core areas with advertising messages and educational messages; and most importantly,

they can possibly promote brotherhood and peace among all races. With proper use of the media, these specialized agencies can begin to educate the uneducated of the middle and upper classes as to the conditions and life styles of the inner-city resident. Specialized agencies therefore serve a dual role: (1) educating the mass audience to the conditions that exist and how one group of people can successfully "mix" with other groups in harmony, and (2) close the communications gap that exists with the Negro market and white advertisers.

Distrust, dislike, hate. Words which should be abolished when groups of men are living together on one planet. Specialized agencies may be capable of aiding in the abolishment of these feelings and promote friendship among all people. Zebra Associates in New York City has attempted to accomplish this task of peace and brotherhood without jeopardizing their clients or their own best interests.

As stated earlier, it is the intention of this study to investigate the empathic process in connection with persuasive communication and to test whether it functions within Zebra Associates. In addition, advertisements created by Zebra Associates will be examined for a "success rating" (see Chapter IV) in order to assess the effectiveness of this agency in reaching a specialized audience. An accurate measure of empathy for this present situation will be obtained but no attempt will be made to validate it except for economic success. In other words, a certain degree of empathy may account for a measure of Zebra's success (in profits). The present study will attempt to check "human variables"--to initiate the first step in this direction--toward multiple indicators of effectiveness. Indicators up to this time have included profits, billings, number of people employed and number of branch offices in cities around the world. It seems to be apparent that the time is ripe for agencies to make some contribution to humanity besides a dollar scale and this variable is "empathy".

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

An extensive review of the literature concerning advertising and the concept of empathy shows that little, if any, research has been conducted relating these specific areas.

Most of the data presented in these studies has been conjectural and has attempted to show that either a Negro market exists or simply doesn't. The studies of empathy have simply attempted to validate a test for empathy and present a workable definition of the concept.

Research that is relevant to the present investigation concerns the study of empathy. The question of "Why a specialized audience or advertising agency" shall be presented in the next chapter.

Empathy--A Definition

Psychologists, sociologists and communication scholars have been faced with the problem of defining empathy. Does empathy really exist? Is it the same as identification or sympathy? Does it apply to studies of communication? How do we define it?

A survey of some of the definitions of empathy used in contemporary research reveals that many of them "revolve around the idea that the empathizer somehow identifies, puts himself in the place of, or assumes the role of the object of empathy."¹⁶

Stewart (as noted previously) offers one of the most comprehensive definitions of empathy:

Empathy is the basic action of human behavior . . . evolves from personal knowing, but not without effort and discipline . . . is deliberate identification with another, promoting one's knowledge of the other as well as of oneself in striving to understand what is now foreign but which one may imagine, curbed by the other's responses to be something similar to one's own experience.

¹⁶ Abraham S. Luchins, "A Variational Approach to Empathy," Journal of Social Psychology, 45:12, 1957.

Empathy is therefore both a process of intuition and the basis of dynamic inference. It is felt to be ethical because it is grounded in feelings, pre-supposes goodwill, and strives for mutual understanding. . . . Empathy as here conceived is not just a putting of oneself in the other's place as one casually sees the other, or as one is infected by a stray emotional feeling. Effort and imagination, choice and deliberation, and therefore creative selection are required by the empathic act. . . .

To empathize is not only to feel, think and act like another person but also to learn how one differs from him. The chief criterion of effective empathy is interpersonal testimony; persons agree that they are communicating well, or they don't. Even if they don't agree, there is effective empathy, provided they continue to strive for common ground.¹⁷

Luchins identifies the problem that exists when one attempts to study empathy. Empathy has been used to denote one's understanding of another person's feelings and thoughts (as stated by Stewart) but there is a

need for explicit denoting of the referent of the word empathy, to indicate whether it is the phenomenon of understanding others, or the awareness of emotional properties of people, objects, or events, or one of the many theories of how this understanding or awareness comes about.¹⁸

Speroff suggests that empathy is the ability to put yourself in the other person's position, establish rapport, and anticipate his feelings, reactions and behaviors.¹⁹ This definition of empathy seems to be unique in that the words "rapport" and "anticipate feelings" have been used. In general, however, Speroff is in agreement with Stewart.

Taft does not use the term empathy. He concludes that the ability to judge others is "like artistic ability; it is neither general nor specific and not uniformly successful in estimating every quality

¹⁷Gompertz, "The Relation of Empathy to Effective Communication," p. 533.

¹⁸Luchins, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

¹⁹Gompertz, *op. cit.*, p. 534.

of every person."²⁰

Several researchers have questioned whether people can effectively predict what they have not experienced. Halpern wanted to know if persons can recognize feelings and patterns of behavior in others if they have not known similar feelings and patterns. He also questioned what was a true measure of empathy. Is empathy the "ability to feel most extensively into the largest number of people or ability to feel into those characteristics of others that differs from one's own?"²¹

Some researchers may not use or accept the term "empathy". However, what they have defined as "artistic ability" or some other trait, seems to readily identify the empathy process. In general, most of the above definitions of empathy are in agreement. Stewart's definition, because it is the most extensive, best defines empathy as studied here.

Empathy and Communication

Research has attempted to demonstrate the relationship between empathy and communication. In addition to this basic relationship, investigators have tried to construct a valid test to measure empathy and show why successful communication is not possible without empathy (test construction will be covered in the next section).

Empathy has both a theoretical and practical relationship to communication and advertising. According to Stewart,

Communication of an effective sort, that is, when persons are able honestly to say that they are understanding one another (even their differences), is more than just communication as, e.g., obeying a command.²²

²⁰ Ibid., p. 538.

²¹ Ibid., p. 541.

²² Ibid.

Speroff has pinpointed some of the main problems with communication. One of the gravest faults of attempts to communicate has been the "total lack of orienting the information to the background of either the problem discussed or the persons involved in the discussion."

Speroff continues that it is the intent of the empathic response to overcome this error by a

systematic evaluation of the experience and educational history of the person for whom the communication is intended, and, by orally or in writing setting down the communication orienting it in words and terminology based upon the appraisal of the person's background.²³

Speroff concludes that effective communication is contingent upon two indispensable components. One is the desire to understand and establish rapport and second is the ability to use and understand the spoken word. In other words, desire and achievement become the indispensable components in effective communication.

Gompertz has implied that "empathy is a necessary tool of the effective communicator, a building block for developing effective techniques."²⁴

From his comprehensive study of empathy, Gompertz derived principles that he thought would lead to a greater understanding of mass communication. Some of these principles are:

- a) Empathy is basic to human emotions.
- b) Communication can convey or create emotion.
- c) Empathy is basic to communication.
- d) Empathic ability varies with individuals.
- e) Empathy is a skill and may be consciously developed.
- f) Empathic responsiveness has a high positive correlation with ability to communicate effectively.
- g) Empathic potential or ability may be an index to journalistic success (effectiveness).
- h) Mass empathy in mass communication may be equated with social responsibility; media which indicate greater identification with needs of society exhibit characteristics similar

²³Ibid., p. 542.

²⁴Ibid., p. 533.

to those of an empathic individual.

- i) Understanding empathy in its relationship to mass communication seems to be basic to development of theory in mass communications.²⁵

Lerner believes that empathy is fundamental to human behavior and to communication. He indicates that empathy is a consciously learnable skill, which is dependent for its development upon the "pervasion of mass communication."²⁶

It can be ascertained quite readily, from the discussion just reviewed, that empathy has long been recognized as an important factor in interpersonal communications. However, it still remains evident that the literature dealing with the phenomenon of empathy is difficult to evaluate for not only has this term been used in several ways, but also "the phenomenon to which it refers has been known by various other labels,"²⁷ such as identification, sympathy or sensitivity.

Empathy Tests

Dightman and Fahrion are quite accurate when they say that "While empathy has been the subject of many theoretical considerations, the paucity of supporting experimental work is notable."²⁸ (See Footnotes 29, 30, 31, 32, 33).

²⁵ Ibid., p. 544.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Cameron H. Dightman and Steven L. Fahrion, "An Experimental Approach to the Study of Empathy," Proceedings of the Montana Academy of Sciences, 21:124, 1962.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Willard A. Kerr and Boris J. Speroff, "Validation and Evaluation of the Empathy Test," Journal of General Psychology, 50:269, 1954.

³⁰ C. H. Patterson, "A Note on the Construct Validity of the Concept of Empathy," Personnel and Guidance Journal, 40:803, May, 1962.

Following will be a brief look at some of the tests that have been constructed to attempt to measure empathy. Most have been patterned after Dymond's test. The empathy test used in the present study was devised from Dymond's.

Dymond's test was divided into four distinct parts: 1) subject rates self in relationship with another on six traits, e.g., superior-inferior, friendly-unfriendly, leader-follower, etc.; 2) subject then rates another on these six traits; 3) subject predicts how other person will rate himself, and 4) subject predicts how the other individual would rate the subject.³⁴

The results were to be a measure of the ability of one person to see things from the point of view of another person by calculating how closely his prediction of the other's ratings (Parts 3 and 4) coincide with the other's initial rating of himself and the subject (his Parts 1 and 2) and vice-versa.³⁵

It was scored in terms of the total number of points an individual was in error, a type of "deviation score". According to Dymond, it was a measure of ability to predict the behavior of others better than chance.

Lindgren and Robinson suggest caution when using the above test. They ask several pertinent questions of the validity of Dymond's test.

Is the subject responding to his awareness of others? Is the subject comparing his self-concept with some cultural norm? Is the subject reacting to some stereotyped concept of how people ought to feel or act? Is the subject reacting defensively because of the nature of the question which might arouse anxiety?³⁶

³¹Luchins, "A Variational Approach to Empathy," p. 14.

³²A. H. Hastorf and I. E. Bender, "A Caution Respecting the Measurement of Empathic Ability," Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, 47:574, 1952.

³³William Reed Smith, "Empathy and Writing Ability," Perceptual and Motor Skills, 13:315, December, 1961.

³⁴Gompertz, "The Relation of Empathy to Effective Communication," p. 539.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Hastorf and Bender, loc. cit.

A study conducted by Hastorf and Bender was designed to search out the psychological implications of Dymond's "deviational score" for operationally defining empathic ability.³⁷ Up to this point, as was mentioned earlier, empathic ability was usually defined on the basis of the deviational score; i. e., the best empathizer is the individual whose prediction deviates least from the self-ratings of the person predicted to.

They concluded that "Empathic ability seems more objective, more cognitive, and more truly perceptive of the psychological structure of the other person. It seems to be a combination of sensory, imaginative, and intellectual process."³⁸

One study, quite relevant to this study because it deals with creative writing ability, attempted to correlate the results of the Empathy Test (constructed by Kerr and Speroff) with ability to write, as well as with general scholastic achievement. Smith worked with college students and attempted to support his hypothesis that "writers who create written discourse which is compelling, meaningful, and memorable must continually be aware of and anticipate the attitudes, feelings, capacities, and interests of their audience."³⁹

Smith's findings demonstrated that there were significant correlations between the Empathy Test and the various writing measures that were utilized. However, he concluded that "empathy is not highly related to more general, complex measures of achievement. . . ."⁴⁰

It was noted by Patterson that a simple test was developed by Kerr and Speroff which purported to measure "one's ability to put himself in another person's position, to establish rapport, and to

³⁷ Hastorf and Bender, loc. cit.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 576.

³⁹ Smith, loc. cit.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 317.

anticipate his reactions, feelings, and behaviors."⁴¹ This test attempted to achieve measurement of empathy by having the subject rank music types, magazines, and various experiences as typical office workers, readers, or older persons would rank them. Patterson attempted to correlate the findings of the Kerr-Speroff Empathy Test with variables with which it might be expected to correlate. Patterson concludes that "the failure in particular of the Kerr-Speroff Empathy Test . . . raises a serious question as to whether it is a test of empathy."⁴²

Bell and Hall also reported that the "Kerr-Speroff and Dymond empathy scores were not correlated in a study of 87 subjects."⁴³

Nine different independent criteria were employed in experimentation with the Empathy Test constructed by Kerr and Speroff. They spoke about empathy in the following manner:

This unique talent, conspicuous among 'natural' leaders, successful sales managers, and outstanding counselors, is the 'ability to put yourself in the other person's position, establish rapport, and anticipate his reactions, feelings and behaviors.' This ability is recognizable as empathy except that the past accepted definitions of empathy seem somewhat inadequate since they stress mere identity of feeling and omit the practical element of prediction of the other's behavior.⁴⁴

Their definition of empathy is one of the original explanations of the concept presented by Dymond in 1949. Since no standardized and validated empathy tests existed, their study attempted to "develop and validate a group-type paper and pencil test of empathy."⁴⁵ As was pointed out in previous studies cited, the validity of this type of

⁴¹Patterson, loc. cit.

⁴²Ibid., p. 806.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Kerr and Speroff, "Validation and Evaluation of the Empathy Test," p. 269.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 270.

test is in question as are most paper and pencil tests.

Kerr and Speroff said that validation of an empathy test was supplemented by the theory that individuals who are superior in empathic ability are persons who are above average in understanding and anticipating the reactions of other people. This basic belief was utilized in the construction of the Empathy Test.

Of utmost importance is one of their conclusions concerning validity of this type of test. "A valid empathy test will not measure how the subject feels but will measure 'how validly' the subject feels that someone else feels."⁴⁶ Present tests of empathy do employ this important conclusion although the test that they constructed has proved to be invalid except with their own studies.

According to Luchins, observation and research findings have suggested that some people may be easier or harder to empathize with than others. However, little study has been made of the empathic-arousing property of people, objects or events.⁴⁷

Luchins' basic goal was to develop tests which would measure empathic ability--a test capable of separating successful from unsuccessful empathizers. Luchins concluded that tests such as these may be of practical value but they do not lead "to the discovery of the crucial variables involved in any given act of empathy." Also, the tests, which are presumably interested with the individual,

do not reveal the contribution of his personality to the act of empathy. Nor does the correlation of his score of the empathy tests with his score on personality tests reveal this contribution or the personality dynamics involved in a given act of empathy.⁴⁸

He advocated a variational approach to empathy, an approach which would vary methods and conditions in an effort to alter manifestations

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 273.

⁴⁷Luchins, "A Variational Approach to Empathy," p. 14.

⁴⁸Ibid.

of empathy. It was his belief that systematic research should be conducted with a "study of mutual empathy--that is, when two people or two groups understand each other--an important but neglected area of research!"⁴⁹

More on Empathy

Tests purporting to measure empathy have been devised. Researchers have shown that on occasion they can correlate various findings from various tests and attempt to show that the concept of empathy is a "working process". It has been implied that empathy is a necessary tool in order to have a successful act of communication between individuals or groups.⁵⁰

Several questions still remain unanswered. For example, upon whose shoulders should the empathic burden be placed? Lorge possibly has found the answer when he places this burden upon the communicator.

His error is the greater for he fails to consider the audience--their knowledge of the subject matter, their skill in getting the material through the medium, their knowledge of the vocabulary in the field, their attitudes and prejudices about the material and so on.⁵¹

Since understanding both spoken and written texts is a matter of experience, of habits, or purposes of the understander, according to Lorge, the expresser must naturally express his text in those terms.

The communicator must acquire a basic sense of audience. Each expresser, for effectiveness, must think of the individual he is trying to reach. Lorge concludes that

communication is more than simple words, sentences and few thoughts. The most significant feature of readable understandable

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 15.

⁵⁰Compertz, "The Relation of Empathy to Effective Communication," p. 533.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 543.

communication is appeal to the reader's motives and an organization of content so that it can be apprehended.⁵²

One researcher points out that it is necessary to kindle desire and to know how to use language. Speroff says that "Progressive ranks of the media and market research organizations are constantly striving for both ends. Yet a large segment of the population is grossly ignorant of 'essential' information in spite of heavy media exposure."⁵³

In summary, literature concerning the concept of empathy and communication has included studies which have attempted to define terms, devise tests, correlate various measures with the hope of validating an empathy test and measure, and quite a few studies have pointed out general ideas concerning empathy or communication.

To reiterate, little work has been done in the area of showing some type of "working" concept of empathy involved with advertising. Also, no research has been conducted concerning specialized advertising agencies.

The following section outlines procedures and tests that have been utilized to measure the effectiveness of advertising. In the remaining chapters, it will be shown why there is a need for specialized agencies, why specialized markets exist and why the concept of empathy is a necessary human factor for the creation of successful or effective advertising to a specialized market.

Measures of Advertising Effectiveness

Advertising has been measured and re-measured many times in order to arrive at some usable measure of effectiveness. In the present study, semantic differential scales were utilized to measure

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Ibid.

the "effectiveness" of Zebra's advertisements as an additional indicator of empathy. Various methods have been employed in advertising research which has also been called copy research.

According to Politz:

If someone thinks that the ability of advertising to attract attention is directly related to its effectiveness, he will then, of course, measure the attention-getting ability and consider the results to be a measure of advertising effectiveness. If someone thinks the fact that an advertising phrase is remembered signifies effectiveness, he will use memory measurements as a criterion of performance. If someone believes that advertising has to give pleasure and be liked, he may then subject the pleasantness or the aesthetic values to measurement and will interpret a positive result as proof of the effectiveness of the advertising. In each case the researcher calls upon an implicit assumption about the mechanisms by which advertising achieves its effect.⁵⁴

In general, attitudes are generally measured to determine the effectiveness of either a single advertisement or an entire campaign. However, according to Kleppner,

There are those who do not subscribe to the efficacy of measuring results by measuring attitudes. They point out the paucity of proof that there is any consistent measurable relationship between change in attitude and sales; just communicating is not enough--the advertisement must succeed in the job of selling the product.⁵⁵

There are varied methods which are utilized before the final advertisements appear and various measures used after circulation. According to Lucas and Britt methods applied before the final advertisement include "opinion and attitude ratings, projective techniques, and some of the methods of laboratory testing and content analysis." Measures utilized following circulation include "tests based on memory, those involving changes in attitudes, and those based on inquiries and

⁵⁴ Darrell B. Lucas and Steuart H. Britt, Measuring Advertising Effectiveness (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1963), p. 22.

⁵⁵ Otto Kleppner, Advertising Procedure (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), p. 404.

sales."⁵⁶ (See Footnotes 57, 58, 59)

SOURCES AND PROCEDURES

This study was designed in two phases. Phase one consisted of a pre-test questionnaire, and all interviews were recorded. Interviews were conducted at Zebra Associates, Inc. and in the core-city area of New York City (Harlem).

From the interview pre-test results, it was evident which questions could possibly aid in the construction of a questionnaire to measure the process of empathy among the creative personnel at Zebra Associates, Inc. The following questions were ones that resulted in responses that were alike among agency personnel and community members (the responses indicated the possible presence of an empathy factor):

- #1 (community): When you are buying for yourself or your family, what are your favorite things to buy or use? In other words, what do you enjoy buying?
- #1 (agency): When they (your audience) are buying things for themselves or family, what are the favorite things they buy or use? What do they enjoy buying?
- #3 (community): Why do you buy certain products but not others. For example, why do you buy

⁵⁶ Lucas and Britt, op. cit., p. 23.

⁵⁷ John Caples, Tested Advertising Methods (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, Revised 1961).

⁵⁸ Irving Crespi, Attitude Research (New York: American Marketing Association, 1965).

⁵⁹ Martin Mayer, The Intelligent Man's Guide to Sales Measures of Advertising (New York: Advertising Research Foundation, Inc., 1965).

- one brand of soap over any other?
- #3 (agency): Why do they buy certain products but not others. For example, why do they buy one brand of soap over any other?
- #6 (community): Suppose you got a very special gift of \$1,000. How would you spend it? How should you spend it?
- #6 (agency): Suppose someone in the community received a gift of \$1,000. How do you think they would spend it? How do you think they should spend it?
- #10 (community): Will life in general be better or worse for you in the next few years as compared to now?
- #10 (agency): Will life in general be better or worse for them in the next few years as compared to now?
- #14 (community): In your opinion, what are two or three of the biggest problems facing blacks today that you feel need some changing?
- #14 (agency): Identify problems you believe are definite problems for the black community.

After careful comparison of answers to the above questions, most of which fall into the "projective" category for Zebra personnel only, a four part questionnaire was designed for the community and a three part questionnaire was designed for Zebra personnel. (See Appendix for complete questionnaires).

As was stated in the literature review, the questionnaire was based upon Dymond's previous research concerning the empathy process. Although Dymond had devised a test consisting of four distinct parts, only part 3 (subject predicts how other person will rate himself) was found to be relevant to the present study. Therefore the questionnaire was projective for Zebra personnel (as in the pre-test

situation).

Concerning the construction of these two questionnaires, Part I of the agency questionnaire and the community questionnaire were identical. It consisted of a weekly budget. People in Harlem were asked to identify which of the four budgets was closest to how they usually spend their money each week. Budget figures were determined after reviewing demographics obtained in the pre-test.

Interviews for the community were conducted in two schools located in Harlem (I. S. 10 Manhattan and P. S. 200 Manhattan) and respondents were chosen in an "accidental" random way from among school personnel who live in Harlem and also various people who enter the two schools daily.

Agency personnel were asked to identify the budget that comes closest to how people in the defined community spend their money each week.

Part II of the community questionnaire consisted of 14 forced choice questions. They were both multiple choice and rating questions. These questions, too, were developed from pre-test responses. Part III of the agency questionnaire was the same as Part II for the community with one major exception. The variation existed in the forced choice questions. As in the pre-test, questions were worded slightly differently in order that agency personnel could answer the questions as if they were members of the audience they are attempting to reach. These questions were used because they best got at the concept of empathy. In this case, following Dymond's description, the creative personnel at Zebra were asked to project themselves into the role of the audience they are attempting to reach with persuasive communication.

Part II of the agency questionnaire dealt only with demographics. Personnel were asked to describe the community members according to the budget choice they had made in Part I of the questionnaire. In other words, they were required to project the demographics of the

people who followed the budget they had chosen in the first question, (e. g. income, education).

Part III of the community questionnaire consisted of semantic differential scales. Eighteen scales were used for each of seven concepts. Community residents were asked to recall two advertisements that they "liked" very much and two they "disliked" very much (4 of the 7 concepts). The name of each advertisement and whether it appeared on television, in a magazine or newspaper or on the radio was recorded at the top of each page (one concept per page). The eighteen scales were adapted from "Responses to Advertising: The Varieties of Liking and Disliking."⁶⁰ Community members were then asked to rate three advertisements that Zebra Associates had created (the remaining 3 concepts) (see Appendix for advertisements used). From this information, standards for "best liked" and "most disliked" advertisements could be established against which Zebra's creations could be rated.

Part IV of the community questionnaire consisted of demographics which could be compared to Part II of the agency questionnaire. These results could also be compared to pre-test results.

In summary, interviews were conducted among black community members of Harlem (the inner-city ghetto of New York City) and with creative personnel at Zebra Associates, Inc. The interviews conducted in the community can be labeled an "accidental" non-probability sample of a small number of Harlem residents who hopefully represent the larger population in that one particular area of New York City.

To reiterate, the general emphasis of this study is both exploratory and descriptive in nature. Attempts shall be made to demonstrate that an "empathy factor" facilitates successful persuasive communication

⁶⁰Mary Jane Rawlins, "Responses to Advertising: The Varieties of Liking and Disliking" (Chicago: Leo Burnett Company, 1967), pp. 18-19. (Mimeographed.)

between the personnel of Zebra Associates, Inc. and the black community they are attempting to reach.

ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

The remaining chapters of this study into the realm of the unstudied factors of empathy and advertising will be organized as follows: Chapter II will explain why a separate black audience exists and why there is a need for specialized advertising agencies.

Chapter III will deal exclusively with Zebra Associates, Inc. It will trace Zebra's short but successful life history, who its past and present clients are, what they hope to accomplish, what creative advertising they have accomplished . . . etc.

Chapter IV will include the data and results gathered from the questionnaire. In addition, the semantic differential scales will be reviewed and analyzed.

Chapter V will contain discussion material, a complete summary of this study plus suggestions for further research.

Chapter II

THE "BLACK MARKET"

INTRODUCTION

On the screen, the speaker is a renowned black actor named Ossie Davis. In the audience are mostly white advertisers and agency executives, eager to learn more about 'The Black Billionaire.'¹

As the theater darkens for this eight-minute promotional film sponsored by Zebra Associates, Inc., a fully integrated new agency run by black principals, Davis advises his attentive viewers: 'You know something? We wouldn't mind buying your products if we felt that your product made us feel special too--not separate . . . not different, but a real part of that dream, that seemingly empty American dream. But that's what we want to be able to feel part of. Don't talk to us separately, but talk to us so that we see ourselves and know that you also see us as a real part of that dream.'¹

The Negro or "Black Market" is reality. Some dispute the fact that it even exists. The Negro market means many things to many people. To some advertising agencies and clients, the black is just another consumer like anybody else--basically nothing more nor less. To others, "he is among many special markets in the demographic spectrum. But to an increasing number, he is one of several ethnic groups that deserve consideration, but not quite the same as others."²

This chapter will deal with the problems of defining and accepting the "Black Market," the need for specialized agencies to reach this

¹"Courting the Black Billionaire," Media/Scope, 13:8:41, August, 1961.

²Ibid.

market, usage of Negro-oriented media and the possible resolution of social tensions through the use of advertising created by both specialized and general agencies.

SPECIALIZED MARKETS

Both advertising agencies and advertisers have professed one identical credo: reach the mass audience as inexpensively as possible, yet to the point of saturation. However, upon careful observation of the so-called "mass," it is possible to see actual lines of delineation. The mass has been segmented into religious, economic, social, luxury item, etc. markets by the advertising agency and the media. These segments can be labeled "subgroups" of one large audience. Yet, it seems possible to subdivide these subgroups more precisely. One would therefore search for more suitable or precise factors.

Subdividing the mass audience could be accomplished quite easily. There would be the following subgroups: whites, non-whites or minority groups. The nebulous "mass" now becomes a bit more precise. However, one other subdivision is possible. Minority groups can be divided into blacks, Puerto Ricans, Indian and others. The ethnic market can be the general term used to include some of these minority groups. In particular, one could consider the black market.

When considering the "Black Market," or any market for that matter, from an advertising standpoint or even that of marketing, one must realize that the market does consist of people who play the role of consumers in our society.

We have a conglomerate here of customers with different emotional problems, psychologies, needs, living styles. All of this is composed of markets. And advertising agencies have found a reason to specialize in every other kind of market--the farm market, industrial, women, everything.³

³"Black Is Beautiful But Maybe Not Profitable," Media/Scope, 13:8:32, August, 1961.

From another standpoint, these subgroups or segmented portions of the mass audience can be called a specialized market, a market that exists within the framework of the established "mass" audience, yet differs due to varying sociological, psychological or physical factors.

THE "BLACK MARKET"

Not only is the Negro not melting--he has not been permitted to get into the pot.⁴

The American Negro has been the main focus of attention, when speaking about minority groups, for many years--whether as a "slave" or so-called "lower-class" human being. Much of this focus has therefore been negative. The Negro has usually just been put into his place and left there.

The Negro, if considered as a "group" in society, has increased in population size, income level and educational level, factors that are important from a sociological standpoint. However, psychologically, the Negro or black American has not been able to achieve equal status with his white "brothers." The psychological implications of this fact fill numerous volumes. There is a minority or subgroup in society that desires to be equal, appreciated, accepted.

From a business or advertising standpoint, it would be well worth the businessman's while to understand the black market as it exists in this country.

I think by and large that business, industry, and advertising are aware that there is a Negro market. The discrepancy is that many of these people don't understand today's black person. Psychologically there is a difference. The Negro you could just motivate in any fashion. But today's black person has an awareness of being black. He has learned things such as selectivity, and he has a new pride and

⁴Raymond A. Bauer and Scott M. Cunningham, "The Negro Market," Journal of Advertising Research, 10:2:6, April, 1970.

they don't know how to cope with it.⁵

Whether due to a fear, a lack of understanding or lack of desire to implement change--the black market must be recognized as a major consumer force in society. "There will always be a Negro market as long as cultural differences remain. The music, food, theater tastes are different."⁶ Today more than at any other time, there has been a growing sense of identity--the Negro takes pride in his identity. "However the new pride only accentuates the frustration."⁷ This identity, which is frequently labeled as "Black Pride," has resulted in a form of unity. However, it has been pointed out that the "common denominator that unites the black market is the psychological inferiority complex that has been generated through the fallacious and outmoded stereotypes."⁸

The crucial difference between the black market and other ethnic markets is that the Negro is the only American other than the Indian without a meaningful cultural tradition from abroad.

Unlike other ethnic groups, whose ties with their heritage have been reinforced generation after generation by successive waves of immigration, the Negro is hundreds of years removed from his original culture. His sole heritage is that of a culture whose goals and standards he has been unable to attain because of the color of his skin. The ambiguity of his position has sharpened the Negro's social consciousness to the point where he is a far more sensitive consumer than those in any other ethnic group.⁹

A possible explanation for the fear and misunderstanding of the Negro market is the basic difficulty that arises when attempting to define

⁵"Black Is Beautiful But Maybe Not Profitable," p. 31.

⁶"Why the Negro Market Counts," Business Week, September 2, 1967, p. 64.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid., p. 68.

⁹"Ad Men Straddle Color Line," News Front, 10:1:10, February, 1966.

it specifically. Advertising agency personnel see the Negro market in a constant state of flux, based on social, economic, and educational growth, along with changing values, concepts, and motivations. Its cultural unity notwithstanding, the Negro market is divided by ideological factions, all of which must be appealed to without offending any.¹⁰

The problem at hand is: Why does the Negro market exist?

Several factors explaining the "why" include:¹¹

(1) Concentration

In general, the black population is concentrated in the center or core city areas of most urban markets with less than half of the black population in the South. This creates a compact market (72 per cent of the market is now concentrated in urban areas) that is physically accessible. (See Table 1 which indicates Black Spending Power in 30 largest cities.)

(2) Buying Power

The black population possesses a buying power between \$30 and \$35 billion (according to latest estimates). This makes it a sizable portion of the entire consumer market due to the fact that cities now account for two-thirds of the nation's retail volume.

(3) Color--an important differential

Racial patterns within the United States separated the races through slavery and segregation. Discrimination today still makes color an important differential. This has influenced basic relationships between whites and blacks. (This is a physical segregation between whites and blacks.)

(4) Demographic differences

Basic demographic differences between white and black Americans

¹⁰"Courting the Black Billionaire," Media/Scope, 13:8:42, August, 1961.

¹¹Kelvin Wall, "Why Products Fail in the Negro Market," Media/Scope, 14:5:55, May, 1970.

Table 1
 Where Black Spending Power Concentrates
 Black Population in 30 Largest Cities
 1970 Projections*

City	% Black	Total Population	Black Population
Washington, D. C.	68	840,000	574,000
Baltimore	47	920,000	432,000
Detroit	47	1,700,000	800,000
Newark	46	405,000	185,000
St. Louis	46	700,000	320,000
New Orleans	45	680,000	303,000
Atlanta	39	212,000	540,000
Memphis	39	580,000	226,000
Cleveland	38	805,000	305,000
Philadelphia	32	2,200,000	700,000
Chicago	32	3,610,000	1,150,000
Columbus	32	525,000	167,000
Cincinnati	31	470,000	150,000
Indianapolis	29	500,000	145,000
Houston	27	1,140,000	310,000
Dallas	25	800,000	200,000
Kansas City	24	500,000	120,000
Los Angeles	23	3,000,000	700,000
Buffalo	22	510,000	114,000
Pittsburgh	21	610,000	126,000
New York	19	8,100,000	1,150,000
Milwaukee	18	800,000	146,000
San Francisco	17	750,000	126,000
Boston	13	675,000	85,000
Denver	10	510,000	51,000
San Antonio	10	720,000	72,000
San Diego	10	723,000	72,000
Phoenix	10	600,000	60,000
Seattle	9	647,000	56,000
Minneapolis	5	450,000	21,000

*Adapted from The New York Times Encyclopedic Almanac, 1971 edition. New York: New York Times--Book & Educational Division, 1971.

have caused some differences in consumption behavior. In general, lower income and larger family size, "rather than race," have been the major factors affecting consumption.

(5) Segregation

"The separation of white and black communities--segregation--has created subcultural mores and attitudes, including differences in language patterns and life style. Consumer motivations and communications modes have been affected most by this separation."¹² (This is social separation within the blacks themselves as compared to number three above which speaks of physical separation between the two groups.)

Some Demographics¹³

On the average, the black market is younger than the white market. Some 36 per cent of the Negro population is under age 14, vs. 28 per cent in the white population.

As noted, the Negro population is concentrated in cities. More than half (54.3 per cent) live in core city areas vs. 27.1 per cent of whites. Only 13.4 per cent of the Negro market exists in the suburbs of the big cities vs. 37.1 per cent of all whites.

The median income for blacks is quite low--\$6,500 vs. \$8,500 for whites. However, in the last several years, there has been a definite increase in the Negro middle-class. In 1960, 4.9 per cent of all Negro families had incomes in excess of \$10,000. By 1967, 16.7 per cent had moved up to this \$10,000 range.

Studies done by Negro groups and publications (e. g., Ebony and Tuesday), indicate that the Negro spends more for necessities, food, clothing and shelter than whites--51.4 per cent of his dollar goes to these "needs" vs. 45.2 per cent by whites. Why? Very simply--the

¹²Ibid.

¹³"The Black Market," Chain Store Age, May, 1970, p. 101.

Negro family is usually larger with generally lower incomes.

Other Factors Relating to the Black Market

Several misconceptions concerning this "subgroup" still require clarification.

For example, it has generally been an accepted fact that the Negro spends most of his money on unnecessary "wants" rather than life-supporting "needs." This has been shown to be false. According to Chain Store Age, "Basically, the black consumer spends more for the necessities of life."¹⁴

According to Kenneth Wilson, vice-president of the Afro-American Newspaper Group:

I hear this business about, "Well, we all know enough about the black consumer. We don't know if there is such a thing as a black consuming public. We have had our research people look into this thing in great depth, and we believe that black people respond in the same way that white people respond in a similar set of circumstances."¹⁵

This last idea has become something like a cliché. An insufficient amount of research is being conducted in the areas of motivation and basic attitudes of the Negro market. There is no published evidence to show that agencies have been doing research in this area. In the author's opinion, they will attempt to hold onto their belief that all groups within America are the same. Only recently have specialized agencies been opening "shop" in an effort to reach these segments of the mass market, particularly the black segment.

Another problem concerns the actual life-style of the inner-city resident. He is not affluent and probably doesn't know where most of

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 104.

¹⁵ "Black Is Beautiful But Maybe Not Profitable," Media/Scope, 13:8:32, August, 1961.

the states are in the United States. For children in grade school and frequently in high school, their block and several blocks surrounding their homes and school form their worlds. They know of different countries and customs from what they have learned in school--but "their street" is the world. According to Raymond League, president of Zebra Associates, Inc.,

The low-income consumer doesn't see himself as part of the city he lives in. He sees himself as part of his immediate surroundings--a neighborhood or street. Because he is less psychologically mobile, less active, and more inhibited in certain respects, he tends to shop at local stores where he is known. His purchases consist largely of products that meet very basic needs: food, drink clothing, and personal-care items. And his shopping trips are frequent.¹⁶

One of the most serious problems was that blacks didn't understand that they had power within themselves to change things. Blacks are beginning to take pride in being black and they're attempting to alter their present situation. For example, in the area of product consumption or general buying power, the black market realizes that it has the capability of either making or breaking a specific product line or company. This has been accomplished through what is known as the "selective patronage" campaign. These campaigns have been used throughout the country in order to open jobs for Negroes and achieve recognition by various industries. Accordingly, they can make or break a particular business.¹⁷

Because of this increased pride and realization of power, Junius Edwards, president of a new black-oriented advertising agency in New York City, has said:

¹⁶Raymond A. League, "The Challenges of the Negro Market," The Chief Executive--Marketing Leader in the '70s, ed. Walter Joyce (New York: Decker Communications, Inc., 1970), p. 169.

¹⁷D. Parke Gibson, The \$30 Billion Negro (London: The Macmillan Company, 1969), p. 32.

Today more than ever black people are proud. And they're becoming more conscious of their power. I'm talking about their buying power. They know they can make the product a success. . . . If they think the advertiser is interested in them and is interested in raising the status of the black community, they will happily buy the products and keep buying them.

On the other hand they know when they're being put down. Blacks are people, they're not stereotypes.¹⁸

There may be something called a "Racial Response" or reaction, according to D. Parke Gibson, president of a consultant firm on the national Negro community. Most often a response that a company, its products, or services produces in the Negro community can determine whether a negative or positive action will result.

Most Negroes in deciding to make a purchase are influenced either consciously or unconsciously to some degree by their reactions as Negroes. Thus, if a company recognizes the market, creates a favorable climate for itself, and through programming produces a favorable 'racial reaction,' then this company should have success far beyond any normal pattern.¹⁹

What also must be understood is that there exists just as much stratification of classes within the Negro market as one entity, however there are as many socio-economic classes within the Negro market as within the white market. One must rely on information about any group of persons when examining the Negro market. Although it has the same amount of classes, these classes are distinctive to the Negro group.

Yet, after realizing that Negroes have billions of dollars to spend and that they are 11 per cent of the population, American businessmen have not reacted to this call for action. There still exists a lack of information and understanding of this market.²⁰

Gibson has termed this narrow-mindedness "tunnel-vision." This is one of the problems that has existed in the basic need to

¹⁸"Black Man on Madison Avenue," Media Decisions, 6:2:68, February, 1971.

¹⁹Gibson, op. cit., p. 21.

²⁰Ibid., p. 9.

understand. "It is the failure to see the possibilities that lie beyond the narrow scope of old and familiar endeavors. The 'tunnel-visioned' executive's outlook is not limited to the Negro market, however."²¹

There are many other possible reasons why the "Black Market" exists today. However, in summary, there are four basic reasons:²²

- (1) forced identification of the people comprising this market,
- (2) definable purchase patterns by this group of consumers,
- (3) the size of the market, and
- (4) the location of this market within the United States.

Why it Must Be Recognized

From the commercial standpoint, this special market should be recognized because of the phenomenon "profit."

With the widely acknowledged concept that advertising and other means of communication, in order to achieve maximum identification, should be oriented as closely as possible to the interest of the consumer, it is surprising that some executives in business and industry still need to be made aware that this same concept applies in the Negro market.²³

A logical conclusion to what the spokesmen of the black community have said is that the Negro wants this concept applied to him. Treat him as a black with special folkways and mores, but as a consumer and a member of society.

But what is also involved is a basic financial problem. According to John H. Johnson, publisher of Ebony:

Our major financial problem is not the European Common Market but the American Common Market which is now divided by artificial barriers and anxieties. Integration of the Negro into the American Common Market would be the equivalent of adding a whole new

²¹ Ibid., pp. 10-11.

²² Ibid., p. 9.

²³ Ibid., p. 12.

nation of products and consumers.²⁴

Even though it is true that Negroes only purchase from U. S. sources, this does suggest the possibility of aiding in the creation of a more integrated and affluent society, in which all consumers are treated on the same plane or level.

Another reason for why this market should be recognized is due to the direct impact that it makes. The direct impact is what results from about one-tenth of our population which equals approximately 23 million people (according to the latest estimates). What advertisers and agency personnel should also realize is that the black community has an indirect impact upon the economy. The white community is influenced by the black community more than it realizes. "There are certain things that black people do that are a forerunner of what later becomes popular in the white world. Therefore, companies should use the black market to reach the white market . . . a test market," (e.g., the fashion industry).²⁵

Agencies also have been deficient in the effective utilization of language. Black jargon usually spreads to the white communities and therefore "advertisers might learn to use Negro argot before it leaves the black areas." If the advertiser is advertising a product that can be sold to both blacks and whites, "the product could move from black areas to white areas as the language itself moves."²⁶

Not until you get an amalgamation of both races will the market disappear."²⁷ And it will continue to exist as an individual segment

²⁴William H. Boynton, "The Negro Turns to Advertising," Journalism Quarterly, 42:2:231, Spring, 1965.

²⁵"Black Man on Madison Avenue," p. 71.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷"Black Is Beautiful But Maybe Not Profitable," Media/Scope, 13:8:32, August, 1961.

until full integration is achieved, color discrimination no longer exists, there is financial equality and life-style patterns among blacks somewhat similar to those of other Americans.²⁸ Not only do whites have to learn to accept minority groups but in this instance, blacks also must learn to become part of the existing social structure. This does not imply, however, that the black life style must cease to exist. There simply must be a "coming together" of groups with the basic ideal of acceptance.

According to Raymond League, there is another serious financial problem that explains why the black market must be recognized:

Within five to ten years, the bottom 25% of the population, concentrated in big cities, will be the controlling factor in the profit margins of major consumer-goods manufacturers. Implication? If the consumer-goods manufacturer isn't established in the low-income market, his products will become unprofitable to large chains. So they'll be discontinued, product life will be shortened, new product failure will increase and sales will be irretrievably lost. Therefore, I would urge chief executives with an eye to the future to embark on the creation of programs that will serve to close the cultural and credibility gap existing between the low-income market and his corporation.²⁹

After careful review of the literature available and considerable work in the field, the author believes that the ideal of assimilation is a hope of all reasonable men. However, it does not seem even possible to expect the Negro market to vanish overnight. The National Association of Market Developers has expressed how this affects advertisers:

In a marketplace that can and often does become an arena where black consumers act on an individual, personal level, many Negroes are inclined, or can be persuaded to favor products or services of those manufacturers who are contributing most to the economic and social well-being of the Negro community. One can expect the

²⁸Kelvin Wall, "Why Products Fail in the Negro Market," Media/Scope, 14:5:56, May, 1970.

²⁹League, p. 170.

black consumer to patronize those companies which show the same appreciation for his dollar as they do for other consumers.³⁰

SPECIALIZED AGENCIES: A DEFINITE NEED

As stated in the Introduction of Chapter I, large general agencies seem to have failed in their attempts to reach this specialized market. It is therefore desirable for leaders in business and advertising to realize the practical need for specialized advertising agencies.

Why They Are Needed

As stated in Chapter I, specialized agencies can serve many purposes--including bridging the communication gap that exists between black Americans and the white community; educating the middle and upper-class whites about the conditions that exist in the inner-city areas of this country, and providing a basic understanding between the segments of the mass audience.

From an economic standpoint, attempting to reach the black market is a challenge that could result in huge profits. "Economically speaking, there is no question that this is a prime-target market to be cultivated."³¹ According to D. Parke Gibson, president of a consultant firm on the national Negro community, the Negro market with its "22-million plus population, represents an important spoke in the wheel of segmented marketing, a concept that continues to gain favor and one that will undoubtedly have a more marked growth for the future."³²

³⁰"Courting the Black Billionaire," p. 82.

³¹James E. Stafford, Al E. Birdwell, and Charles E. Van Tassel, "Integrated Advertising--White Backlash?" Journal of Advertising Research, 10:2:15, April, 1970.

³²D. Parke Gibson, "Advertising And the Dual Society: Challenge of the Seventies," Media/Scope, 13:8:63, August, 1969.

Up to now, large advertising agencies have attempted to reach the Negro market in many ways. However, although the intent "of the advertiser is to establish empathy, Negroes respond primarily with a sense of loneliness and alienation and become uncomfortable."³³ As discussed above, this seems to be due to mass advertising techniques. Instead of having advertisements reflect the Negro life style, a majority of them reflect the white middle-class style and thereby cause frustration and alienation and possible responses not acceptable to the norms of society in general.

It has also been demonstrated that the low-income market presents

formidable barriers to communications. Low-income people are not as verbally oriented as better educated people. Exchanges between inner-city residents include smaller amounts of symbolic linguistic behavior. Arguments proceed by metaphor and anecdote rather than by the principles of logic. And abstractions or generalizations are less frequently relied upon to express an opinion or draw a conclusion. Therefore, communications which depend on subtlety or sophistication are usually ineffective. Concrete language that reflects an intimate knowledge of the inner-city life style is the effective way to talk to the low-income market.³⁴

What is needed is the specialized advertising agency composed of creative personnel who can understand and empathize with their potential audience. This is not to say that general agencies have not created some very effective and creative campaigns. However, they have in effect simply ignored the characteristics of this special market.

Specialized agencies will also generate the needed information that is required about the specialized market. Of course, since the practice of advertising began, three rules have generally been followed: "to advertise to people ready, willing and able to buy; to use the

³³ Kelvin A. Wall, "The Great Waste: Ignoring Blacks," Marketing/Communications, 298:2:47, February, 1970.

³⁴ League, p. 169.

media which reach them; to make advertisements which will win their business."³⁵ However, now a general fourth rule seems to be quite applicable--do the first three things in a socially responsible way. Adding this fourth rule alters the other three to some extent. While the first three rules were concerned only with profits, the fourth adds the dimension of social purpose.³⁶ Hopefully, considerable racial good will be generated with the addition of this fourth rule. It is imperative that business know what the Negro is really like as a consumer and how they can best satisfy his needs and wants.

Specialized agencies can also attempt to explain why products have not succeeded in the Negro market. There needs to be an understanding of consumer "motivation" aside from consumer behavior which can be understood by basic demographics (not by eliminating the concept of race but utilizing it further). However, "Race is important when attempting to understand and explain Negro motivation, and when seeking appropriate communications."³⁷

According to Wall, due to the Negro's isolation, both life style and language patterns have been affected.

These consumers are peer-directed, need-oriented, and mobile-inhibited; and their physical environment is crowded, compact, and colorful. This atmosphere, uniquely racial in color, has great impact on certain key marketing functions, particularly within the area of communications.³⁸

In other words, the content of the communication, its basic form, and the channel or medium have all been influenced by the environment in the black ghetto. Because he is directed by what his peer-group approves of, "advertising directed at it must concentrate on the style,

³⁵ Boyenton, p. 227.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Wall, "Why Products Fail in the Negro Market," p. 56.

³⁸ Ibid.

language, and habits of his group and use models that are familiar."³⁹

Consumer motivation is one of the basic problems in obtaining sales results that are above average. "The failure to develop specialized advertising themes . . . or utilize black media is perhaps the most glaring oversight that major marketers are guilty of."⁴⁰ The agency that would be best equipped to communicate would therefore be the specialized agency--in this case, the agency specializing to the Negro market.

Wall lists six common false assumptions by advertising specialists who are attempting to sell to the Negro market:

(1) "Mass marketing" includes the belief that a single sales proposition can be as effective among minority group consumers as the majority for which it has been established.

(2) The method of sales communications (including the use of models, abstractions, or "hard" or "soft" sell) can always be blended into an effective ad or advertising strategy, promotional piece, or program for various consumers of different racial backgrounds.

(3) The effectiveness of a given commercial will not vary with consumers of different educational backgrounds or income levels.

(4) Social isolation won't limit the effectiveness of an advertising or promotional program.

(5) Negro consumers will respond and empathize equally well to mass media and special media.

(6) A mass advertising program, geared to large groups of people, can be as effective as a specialized program geared to the needs of a given segment.⁴¹

Specialized advertising agencies are needed to develop persuasive communications (advertising messages and messages of social importance) that will not include the assumptions mentioned above. Because of these false assumptions, the communications "gap" which which has existed for years between Negroes and whites has widened.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 61.

More specialized agencies maintain a staff of specialists--specialists ready to communicate with the Negro market. As Kenneth Wilson has said:

All I am saying to the advertising community is that here is an opportunity and a challenge for you to communicate your message to a discriminating, sophisticated kind of audience within a general population which I have special empathy with.⁴²

Creative Approaches

The need for specialized agencies has been established. However, the problem that lies ahead is determining the correct type or approaches to utilize to create successful and effective advertisements for the black community.

One fallacy must be attended to immediately. It has been feared that advertising to various segments of the mass audience will produce more polarization among the races. However, as explained by D. Parke Gibson, "Customer-oriented programs aimed at Negro consumers are not segregation in reverse but simply provide the Negro with what he wants--recognition."⁴³ Governmental agencies have supported the idea that segregated advertisements are wrong and should be replaced with integrated advertising.

Another fallacy involves beliefs that people have concerning integrated advertising.

A problem is that the advertiser has not been able to forget that the white market is about ten times as large as the Negro market. The biggest fear to date has been that 'integrated' campaigns, designed to increase the satisfaction of the Negro market, may alienate large sections of the white market. In other words, the attempt to appeal to two distinct market segments in one advertisement

⁴²"Black Is Beautiful But Maybe Not Profitable," p. 33.

⁴³Gibson, The \$30 Billion Negro, p. 12.

may result in a form of 'backlash' on the part of whites.⁴⁴ This has been shown to be false. Stafford conducted experiments utilizing integrated advertisements and concluded that whites are generally indifferent to well-conceived integrated advertisements.⁴⁵

What the advertising agency must determine is which type(s) of advertising campaign will "do the job" that is required to successfully sell an idea. The ideal in advertising would be to create one campaign that would have equally high influence in all markets. "Unfortunately, in our society today this is just not possible, yet there are those in advertising who would have you believe this can be successfully achieved."⁴⁶

Therefore, the question is how do you sell goods and services to the large, white population, practice social responsibility to help end polarization (in media that are oriented primarily to whites), and obtain a share of the growing Negro consumer market? This has been attempted through the creation of three different types of advertising: integrated advertising, Negro-oriented advertising and white-oriented advertising. Although this present study is concerned primarily with Negro-oriented advertising and the specialized agencies that create these advertisements, it is important to realize how white-oriented and integrated advertising affect Negro-oriented advertising.

White-oriented advertising. Since white Americans make up approximately 80 per cent of the total population, most advertising efforts will naturally be devoted to selling this market. Some campaigns will appear in white media intended exclusively for whites.

⁴⁴ Stafford, loc. cit.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 20.

⁴⁶ Gibson, "Advertising And the Dual Society: Challenge of the Seventies," p. 62.

This is the one type of campaign that probably will not change in the near future.

Integrated advertising. Advertisers finally began to realize that minority group participation was non-existent. In effect, the minority group played an "invisible" role. According to Gibson, to the non-white viewer the "All-American" image in television and print advertisements was basically white. Since it is accepted that the majority of Americans are white, it was felt that their attitudes could be changed toward minority groups--and this could be accomplished through advertising.

Integrated advertising was brought about because it was felt that the exclusion of identifiable minority group members caused advertising to be less than reflective of the position of minority groups in American life.

It was determined that many of the problems of the society, and those existing in disadvantaged communities, were traceable in part to a conditioned response on the part of both whites and blacks to the majority of advertising, which exerts an influence on how Americans think and behave.⁴⁷

As noted, advertisers were afraid to enter the field of integrated advertisements. They held the erroneous belief that whites would reject these advertisements and sales would decrease in the white community.⁴⁸ This was shown to be false. According to Kelvin Wall, as advertising moves in the direction of integration of whites and Negroes, "the risks of offense prove to be greater than when no people at all are shown."⁴⁹ This could be overcome quite simply but advertising personnel have not created the correct images in their campaigns. Basic creation of a credible integrated setting is an area where they

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 62-63.

⁴⁸ Stafford, p. 15.

⁴⁹ Wall, "The Great Waste: Ignoring Blacks," pp. 42-44.

have continually failed. If an integrated advertisement generates a negative attitude among whites toward the product, company and the advertisement itself, then the original objective of the campaign would be in jeopardy. Also, it has been shown that "The problem is usually not how whites will react to the scene but how blacks will respond."⁵⁰ Under these circumstances, Wall suggests that either advertisers learn how to present Negroes and whites in an integrated scene or else they might simply show the product in an advertisement using absolutely no people--only the product.

Negroes are not as comfortable with advertisements that zero-in on social, business and status interactions. They are very sensitive about how they are portrayed in such settings. "Is the inclusion of blacks mere token recognition on behalf of white commercialism? And even if the situation is realistic, does it inadvertently downgrade the Negro's role?"⁵¹

From general observation, it seems to be tokenism on the part of many of the large advertisers. This is due to the fact that, while they are becoming more common, most integrated scenes are considered worn and trite by both blacks and whites.

Integrated advertising must use realistic settings and believable situations. For instance, an ad which showed Negroes and whites fishing together off the shores of an exclusive beach resort, drew cries of 'phony' from both groups. And, not surprisingly, advertisers have found that the best way to lose Negro customers is to stereotype Negroes as grinning shoe-shine boys, valets, or oldtime Southern mammies.⁵²

"Face-to-face integration carries the most impact, for it confronts the issue squarely."⁵³ In advertisements of this type, one will find a

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 44.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²"Ad Men Straddle Color Line," p. 12.

⁵³Ibid.

single Negro model and a single white relating directly to each other, or a Negro mother and child interacting directly with white counterparts. "Integration at an interpersonal or intimate level can produce a sense of apparent sharing, of equality in life styles and values. . . . The critical aspect is the ability of the viewer to project himself into the situation."⁵⁴

Integrated advertising can do the "public-relations job for which it was intended--to change the image of the Negro in America, or . . . primarily to make this change in the minds of white Americans."⁵⁵ However, as it is now placed and because most of it appears in white-media only, Negroes are never really in contact with it and therefore it cannot do a completely successful job.

Another major fault concerns the selection of lead parts for whites only and minor secondary roles for Negroes. The Negro therefore never gets to act in the dominant role in these integrated advertisements. Some change has been brought about in this, however, through the work of Human Rights Commissions plus CORE and the NAACP. Civil rights groups had developed a double purpose in their original campaign for integration in advertising. First, they wanted to make the white world acknowledge the existence of the black man. Second, they hoped that showing the Negro his own image mirrored in the commercial world would give him more hope and pride in himself.⁵⁶

Studies to date concerning the effect of integrated advertising have not revealed any spectacular results for or against this type of campaign.⁵⁷ (As was shown by Stafford, Birdwell and Van Tassel.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 50.

⁵⁵Gibson, The \$30 Billion Negro, p. 162.

⁵⁶"Ad Men Straddle Color Line," p. 12.

⁵⁷Stafford, p. 20.

See Footnote 45.) Also, little evidence has been gathered concerning sales gains or losses by companies that have adopted integrated advertising campaigns. It has also been determined that it is too early to detect if the majority of Americans have had basic attitudes or behavior patterns changed toward minority groups because of the inclusion of minorities in advertising campaigns.⁵⁸

Negro-oriented advertising. Of the two major advertising strategies aimed at the Negro market, advertisers at first chose to direct messages toward whites under the basic assumption that Negroes would be reached at the same time.

The more recent strategy has been to treat Negroes and whites as separate markets, using different media, illustration, and copy to reach them. Intuition, plus general socio-economic research describing differences in the faces and how they live--not how they consume or specifically, how they perceive advertising--were the bases for these decisions.⁵⁹

As stated previously, more attention and emphasis is being focused on "how they consume" and "how they perceive advertising." Specialized agencies and specialized market research firms are working together to reach this market and communicate with them successfully through Negro-oriented media.

According to Raymond League, one factor that must not be overlooked by business is that

Black-oriented advertisements (black models, the Negro press) aren't regarded as white-oriented promotions are--as messages from the outside. They're looked up to as communiques from a company that sees fit to include the black reader as part of the overall society. A separate part, to be sure. But a part worthy of recognition . . . black-oriented advertising is more effective in the black communities. It dispels any doubts in the mind of the

⁵⁸Gibson, "Advertising And the Dual Society: Challenge of the Seventies," p. 63.

⁵⁹Stafford, p. 15.

black reader that the invitation to buy is extended to him. Therefore, it becomes more believable, more persuasive, more convincing.⁶⁰

It seems that generalized advertising agencies never accepted the fact that a Negro market existed because they never really utilized or employed the personnel who knew what it was all about. Most of their decisions have been based upon the view that the Negro market can be reached with a particular selection of media, or the substitution of a Negro market for a white market. Possibly it never occurred to agencies that there is a need for special creativity in copy, layout, in the use of products and in the type of marketing utilized.⁶¹

Negro-oriented advertising can take various forms, and there is a wide range of media available, including Negro-oriented newspapers, radio stations, magazines, supplements, outdoor billboards, Negro-patron movie theaters, and all can provide the identification necessary to sell effectively to Negro consumers.⁶²

Besides having a complete range of media available for communicating the message, the unique characteristics of this market offer the creative specialist an opportunity to "formulate highly specific, highly effective messages. Razor-sharp visuals. Concrete inner-city language. Concepts that don't have to be diluted like those aimed at mass audiences."⁶³

Basic appeals and selling messages will have to be tested and evaluated quite carefully. These advertising appeals will have to reflect the Negro's socio-economic position (which is constantly being upgraded) and basically broader intellectual interests. Another factor to consider will be newly achieved affluence. The Negro will probably

⁶⁰ League, "The Challenges of the Negro Market," p. 168.

⁶¹ "Black Is Beautiful But Maybe Not Profitable," p. 31.

⁶² Gibson, The \$30 Billion Negro, p. 179.

⁶³ Raymond A. League, "Be Subjective in Evaluating Negro Media," Media/Scope, 13:8:19, August, 1969.

rely less on brand or status purchases and instead become extremely price and quality conscious. This can all be related to recent-past history--during which time there has been extreme economic exploitation of the Negro in the inner-city area. Many whites and blacks, who owned businesses in this area of the city, capitalized on the "lack of freedom" of the Negro community. Because of his inability to leave the area, the Negro was forced to pay exorbitant prices for most products. Now as blacks learn about economics and their own wealth increases, they will become interested in the quality of a product rather than the "status" position a certain material object might have held previously. The black will travel outside of his neighborhood to fight exploitation or until there are more newly owned black businesses within the community that will not exploit them. Status and brand-name buying will become secondary as integration of the black into the mainstream of society accelerates. These status symbols will no longer be required for reinforcement of former insecurities.

A very critical problem involves actual choice of Negro models to be featured in these specially created advertisements. Choice of models can be just as crucial as choice of settings. Just as some settings may be rejected as not reflecting the true life-style of today's black, skin shades present the same type of problem.

You've undoubtedly heard of the identity crisis. One of its subtler ramifications is that there is little consensus among Negroes as to which Negro characteristics are desirable and which are not. Care must be taken in the presentation of Negro models, because there are fewer idealized or standard types of person for Negroes to identify with than in the more clearly structured white society. Negroes apparently prefer to see models representing a spectrum of Negro skin shades, but would rather not see models who are coal black or almost white.⁶⁴

In line with model choice, it is important to consider the use of males appearing as head of the household. Blacks seem to be unusually

⁶⁴Wall, "The Great Waste: Ignoring Blacks," p. 44.

receptive to advertising that depicts the male as being unusually stable, loving and proud of his home, wife and children.⁶⁵

For many advertisers and their agencies, the Negro-oriented campaign represents a totally new opportunity not only for increasing their profits but also performing a task of social responsibility.

Census figures have shown that a larger percentage of Americans, both black and white, are under the age of 30. Youth has a lot in common whether black or white: the sense of alienation from their family and their country, the feeling of isolation and that of being misunderstood.

Therefore, there is a need for all three types of advertising campaigns until the time arrives when all segmented markets are regarded as a "whole" market. Until the age of togetherness becomes reality, advertisers and agencies could be using one or more of the three creative advertising techniques in order to reach all markets.

One final problem deserves consideration. Are companies beginning to give money to advertising agencies specializing in reaching the Negro market as a matter of tokenism? And if it is tokenism, haven't they realized the great potential of this untouched market? As will be discussed in the following section, companies are now trying to prove that they recognize the existence of a black market, yet, on the other hand, agencies have generally been hamstrung by not receiving enough money to operate profitably and provide a thorough advertising campaign for the advertiser. This problem will hopefully be resolved when the advertiser accepts the fact that the black market exists and that his dollars won't be wasted if invested in specialized agencies.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 47.

SPECIALIZED AGENCIES:
RESOLUTION OF
SOCIAL PROBLEMS

It is known and understood that advertising agencies are in business for profits. In the author's opinion, when specialized agencies came along they added a social responsibility clause to this definition. Hopefully man can realize the tremendous influence that advertising has upon all Americans. Some have called it brainwashing while others have labeled it a senseless waste of time and money. However, it is possible to accept the idea of profits and social responsibility when considering specialized agencies. According to Kelvin Wall, "Advertising is a significant enough element in American life to have an effect as a unifying force. It follows that it can also be an instrument of division and alienation. These feelings already plague many black Americans."⁶⁶

According to Raymond League, "Though advertisers have traditionally assumed that they could divorce themselves from the nation's social issues, the Negro revolution proved otherwise."⁶⁷ As noted, economic boycotts and numerous meetings held and sponsored by Negro organizations forced advertisers to realize the importance of the black community. What they were searching for was additional identity and recognition in order to break from past historical "slavery" and segregation and be recognized as Americans. There were years when the cities faced troublesome riots and lootings, sit-ins and sit-downs, all for the simple cause of recognition.

But looking at the mass media and their usual practices, according to Thomas H. Allen, one can easily comprehend why they felt a need for these disturbances. "If the channels of communication to

⁶⁶Wall, "The Great Waste: Ignoring Blacks," p. 50.

⁶⁷Boynton, "The Negro Turns to Advertising," p. 227.

and from the isolated Negro ghetto could be opened the tendency to riot could be lessened."⁶⁸ The mass media do little to stabilize ghetto society and may even serve as an indirect cause of racial discontent. Consider what appears on the mass media. Ghetto residents are made "more aware of a materially rich middle class world and hence it accelerates their demands for a higher standard of living."⁶⁹ This is a "normal" reaction on the part of most human beings. But what happens when an individual has additional barriers to overcome? How does he reach his goal--disturbance, riots, looting, killing.

There are still other problems to consider. One cannot solve problems by just showing one or two Negro faces in a commercial or network program. In fact it may add to the confusion, especially when one portrays the Negro "incorrectly" in an advertisement or in a show. Attempts must be made to understand the plight of the Negro by understanding his attitudes and motivations. "Empathy" may be the key for advertising agencies and for the rest of society.

Understanding urban unrest requires an understanding of the attitudes of low-income people toward the world outside of their communities. To the inner-city dweller, the outside is not only a place he can't afford to live in; it's a place he's reluctant to visit. It's hostile. It's populated by 'them.' And 'we' low-income people don't trust 'them.' These attitudes, which reflect the lack of effective participation and integration of the poor in the major institutions of society, are among the most salient characteristics of the low-income culture.⁷⁰

It would be hard for many whites to imagine what it is like to be a Negro or in another minority group. "Since white-oriented media reflect the market for which they are intended--which has meant the exclusion of the Negro--it is logical, then, that attitudes toward the

⁶⁸Thomas H. Allen, "Mass Media Use Patterns in a Negro Ghetto," Journalism Quarterly, 45:525, Summer, 1968.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 527.

⁷⁰League, "The Challenges of the Negro Market," p. 168.

Negro be changed first, through change in the image."⁷¹ In other words, a change in the "stereotyped" Negro is required in order to promote a correct image of today's black citizen.

One of the largest government sponsored campaigns during the past few years has dealt with "fair housing" practices and open housing for all Americans. Most blacks have inferiority complexes or feel a lack of status because of the life they have been forced to lead.⁷² What happens to the black family that moves into a totally white neighborhood? There may be an immediate feeling of alienation and hatred on the part of the black man toward his neighbors. They are not speaking to him and have not attempted to communicate with him in any way. He is treated like an "outsider."

Although this may not always be the case--the situation might exist where the neighborhood is generally unfriendly to begin with and life for these people consists of status-oriented cliques--the black must be taught to accept and learn about the world outside the ghetto, where he may have lived for most of his life. Likewise, the white world must learn about the inferiority complex that the black man harbors due to prior experiences. This can all be aided by advertising personnel who empathize with the black community and who desire to end racial strife. Therefore, it follows that the specialized agency is equipped to handle a problem of this type. Most of the personnel in specialized agencies have lived in the inner-city for a part of their lives and can empathize to some degree with the people who are still there and those attempting to break the bonds.

Lack of sufficient funds provided by the advertiser for the specialized agency has caused some problems. These agencies are receiving funds that limit both their success and the success of the

⁷¹Gibson, The \$30 Billion Negro, p. 167.

⁷²"Ad Men Straddle Color Line," p. 12.

advertising campaign that they create. Due to the lack of money, most advertising has not appeared in the Negro-oriented media and this in turn affects the success of various media. According to W. Leonard Evans Jr., president and editor of Tuesday, agencies may be one of the biggest stumbling blocks to the economic, social, and political development of the black community. Without their support, "we have lacked what I call the truly national tool of communication with each other."

Do you realize that there are 24 million people in this country, and we have no uniform way to speak to them? We have 200 Negro newspapers, all with a different editorial policy. We don't have one national column, we don't have one national way we can reach everybody speaking out of the same word. The result is that the papers, the media themselves, have not developed because they haven't had the economic support which they are entitled to because of what they represent.⁷³

Generalized agencies have not placed national or local advertising with the black media for fear of losing a client.⁷⁴ This has also occurred because some agencies or advertisers have not recognized the special market that exists. In the author's opinion, blacks therefore face a communications "gap" because their own media do not carry messages to aid them in coping with daily existence. Specialized agencies have the ability and knowledge to challenge the current system and "close" the gap that is present.

D. Parke Gibson Associates, Inc., a consultant firm on the Negro national community, demonstrated how specialized agencies can aid in the improvement of the Negro market:

A program which we undertook in behalf of the New York Blood Center was to involve media support to begin changing attitudes in the Negro community toward blood donation.

The Blood Center faced a problem in that Negroes were 'under-donors' of blood. Partly the problem existed because of a lack of

⁷³"Black Is Beautiful But Maybe Not Profitable," p. 37.

⁷⁴Wall, "The Great Waste: Ignoring Blacks," p. 43.

communications with the Negro community and partly because there were remaining fears of blood donation based on true experiences of discrimination in what happened to Negro blood during World War II, combined with old-wives' tales.⁷⁵

As a specialized agency they will be able to pinpoint these as the problems and then deal with them. According to Gibson it is too early to determine the total effects of the above campaign. How well public relations and advertising helps to bridge the communications gap between business and the Negro community can determine the basic course of race relations in the years ahead. "How well we understand the problems of the Negro community (which are causes of riots) and interpret them to management will help determine the policy and course of action to be taken."⁷⁶

Profits may be a key word, but responsibility to people presents an even greater challenge.

USAGE OF BLACK MEDIA

What media should be utilized to best reach this market? No matter if the agency is general or black-oriented, the biggest challenge has always been to decide upon the most effective media mix for "zeroing in on the overall Negro market or any of its segments."⁷⁷

Negro-oriented media offer communication with the Negro market, and their use gives messages conviction and believability that usually cannot be achieved in any other media. White-oriented media continue to ignore vital dimensions in the lives of nonwhite Americans, and almost without exception these media talk about Negroes and not to them.⁷⁸

Because of previous experiences, Negroes have had to tune out or

⁷⁵Gibson, The \$30 Billion Negro, p. 157.

⁷⁶"Black Man on Madison Avenue," p. 66.

⁷⁷Ibid.

⁷⁸"Courting the Black Billionaire," p. 149.

make adjustments as they read, see or hear media that are not truly oriented to their basic interests or lives. As has been shown, most of the commercial messages that have been created were not meant for them--they heard themselves referred to, not talked to directly. "Negro-oriented media talk to Negroes, and thus no adjustment is required as they participate in this media involvement . . . media are also 'messages in themselves' to the millions of Americans who are not white."⁷⁹

The basic inference is that while the Negro is not really reached effectively through general advertising media, he can be reached by advertising placed in media designed specifically for Negroes.

But which medium is the most effective? According to media research and individuals who specialize in the Negro market, radio is the medium that works. According to Junius Edwards, president of a black-oriented agency:

Radio in a sense is the black man's medium. There are now many black radio stations--over 500--and . . . in 1960 there were only 60. At present there's a black station in almost every community in the country. . . . Negroes have rediscovered radio. And white people are coming right along with them. For example, there's a black station up in Harlem, WLIB-FM, that's listened to mostly by whites. They just like the music.⁸⁰

Negroes have "rediscovered radio." It is by far the easiest medium for them to identify with. They may hear their one special disc jockey (with the identifiable Negro voice) or news of the area will be featured along with gossip. This is their station, their type of music and something completely Negro or black. It used to be a station that would only broadcast the gospel, and specialize in sermonettes. The most important factor in reaching the black market, particularly in the South, is the local radio station. "That's because the

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 151.

⁸⁰"Black Man on Madison Avenue," p. 71.

black market is less homogeneous than the white--there are more local differences, and the best way to zero in on one segment of that market is through the radio."⁸¹

Television is a completely different situation. There seem to be no black stations and likewise very little exclusive black programming on white stations. The reason may possibly be a lack of funds or a lack of channels.

It still may be difficult to choose which media will best carry the message to the consumer. The media buyer of any agency must rely on various types of information that are available to him. However, if the media executive relies solely upon his middle-class background, he is "handicapped when faced with the problem of reaching low-income groups, including the black market."⁸² As noted above, the middle-class life style is entirely different from the black or low-income life style.

What's more, the media man can't rely on the usual sources to help him narrow his information gap. Most media research focuses on middle-and upper-income people. Simmons and Brand Rating Index are just beginning to research ethnic media, and Nielson TV research still doesn't provide demographics by race.⁸³

Raymond League, president of Zebra Associates, Inc. suggests that:

Any TV commercial broadcast through the top 78 network outlets or aimed at the top 50 spot-TV markets is reaching areas where Negroes make up a considerable percentage of the population. Now add to these facts another fact: Black people own 20 per cent of the television sets. Significance? Whether the TV advertiser realizes it or not, at least 20 per cent of his budget is being spent in the Negro market.⁸⁴

⁸¹"The Black Market," Chain Store Age, May, 1970, p. 126.

⁸²League, "Be Subjective In Evaluating Negro Media," p. 18.

⁸³Ibid., p. 18.

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 19.

The only problem with this is that television commercials are created to appeal to 80 per cent of the audience--which is composed of the white middle-class and above viewer. What is portrayed in these commercials is familiar to whites and they sell to whites and not blacks. Result: the product is not effectively sold in the Negro market. "Blacks look primarily for advertising to tell them about products. But Blacks have little in common with the blonde lady selling steak sauce while she fusses over a barbecue pit."⁸⁵

It would seem quite profitable to add black media to make the work of commercials more effective among the 20 per cent of the audience that is not affected by the messages aimed at white audiences. Black media-newspapers, magazines and broadcast, particularly radio are likely to be more believable to that 20 per cent.

. . . in using these media, dramatize, educate, and explain with believable copy in terms meaningful to Blacks. Such strategy not only sells the Negro market in its own publications, but it also prepares Blacks to understand better and accept the premises of white-oriented television.⁸⁶

Therefore, when an agency is attempting to reach the Negro market, it can't simply think in terms of what one individual medium can do; agencies must consider how all media can effectively work together. This is a well known fact to most media buyers, but now they have the opportunity to include all the subgroups within the masses. Raymond League believes that it is important to "consider how Negro media can improve the effectiveness of your total advertising effort."⁸⁷ For agencies that do not specialize in reaching the black market and for those that are specializing but maintain generalized accounts,

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

if Negro media is used properly it can and will increase the effectiveness of the agency's overall advertising efforts.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ Ibid.

Chapter III

ZEBRA ASSOCIATES, INC. ADVERTISING

INTRODUCTION

Your community is **white**
Your life style is **white**
Your experiences are **white**
Your values are **white**
Your attitudes are **white**
Your language is **white**
23,000,000 American consumers are **black**¹

Unique. Direct attack. Zebra Associates, Inc. --a unique specialized advertising agency. Why did they choose the name Zebra? Simple:

As our name suggests, Zebra is completely integrated. Our staff includes people who have created advertising campaigns for both special and mass markets--and people who have planned and implemented marketing programs for both special and mass markets. And incidentally, our people come in two colors--black and white.

The stripes in Zebra--the account team, the creative staff, the marketing experts and the administrators--are professionals in every sense of the word.²

Zebra is owned and managed by black principals--the staff is black and white. They create advertisements aimed specifically for the Negro audience and Spanish audience. They have to work hard in the advertising

¹Advertisement created by Zebra Associates, Inc., Advertising for promotional purposes.

²A Press Release from Zebra's promotional packet entitled: "Why We Are . . . What We Are . . . Who We Are."

business because of the stiff competition that is provided by other agencies. They speak several "languages" fluently--including inner-city and marketing. And they offer their blend of skills to both advertising agencies and clients--to any business (large or small) that wants to reach the Negro or black market or the low-income market in general. This chapter is about Zebra: Who they are, what they are, what they are doing and hope to be doing in the future and how they have attempted to reach their goals.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Zebra didn't just happen overnight. It took several years of careful thought and planning and then it became reality when someone suggested that it might be a feasible business opportunity. It was difficult to employ a staff--any new agency runs into this problem. Not only was it a new-born agency but it was an agency that had a dual set of goals: profit plus communication. Hard working people are easy to find; but in this case they needed additional qualifications--the ability to empathize with the low-income market, particularly the black market.

When, How, and Why

Zebra opened its doors in May of 1969. Raymond A. League, president, saw the need for an agency like Zebra during the time he was employed by J. Walter Thompson, the world's largest advertising agency. At Thompson he was not only asked to perform his regular duties--as producer of television commercials or as an account man--but he also had to act as a consultant on anything that pertained to black people. League said that he "felt that if an agency as large as J. Walter Thompson needed someone to give them some kind of guidance or expertise in this field, then there certainly was a need for an agency that specialized in these kinds of services."³

³Statement by Raymond A. League, interview, December 23, 1970.

During this time, a president of another large advertising agency approached League with the idea of setting up an agency that would specialize in ethnic advertising and marketing. It fell through but the idea was implanted within League's mind. In the next few months, League's ideas were put on paper and his partner, Joan Murray, became part of the revolutionary agency.

The past few years, economically speaking, have been hard on just about everyone. It was especially difficult to obtain financial backing for a venture of this sort. However, League and Miss Murray gathered capital: their own savings, a loan from the Venture Capital division of First National City Bank, and a special investment from a multi-millionaire who chooses to remain anonymous. They had made it--possibly because their idea of a full-service agency that would create advertisements for the ethnic market was unique and sorely needed.

League outlined the purposes of Zebra. Was it purely commercial or did he see the need for communicating with the ethnic market?

It was both. I don't believe that black people can achieve anything for other blacks in the community, unless they have some money to do it with. Small black-owned companies would come to Thompson and ask them to do some advertising work--they would have a budget of maybe a thousand dollars for the year and Thompson wouldn't take them, and no other agency would, either.

One of the things that we felt we would do would be to try to service small black owned companies or Spanish-speaking companies and do advertising geared to their markets, usually not even city-wide but local, local to the extent that it's the few blocks that cover their area. Not only did these small businesses need our help, but the people in the community also needed us.⁴

Zebra is communicating with the inner-city areas and also helping to build them up. A major problem in the ghetto area of most large cities has been keeping money "in" the ghetto area. Most businesses are owned by outsiders and capital flows from local residents' pockets to

⁴Ibid.

individuals who live outside the ghetto. Rebuilding is therefore quite difficult unless money remains within the ghetto area. Zebra is attempting to help by promoting small businesses within the ghetto that are black owned.

More Facts

At its opening Zebra had three accounts but not even one "hip-pocket" account (accounts brought to an agency by personnel who worked on a particular account at their old agency) and therefore had some immediate billings. Now they are rapidly approaching \$4 million in actual billings.

A unique feature of Zebra is the method utilized when attempting to put together either a presentation for a potential client or a campaign for an established client. League employs what he calls "think sessions." It seems to be analogous with the "think tank" concept. During one of these sessions, the entire staff--including secretaries, trainees, just about everybody--enters the conference room. League announces that Zebra has a new client or a potential client, for example the Coca Cola Company, and they are interested in communicating or reaching or selling more soft drinks to black consumers.

I go around the room, and make everybody expound upon their theories. It's interesting, because the staff that we have here is really a true cross-section of people. We have people who live at 146th Street and Lennox Avenue, people who live in the heart of Bedford-Stuyvesant, some from Darien, Connecticut, from the east side of New York who have apartments plus country homes. . . . And yet when they come into these doors it's really like a family. The loyalty of everybody here is unbelievable. The thing that frightens me is that if we grow, I wonder how much of this we will lose. I'm sure, however, that it's the closest thing to a family situation that you can find in the business.⁵

Both blacks and whites are working together--like a "family"--

⁵Ibid.

attempting to communicate with the inner-city dwellers. Not only do they attempt to empathize with the audience but with each other. Everyone is sincerely interested that the message will reach the black man. They hope that the black man is going to appreciate the fact that here is an advertiser who is saying something especially for him.

Zebra's Personnel

Professionals who also carry with them a personal conviction--reaching the inner-city market. They are black and white and their backgrounds are varied. They have proved that they are professional by holding positions of authority with J. Walter Thompson, Young & Rubicam, the Marschalk Company, Ebony magazine, and the Columbia Broadcasting System. They've also worked for an impressive list of national advertisers, including RCA, Burlington Industries, Fresca, Time Magazine, Kraft Foods, Chrysler Corporation, and WCBS-TV.

As stated above, creating an agency that was equipped to communicate with the low-income market was the idea of Raymond A. League, president and chief executive officer of Zebra Associates.

League's career in advertising includes supervisory positions in both the administrative and creative areas. He served as an account executive at J. Walter Thompson, Inc. on the RCA Sales Corporation account. Prior to that, he was a television producer for Thompson. He produced numerous commercials for J. Walter Thompson. A two-minute Listerine commercial that he produced received the Venice Film Festival Award in 1966. He is also credited with reorganizing Thompson's television production facilities in Tokyo.

His diversified background also includes theatrical work. In 1966, he produced "A Sound of Silence," which won an award for the best off-Broadway play of the season. He also is co-author of the play "Aunt Carrie." League completed his education at Howard University and was graduated with a degree in psychology.

Raymond League's life follows in the old "rags-to-riches" line. Now, he is helping people who live the way he used to--in the inner-city jungle.

Miss Joan Murray, Zebra's executive vice-president, has the unique distinction of being this country's first and major black television news correspondent. Besides fulfilling her duties as vice-president at Zebra, she has been a television news correspondent on WCBS-TV. Currently she is co-hostess with WCBS-TV News Correspondent Jim Jensen of "Opportunity Line," a series aimed at helping viewers find employment in New York and New Jersey.

She is moderator of a radio talk show, has had several books published, has won numerous awards--one of the Foremost Women in Communications (1969-1970), the Mademoiselle Award for Outstanding Achievement in 1969, the New York Urban League's Certificate of Merit, the Mary McLeod Bethune Achievement Award from the National Council of Negro Women, in addition to many others.

Both officers are highly successful and seek to make Zebra become even more diversified. They want Zebra to enter various areas of communication in order to close the gap that exists between the inner-city areas and the rest of white America.

The employees of Zebra are also unique. Unique from the standpoint that they all have the same desire in common--to communicate with and aid the black city resident. In a recent news release from Zebra several new creative heads were named. "Zebra Associates, Inc., hasn't changed her stripes, but they have been altered." Altered for more successful creative work. Michael Randazzo, art director, and Caroline Jones, copywriter, have recently been appointed Co-Creative Directors. Randazzo was a designer-art director with a design firm and Miss Jones is a five and one-half year veteran of J. Walter Thompson.

Zebra Associates is composed of personnel that are wealthy while

some are poor. Some are hired directly from the ghetto areas. For example, nine high school dropouts have been employed, some subsidized by the government, and several have stayed on the job and become regular employees.

They have varied backgrounds--usually the same starting point--with an overabundance of creativity that is being used to reach the inner-city resident. They desire to talk directly to the black community and respond, knowing that their response will be correct for the inner-city areas. In other words, Zebra's personnel are attempting to provide the inner-city resident with one thing that he desires very much--recognition.

ACCOUNTS: PAST AND PRESENT

Zebra serves the small black businessman and the large white corporations. Some of their past and present clients have included Le Mans, a men's clothing store; Polaroid Corporation, manufacturers of the Polaroid camera and accessories; the U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD); the United Negro College Fund; First National City Bank; Coca Cola Bottling Company of New York; the Bowery Savings Bank; Crown Textile Manufacturing; the Bronx Zoo; Harlem Prep, sponsored by Standard Oil of New Jersey; Ethiopian Airlines; Liggett & Meyers, and others.

The list of clients is varied and there are a variety of purposes connected with these advertisers. Le Mans is a small men's clothing store and according to Raymond League,

This account is a labor of love. It fits in with our policy of helping and encouraging minority entrepreneurship. We feel that this kind of effort is not only something we should do, but it's a big plus for Zebra. It gives our staff community involvement, gets them into the field for continued experience in communicating with, and for, minorities.⁶

⁶Press Release, Zebra Associates, Inc., Advertising, June 19, 1969.

Zebra handles Polaroid's advertising for the black market while the general agency for this account is Doyle Dane & Bernbach. At the start, both newspaper and radio commercials were used and now Zebra is producing a television show for Polaroid three times each year. One account, First National City Bank, also acted as a financial backer for Zebra. When League learned of Zebra's appointment to the account, he said, "It's very nice to have a Bank account to go with your bank account."⁷ Coca Cola Bottling Company of New York has been reaching the inner-city resident by way of specially produced television shows entitled: "Rappin' on the Roof." These shows have been called highly creative and have received excellent ratings in Variety. For Harlem Prep, Zebra has produced a film while for Liggett & Meyers, Zebra handles only special projects.

Each account or client needs a slightly different approach and this is what is usually thrashed over during the "think sessions."

FUTURE PLANS

Zebra has accounts, as mentioned above, which are national while some are local. But according to League, they are far from their final goals. As to future plans and goals, League said:

I have mixed feelings. First, I want to bring in more business. I would like to train more bright black youngsters who have potential for this industry, to train them so that they can realize it really isn't a totally hopeless situation out there.⁸

League also points out the void of black television programming. Zebra has now produced television specials for Coca Cola and Polaroid aimed at blacks and the Spanish market. It now looks as if they will be going into the area of television programming. "We're trying to get ready

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Statement by Raymond A. League, personal interview, December 23, 1970.

to set up a subsidiary to Zebra which will be a company that will be involved primarily with nothing but television and film work."⁹

As noted, television programming at the present time is almost void of black-oriented shows. This is another example of how a specialized agency can successfully communicate with the black audience. And Zebra Associates is the first to attempt it.

There is one factor that is not aiding the formation of definite future plans--lack of money. As stated in Chapter II, much of the advertising that is placed by specialized agencies is due to tokenism. For example, Zebra has been producing the Coca Cola "Rappin' on the Roof" show. According to League,

We do a one hour Coke show, and we're given the amount of money to do a one hour tv show with six commercials in it for the price that Coca Cola pays to get one regular commercial produced. However, we gladly take it because it gives us an opportunity to show that although we're getting pennies, we can still produce something that's worthwhile.¹⁰

Zebra has also presented the "Rappin'" films in several New York City Public Schools. The success of this advertising campaign for Coca Cola is demonstrated in the next section where samples of correspondence concerning the campaign from Zebra and school administrators have been included.

However, all of the creative work has not changed the attitudes of most large advertisers. "We're still a black agency and there still are doubts. . . . And I'm not invited to the golf club with the president of these companies, and that's where these deals are made. You know that."¹¹

Ultimately, in a free enterprise economy, the companies that will succeed in the '70s are those agencies that produce the best

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid.

creative work and that prove that they are reaching their market.

SAMPLES OF CREATIVITY

One of the ways to judge the effectiveness of any agency's work is by examining what they have created. ~~On the following pages are~~ samples of what Zebra has created. Advertisements for the following accounts have been included: Harlem Prep (Plate 2), the Bowery Savings Bank (Plates 3 and 4), Polaroid (Plates 5, 6, 7, and 8), and Coca Cola (Plates 10, 11, 12, 13). Radio commercials have been included for: Polaroid (Plate 14), voter registration (Plate 15), and the Bowery Savings Bank (Plates 16 and 17).

The first print advertisement is an expression of Zebra's desire for peace on earth. It has received tremendous publicity in Time Magazine and on several television shows. The ironic twist is that Mother Brown, who is featured in the ad, died several weeks after the advertisement appeared--although what she had desired had not been accomplished.

After careful examination of both the art and copy, it is easy to conclude that Zebra's personnel are masters in using inner-city language. (See Appendix for a sample Rationale that was prepared for the Polaroid Corporation.)

PLATE I



Mother Brown
has survived
the Civil War, the
Spanish-American War,
World War I,
World War II,
the Korean War, and
the Vietnam War.

We hope
Mother Brown
lives long enough
to see peace.
But time
is running out.
Mother Brown
is 116 years old.



**Where the
tuned-out tune in.**
**"Step By Step-The Story of
Harlem Prep"**

A film essay on New York's unique second-chance high school.

Presented by Standard Oil Company (New Jersey)

Produced by Kurt Lassen for Zebra Associates, Inc.

A Film By Gary Keys

Executive Producer - Raymond A. League

Sunday 5:30 P.M. April 18



For a copy of **Mojo Logo**, a booklet on Harlem Prep, write to Harlem Prep,
2536 Eighth Avenue New York, N.Y. 10008

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

PLATE 3



What's The Bowery Savings Bank doing at 145th St. & St. Nicholas Avenue?

Helping Reginald McDonald expand his business.

The 25¢ haircut is long gone. So is the one-man barber shop. Today when customers pay more, they expect more. And even small businessmen like Reggie McDonald have to expand to keep up with the competition. The money has to come from somewhere. And it would have been a close shave if Mr. McDonald hadn't saved at the Bowery. Now, with the new chairs he installed in his shop at 140th Street and St. Nicholas Avenue, he's sitting pretty.

Reggie McDonald has a better business. Business could be better for you, too. Open a savings account at the Bowery today. Making it better is making it good. The good life. Bowery helps you live it!

The Bowery—America's No. 1 Savings Bank. Member FDIC

121 East 42nd St. • 120 Bowery • 260 St. at 33d Ave. • 260 St. at 7th Ave. • 260 St. at 88th Ave. • Broadway at 173 St. • Lexington Ave. at 340 St. • 140th St. at St. Nicholas Ave. • Westwood Park

PLATE 4



What's The Bowery Savings Bank doing at 145th St. & St. Nicholas Avenue?

Helping Verda Foster move into a new apartment.

No "rent parties" for Verda. Thanks to her Bowery savings account, she's moving into her new apartment without worrying about where next month's rent is coming from. Or if she can afford a new sofa. And another telephone. Verda won't get caught short because she opened her Bowery account early. And with the 5% interest her money earns from day-of-deposit to day-of-withdrawal, she may throw a big "housewarming" party this weekend!

Verda Foster is making it better for herself. You can too, whether you're a bachelor or a lovewinner. Open a savings account at the Bowery today. Making it better is making it good. The good life. Bowery helps you live it!

The Bowery—America's No. 1 Savings Bank. Member FDIC

138 East 42nd St. • 138 Bowery • 300 N. 4th Ave. • 300 N. 4th Ave. • 300 N. 4th Ave. • Broadway at 47th St. • Lexington Ave. at 30th St. • 138th St. at St. Nicholas Ave. • Westchester Park

PLATE 5

Get yourself together



in just 60 seconds flat
with a Polaroid
Colorpack II



The next time the group is making a great scene, get it together on film. With the Polaroid Colorpack II Land camera something beautiful develops. A color picture in 60 seconds. Or a black-and-white in 15 seconds.

An electric eye and electronic shutter automatically set the correct exposure—indoors or out. The 3-element lens gives sharp pictures. And the built-in flashgun uses 4-shot flashcubes for indoor shots.

Just drop in a film pack, shoot, pull out the film. And in seconds you see a finished picture. So get behind a Polaroid Colorpack II. In a minute or less, you'll be glad you did.

Polaroid gives it to you now \$29.95*

Polaroid® *Suggested list price

Get yourself together



in just 60 seconds flat
with a Polaroid
Colorpack II



The next time the group is making a great scene, get it together on film. With the Polaroid Colorpack II Land camera something beautiful develops. A color picture in 60 seconds. Or a black-and-white in 15 seconds.

An electric eye and electronic shutter automatically set the correct exposure—indoors or out. The 3-element lens gives sharp pictures. And the built-in flashgun uses 4-shot flashcubes for indoor shots.

Just drop in a film pack, shoot, pull out the film. And in seconds you see a finished picture. So get behind a Polaroid Colorpack II. In a minute or less, you'll be glad you did.

Polaroid gives it to you now \$29.95*

Polaroid® *Suggested list price

Something to be thankful for



in just 60 seconds flat
with a Polaroid
Colorpack II.
\$29.95*



The Polaroid Colorpack II Land camera won't keep you waiting on Thanksgiving Day. It gives you a color picture in a minute. Or a black-and-white in seconds.

An electric eye and electronic shutter automatically set the correct exposure—indoors or out. The 3-element lens gives sharp pictures. And the built-in flashgun uses 4-shot flashcubes for indoor shots.

Just drop in a film pack, shoot, and pull out the film. In seconds you see a finished picture. So get yourself a Polaroid Colorpack II. In a minute or less you'll capture the holiday spirit.

*Suggested price. Polaroid®

PLATE 8

Catch yourself a fox



in just 60 seconds flat
with a Polaroid
Colorpack II



When something wild comes your way, capture it on film. With the Polaroid Colorpack II Land camera something beautiful develops. A color picture in 60 seconds. Or a black-and-white in 15 seconds.

An electric eye and electronic shutter automatically set the correct exposure—indoors or out. The 3-element lens gives sharp pictures. And the built-in flashgun uses 4-shot flashcubes for indoor shots.

Just drop in a film pack, shoot, pull out the film. And in seconds you see a finished picture. So get yourself a Polaroid Colorpack II. The woods are full of foxes.

Polaroid gives it to you now \$29.95*

Polaroid® *Suggested list price

PLATE 9

DIG YOUR- SELF

RAPPIN' ON THE ROOF
Friday, July 24, 8:30 PM, WPIX 11,
with Tubby, Marie,
Johnny, Ramon, Gloria, Snake and
special guest stars
Jerry Butler, Godfrey Cambridge,
Ronnie Dyson, Esther Marrow,
and Ray Jay and the East Siders.



The Coca-Cola Bottling Company of New York, Inc.

"Coca-Cola" and "Coke" are registered trademarks used through the sole control of The Coca-Cola Company.

PLATE 10

STAY ON THE CASE

RAPPIN' ON THE ROOF

**Tues., Nov. 10, 10:00 PM, WOR 9
with Tubby, Marie, Felix,
Johnny, Ruby, Carlos,
Snake and guest stars
The Chambers Brothers,
Freda Payne, Gene Chandler,
Joe Cuba Sextet,
The Chairmen of the Board,
The Kids From P.S. 180
and special guest star
Diana Sands.**



The Coca-Cola Bottling Company of New York, Inc.

"Coca-Cola" and "Coke" are registered trademarks and slogans of The Coca-Cola Company.

PLATE 11



October 30, 1970

Dear School Principal:

Following a successful first effort to produce a one-hour television special aimed at Black and Spanish teenagers, Zebra Associates has produced a second "Rappin' On The Roof." This special, sponsored by The Coca-Cola Bottling Company of New York is unique for many reasons:

The Hosts: Five boys and two girls of Black and Spanish origin whose average age is 18 are hosts of the show. They were chosen with the intention of getting away from the run-of-the-mill rock show with a master of ceremonies and a parade of guests.

The Place: A typical big city rooftop; the usual gathering place for young people. Completely reproduced in the WOR studio.

The Guests: The Chambers Brothers, Freda Payne, Gene Chandler, the Joe Cuba Sextet, The Chairmen of the Board, the Boys from P.S. 180 and Diana Sands are among the guests who come to entertain and "Rap on the roof."

The Rooftop Award Of Excellence: The young hosts present a "trophy" to a representative of the Polly Miller Day-Care Center in recognition of their outstanding contributions within the community.

We are happy to send you this "Stay On The Case" poster which we hope you will hang on your bulletin board where your students can see it. "Stay On The Case" is as appealing as its message is important. "Stay On The Case": Stay with it. Stick with it. Like staying in school. Like getting good grades and honours. As our "rooftop rappers" say - "Stay On The Case" and "Dig Yourself."

"RAPPIN' ON THE ROOF" - Tuesday, November 10th, 10 p.m., WOR television 9.

Sincerely,

Raymond A. League
 Raymond A. League
 President

RAL/bc

Olde Linen
 50% RAG

PLATE 12


BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Frederick Douglass	Man./10039	2581 Seventh Ave.	926-0527
Intermediate School 10	BOROUGH ZONE	ADDRESS	TELEPHONE
SCHOOL			

OFFICE OF THE PRINCIPAL

November 23, 1970

Miss Joan Murray
Zebra Associates
1180 Sixth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Miss Murray:

I wish to express my sincere appreciation for visiting our school to introduce the film, "Rapping on the Roof." The very enthusiastic response to your presentation was quite evident. The students were especially responsive to your charm, poise, and beauty (likewise were the male members of our teaching staff).

Thanks again!

Very sincerely,

Lionel E. McMurren
Lionel E. McMurren
Principal

LEM/rj

Old Linen
50% RAG

PLATE 13


BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

P.S. 200 Manhattan, 10039 2589-7 Avenue 293-1116
 SCHOOL BOROUGH ZONE ADDRESS TELEPHONE

OFFICE OF THE PRINCIPAL

November 12, 1970

Mr. Russ Coles
 Zebra Associates
 1180 - 6th Avenue
 New York, New York

Dear Mr. Coles:

Lest I forget in the rush of daily events, I should like to thank you for the outstanding program you brought to our school, "Rapping On The Roof."

You couldn't have given us anything that we needed and wanted more. The program was enjoyed tremendously. We will remember the program for a long time. The children loved it and constantly ask, "When is that man coming back with another movie?"

We all watched the program on Tuesday, November 10, and have correlated it with our Language Arts and Social Studies Programs. Please feel free to come to us with future programs. And if I or our school can be of any service to you in any way please feel free to call on us.

Thanks again for a job well done.

Very truly yours,

Joseph Sellers
 Joseph Sellers
 Acting Principal

PLATE 14

POLAROID CORPORATION
COLORPACK II
"Get It Now"
60 Seconds - Radio
April 9, 1970
As Recorded

MUSIC AND SINGER: Catch your woman, while she's putting up her
hair
Let her holler that you've caught her unaware
Catch the kids dreaming dreams of never-never
land
Catch your daddy while he's kissing mama's
hand

Get it now
See it now

While everybody's talking, "Later, Baby"
Polaroid gives it to you now.

MALE ANNOUNCER: Big, beautiful color pictures with the Polaroid
Colorpack II in sixty seconds flat. Black and
White in fifteen seconds. A Polaroid Land
camera costs less than thirty dollars. So
what are you waiting for?

SINGER: Polaroid gives it to you now.

PLATE 15

VOTER REGISTRATION
CAMPAIGN SONG
60 Seconds Radio
July 1, 1970
As Recorded

SINGING: Goin' hungry
Feelin' bad
Hard times
All I had.

Catchin' hell
Payin' dues
Been a long time
singin' blues.

ANNCR VO: Singing the blues never gotcha anywhere.
And never will.
Voting for change is the only way to get it.
And the only way to vote is to be registered.
Your vote is the loudest voice you've got.
Get up, Go out.
Register and Vote.

SINGING: Go right now and register
It's the only way to rock that boat
You know you got to register
Before you can use your vote.

ANNCR VO: Go down today and register to vote
Only your Vote can change things for good.

PLATE 16

BOWERY SAVINGS BANK
145th St. & St. Nicholas
"MARTIN LUTHER KING"
60 Seconds - Radio - Live
January 14, 1971

ANNOUNCER (Live): What if he were here today?

What would he say if we told him the war in Vietnam is still going on. And people are already taking sides in the fight between the Arabs and the Jews. How would he react to know the unemployment figures are up and the government says, "That's good. Now Big Business can get back on its feet." Would the tears come when we tell him that they shot Robert . . . Eldridge and Rap are on the run . . . students have been mowed down on the campus green . . . and Mother Brown died still waiting for peace to come. And he would see in the streets where his people live, the same rats and roaches, the same broken windows with cardboard panes . . . hustlers, pimps, and even more and younger junkies nodding in the hallways. Would he scream in anguish . . . "Where is my dream? Where is my dream?" A dream died with Martin Luther King. But there's still hope. And we can make it so, if in remembering this day-- his birthday--we pledge to forge ahead on the road to peace and brotherhood. This message of hope has been brought to you by THE BOWERY SAVINGS BANK.

PLATE 17

BOWERY SAVINGS BANK
 145th St. & St. Nicholas
 "MAKING IT BETTER"
 60 Seconds - Radio
 October 14, 1970
 As Recorded

SFX: MUSIC INTRO

ANNOUNCER: The Bowery Savings Bank
 is helping people to a better life.

SINGERS: It's got to get better
 Before it gets good

ANNOUNCER: It helps some start a business . . .

SINGERS: Making it better
 Is making it good

ANNOUNCER: Others start families . . .

SINGERS: Banking at Bowery
 Is making it good

ANNOUNCER: And Still others buy homes.

SINGERS: It's got to get better
 Before it gets good
 Making it better
 Is making it good

ANNOUNCER: The Bowery Savings Bank at 145th and St. Nicholas
 Avenue, member F.D.I.C. It helps you start
 The Good Life.

SINGERS: Making it better
 Is making it good

SFX: FADE OUT

WHAT IT MEANS

Zebra Associates, Inc., Advertising was utilized in this exploratory study because of its unique characteristics. Its personnel are a unique combination of both black and white Americans, and it is the first all-service agency owned and operated by blacks that is attempting explicitly to reach the black market.

The personnel are one happy "family." This is demonstrated not only by the advertisements that they cooperatively create, but also by the reliance that they place upon one another. If someone does not know or understand the answer to a particular question, the answer, in all probability, will be located in the office next door or possibly in the same office.

Zebra has set a precedent by closing the communication gap to the inner-city resident and hopes to keep it that way. If they have in fact achieved their goals, there seems to be some human factor--empathic behavior--involved that has made this achievement possible.

Chapter IV presents data gathered from the questionnaire which would indicate whether some measures of empathy (two direct and one indirect) may account for what Zebra has claimed to achieve.

Chapter IV

ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

In this chapter, the results of the questionnaire, which was designed with two direct measures and one indirect measure of empathy, are presented and analyzed.

ANALYSIS

Figures 1 through 6 display the results of the first direct measure of empathy. This measure was based upon the responses to 14 forced choice questions (both multiple choice and rating questions). Table 2 contains the results for the rating question (i. e., See Appendix A for question #5). In this set of questions, the creative personnel at Zebra were asked to respond as the black consumer they are attempting to reach with persuasive communications. By comparing the proportion of creative personnel who responded in the same manner as the greatest number of community residents, inferences about the presence of empathy can be made.

Figure 1 indicates the eight questions out of 14 forced choice questions where empathy was present. This is especially true with questions 12 and 13. Question 14 would seem to indicate a lack of empathy; however, there were five possible answers in this multiple choice question. Proportionally, more people in the community chose answer e than any other (34 per cent), but answer c accounted for 31 per cent of the community's responses. Due to the fact that so many responses were possible, it may be difficult to accurately evaluate this question unless it is accepted that the highest proportion is reflective

of the community's position. If this were the case, then question 14 would be indicative of empathy. Questions 12 and 13 show the greatest amount of agreement between the community and Zebra personnel. Question number four seems to follow the same pattern as question 14; however, in this instance there were four possible choices as compared to five for question 14.

Figure 2 indicates those questions which can be categorized as indicators of "General Empathy" or "Specific Empathy." This figure only shows those questions which were displayed in Figure 1. General empathy questions were those concerned with the black man's problems or attitudes concerning various life-styles. Specific empathy questions are all related in some manner to the black's consumer behavior. As Figure 2 indicates, two of the eight questions which were indicative of the presence of empathy are classified as "General Empathy" responses. The remaining six were intended as measures of "Specific Empathy."

Figure 3, as it is labeled, indicates those questions which were indicative of a lack of empathy. As is shown in this figure, the proportions indicating agreement on the part of the creative personnel at Zebra range from a high of only .38 to a low of .08. In general, a high degree of agreement was determined by a subjective judgment of "reasonable" agreement. Figure 3 shows that this did not occur in five questions.

Figure 4 subdivides the questions which indicated a lack of empathy into two categories, as in Figure 2. In this case, one question supports a lack of "General Empathy," while four questions show a lack of "Specific Empathy."

Figure 5 indicates the proportion of responses of white and black creative personnel at Zebra that are in agreement with the community responses. This figure only contains those questions which indicated the presence of empathy (as in Figure 1). In five of the eight questions, the white personnel showed a greater degree of agreement with the

community than did the black personnel. As shown in Figure 1, question 12 seems to be one of the questions that indicates the greatest degree of agreement or empathy, especially when examining the proportion of white creative personnel (100 per cent) in agreement with the community.

Figure 6, which is designed like Figure 5, demonstrates which questions were indicative of a lack of empathy among both white and black creative personnel separately. In comparison to Figure 5, where white personnel were shown to be more in agreement with the community than the black personnel, in Figure 6, three of the five questions indicate that the white personnel had a lower degree of empathy than the black personnel. This conflict between evidence in Figures 5 and 6 will be discussed below.

Table 2 shows the results for the rating question (question #5). In general, there seems to be little agreement between members of the community and the creative personnel at Zebra concerning which of the consumer behaviors they would do first, second, third, or fourth. However chart C illustrates that there was greatest agreement between the two groups concerning the third choice (buy a camera). Community rankings were as follows: first, open a savings account; second, buy some new clothes; third, buy a camera; and fourth, have a party. Rankings by Zebra personnel were as follows: first, buy some new clothes; second, have a party; third, buy a camera; and fourth, open a savings account. This response does not seem to support response patterns mentioned above.

Table 2a displays the rank orders of the four response alternatives for question #5. As indicated in Table 2, there seems to be a lack of empathy or agreement when the items have been rank ordered for the two groups. Correlation of .34 is non-significant with $df=2$.

Table 3 illustrates the results of the second direct measure of empathy. Selected demographics that described the community respondents were used as a standard and Zebra's personnel were asked to

indicate what the demographics of the community members would be. This was the second portion of Part I of the agency questionnaire. In the first portion, the creative personnel were asked to choose a budget which came closest to how people in the community spent their money each week. The demographic portion of the question followed by asking the agency personnel to describe the community members who used the budget that was selected in the first portion. There was little agreement, if any at all, between agency personnel and the community concerning budget choices. Tables 3a, 3b, 3c and 3d show the comparison of demographics by budget choice. These tables indicate that there was a lack of empathy on the part of Zebra personnel. However, in Table 3, which displays combined demographic comparisons, there was agreement in three of the four categories: education, income level and age.

Semantic differential scales were employed as the indirect measure of empathy. In the present study, the scales served a dual purpose: first, as a measure of the "effectiveness" or "success" of the advertisements created by Zebra and second, this in turn is used as an indirect measure of empathy. In this case, empathy would be inferred if the advertisements were rated as highly effective. Table 4 reports the grand means of dimensions across subjects. The means are shown for the four dimensions used in the rating of seven concepts. Concepts I, II, III and IV were recalled advertisements, while Concepts V, VI and VII were advertisements created by personnel at Zebra. Concepts I and II were recalled advertisements that the interviewee "most liked" and Concepts III and IV were recalled advertisements that were "most disliked."

The scales which were used were seven-step Semantic differential scales that were selected from previous research. As indicated by Table 4, 12 bipolar scales constitute the Evaluative Dimension. These are basically related to the overall attractiveness of the ad,

also the sincerity, believability and effectiveness of the advertisement. The Understandability Dimension included four scales that related to the clarity and "understandability" plus comprehension of the advertisement. Of less importance, but usually included in most Semantic differential exercises, are the Activity and Potency Dimensions. The Potency Dimension is used to indicate the emotional strength of the advertisements in question.

Since seven-step scales were used, one end of the scale was given a rating of "1" (the negative pole) while the positive pole received a rating of "7".

As Table 4 indicates, the grand means across the four dimensions for the most liked ads are similar to those for the advertisements created by Zebra Associates. This is especially true for Concept I, II, V and VII. Concept VI, an advertisement for Amalgamated Publishers, Inc. received a rating somewhat like the other two Zebra advertisements, yet its effect upon the community does not appear to be as great. Concepts III and IV, which were the disliked advertisements, received ratings closer to the negative end of the scale and the grand means are evidently different from those of the most liked ads. The only dimension that seems to be basically consistent across all seven concepts is that of Understandability, even though it is slightly "negative" in relation to Concepts III and IV.

In general, "most liked" ads received the same type of ratings as did those for Zebra Associates while "most disliked" ads received ratings completely opposite those given to Zebra's creative attempts.

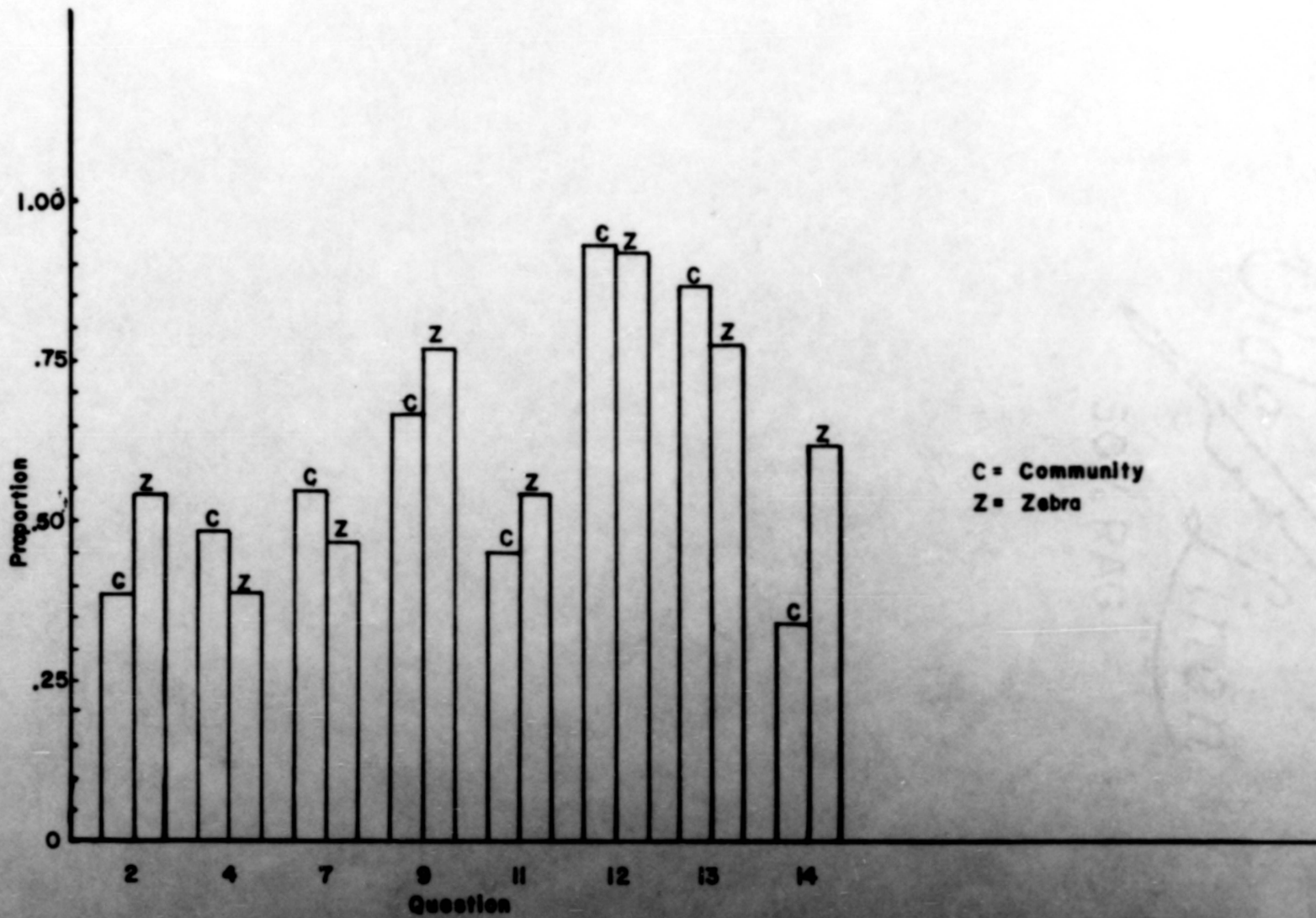
The results would seem to indicate that Zebra's advertisements are highly effective among the community members who rated them. In addition, not all of Zebra's ads are rated as "effective" as each other.

Tables 5 and 6 report findings of interest because they are partially relevant. Table 5 presents the breakdown of reactions to advertising by product class for advertisements mentioned as most liked and

most disliked. The highest percentage of most liked advertisements were those for analgesics.

Nearly all of the advertisements mentioned as "most liked" or "most disliked" were television commercials. Table 6 indicates that of the possible 58 most liked advertisements, 51 appeared on television while with the most disliked advertisements, 48 appeared on television. It also is shown that radio carried no commercials that were either liked or disliked. This does not seem to support the idea that radio is the newly discovered medium for the black consumer. Both magazines and newspapers were mentioned, but not to the extent of television.

Figure 1: Forced Choice Questions which are indicative of Empathy



**Figure 2. Forced Choice Questions Indicative of
Empathy Grouped According to General Empathy
and Specific Empathy Questions**

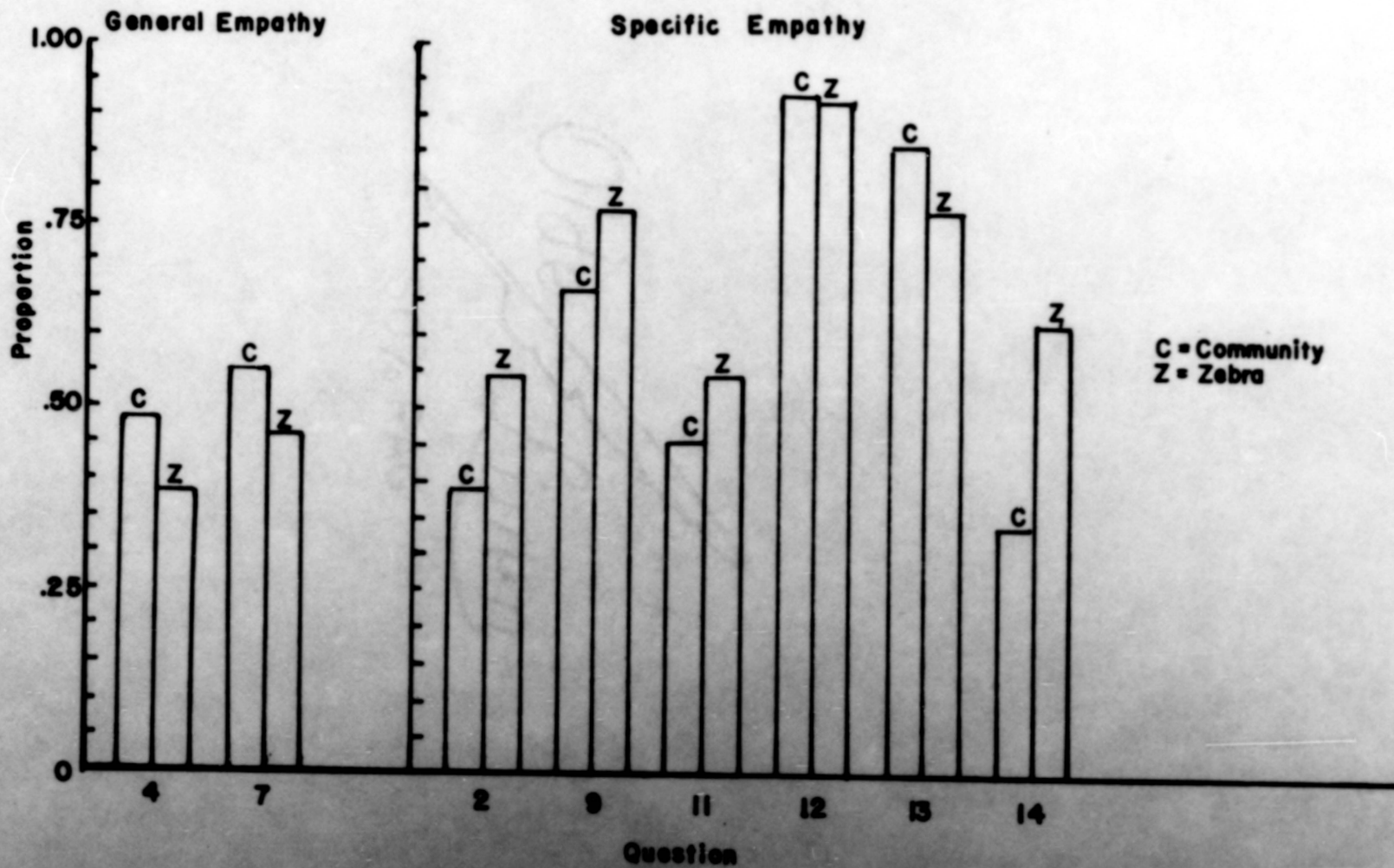
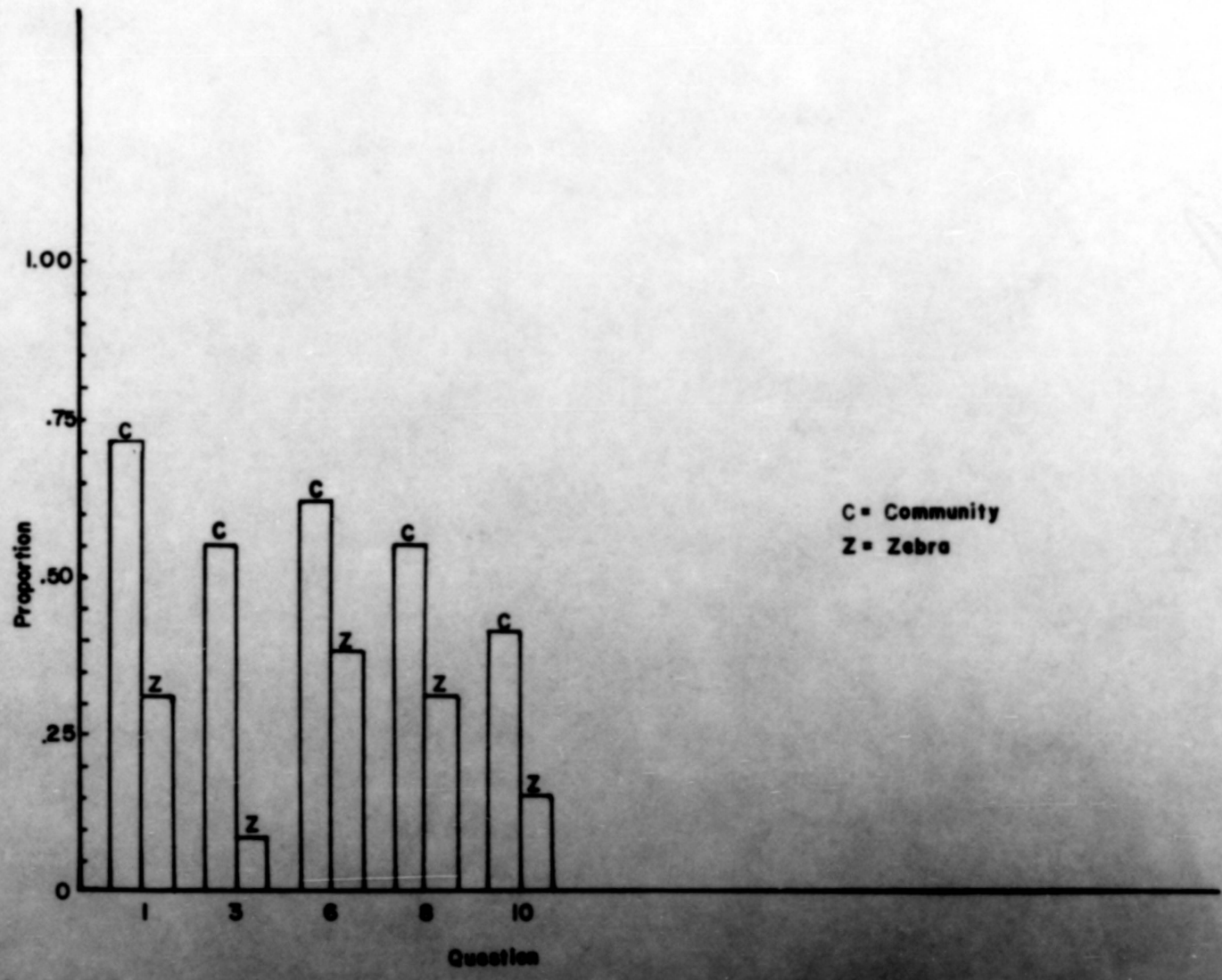


Figure 3. Forced Choice Questions which
are Indicative of a Lack of Empathy



Older line

Figure 4. Forced Choice Questions Indicative of a Lack of Empathy Grouped According to General Empathy and Specific Empathy Questions

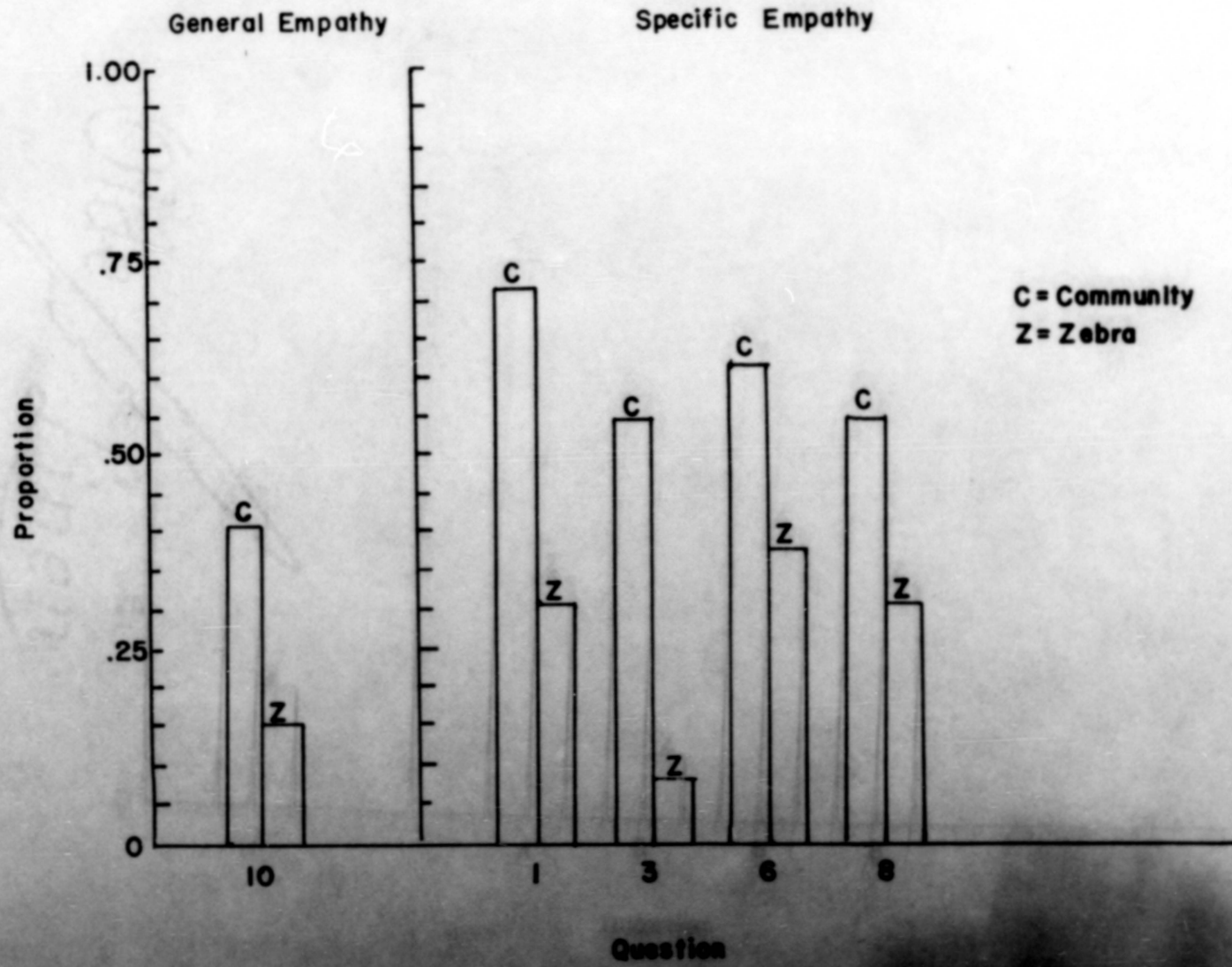


Figure 5. Forced Choice Questions Indicative of Empathy Grouped According to General Empathy and Specific Empathy Questions and Comparing the Responses of White and Black Personnel at Zebra with those of the Community

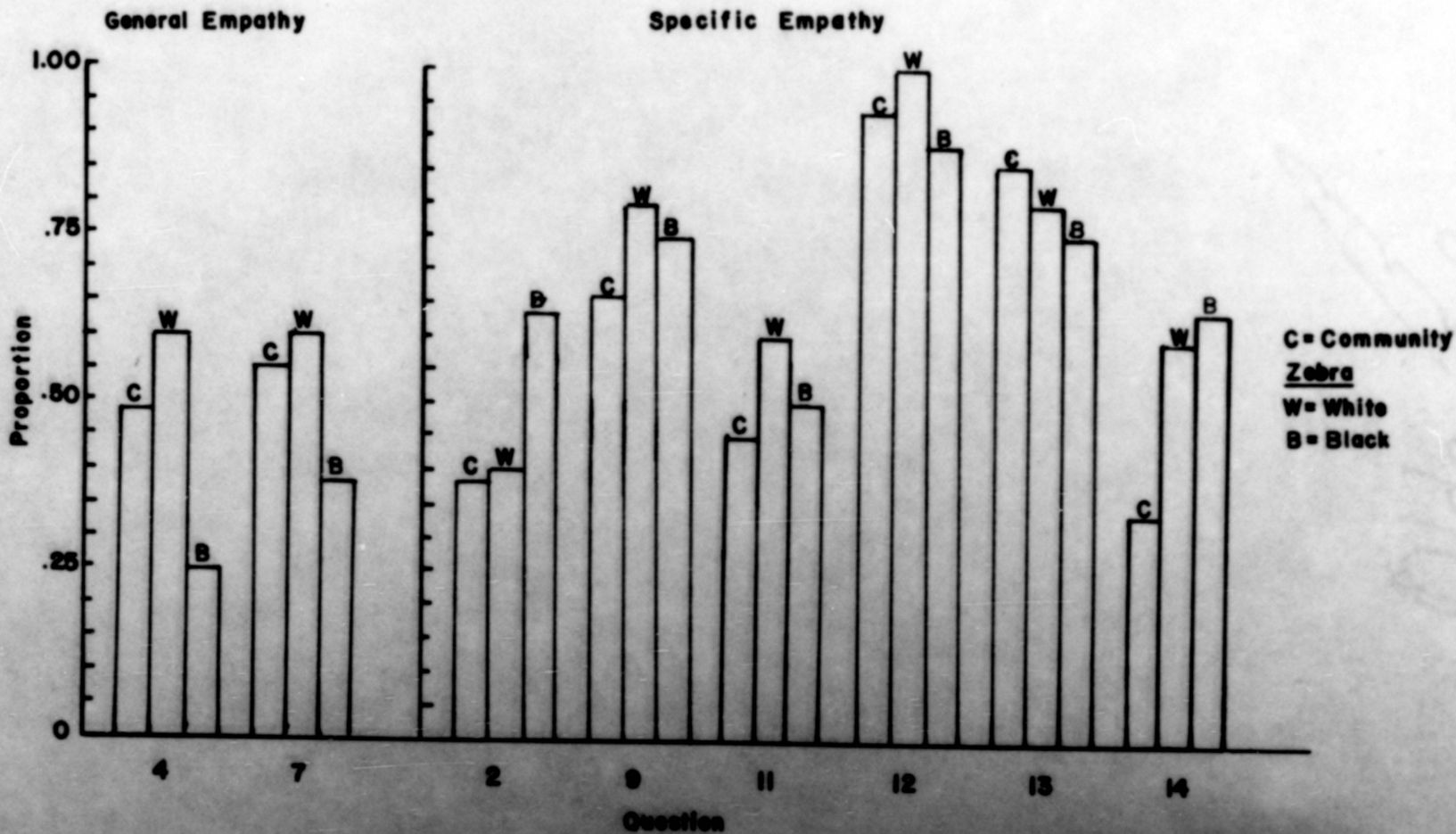


Figure 6. Forced Choice Questions Indicative of a Lack of Empathy Grouped According to General Empathy and Specific Empathy Questions and Comparing the Responses of White and Black Personnel at Zebra with those of the Community

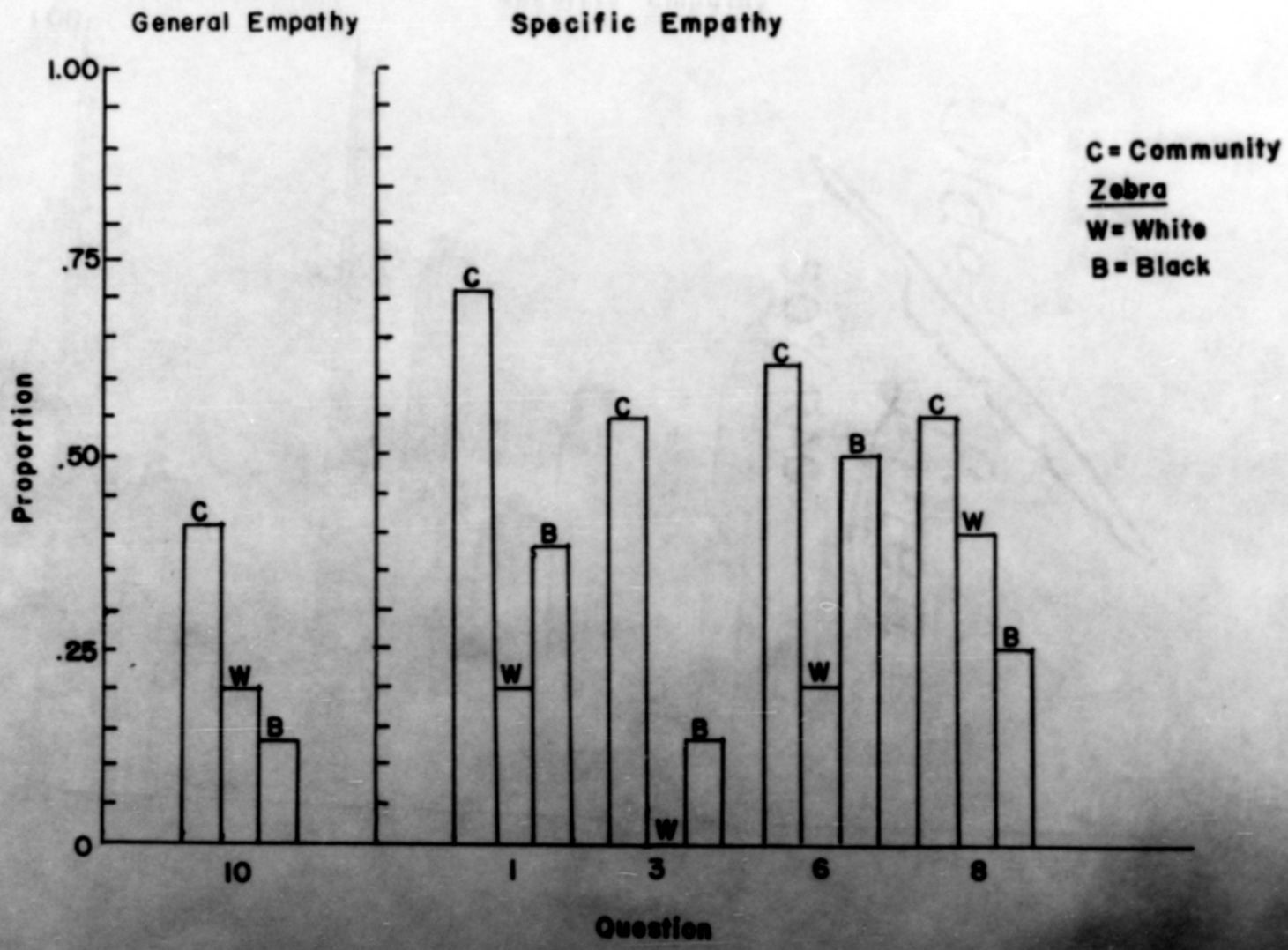


Table 2
Results for Question #5 of
Forced Choice Questions

A. Proportion Ranked First
by Community/Zebra

	C	Z
#1	.00	.00
#2	.76	.23
#3	.21	.69
#4	.03	.08

B. Proportion Ranked Second
by Community/Zebra

	C	Z
#1	.00	.08
#2	.21	.15
#3	.76	.23
#4	.03	.54

C. Proportion Ranked Third
by Community/Zebra

	C	Z
#1	.52	.69
#2	.03	.08
#3	.03	.08
#4	.42	.15

D. Proportion Ranked Fourth
by Community/Zebra

	C	Z
#1	.48	.23
#2	.00	.54
#3	.00	.00
#4	.52	.23

Question

Of the items below, which would you do first, second, third, fourth?

Choices

- #1 - buy a camera
- #2 - open a savings account
- #3 - buy some new clothes
- #4 - have a party

Table 2a
 Rank Orders of Response Alternatives
 for Question #5

Community			Zebra		
Item	Totals	Rank	Item	Totals	Rank
1	44	4	1	24	4
2	108	1	2	27	3
3	92	2	3	47	1
4	46	3	4	32	2

($r = .34$, $w/2df = N.S.$)

Table 3

Demographic Comparisons in Proportions--Demographics
of the Community Used as a Standard Compared
to those Indicated by Zebra Personnel

Demographics	Community (N=29)	Zebra (N=13)
Education (highest grade completed)		
Grade school	.04	.15
High school	<u>.55</u>	<u>.77</u>
College	.17	.08
Graduate school	.24	.00
Income Level		
\$ 1,000-5,000	.00	.08
5,001-9,000	<u>.59</u>	<u>.84</u>
9,001-12,000	.10	.00
12,001-14,000	.04	.08
14,001-16,000	.17	.00
over 16,000	.10	.00
Age		
18-25	.17	.15
26-34	<u>.45</u>	<u>.46</u>
35-45	.21	.31
over 45	.17	.08
Number of children		
0-1	<u>.59</u>	.15
2-3	.34	<u>.46</u>
4-5	.07	.39

Table 3a
 Comparison of Demographics by
 Budget Choice (#1-Only Needs)

Demographics	Community (n=6)	Zebra (n=1)
Education (highest grade completed)		
Grade school	0	1
High school	4	0
College	1	0
Graduate school	1	0
Income level		
\$ 1,000-5,000	0	1
5,001-9,000	2	0
9,001-12,000	1	0
12,001-14,000	1	0
14,001-16,000	2	0
over 16,000	0	0
Age		
18-25	2	0
26-34	1	0
35-45	0	1
over 45	3	0
Number of children		
0-1	4	0
2-3	0	0
4-5	2	1

Table 3b
 Comparison of Demographics by
 Budget Choice (#2-Mostly Needs)

Demographics	Community (n=8)	Zebra (n=6)
Education (highest grade completed)		
Grade school	0	1
High school	5	4
College	1	1
Graduate school	2	0
Income level		
\$ 1,000-5,000	0	0
5,001-9,000	6	5
9,001-12,000	0	0
12,001-14,000	0	1
14,001-16,000	1	0
over 16,000	1	0
Age		
18-25	0	1
26-34	6	2
35-45	1	3
over 45	1	0
Number of children		
0-1	3	1
2-3	5	2
4-5	0	3

Table 3c
 Comparison of Demographics by
 Budget Choice (#3-Mostly Wants)

Demographics	Community (n=12)	Zebra (n=3)
Education (highest grade completed)		
Grade school	1	0
High school	7	3
College	2	0
Graduate school	2	0
Income level		
\$ 1,000-5,000	0	0
5,001-9,000	8	3
9,001-12,000	2	0
12,001-14,000	0	0
14,001-16,000	1	0
over 16,000	1	0
Age		
18-35	2	1
26-34	6	2
35-45	3	0
over 45	1	0
Number of children		
0-1	7	1
2-3	5	2
4-5	0	0

Table 3d
 Comparison of Demographics by
 Budget Choice (#4-Only Wants)

Demographics	Community (n=3)	Zebra (n=3)
Education (highest grade completed)		
Grade school	0	0
High school	0	3
College	1	0
Graduate school	2	0
Income level		
\$ 1,000-5,000	0	0
5,001-9,000	1	3
9,001-12,000	0	0
12,001-14,000	0	0
14,000-16,000	1	0
over 16,000	1	0
Age		
18-25	1	0
26-34	0	2
35-45	2	0
over 45	0	1
Number of children		
0-1	3	0
2-3	0	2
4-5	0	1

Table 4
Grand Means of Dimensions Across Subjects

Dimensions	Concepts						
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Evaluative	6.00	5.90	2.18	2.40	6.20	5.70	5.69
Understandability	6.16	6.15	4.92	4.72	6.33	5.01	6.12
Activity	5.86	5.86	3.38	2.83	5.90	5.11	5.83
Ptoency	6.28	5.90	1.76	2.00	5.86	5.61	5.76

Concepts

- I - Most liked advertisement
- II - Most liked advertisement
- III - Most disliked advertisement
- IV - Most disliked advertisement
- V - Zebra advertisement #1
- VI - Zebra advertisement #2
- VII - Zebra advertisement #3

Scales Used

Evaluative Dimension

1. Attractive-Unattractive
2. Good-Bad
3. High Pressure-Low Pressure
4. Artistic-Inartistic
5. Effective-Ineffective
6. Useful-Worthless
7. Adult-Childish
8. Pleasant-Unpleasant
9. Believable-Unbelievable
10. Interesting-Dull
11. Good taste-Poor taste
12. Friendly-Unfriendly

Understandability Dimension

13. Simple-Complicated
14. Informative-Uninformative
15. Easy to understand-
Hard to understand
16. Common sense-High brow

Activity Dimension

17. Fast-Slow

Potency Dimension

18. Strong-Weak

Table 5
Reactions to Advertising by Product Class

Product Classes	% of all ads mentioned as most liked (58=100%)		% of all ads mentioned as most disliked (58%=100%)	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
1. Soaps and detergents	5	9%	18	31%
2. Deodorants and mouthwash General drug items	5	9	12	21
3. All food products	3	5	3	5
4. Analgesics	18	31	3	5
5. Cigarettes	2	3	5	9
6. Automobiles (new)	6	10	3	5
7. Beverages	4	7	3	5
8. Miscellaneous (Airlines, Public Service)	15	26	11	19

Table 6
Media in Which Advertisements Appeared

Media	Most Liked (N=58)	Most disliked (N=58)
Television	51	48
Magazines	5	6
Newspapers	2	4
Radio	0	0

Chapter V

CONCLUSIONS

This concluding chapter contains discussion material pertaining to the two direct measures and one indirect measure of empathy. Conclusions will be drawn by the author from these measures along with first-hand observations, concerning the community and Zebra personnel. Summary information and suggestions for further research are integrated throughout the chapter.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Direct Measures

With the first direct measure of empathy, the forced choice questions, it is quite difficult to conclude outrightly whether or not there is a definite presence of empathy as defined in Chapter I. Approximately 60 per cent of the answers to forced choice questions were indicative of empathy. When the questions were determined, one of the basic intentions was to provide a larger proportion of questions dealing with the concept of Specific Empathy. This type of question, again, is product or purchase oriented and deals with consuming behavior. Looking at the questions from this standpoint, somewhat more than half of the Specific Empathy answers were indicative of empathy, and therefore it may be concluded that Zebra personnel in part

understand the basic needs and wants of the black consumer and therefore some degree of empathy is present.

A careful examination of the answers that demonstrated a lack of empathy reveals additional information. Of the five questions in this category, four were designed to demonstrate specific empathy while the fifth pertained to general empathy, which were concerned with the black man's problems or attitudes. Question #8 read as follows: "I try a lot of new products because I like to go shopping." After analyzing the responses to the entire questionnaire, the writer discovered that this question substantiated little if anything. It was written with the intention of displaying consumer behavior in relation to the purchasing of numerous new brands and products. This is in direct conflict with the stereotyped impression that the black does not switch brands and does purchase numerous products. However, this question was obviously misinterpreted by both the community and personnel at Zebra. This was due, in part, it appears, to the leading nature of the question. It seems probable that Zebra's personnel were answering the other questions of this group (displaying Specific Empathy) according to the prevailing stereotype of the black consumer mentioned above.

It is possible that these questions represented "status-oriented" responses to Zebra's personnel or the community responded in such a way to attempt to impress the author. Question #1, for example, asked the community members to decide whether it was important to obtain material "wants" over the definite "need" of good health. The community responded "good health" while Zebra's personnel responded that the items wanted most included good food and a large automobile. Answers to Question #3 also followed this pattern. In general, it is difficult to conclude what contributed to this misjudgment on behalf of Zebra's personnel in these cases as compared to the responses that showed agreement. One may assume that one or both of the two groups did not respond validly or, as stated previously, the questions may have

been misinterpreted. Community respondents, however, appeared to be desirous of satisfying "needs" while Zebra's personnel seemed to believe that the black community desires immediate "wants."

Answers to Question #5, the one rating question included in this direct measure, also suggest an absence of empathy. The question was structured in the same manner as Question #1. A definite distinction was present: choosing between obvious wants and goal-directed or oriented need--which in this case would be opening a savings account. Rank orderings of the responses to this question confirm a definite lack of empathy among Zebra's personnel.

In two out of the three questions designed as General Empathy measures, there were positive indications of empathy. This shows that Zebra's personnel are capable of empathizing with the community members on a social level. These questions related directly to the black's life-style. Responses to Question #10, the one question indicative of a lack of empathy, are difficult to interpret. The question asked for the main cause of weak family ties and there were four possible responses. Several members of the community and Zebra saw fit to add a fifth category that simply read "other" or "no answer." A possible reason for the lack of agreement between community members themselves and between Zebra personnel themselves was that either too many alternatives were offered or they were the incorrect alternatives. Also, there is a possibility that both community members and creative personnel did not want to face the problem at hand and admit why family ties are weak or, for that matter, admit that such a phenomenon was even present. The question seems quite relevant, yet new alternatives will have to be constructed if this particular question is to be utilized in a follow-up study.

Of additional interest, to explain empathic behavior better, is the proportion of whites and blacks within Zebra that empathized with the community. As mentioned in Chapter IV, looking at the questions that

were indicative of empathy (eight questions), in six out of the eight responses, white agency personnel demonstrated a greater degree of empathy with the community than did the black personnel. Several conclusions are suggested from this evidence. First, the white personnel were probably attempting to empathize with community members and members of Zebra's staff to a greater degree than are black personnel, recognizing that they could learn from this. Second, the blacks may have attempted to dissociate themselves from their prior experiences in the inner-city. This may or may not have been done deliberately, but it is a normal reaction. Therefore, when responding to the questionnaire, in which they were asked to place themselves in the role of the inner-city resident, black personnel rejected this life of the inner-city for their own "new" values.

In the author's opinion, this rejection is a basic fact of life that is found among any class of individuals attempting to break old ties and enter a new life style. This is not to say that the black personnel are rejecting their own people, because in effect they are not. From the psychological standpoint, there is rejection of what the inner-city stands for, while the people existing in these depressed conditions are not being forgotten. Therefore, instead of placing themselves totally in the role of the inner-city resident, they have probably found this impossible to do because they are rejecting that basic life-style.¹

This conclusion is supported when comparing the proportions of black and white personnel responses that were indicative of a lack of empathy. In these questions, the responses of the black personnel were basically "want" oriented as compared to the "need" orientation reflected by the whites. Some of the blacks' responses seemed to indicate a rejection of black life-style and attitudes.

¹Gordon W. Allport, Becoming: Basic Considerations for a Psychology of Personality (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955), pp. 34-35, 81.

In general, however, answers to the forced choice questions indicate that Zebra's personnel, both black and white, are capable of empathizing with the audience to which they are attempting to communicate.

According to Allport

the moral sense and life-styles of most people reach far beyond the confines of domestic and community mores in which they were first fashioned. If we look into ourselves we observe that our tribal morality seems to us somehow peripheral to our personal integrity. True, we obey conventions of modesty, decorum, and self-control, and have many habits that fashion us in part as mirror-images of our home, class and cultural ways of living. But we know that we have selected, reshaped, and transcended these ways to a marked degree.²

Also, Tillich has written that "The typical American after he has lost the foundations of his existence, works for new foundations."

But, the second direct measure of empathy does not support this conclusion. Members of the community were asked to indicate a budget that came closest to how they spend their money each week, while personnel at Zebra were asked to indicate which budget came closest to how people in the community spend their money each week. Budgets were designed so that one would reflect satisfaction of "needs" while at the other end of the spectrum, another budget would reflect satisfaction of "wants" rather than needs. The remaining two budgets were variations of needs and wants. Lack of agreement about budget choices between the community and Zebra personnel suggests that Zebra's personnel could not determine successfully how a typical resident in the community distributed his income. Causes for the lack of agreement may be that the budgets the community members chose did not truly reflect the spending patterns of the community, or else the residents were hesitant to admit how they actually spend their money.

The second portion of this question asked Zebra's people to link

²Ibid., p. 81.

demographic characteristics to the budgets they had chosen in part one. The results displayed only a slight degree of empathy. Zebra personnel correctly identified actual community demographic characteristics in three categories: Education, Income Level and Age. However, Zebra personnel were not able to link demographic characteristics correctly to specific budget choices.

A possible explanation for this lack of empathy in describing actual characteristics of the community may be that Zebra's personnel did not actually follow directions. It seems that most of the categories that were chosen followed the stereotyped patterns of inner-city residents. Possibly, Zebra's personnel did not consider demographics specifically for the budget that they had chosen at all, and simply relied upon census data that describes the community as a whole.

In general, combined responses demonstrate empathic behavior on the part of Zebra's personnel, but individually this does not hold up. Therefore, the two direct measures are in part conflicting. The questions seem to be a more valid indicator than the budget choices due to observations made during interviewing of the reluctance of community members to choose a budget and to evaluate the budgets.

Indirect Measure

Semantic differential scales were used as an indirect measure of empathy. Community members judged recalled advertisements (any form of ads)--two were "most liked" and two were "most disliked"--and three print advertisements created by the staff at Zebra.

Results very clearly indicate that the ads created by Zebra are compatible with "most liked" advertisements. These results support the contention that the creative messages prepared by the creative personnel at Zebra are effective, successful and seem to be related to the ability of the personnel to empathize with the community, via persuasive advertisements.

One problem inherent in this type of measure is the use of "recalled" vs. "immediately visible" advertisements. It actually may be quite difficult to judge a recalled advertisement fairly without biasing responses. On the other hand, possibly because the advertisements created by Zebra's personnel provided immediate identification for the black consumer, these ads automatically received higher scores as compared to an advertisement that might be focused to the white community. Therefore, this indirect measure supports the contention that Zebra's personnel have the ability to empathize with their audience.

SUMMARY

As stated in Chapter I, this is a case study that has attempted to show the effectiveness of a specialized agency in reaching the black community (a specific segment of the mass audience). Zebra Associates, Inc., Advertising, a black-owned specialized advertising agency in New York City, was studied in an attempt to show the possible existence and/or presence of a human factor--empathy--as a mechanism in improving the effectiveness of the agency's creative attempts and the overall success of the agency. Advertising effectiveness research up to the present time has not included this empathy factor; while motivations, product choices, media selection, etc., have been thoroughly studied.

An exploratory case study such as this one usually has several inherent shortcomings. For example, since no control group was utilized, it is impossible to conclude that Zebra's personnel have created effective advertisements because of an empathy factor. There is always the possibility that personnel at other agencies have the ability to empathize equally well with the black community. By the same token, while the assumption in this study was that empathy is a crucial variable to effective advertising communication, the study did not deal with the

relative importance of empathy, since no comparable variables were tested.

Another possible problem concerns the representativeness of the sample of community residents. Since it was not a true random sample of Harlem residents, it may in effect be a biased sample. This is compounded by the fact that no statistical analysis was included in this study. However, since this was originally planned as an exploratory case study without any hypothesis-testing, statistical analyses were excluded.

However, since little work has been conducted concerning advertising and empathy and the effect of the message upon the audience, this study can serve as an introduction--a beginning to generate further research about the effect of empathy upon communication.

Suggestions for Further Research

One of the most logical suggestions would be to do a follow-up study utilizing more carefully constructed instruments, with a representative sample and statistical analyses. It would be interesting to discover how personnel at both a specialized and general advertising agency respond on a questionnaire designed to measure empathy and how effective each agency's creative attempts are among black inner-city residents. Also, experimental methods such as Q-technique or possibly semantic differential profiles could be utilized to measure empathy.

What must be resolved is the inaccuracy of some of the questions used in this study. These could be improved through pre-testing and a pilot study of the community to be used in the sample.

Other studies could be conducted in the area of social responsibilities of advertising agencies (e.g., educating minority group members concerning product choices, exposing the deplorable conditions of the inner-city by means of public service ads, etc.) and especially for the

specialized agencies. This would also be a natural follow-up to the present study.

Also, it is suggested that research be done in areas pertaining to the black market and communications. These studies would indeed be a useful contribution to an understanding of communication and society.

APPENDIXES

PART II. Directions: In some of the questions below you will have to circle the correct letter of the answer you have chosen. In the questions that have "Yes-No-Don't Know" answers, circle the choice you believe to be correct.

1. Of the following items, the one thing I want the most is:

a. good food	c. good health
b. a large automobile	d. cosmetics, colognes

2. I would buy a new car if I had money in the bank for my child's education.

Yes	No	Don't know
-----	----	------------

3. To get things that I want, I'm willing to take out a loan or borrow from finance companies.

Yes	No	Don't know
-----	----	------------

4. Of the following, which is the most troublesome problem facing the Black community today?
 - a. lack of adequate housing
 - b. dope
 - c. crime--including robberies, muggings, murders
 - d. unemployment

5. Place a number in front of the items below to show which you would do first, second, third and fourth. (1, 2, 3, 4)
 - ___ buy a camera
 - ___ open a savings account
 - ___ buy some new clothes
 - ___ have a party

6. The cost of meat is more important than the quality of the meat.

Yes	No	Don't know
-----	----	------------

7. I think that the best way for the Black man to gain prestige and status both within the community and within society is:
 - a. become a militant leader of the Black Panthers.
 - b. form a new organization and attempt to have many followers.
 - c. take charge of new government programs to improve the community.

- d. gain fame and status but move out of the community.
- e. other. _____.

8. I try a lot of new products because I like to go shopping.

Yes No Don't know

9. If I had a choice between buying well known brand name products that are slightly more expensive or an unknown brand, I would buy the brand name product.

Yes No Don't know

10. The main cause of weak family ties is because:

- a. there is lack of respect for the head of the household
- b. there is a generation gap
- c. both members of the family are usually working
- d. husband or wife is not providing a sufficient amount of money

11. If I got some extra money I would go on vacation before I saved money in the bank.

Yes No Don't know

12. If I could buy a polaroid camera for \$29.95 or a kodak camera for \$49.95 and both gave the same quality results, I would buy the:

- a. \$29.95 polaroid camera b. \$49.95 kodak camera

13. Which shopping list would you use if you went to the grocery store?

A

B

- | | | | |
|---------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1 quart milk | 1 dozen eggs | 1 quart milk | 1 dozen eggs |
| 1 banana cake | 1 can of icing | 1 pound flour | 1 pound sugar |
| frozen peas | fruit | flavoring | fruit |
| canned meat | vegetables | meat | vegetables |

14. If I won first prize in the sweepstakes in New Jersey and the prize was \$1,000, the first thing I would do is:

- a. buy some new furniture or something for the house
- b. go on a trip
- c. save most of it in the bank
- d. use it for the children's education
- e. enjoy it--spend it on anything

PART III.

We're trying to find out your ideas about certain advertisements. Please make sure your judgments are made on the basis of what these things mean to you. On the next few pages you will find a different advertisement to be judged and beneath it a set of scales. You are to rate the advertisement on each of these scales in order.

Here is how you are to use these scales:

If you feel that the advertisement at the top of the page is very closely related to one end of the scale, you should place a check-mark as follows:

fair X : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ unfair

fair ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : X : unfair

If you feel that the advertisement is quite closely related to one or the other end of the scale (but not extremely), you should place your check-mark as follows:

strong ___ : X : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ weak

strong ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : X : ___ weak

If the advertisement seems only slightly related to one side as opposed to the other side (but is not really neutral), then you should check as follows:

active ___ : ___ : X : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ passive

or

active ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : X : ___ : ___ passive

The direction toward which you check, of course, depends upon which of the two ends of the scale seem most characteristic of the advertisement.

If you consider the advertisement to be neutral on the scale, check as follows:

safe ___ : ___ : ___ : X : ___ : ___ : ___ dangerous

Advertisement _____

Attractive _____ Unattractive
 Simple _____ Complicated
 Bad _____ Good
 Low Pressure _____ High Pressure
 Inartistic _____ Artistic
 Informative _____ Uninformative
 Effective _____ Ineffective
 Weak _____ Strong
 Useful _____ Worthless
 Childish _____ Adult
 Fast _____ Slow
 Unpleasant _____ Pleasant
 Easy to understand _____ Hard to understand
 Believable _____ Unbelievable
 Dull _____ Interesting
 High brow _____ Common Sense
 Poor taste _____ Good taste
 Friendly _____ Unfriendly

PART IV.

In each category below place a check-mark next to the sub-category that applies to you.

1) Education--check the highest grade completed

- a) Grade school _____
 b) High School _____
 c) College _____
 d) Grad. Schl. _____

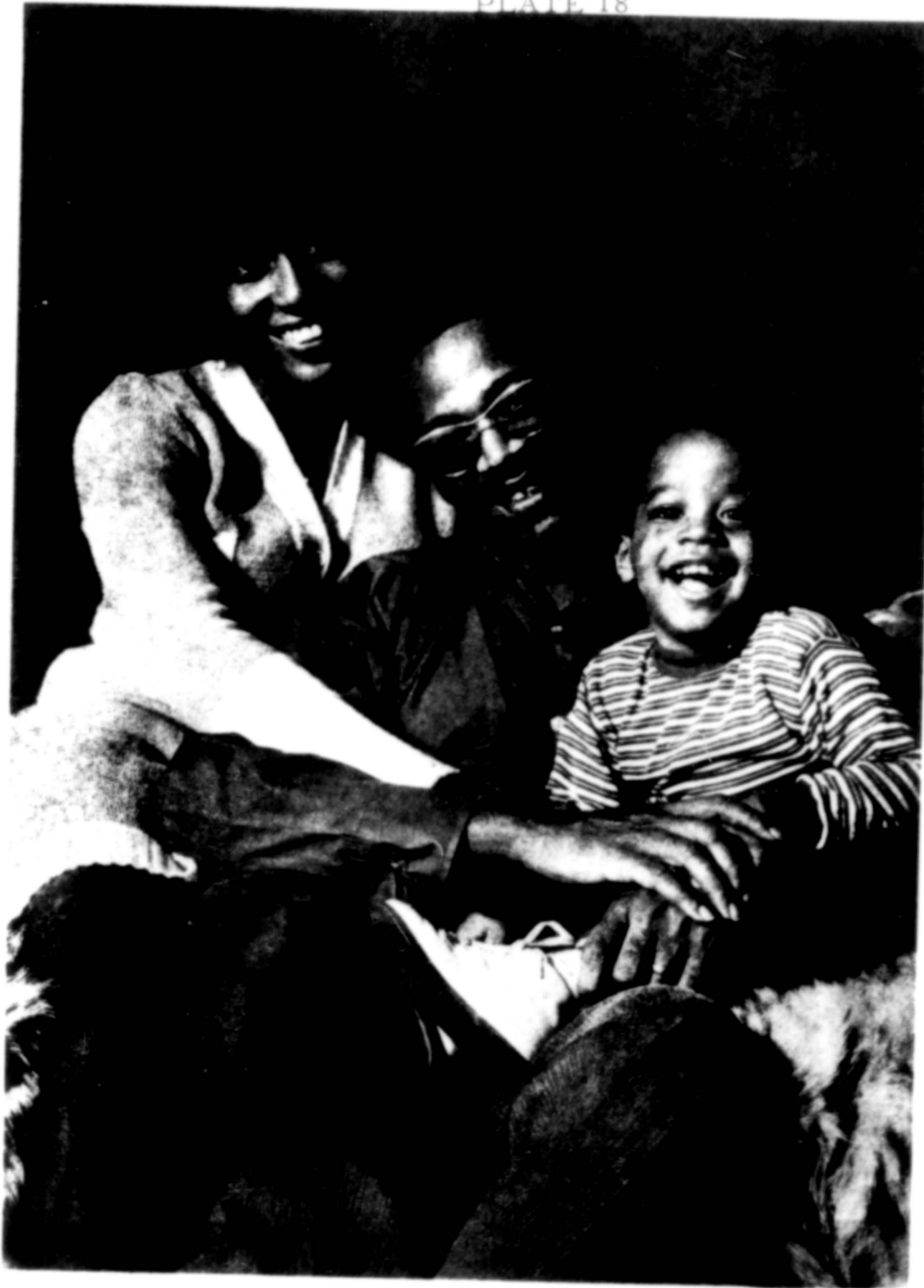
2) Income level--check the level that applies to you

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| a) \$1,000-2,000 _____ | f) 9,001-12,000 _____ |
| b) 2,001-3,500 _____ | g) 12,001-14,000 _____ |
| c) 3,501-5,000 _____ | h) 14,001-16,000 _____ |
| d) 5,001-7,000 _____ | i) over 16,000 _____ |
| e) 7,001-9,000 _____ | |

3) Age

- a) 18-25 _____
 b) 26-34 _____
 c) 35-45 _____
 d) over 45 _____

4) Number of children: _____



What's the Bowery Savings Bank doing at 145th St. & St. Nicholas Avenue?

Helping Bruce and Theresa Nichols get their family started.

Little ones mean bigger bills. Another mouth to feed. Another body to clothe and keep healthy. It all takes money. And the Nichols have that little extra it takes. They save at the Bowery where their money earns 5% from day of deposit to day of withdrawal.

Malcolm Nichols will have a better life. His parents planned ahead. What about your family? Open a savings account at the Bowery today. Making it better is making it good.

The Good Life. Bowery helps you live it!

The Bowery. America's No. 1 Savings Bank. Member F.D.I.C.

145th Street Branch, 145th Street & St. Nicholas Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10027. Bowery Savings Bank, 145th Street & St. Nicholas Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10027. Bowery Savings Bank, 145th Street & St. Nicholas Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10027. Bowery Savings Bank, 145th Street & St. Nicholas Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10027. Bowery Savings Bank, 145th Street & St. Nicholas Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10027.

CLYDE N. COLLINS, NOVEMBER 13, 1969—

SARAH WILLS, JULY 22, 1902-DECEMBER 10, 1969



Who Cares?

On the Southside of Black America, U.S.A., Clyde Collins draws his first breath and Sarah Wills draws her last. Who cares? The Collins care. The Wills care. The Black community cares.

To the Black reader, seeing these events in the pages of the Black oriented newspaper is more than a matter of life and death; it's proof of existence. The average Black doesn't exist in the white-oriented press. Besides recognition, the Black press provides its readers with information they want about jobs, housing, and national affairs. And, most important, the Black press offers Black opinions:

editorials about civil wrongs and the White problem.

Because of this, Blacks look upon Black-oriented newspapers as *their* newspapers.

That's why the Black press so effectively communicates with the Black market at the local level. That's why companies advertising in the Black press—companies like Seagram's, P. Lorillard, and Kodak—deserve and get special consideration in the market place.

For more information about the API Group of newspapers, call or write Norman Powell, Sales Manager.

AMALGAMATED PUBLISHERS, INC.

NATIONAL ADVERTISING REPRESENTATIVES FOR BLACK-ORIENTED NEWSPAPERS

310 MADISON AVE., NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017, MU 2-5452
2400 S. MICHIGAN AVE., CHICAGO, ILL. 60616, 842-0200

Christmas rapping



in just 60 seconds flat
with a Polaroid
Colorpack II.
\$29.95*



When the Grand Opening ceremony starts at your place, you'll be glad you own a Polaroid Colorpack II Land camera. It gives a finished color picture in a minute. Or a black-and-white in seconds.

An electric eye and electronic shutter automatically set the correct exposure — indoors or out. The 3-element lens gives sharp pictures. And the built-in flashgun uses 4-shot flashcubes for indoor shots.

Just drop in a film pack, shoot, and pull out the film. In seconds you see a finished picture. So be ready with a Polaroid Colorpack II. Christmas rapping comes just once a year.

*Suggested list price. Polaroid®

APPENDIX B. Questionnaire for Zebra Associates

PART I.

Which one of the following budgets comes closest to how people in the community spend their money each week. Circle your choice.

a) Budget #1

c) Budget #3

b) Budget #2

d) Budget #4

BUDGET #1

Apartment rent	\$ 37.50
Food	50.00
Utilities (gas, electric, phone)	7.00
Health care (doctors, drugs)	10.00
Clothing	10.00
Savings	31.00
<u>TOTAL:</u>	<u>\$146.50</u>

BUDGET #2

Apartment rent	\$ 37.50
Food	55.00
Health care (doctors, drugs)	10.00
Savings	4.00
Entertainment	16.00
Utilities (gas, electric, phone)	10.00
Clothing	14.00
<u>TOTAL:</u>	<u>\$146.50</u>

BUDGET #3

Apartment rent	\$ 37.50
Health care (doctors, drugs)	6.00
Clothing	13.00
Food	40.00
Utilities	10.00
Entertainment	15.00
Installment Payments	25.00
<u>TOTAL:</u>	<u>\$146.50</u>

BUDGET #4

Apartment rent	\$ 37.50
Utilities (gas, electric, phone)	10.00
Entertainment and Food	49.00
Car Payment	25.00
Installment Payments	25.00
<u>TOTAL:</u>	<u>\$146.50</u>

PART II.

In the list below, check off what you think characterizes the typical community resident who follows the budget you chose on the previous page.

1. Education

- a) Grade school _____
- b) High school _____
- c) College _____
- d) Grad. School _____

2) Income level

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| a) \$1,000-2,000 _____ | f) 9,001-12,000 _____ |
| b) 2,001-3,500 _____ | g) 12,001-14,000 _____ |
| c) 3,501-5,000 _____ | h) 14,001-16,000 _____ |
| d) 5,001-7,000 _____ | i) over 16,000 _____ |
| e) 7,001-9,000 _____ | |

3) Age

- a) 18-25 _____
- b) 26-34 _____
- c) 35-45 _____
- d) over 45 _____

4) Number of children: _____

PART III. Directions: In some of the questions below you will have to circle the correct letter of the answer you have chosen. In the questions that have "Yes-No-Don't Know" answers, circle the choice you believe to be correct.

1. Of the following items, the one thing that individuals in the Black community want the most is:

a. good food	c. good health
b. a large automobile	d. cosmetics, colognes

2. People in the community would buy a new car if they had money in the bank for their child's education.

Yes	No	Don't know
-----	----	------------

3. To get things that they want, people in the community would be willing to take out a loan or borrow from finance companies.

Yes	No	Don't know
-----	----	------------

4. The Black community feels that their most troublesome problem is:
 - a. lack of adequate housing
 - b. dope
 - c. crime--including robberies, muggings, murders
 - d. unemployment

5. What would someone in the community do first, second, third, fourth

<input type="checkbox"/>	buy a camera
<input type="checkbox"/>	open a savings account
<input type="checkbox"/>	buy some new clothes
<input type="checkbox"/>	have a party

6. To people in the community, the cost of meat is more important than the quality of the meat.

Yes	No	Don't know
-----	----	------------

7. People in the community think that the best way for the Black man to gain prestige and status both within the community and within society is:
- become a militant leader of the Black Panthers.
 - form a new organization and attempt to have many followers.
 - take charge of new government programs to improve the community.
 - gain fame and status but move out of the community.
 - other _____.
8. Individuals in the Black community try a lot of new products because they like to go shopping.
- Yes No Don't know
9. If people in the community had a choice between buying well known brand name products that are slightly more expensive or an unknown brand, they would buy the brand name product.
- Yes No Don't know
10. People in the community believe that the main cause of weak family ties is due to the fact that:
- there is a lack of respect for the head of the household
 - there is a generation gap
 - both members of the family are usually working
 - husband or wife is not providing a sufficient amount of money
11. If someone in the community got some extra money, they would go on vacation before they saved the money in the bank.
- Yes No Don't know
12. If someone in the community could buy a polaroid camera for \$29.95 or a kodak camera for \$49.95 and both gave the same quality results, they would buy the:
- \$29.95 polaroid camera
 - \$49.95 kodak camera

13. Which shopping list would someone in the community use if they went to the grocery store?

A		B	
1 quart milk	1 dozen eggs	1 quart milk	1 dozen eggs
1 banana cake	1 can icing	1 pound flour	1 pound sugar
frozen peas	fruit	flavoring	fruit
canned meat	vegetables	meat	vegetables

14. If someone in the community won first prize in the sweepstakes in New Jersey and the prize was \$1,000, the first thing they would do is:
- buy some new furniture or something for the house
 - go on a trip
 - save most of it in the bank
 - use it for the children's education
 - enjoy it--spend it on anything

APPENDIX C. Pre-test for Community and Zebra Associates

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR COMMUNITY MEMBERS

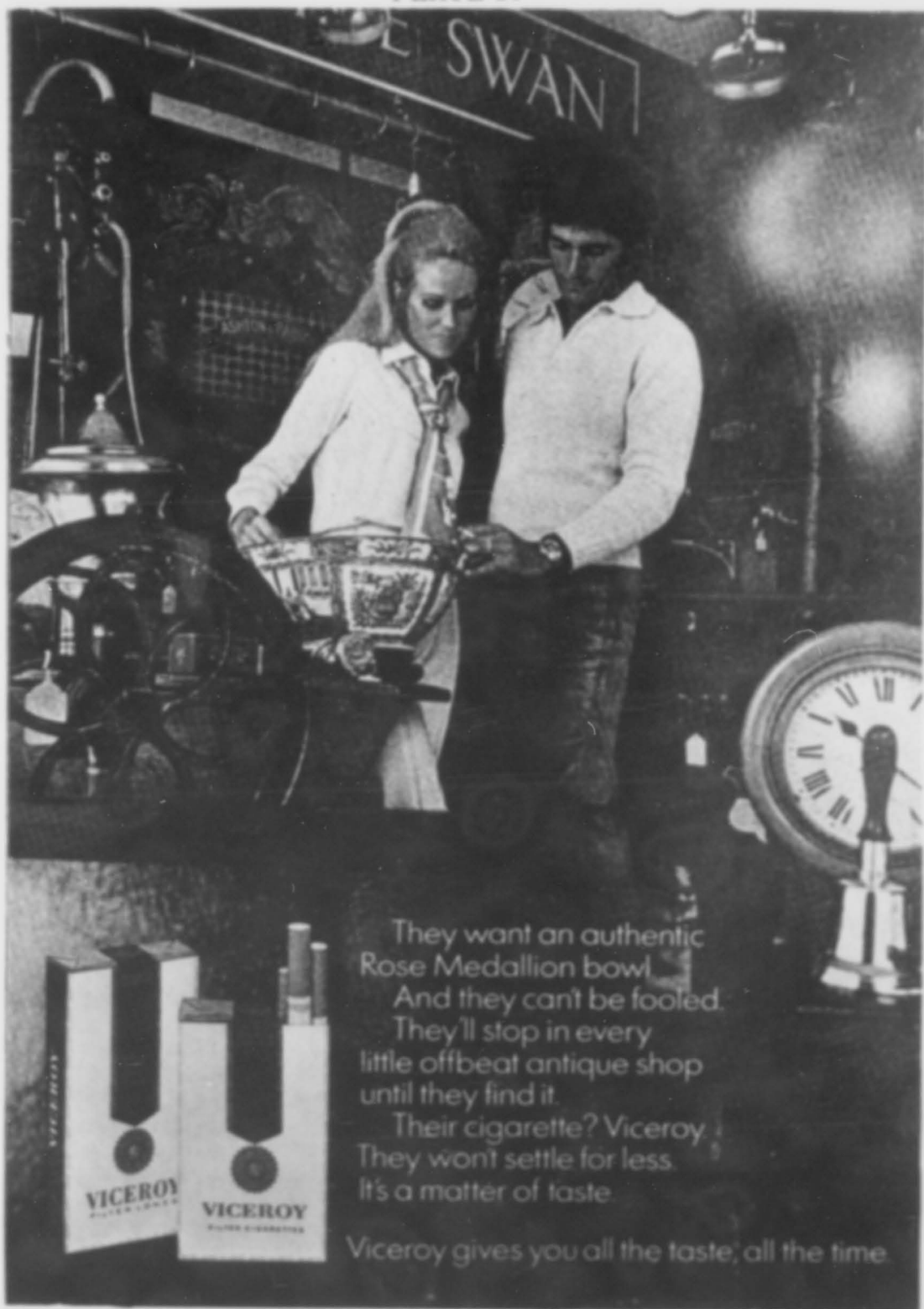
1. When you are buying for yourself or your family, what are your favorite things to buy or use? In other words, what do you enjoy buying?
2. Who does most of the buying in your family?
3. Why do you buy certain products but not others? For example, why do you buy one brand of soap over any other?
4. If you were trying to decide about buying one particular product, but you weren't sure about what to do, who would you ask for help? (friends, relatives, read the paper, listen to radio, watch TV commercials, etc.)
5. What does "Rappin' on the Roof" mean? Have you seen or heard it used anywhere?
6. Suppose you got a very special gift of \$1,000. How would you spend it? Changing the question a little bit, how do you think you should spend it?
7. If you owned a newspaper or magazine, what products would you advertise? If you owned a company that manufactured cosmetics, what would you do to sell your cosmetics?
8. How do you feel about your friends? What do most of your friends think about Black Power? (using the phrase to mean improvement of black pride and dignity?)
9. Will life in general be better or worse for you in the next few years as compared to now?
10. Do you think of the future days to come? What do you think about?
11. What do you think of most of the commercials you see on television or hear on the radio? (entertaining, annoying, informative, interesting, etc.)

12. Do you feel that the people who write the advertisements you read in the newspaper or magazines or hear on the radio or see on television, truly know the wants or needs of the black people? Why?
13. In your opinion, what are two or three of the biggest problems facing blacks today that you feel need changing?
14. What do you like to read? (magazines, newspapers, books)
How often do you read each of them?
15. If you were the copywriter for this advertisement (see Plate 21), how would you change it? What would you do and why?

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR ZEBRA ASSOCIATES

1. When they (your audience) are buying things for themselves or family, what are the favorite things they buy or use? What do they enjoy buying?
2. Who do you think does most of the buying in their family?
3. Why do you think they buy certain products but not others? For example, why do they buy one brand of soap over any other?
4. If someone were trying to decide about buying one particular product, but they weren't sure about what to do, who do you think they would ask for help? (friends, relatives, read the paper, listen to radio, watch TV commercials, etc.)
5. What do you think the people have interpreted the words "Rappin' on the Roof" to mean?
6. Suppose someone in the community received a gift of \$1,000. How do you think they would spend it? How do you think they should spend it?
7. What is the basic premise underlying your basic copy approaches? (need--based: aspiration based--delayed)
8. If someone in the community owned a newspaper or magazine, what products would they advertise? If they owned a company that manufactured cosmetics, what would they do to sell their cosmetic lines?
9. How do the people in the community feel about their friends? What do most of their friends think about Black Power (consider the phrase to mean improvement of black pride and dignity)?
10. Will life in general be better or worse for them in the next few years as compared to now?
11. Do you think the community ever thinks of future days to come? What do they think about?
12. How do people in the community feel about commercials they see on television or hear on the radio? (entertaining, annoying, informative, interesting, etc.)

13. Do you feel that your audience feels that you comprehend and understand their needs and wants?
14. Identify problems your audience believes are definite problems for the black community (two or three of the biggest problems).
15. What do you think the people in your audience like to read? (magazines, newspapers, books) How often do they read each of them?
16. If you were the copywriter for this advertisement (See Plate 21), how would readers expect you to change the advertisement? What would you do? Why?



They want an authentic
Rose Medallion bowl.
And they can't be fooled.
They'll stop in every
little offbeat antique shop
until they find it.
Their cigarette? Viceroy.
They won't settle for less.
It's a matter of taste.

Viceroy gives you all the taste, all the time.

APPENDIX D. Sample Rationale Created for Polaroid Corporation
Created by Zebra

POLAROID: A PROPOSAL ON ADVERTISING IN THE ETHNIC MARKET

Copy Platform/Polaroid

Since the introduction of the polaroid self-developing camera, the number of cameras available has increased. Today the Polaroid comprises five folding Colorpack models, four of which (The Countdown cameras) provide a built-in device for timing picture development. The fifth camera in this series, Model 320, does not offer a timer as an integral part of the camera. But a timer is available as an accessory. The line also includes the non-folding Colorpack II, two inexpensive black-and-white-only models (The Big Swinger, The Swinger) and the Model 180.

Because the mass-market prospect for a Polaroid is now faced with a variety of cameras to choose from, he must be informed of the features that distinguish one camera from another. Polaroid advertising has done just that. As a result, the idea of "instant pictures," which still appears in all Polaroid advertising, occupies a less prominent place. For example, in print the instant-picture idea usually appears as a caption or as part of a sub-head or body copy. This makes sense. The mass market, we believe, is by now familiar with the Polaroid concept. However, we also believe that the Black consumer market is still largely unacquainted with this idea. Therefore we propose advertising that strongly communicates "instant pictures."

The technique

The Black consumer feels the need to be recognized to a much greater degree than his white counterpart. The reasons are obvious.

Because advertising directed at the Black consumer market is largely a reflection of white middle-class experiences, beliefs, and values, it has failed to take into consideration the Black man's special needs and unique life style. And when it does, the results have been ineffective. Why? Because in advertising, the Black man has been cast in roles he finds patronizing, unrealistic, and ludicrous. Therefore we propose advertising that (1) prominently displays Black people in (2) situations which they can favorably relate to; advertising that incorporates the Black consumer's strong desire for immediate gratification; advertising that demonstrates to the Black consumer that the advertiser is aware of his language and life-style; advertising that takes into consideration the Black man's aversion to long copy; in short, advertising tailored to the Black man as he is, not to the mass advertiser's idea of what the Black man is.

To do this, we recommend some changes in Polaroid's print format. The Polaroid picture, featuring Blacks in believable situations, will appear in the upper half of the ad. The camera or cameras will appear below. Where appropriate, ethnic jargon, or inner-city patois will appear in the headline. But body copy will be straightforward, short, and wherever possible emphasize how simple it is to take a good picture with a Polaroid.

Radio advertising will follow a similar tack. It will portray situations that Blacks have experienced or situations which inform and sell in a manner that responds to Black sensibilities and attitudes.

We believe such advertising will not only help to move Polaroid cameras off the shelf, but will also evoke favorable feelings and beliefs about the Polaroid Corporation in the Black community.

POLAROID

Some Suggestions for Recruiting

Competition to recruit chemical and mechanical engineers is intense. It is particularly so for the recruitment of Black chemical and mechanical engineers. Because of the desire on the part of many corporations today to employ at least several Black people on the professional level and because of the great demand for those with engineering skills, companies are competing to recruit the same few Black people who are qualified.

This recruitment may be done in two ways: securing people who are already employed and securing people on the college campuses who are just entering their profession. To secure people already employed is of course more difficult, since it becomes a matter of competing with their present employers. Moreover, it does nothing to help the shortage of qualified Black engineers. To secure graduates on the college campus is a better alternative but the competition still exists. In addition, the matter of identifying Black engineering graduates presents a problem. One source of such graduates would be those of predominantly Black schools. However, there are only three such schools with accredited engineering programs: North Carolina A & T College, Howard University, and Tuskegee Institute. Three other schools have engineering programs but these are not accredited: Tennessee State, Southern University, and Prairie View A & M College. The number of graduates from any of the Black accredited engineering schools that Polaroid could expect to attract in any one year would probably be minimal, given the competition. Identifying Black engineering graduates of large universities offers more of a problem. And here, especially, one would imagine the competition with other companies to be the greatest. All companies would be after the one or two Blacks who are

graduating from the larger and more prestigious engineering schools.

There is one approach to recruiting, however, which would not only result in Black engineers for Polaroid, but would also have the added benefit of making a significant contribution to the training of more Black engineers and would help establish the Polaroid name more in the Black community. Essentially, this approach involves a traineeship program. Black students enrolled in pre-engineering programs at Black campuses could be recruited as summer employees at Polaroid in their junior year. The program would be available to them in the summer after their senior year, also. Then they would be offered positions upon successful completion of their fifth year of engineering studies. The advantages of this program are numerous, among which are the following:

- 1) The prospective engineer would become familiar with Polaroid and the Boston area. Hopefully, this would result in his wanting to work there permanently.

- 2) It would help to supply him with income to continue his studies.

- 3) Polaroid would know whom they were hiring.

- 4) The publicity about the summer program on the campuses would rebound to Polaroid's reputation as a company which cares about the Black Community.

- 5) Polaroid would be making a real contribution in helping to develop more Black professionals.

A recommended way of recruiting the students can be based on the way various prestigious graduate schools recruit students at undergraduate schools. The University of Chicago Graduate School of Business, for example, sets aside a scholarship to be awarded specifically to a student at each of a list of over 30 colleges. The student is selected by a committee at the college, and posters at the school indicate that applications are being accepted for the X College scholarship to

the University of Chicago Graduate School of Business. Polaroid could arrange with a number of predominantly Black schools (see attached list) to offer the X College summer internship in engineering at Polaroid. This would not only produce the people for the program but would also gain the cooperation and good will of college staff members who counsel and influence students about job opportunities. Again, the public relations benefits which would accrue are considerable.

We feel that this type of program offers not only a practical but also a socially conscious approach to Polaroid's recruiting problems.

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