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THE EMERGING NEGRO IN ADVERTISING

presented by Charles John Hasser

a candidate for the degree of Master of Arts

and hereby certify that in their opinion it is worthy of acceptance.

Milton Gross
Robert W. Haydel
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THE EMERGING NEGRO IN ADVERTISING

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the Graduate School
University of Missouri

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Charles John Hasser
June 1966

This thesis is respectfully dedicated
to the memory of

MARGUERITE CLAYTON GLASS

of Holden, Missouri, B.J., 1918

C72474

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. THE PURPOSE AND METHODOLOGY	1
The Purpose	1
Statement of purpose	1
Importance of the study	1
The Methodology	3
Definition of terms	3
Some limitations	4
Organization of the remainder of the thesis .	5
II. HIGHLIGHTS OF THE NEGRO HISTORY	
IN THE UNITED STATES	6
The past gives meaning to the present	6
First Negroes in America	6
Negroes become slaves	7
Abolitionist movements	8
The Civil War and the end of slavery	10
The "Black Codes"	13
"Separate but equal"	16
A new century	18
The Negro and World War I	19
The postwar years	21
The Great Depression	22
The Negro and World War II	22

CHAPTER	PAGE
Postwar progress	24
"The Negro revolt"	26
III. A LOOK AT THE NEGRO MARKET	32
The nature of the Negro market	32
The shifting Negro population	35
Negroes are more brand conscious	36
Stereotypes of Negroes are misleading	40
"Hard-headed economics"	41
IV. EFFORTS TO INTEGRATE ADVERTISING	44
Breaking the "rules" of advertising	44
A weak beginning	44
Pressure from civil rights groups	47
The campaign loses momentum	60
V. SOME EXAMPLES OF INTEGRATED ADVERTISEMENTS	62
"Realistic treatment"	62
Some integrated advertisements	63
VI. A SURVEY OF SOME ADVERTISERS WHO HAVE USED INTEGRATED ADS	77
Statement of the problem	77
The procedure followed	77
The response	78
VII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	88
Summary of the study	88
Conclusions drawn from the survey	90

CHAPTER	PAGE
Suggestions for future research	93
BIBLIOGRAPHY	96
APPENDIX	103

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	PAGE
I. Negro Populations, Households, Total and Family Median Incomes in Eight Major Metropolitan Markets	37
II. Trend of White and Negro Populations in Eight Major Metropolitan Markets	38

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE	PAGE
1. Advertisement Showing Negroes in a Group of Athletes	64
2. Advertisement Using a Negro Athlete Alone	65
3. Advertisement Showing Negroes As Part of a Group .	67
4. Advertisement Using Group Technique With Negro Children	68
5. Advertisement Using Group Technique With Negro Babies	70
6. Advertisement Forcing Integration in an Unnatural Situation	71
7. Advertisement Including a Negro in One of Several Scenes	72
8. Advertisement Using a Negro Model With Caucasian Facial Features and Light Skin	74
9. Advertisement Depicting a Negro in a Natural Situation	75
10. Advertisement Sponsored by an Advertising Agency .	76

CHAPTER I

THE PURPOSE AND METHODOLOGY

I. THE PURPOSE

Statement of purpose. The history of the Negro's struggle for equality in the United States of America is a long, frustrating, and bitter story that spans a period of nearly three-and-a-half centuries. In this century, and especially in the last two decades, however, American Negroes have moved toward their goal of equal opportunity in all areas of life at a faster pace than ever before. The purpose of this study is to examine one of these more recent advances--the emergence of Negroes in visual advertising in general consumer media--and to learn why some advertisers have used this type of advertising, what some of their problems might have been, and their plans in regard to it for the future.

Importance of the study. The immediacy of the problem of equality of opportunity for Negroes in all areas of American life, the rapid growth and changing character of the Negro market, and the advent of the use of Negro models in advertisements in general media--all point to the need for a study in this area.

Leaders of the civil rights movement are aware of the

ability of advertising to shape and influence, to a large extent, an individual's concept of the world and the people in it. They are especially aware of the potential of advertising to help mold a favorable image of the Negro in the eyes of the white man.

In a speech before a group of advertising men in 1963, Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said:

. . . The denial of jobs and freedom stems largely from the distorted image the white majority has of the Negro. . . . the majority of white Americans believe that Negroes are a happy-go-lucky people with little ambition, and that they are careless about their persons, their morals and their homes. Half of the white people believe Negroes have less native intelligence than white persons.

. . . This stereotype is daily reinforced by all the media of mass communications--the press, radio, television and films. . . .

. . . What we in the Negro protest movement ask is realistic treatment of the Negro in the roles he actually plays in American life today. Only recently, and still too rarely, has the viewer of television commercials had any reason to believe that the United States is populated by any persons other than White Anglo-Saxon Protestants. . . .¹

In addition, there seems to be a dearth of published scholarly studies concerning the use of Negroes in advertisements in general media. Only two studies of particular

¹Roy Wilkins, "Economic Impact of the Civil Rights Struggle" (paper read at the American Association of Advertising Agencies Eastern Annual Conference, New York, November 8, 1963).

note were found by the investigator. One of them--"Consumer Motivations in Black and White," by Henry A. Bullock--appeared in 1961.² But, the fact that Bullock's study already is five years old tends to make one wary of it, since the Negro market is rapidly growing and changing in character. Besides, only a portion of Bullock's article dealt with the use of Negroes in advertisements in general media. A more recent study--"The Negro Turns to Advertising," by William H. Boyenton--appeared in 1965.³ The investigator was unable to find any books that dealt primarily with this subject; nevertheless, numerous short, related articles were found, mostly in advertising trade publications. This lack of scholarly research points to the need for further study, which is the purpose of this paper.

II. THE METHODOLOGY

Definition of terms. For the purposes of this study, "integrated advertising" is defined as "the usage of the Negro in advertisements in 'natural situations.' It is the depicting of Negroes in the actual roles which they fill in

²Henry A. Bullock, "Consumer Motivations in Black and White," Harvard Business Review, 39:89-104, May-June, 1961; 39:110-124, July-August, 1961.

³William H. Boyenton, "The Negro Turns to Advertising," Journalism Quarterly, 42:227-235, Spring, 1965.

society today."⁴ Although members of other non-white races living in the United States also have been used in integrated advertisements and could be included in an expanded study of the topic, the definition here will include only American Negroes.

The term "general consumer media" refers to all types of media that make possible the visual presentation of advertisements to the general public, such as television, magazines, newspapers, outdoor posters, and direct mail. This does not include, however, specialized media such as Negro magazines and newspapers. By definition, radio is excluded because of the great difficulty of doing research in that media.

Some limitations. As previously mentioned, the scarcity of published scholarly research about integrated advertising prevented a study in depth of the opinions and findings of authoritative scholars and businessmen, thus necessitating the piecing together of fragments of information from numerous sources. Another limitation was created by the impossibility of monitoring television commercials, which change from market to market. Similarly,

⁴Robert Liddel, "Integrated Advertising" (paper read at the American Association of Advertising Agencies Eastern Annual Conference, New York, November 8, 1963).

the regional placement of magazine and newspaper advertising served to deny the investigator access to many of the integrated advertisements that have appeared and made it hazardous to generalize about the ones that did appear in this area. And, in some cases, it was impossible to determine whether an advertisement was integrated, since shadows, art work, and positions of the models' bodies sometimes made it difficult to distinguish their races.

Organization of the remainder of the thesis. In the next chapter, a brief history of the evolution of the Negro problem in the United States will provide the necessary background information to help the reader put integrated advertising into perspective. This chapter will be followed by a study of the Negro market and its potentialities. Next, the growth of integrated advertising will be traced. Then, examples of some techniques commonly used to include Negroes in advertisements with whites will be presented. And, as an original contribution, the investigator will present the results of a survey of thirty-nine companies that have used integrated advertising in general media. Finally, the study will be summarized, and the investigator will draw some conclusions.

CHAPTER II

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE NEGRO HISTORY IN THE UNITED STATES

The past gives meaning to the present. Before the full significance of the advent of integrated advertising in the United States can be grasped, it is necessary to become familiar with the history of the Negro in America. A review of the nearly three-and-a-half centuries of slavery, abuse, deprivation, and discrimination against the Negro places the beginning of integrated advertising in a new perspective. Integrated advertising is, in fact, a part of the sociological revolution taking place in this country.

First Negroes in America. The first Negroes in the New World were explorers and pioneers, not slaves. Some historians say that a Negro named Pedro Alonso Nino was a member of Columbus' crew. The claim has never been disproved. There is more definite proof that Negroes accompanied early explorers, such as Balboa, Cortes, Alvarado, Pizarro, and Cabeza de Vaca.¹

In order to fulfill their manpower requirements for exploring and exploiting America, the Europeans tried to

¹John P. Davis (ed.), The American Negro Reference Book (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), p. 1.

make slaves of the Indians. Their efforts failed, however, when the Indians were found to be stubbornly opposed to a life of servitude and a complicated economic system. The Indians also had little or no immunity to the European diseases that had been brought to the colonies. These factors, plus the fact that the Indians were too few in number to satisfy the demand for laborers, made them wholly unsatisfactory as slaves.²

Explorers then thought that poorer white Europeans, working as indentured servants, could solve the labor shortage, but they proved to be stubborn and restless and were difficult to identify when they ran away from their masters. Furthermore, their terms of servitude were not indefinite, and recruiting was a continual problem.³

Negroes become slaves. Eventually, Europeans saw the Negro as the solution to their labor problem in the New World. The most attractive feature of the Negro solution was that the Negroes could be bought outright, thus making them servants for life. Since they were pagans and had no concept of the principles of Christian brotherhood, Negroes could be severely disciplined when necessary. Also, their

²Ibid., p. 2.

³Brewton Berry, Race and Ethnic Relations (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1958), p. 102.

dark skin made it difficult for them to hide when they ran away.⁴

The New World was opened to slave trade in 1517, when the Spanish bishop Bartolome de Las Casas persuaded Charles V to allow each Spaniard to import twelve slaves to America in an effort to stop the slaughtering of the Indians. This move stimulated the establishment of slavery in the Americas, and slave trading became a big business.⁵

Although Negroes had been in the New World since the days of the early explorers, the first Negroes to be brought into the American colonies were put ashore in 1619 at Jamestown. It is significant to point out, however, that they were merely indentured servants who happened to have dark skins; they were not slaves. Not long afterward, however, their bondage became perpetual, and the practice spread throughout the colonies.⁶

Abolitionist movements. There was scattered opposition to slavery among the early colonists in America, but the abolitionists did not begin to organize until the Revolutionary War. "In 1785 the New York Society for

⁴Davis, op. cit., p. 3.

⁵Berry, op. cit., pp. 103-104.

⁶Davis, op. cit., p. 8.

Promoting the Manumission of Slaves was organized . . . and by 1792 there were antislavery societies in every state from Massachusetts to Virginia."⁷ Both whites and Negroes were involved in the antislavery movement. Between 1780 and 1804, manumission acts were passed in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey. The efforts of the abolitionists met with stiff opposition in the Southern states, where much money had been invested in slaves. Nevertheless, by 1787 Georgia, Virginia, and North Carolina had made the importation of slaves illegal. In addition, the Congress of the United States passed a law prohibiting slavery and involuntary servitude in the Northwest Territory. In 1808, federal law made slave trading illegal in the United States.

Free Negroes in the North began social movements in the 1790's in an effort to obtain separate church organizations. These movements were a result of "a new form of race consciousness involving the question of status and personal dignity" that was developing among free Negroes.⁸ The separate Negro churches became the centers of group life in the following decades.

⁷ Ibid., p. 21.

⁸ E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro in the United States (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957), p. 521.

These Negro churches provided the religious leaders who dominated the "convention movement," an outgrowth of the dissatisfaction Negroes were voicing about their status, in 1830. A number of conventions were held, resulting in condemnations of slavery and pleas that white men ignore the Fugitive Slave Law by freeing Negroes and helping the enslaved Negroes escape. The "convention movement" was not oriented "toward nationalistic or separatist aims but rather toward the achievement of a place in American society." Nevertheless, the movement lost its momentum in the 1850's, and no other Negro social movements developed until after the Civil War.⁹

The Civil War and the end of slavery. The issue of slavery was one of the important topics in the clash of interests between the industrialized states of the North, which favored free labor, and the agricultural states of the South, which depended upon slave labor for economic survival. Slavery was one of the major sources of dispute that helped to create the tension-filled atmosphere leading up to the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861. In the course of the dispute before the war, the Southern Democrats had labeled President Abraham Lincoln as a "Black Republican" whom they

⁹Ibid., p. 522.

refused to accept. They preferred "secession to abolitionist rule."

As for the feelings of the Negroes at the outbreak of the war, many of them concurred with Frederick Douglas when he said:

Standing outside the pale of American humanity, denied citizenship, unable to call the land of my birth my country . . . and longing for the end of the bondage of my people, I was ready for any political upheaval which should bring about a change in the existing condition of things.¹⁰

Once the war had begun, abolitionists tried to persuade President Lincoln to issue a proclamation that would free all slaves. Supporting the abolitionists was a powerful faction of Congressmen. At first, Lincoln refused to give in, because he feared "that if Negroes were set free and given arms, thousands of white soldiers from the border states would lay down their arms."¹¹ Although Lincoln was strongly opposed to slavery, he believed that whites and Negroes would not be able to live together after the Negroes had been freed. Consequently, he devised various schemes to colonize the Negroes in Africa or in the Caribbean area.¹² When these schemes failed to gain support, he finally agreed

¹⁰Davis, op. cit., p. 36.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 37-38.

¹²Ibid.

to free the Negroes. On January 1, 1863, he issued the final Emancipation Proclamation, which freed "all slaves except in those states or parts of states not in rebellion against the United States."¹³

Nearly one hundred eighty thousand Negro troops fought on the Union side during the Civil War, but they were allowed to do so only after two years of arguing and protesting by abolitionist leaders. Even then, the inclusion of Negroes in the Northern army was allowed only because of military necessity and the need to convince the rest of the world that the Northern cause was just. These same reasons provided the basic motivation behind the Emancipation Proclamation.¹⁴

Slavery was abolished everywhere in the United States on December 6, 1865, when the Thirteenth Amendment was ratified, and four million Negroes rejoiced in their freedom.¹⁵ Their feelings were expressed by W. E. B. Du Bois, who wrote:

¹³Rayford W. Logan, The Negro in the United States (Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1957), p. 22.

¹⁴Gunnar Myrdal, Arnold Rose, and Richard Sterner, An American Dilemma (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944), p. 738.

¹⁵Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Service, and General Services Administration, United States Government Organization Manual: 1965-66 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1965), p. 13.

The mass of slaves, even the more intelligent ones, and certainly the great group of field hands, were in religious and hysterical fervor. This was the coming of the Lord. This was the fulfillment of prophecy and legend. It was the Golden Dawn, after chains of a thousand years. It was everything miraculous and perfect and promising. For the first time in their life, they could travel; they could see; they could change the dead level of their labor; they could talk to friends and sit at sundown and in moonlight, listening and imparting wonder-tales. They could hunt in the swamps and fish in the rivers, and above all, they could stand up and assert themselves. They need not fear the patrol; they need not even cringe before a white face, and touch their hats.¹⁶

The "Black Codes." When they received their freedom, most of the four million Negroes could neither read nor write, owned no property, and had no skills. Their chances of succeeding in an "economically complex society" looked dim.¹⁷

Regarding the Negro's plight during the Reconstruction, Negro writer Louis Lomax said of the abolitionists:

They won the war but they lost the peace; they freed the Negro but—during the chaotic years from 1865 to 1877—through opportunism, the greed of others and their own lack of planning, they set the stage for the institution of segregation that plagues us until now.¹⁸

To counteract the effects of the Thirteenth

¹⁶Myrdal, loc. cit.

¹⁷Louis E. Lomax, The Negro Revolt (New York: The New American Library, 1963), p. 32.

¹⁸Ibid.

Amendment, Southern legislatures sought to hold Negroes in an inferior position by passing laws during 1865 and 1866 that came to be called "Black Codes." The Southerners hoped to deny the rights of their former slaves as completely as possible. The "Black Codes" varied from state to state, but typical among them were vagrancy laws used to make Negroes work and laws forbidding "acts of insolence" and prohibiting Negroes from buying farm land, possessing liquor or fire-arms. And, while they were building schools for whites, no Southern states sought to provide educational facilities for Negroes.¹⁹

By 1867, it was evident to Congress that the Southern states were doing their best to retain slavery through the "Black Codes." The Congressional Reconstruction then began, and federal agents were sent into the Southern states.²⁰ Although most of the "Black Codes" were abolished during this period, "their spirit prevailed in the complex of laws protecting the planters' interests. . . ."²¹ In addition to Congressional Reconstruction, two other important outgrowths of the "Black Codes" were the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1866, which insured "the rights of all

¹⁹Davis, op. cit., p. 41.

²⁰Myrdal, op. cit., p. 447.

²¹Ibid., p. 558.

citizens regardless of race," and the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868, which included the provisions of the Civil Rights Act.²²

Probably the major reasons why the Reconstruction failed were that no provisions were made by the federal and local governments for the economic security and independence of the newly freed slaves. The fact that Negro voters worked for those people who were strongly opposed to the Negroes' use of the ballot greatly hampered their freedom of expression. In some areas, Reconstruction did not have an opportunity even to begin to accomplish its goals. By the time Reconstruction had ended, "the Negro was only slightly better off than he had been when the war came in 1861."²³

But even the little progress the newly freed Negroes did make during the Reconstruction was difficult for many Southerners to accept. When Negroes were elected to state offices at various levels, the white racists began objecting to "Negro rule." To counteract the Negro's rise to power, the Ku Klux Klan was organized in 1865 in Pulaski, Tennessee. Both Negroes and whites who were working to reconstruct the South were subjected to Klan terrorism in

²²Davis, op. cit., pp. 41-42.

²³Ibid., pp. 44-45.

the form of murders, lynchings, and drownings.²⁴

The Civil Rights Act of 1875 was passed by Congress in hopes of ending the "Jim Crow" discrimination that had spread after the Civil War. Although the bill applied to both Northern and Southern states, the South was hardest hit by its provisions, which called for

full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, facilities, and privileges of inns, public conveyances on land or water, theatres, and other places of public amusement . . . alike to citizens of every race and color, regardless of any previous condition of servitude.²⁵

The Act further called upon the courts to render equal justice to all men, regardless of their race, creed or political beliefs. Eventually, the Act was tested in the United States Supreme Court, which had declared in the Dred Scott decision of 1857 that Negroes were not citizens. The Supreme Court nullified the law in 1883, saying that "Congress could not properly 'cover the whole domain of rights appertaining to life, liberty, and property, defining them and providing for their vindication.'"²⁶

"Separate but equal." The Negroes who remained in the South faced discrimination through increasing

²⁴Ibid., pp. 43-44.

²⁵Logan, op. cit., p. 34.

²⁶Davis, op. cit., pp. 46-47.

segregation in many areas of life. Passenger seating on railroads became one of the first areas to be segregated when Tennessee passed the first "Jim Crow" law in 1881. By 1892, six other states--Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, and Texas--had passed laws requiring the segregation of Negro and white passengers on public carriers. Oklahoma and Mississippi soon followed suit.

The U.S. Supreme Court decision in the Plessy vs. Ferguson case in 1896 was a real setback to the Negro in his quest for equality. It upheld the Louisiana law of 1890 that required "all railway companies carrying passengers in their coaches in this state, shall provide separate but equal accommodations for the white and colored races."²⁷ The effects of this decision were felt in other areas of life, too, about which Lomax wrote:

Segregation thus became an American institution, a way of life imbedded in the law of the land. But if "separate but equal" was the law, "separate and unequal" was the practice. And injustice is the Siamese twin of inequality.²⁸

During this same period, Southern states were passing various laws aimed at disfranchising Negroes of their right to vote. Poll taxes, literacy tests, property ownership, and the famous "Grandfather Clause" were some of the devices

²⁷Ibid., pp. 48-49.

²⁸Lomax, op. cit., p. 41.

used to keep Negroes from the polls. As a race, Negroes were effectively disfranchised in Mississippi, South Carolina, North Carolina, Louisiana, Virginia, Georgia, Alabama, and Oklahoma by 1910.²⁹

A new century. The new century saw more and more Negroes migrating to the Northern industrial cities, where they hoped to find employment and a better life than the downtrodden existence known in the South. Thus began the urbanization of the Negro and the growth of new problems he had not known in the rural South. The hostile attitude of labor unions made it difficult for Negroes to find jobs in the cities. Segregation in housing forced Negroes into the crowded slum areas that were run-down before they arrived. W. E. B. Du Bois was aware of the living conditions Negroes faced in the big city slums when he wrote at the turn of the century "that the problem of that century would be the problem of the color line."³⁰

Negroes responded to their new problems by organizing. A new era of Negro militancy began in 1905, when W. E. B. Du Bois called a meeting of Negro leaders at Niagara Falls, Canada.³¹ The group made an effective

²⁹Davis, op. cit., p. 50.

³⁰Ibid., pp. 56-57.

³¹Logan, op. cit., p. 102.

protest against the philosophy of Booker T. Washington, who too often accepted second-class citizenship and pushed only for his "most urgent demands."³² The Niagara Movement, as it came to be called, "demanded equal economic opportunity, equal education, a fair administration of justice and an end to segregation."³³

Although there were a number of civil rights organizations being established during these years, the most important one was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which was founded by a group of Negroes and liberal whites in 1909. The NAACP took a strong position against discrimination and made the restoration of the Negro's right to vote one of its major objectives. The organization's president, Moorfield Storey, a lawyer, succeeded in having the "Grandfather Clause" in Oklahoma declared unconstitutional in 1915. Job opportunities in industry, adequate police protection, and the abolishment of lynching and terrorism were some of the NAACP's other goals.³⁴

The Negro and World War I. The outbreak of the war

³²Myrdal, op. cit., p. 641.

³³Davis, op. cit., p. 59.

³⁴Ibid., p. 60; Logan, loc. cit.

brought a combination of factors that resulted in what is called the Great Migration. The draft took many Negroes and whites out of their jobs and caused a labor shortage, which was intensified by the halt of immigration and the increased production demands the war was making on Northern industries. Northern manufacturers, therefore, actively sought to bring Negroes from the South to work in their factories; nearly a million Negroes migrated from the South to the North during the years before and after the war. The Negroes who came North found better jobs with better wages, better educational opportunities, and more political power than they had had in the South.³⁵

Negroes fought in the war, too, and helped to "make the world safe for democracy," something they did not have at home for themselves. Four hundred thousand Negro men were drafted, but relatively few saw action, since many were relegated to labor camps or servant jobs.

When the Negro soldiers returned from the war, whites greeted them with a suspicious eye and feared they might create too much competition for jobs or might demand too many "rights" for having served their country.³⁶ In fact, some of the Negroes met with violence: ten Negro soldiers

³⁵Logan, op. cit., p. 103; Myrdal, op. cit., p. 193.

³⁶Myrdal, op. cit., p. 745.

still in uniform were lynched. The Klan became active again in some rural areas, and numerous riots occurred in urban areas during the postwar years. Nevertheless, Negroes were more determined than ever to secure their rights as citizens. After fighting for democracy in Europe, they were willing to do it at home, if necessary.³⁷

The postwar years. Not a single city in the country could count one hundred thousand Negroes in its population in 1910, but the Negro populations in six cities had reached that mark by 1920, and five more cities were added to the total by 1940. The cities were: New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Washington, Baltimore, New Orleans, Memphis, Birmingham, St. Louis, and Atlanta. The Negro populations in numerous other cities across the nation were increasing also.

The urban Negroes soon learned to take more pride in themselves and became "defiant, bitter and impatient" when their dreams of a good life in the cities were not fulfilled. The large numbers of Negroes in the cities were in an entirely different atmosphere than they had been on the Southern plantations, and they no longer were afraid to speak out when they were discriminated against.³⁸

³⁷Davis, op. cit., pp. 64-65.

³⁸Ibid., p. 66.

The Great Depression. Although the years during the Great Depression were difficult for most Americans, Negroes found life particularly hard. They usually were the first to be fired when business faltered, and the few who did keep their jobs often were paid very low wages. Since few Negroes had been able to attain a decent standard of living before the Depression, practically none of them had any savings to carry them through the lean years.³⁹

When Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected President in 1932, Negroes viewed him with doubt. He was a Democrat, and they were worried that his health might fail and that Vice President James N. Garner, a Southerner, would step into the Presidency. It was not long, however, until Roosevelt's New Deal policies and open friendliness toward the Negroes won their support and respect. Despite Roosevelt's friendliness toward the Negroes, however, civil rights legislation was neglected during the Depression. Even so, some of the traditional forms of discrimination against Negroes were weakened during these years.⁴⁰

The Negro and World War II. Labor shortages in practically every field during World War II provided Negroes

³⁹Myrdal, op. cit., p. 754.

⁴⁰Davis, op. cit., p. 70.

with rare opportunities to make inroads into occupations that otherwise might have been closed to them. Segregationists as well as Negroes were aware of this situation, and early in the war, there was well-organized opposition to employing Negroes to work with whites. Realizing that discrimination in jobs would not only hurt the Negroes' morale, but also would hamper production of items needed for defense, President Roosevelt signed an Executive Order prohibiting discriminatory practices in all work related to defense.⁴¹

Although only five thousand Negroes were in the Army when war broke out in Europe in 1939, nearly one million Negro men and women served in the various branches of the military by the end of the war. Approximately seven hundred thousand Negroes served in the Army, one hundred sixty-five thousand in the Navy, five thousand in the Coast Guard, and seventeen thousand in the Marine Corps. Negroes had never served in the Marines before. At first, most of the Negroes served in segregated units, but some integrated units were formed on an experimental basis in 1945 to fight in Germany. Integration also took place in officer candidate schools, and nearly six hundred Negroes became pilots.

⁴¹Myrdal, op. cit., pp. 409-410; Logan, op. cit., p. 90.

Negro women served in the WACS and Waves. Approximately half of the Negroes in the armed forces served overseas.⁴²

Postwar progress. The Negroes' never-ending quest for equal opportunity gained momentum in the postwar years under President Harry S Truman. One of his notable accomplishments was the formation of the President's Committee on Civil Rights in 1946. In addition, Truman took a precedent-breaking step in February, 1948, when he became the first President to send a special message on civil rights to Congress. The message called for legislation needed to protect Negroes from discriminatory practices in several areas of life and for federal laws dealing with lynching. Congress refused to take actions on Truman's recommendations, but his efforts made it difficult for future Presidents to ignore the plight of Negroes in the United States.⁴³ In fact, every presidential candidate since 1948 has recognized the necessity of making promises to improve the lives of Negroes in order to win their votes. Large Negro populations in California, Illinois, Michigan, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York put Negroes in a

⁴²Davis, op. cit., pp. 75-76.

⁴³Ibid., pp. 79-80.

strong position to bargain politically.⁴⁴

During this period, the United States Supreme Court began to take a more liberal attitude toward the interpretation of the Constitution, and it rendered a number of decisions that helped to eliminate some discrimination. In the Morgan vs. Virginia case in 1946, the Supreme Court invalidated a Virginia law by declaring that segregation of vehicles engaged in interstate transportation was unconstitutional.⁴⁵ Restrictive covenants in the sale of property were declared to be in violation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment as a result of the decision in the Shelley vs. Kraemer case in 1948.⁴⁶ And, in Sweatt vs. Painter in 1950, the Supreme Court drastically departed from the "separate but equal" decision it had rendered in the Plessy vs. Ferguson case in 1896.⁴⁷ The case involved a Negro student seeking admission into the University of Texas Law School. The Supreme Court declared that truly equal facilities must be provided for all students in professional schools. The newly established law

⁴⁴Alfred S. Eichner and Eli Ginzberg, The Troublesome Presence (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1964), p. 316.

⁴⁵Davis, op. cit., pp. 80-81.

⁴⁶Logan, op. cit., p. 96.

⁴⁷Davis, loc. cit.

school for Negroes could not be classified as such, the Supreme Court said, because of the lack of "reputation of the faculty, experience of the administration, position and influence of the alumni, standing in the community, traditions and prestige."⁴⁸

A great milestone in the struggle for equal rights was achieved on May 17, 1954, when the Supreme Court banned segregation in public schools. Regarding the unanimous decision in *Brown vs. Board of Education*, Chief Justice Warren said, "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."⁴⁹ The decision "inaugurated a period of painful awakening, of impulsive resistance, and of tension and hysteria to the point in many cases of violent convulsion."⁵⁰

"The Negro revolt." The intensified drive for equal rights, which has come to be called "the Negro revolt," was ignited by the refusal of a Negro woman, Rosa Parks, to give up her seat on a Montgomery, Alabama, bus to a white man. The incident, which occurred on December 1, 1955, ushered in a new era of Negro militancy that led to boycotts, sit-ins,

⁴⁸ Logan, loc. cit.

⁴⁹ Davis, op. cit., pp. 82, 373.

⁵⁰ Benjamin Muse, Ten Years of Prelude (New York: The Viking Press, 1964), p. I.

pray-ins, marches, and riots in the years since.⁵¹

An outgrowth of this "revolt" was the Civil Rights Act of 1957, the first legislation of its kind since 1875. The Act established the Civil Rights Commission as a continuing agency and gave the Justice Department more authority in protecting civil rights. No drastic changes resulted from the Act, but it did emphasize the federal government's responsibilities in this area. Another civil rights bill was passed in 1960, but it was so watered down by compromises in Congress that, in its final form, it was "rather mild."⁵²

The unrest of Negroes continued to grow, however, and civil rights became a campaign issue during the 1960 presidential elections. Senator John F. Kennedy ran on a strong civil rights plank in the Democratic platform and promised to take effective action toward protecting Negroes' rights. Once in office, President Kennedy hesitated to initiate civil rights legislation and decided, instead, to carry out his campaign promises with executive rather than legislative actions. Through executive actions, he took numerous steps to eliminate discrimination, but his first major action was the signing of an executive order in November, 1962, which

⁵¹Lomax, op. cit., pp. 16-17.

⁵²Davis, op. cit., pp. 86-87.

made it illegal to discriminate in federally assisted housing projects.⁵³

On June 19, 1963, in an historic message, President Kennedy asked Congress to pass the most far-reaching civil rights legislation in the history of the United States. In his message, President Kennedy said:

No one has been barred on account of his race from fighting or dying for America—there are no "white" and "colored" signs on the foxholes and graveyards of battle. Surely, in 1963, one hundred years after emancipation, it should not be necessary for any American citizen to demonstrate in the streets for the opportunity to stop at a hotel, or to eat at a lunch counter in the very department store in which he is shopping, or to enter a motion picture house, on the same terms as any other customer.

. . . Many Negro children entering segregated grade schools at the time of the Supreme Court decision in 1954 will enter segregated high schools this year, having suffered a loss which can never be regained. Indeed, discrimination in education is one basic cause of the other inequities and hardships inflicted upon our Negro citizens.⁵⁴

Although civil rights advocates were deeply concerned about the passage of the civil rights legislation when President Kennedy was assassinated on November 22, 1963, his successor, President Lyndon B. Johnson, carried on his work for equal rights for all American citizens. Despite some of the most bitter legislative battles in our nation's history,

⁵³Ibid., p. 88.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 92.

President Johnson managed to have the bill passed. It affected six major areas of American life: jobs, public accommodations, education, voting, jury trials, and non-discrimination in federally assisted programs. President Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 into law on July 2 of that year.⁵⁵

Generally speaking, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 applies largely to the Southern states. This is how a news magazine assessed the effects that it would bring:

. . . Its major effects will be in the South, because it is there that you find most of the types of discrimination that the measure outlaws.

In the North, Negroes are permitted to vote, they patronize the same hotels and restaurants as whites, and Negro children attend the neighborhood schools, as white youngsters do.

It is in jobs that the most Negro gains from the Civil Rights Act are foreseen in the North—chiefly through winning Negroes' admission to labor unions which now raise barriers against them.⁵⁶

Thirteen months later, in August, 1965, another milestone was reached when President Johnson signed into law a bill that would give further protection to the voting rights of Negroes and other citizens. In recalling the first Negro slaves in America, who landed at Jamestown in

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 93.

⁵⁶"With New Civil-Rights Law—How Negroes See the Future," U.S. News & World Report, 56:39, June 29, 1964.

1619, he said, "They came in darkness and chains. . . . Today we strike away the last major shackle of those fierce and ancient bonds."⁵⁷ And, in a related action in March, 1966, the Supreme Court declared poll taxes illegal in Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia, the only states still resorting to one of the last barriers to full Negro suffrage. In announcing its decision, the Supreme Court said that wealth "has no relation to voting qualifications. The right to vote is too precious, too fundamental to be so burdened or conditioned."⁵⁸

Although Negroes have made numerous advances in their quest for equal rights in American life during the last two decades, it appears that some time will pass before Negroes and whites will be able to live and work and socialize together in harmony in this country. The Negroes' continuing struggle for first-class citizenship still produces tensions throughout the nation. Although the riot in the Watts section of Los Angeles, California, in August, 1965, was not part of the civil rights movement, it did reflect the Negroes' discontent with their poverty-stricken lives and the explosive situations that exist in the black ghettos

⁵⁷"Civil Rights: 'Your Future Depends on It,'" Time, 86:15, August 13, 1965.

⁵⁸"Civil Rights: R.I.P.," Time, 87:25B, April 1, 1966.

of large cities. And, as if to reiterate the need for prompt action, a minor riot flared up briefly in Watts in March, 1966. In reference to the August riot, the Negro leader Martin Luther King wrote: "The urban slums need not be destroyed by flames; earnest people of good will can decree their end nonviolently—as atrocious relics of a persisting unjust past."⁵⁹

This chapter is not intended to be a complete history of the Negro people in the United States; such a study is beyond the scope of this thesis. Rather, these highlights are presented here in order to provide a background that will help place integrated advertising into proper perspective.

⁵⁹"Los Angeles: Reprise of a Nightmare," Time, 87:19, March 25, 1966; Martin Luther King, "Next Stop: The North," Saturday Review, 48:105, November 13, 1965.

CHAPTER III

A LOOK AT THE NEGRO MARKET

about 122
The nature of the Negro market. There are at least two good reasons why American businessmen are deeply interested in selling to the Negro market. First, the population of the United States includes nearly twenty million Negro consumers, or roughly 10 per cent of the nation's total population. Second, these twenty million Negro consumers have an annual purchasing power of almost \$24,000,000,000.¹ This figure becomes even more impressive when the undeveloped purchasing power of the Negro is seen as equal to 80 per cent of the total purchasing power of Canada. One publisher predicts that as the aims of the Negro revolt are achieved, the annual purchasing power may grow to \$40,000,000,000 by 1975.²

One of the most noticeable changes in the Negro market since World War II has been the rapid increase of a strong and growing middle class. Since 1954, the number of

¹John H. Johnson, "Negro Market Will Be Controlling Factor in Profit Margins of Big U. S. Companies in 15 Years," Advertising Age, 35:120, September 21, 1964.

²William P. Grayson, "Growth Opportunities for Advertising in Reaching the Expanding Negro Market" (paper read at the American Association of Advertising Agencies Eastern Annual Conference, New York, November 8, 1963).

Negroes who have entered the middle class income brackets has tripled. White businessmen who had neglected the Negro market for years are revising their marketing plans in efforts to gain a share of this lucrative market.³

In a comparative study of the relative spending rates of urban Negro and white families of equivalent incomes in a ten-city sample, the median income of Negro families was found to be 93.2 per cent of the median income of white families in the nation. Comparisons of the following annual expenditures indicate opportunities for increased sales to the rapidly growing Negro markets in urban areas: Negro families spend \$70.48 for soft drinks, and white families spend \$22.00. For cosmetics and toiletries, Negro families spend \$88.40, and white families spend \$11.00. While comparable income white families spend \$7.00 for phonograph records, Negro families spend \$45.76. When it comes to buying alcoholic beverages, Negroes spend \$152.36 per household compared to \$47.00 by white households. In addition, Negro families spend 178.5 per cent more for drugs and remedies, 55 per cent more for hot cereals, 7 per cent more for wax paper and 6 per cent more for toilet soap.⁴

³John H. Johnson, "Life Insurance and the New Urban Negro" (paper read at meeting of the Life Managers' Association of Greater New York, Inc., New York, February 13, 1964).

⁴Grayson, loc. cit.

The Negro populations of most major cities are younger on the average than the white populations and comprise the greatest portion of central-city inhabitants. Because of the youngness of the Negro families, many of them are in the process of forming households and acquiring such items as furniture, home furnishings, appliances, automobiles, personal care products, drugs, clothing, and, of course, food. Consequently, they are ideal prospects for many manufacturers.⁵

A marketing survey in 1964 revealed that 38 per cent of the Negro population in the country and 40 per cent of the Negro purchasing power are concentrated in twenty-four markets. These markets consist of two million ninety-six thousand households with a total disposable income of \$9,000,000,000. The effective buying income of \$6,150,000,000 was spent between January, 1963, and January, 1964, in the following manner: \$1,840,000,000 for food; \$253,414,000 for drugs; \$980,812,000 for general merchandise; \$442,374,000 for apparel; \$263,531,000 for furniture and household appliances; \$726,166,000 for automotive products; \$325,670,000 for gasoline service stations; \$241,159,000 for lumber-hardware-building; \$514,681,000 for eating and drinking establishments; and \$569,569,000 for

⁵Ibid.

"all other sales."⁶

The shifting Negro population. The Negro population in the United States has been shifting so fast in recent years that one marketing research expert, William Capitan, has called the census of 1960 obsolete. The direction of the shift has been from rural to urban centers. The shift has been so great that Capitan estimates "that 33% of all the Negroes in the U. S. live in the country's 20 largest cities, while only 13% of the country's population other than Negroes live in the 20 largest cities."⁷ In a recent report, Capitan said there presently are more Negroes living in New York City than in any one state in the Old South.

Capitan predicted that nine of the nation's largest cities—Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, New Orleans, St. Louis, Newark, Detroit, Baltimore, and Washington, D. C.—will be one-third or more Negro by 1970. Between 1940 and 1960, the rapidly growing Negro market has increased 46 per cent, while the white population has grown only 34 per cent. Such changes, according to Capitan, will require "profound

⁶"Spendable Income of Negroes Soars, Howard Reports," Advertising Age, 35:27, November 30, 1964.

⁷"1960 Census Passe, Doesn't Reflect Shift of Negroes: Capitan," Advertising Age, 37:78, March 14, 1966.

readjustment of marketing patterns."⁸

Examination of Table I and Table II on pages 37 and 38 will provide a more detailed view of the Negro markets in eight major metropolitan areas--through listings of populations, households, total incomes, median family incomes, and population growth--in comparison with white families in the same areas.

Negroes are more brand conscious. Their long history of exclusion and denial has made American Negroes more aware than whites of the varying degrees of status and prestige. The result has been a "hunger for some recognition of their worth as individuals," which accounts for the facts that Negroes are more brand conscious than whites and also are willing to pay more for certain products.⁹

In a recent study of Negro brand preferences, researchers became clearly convinced that a brand must be successful in the white market before it can succeed with Negroes. Interviewers found the same top brands in Negro homes as they found in nearby white households. Once a product acquired the reputation of being well-known among

⁸Ibid.

⁹John H. Johnson, "The Negro's Role in the Marketing Revolution" (paper read at the Association of National Advertisers' Workshop on Selected Markets, New York, December 12, 1961).

TABLE I
NEGRO POPULATIONS, HOUSEHOLDS, TOTAL AND FAMILY MEDIAN
INCOMES IN EIGHT MAJOR METROPOLITAN MARKETS

Markets	Population	Households	Total Income (000's)	Family Income (Median)
New York (Includes N.E. New Jersey)	1,962,000	516,390	\$2,346,990	\$4,545
Chicago (Includes N.W. Indiana, Gary, Hammond, etc.)	1,247,510	328,300	1,567,240	4,786
Philadelphia (Includes Trenton & Wilmington)	913,330	240,350	1,031,340	4,291
Detroit (Includes Flint & Ann Arbor)	780,010	205,270	890,110	4,385
Los Angeles (Includes Long Beach)	644,930	169,720	932,780	5,496
Cleveland (Includes Akron)	364,430	95,900	457,110	4,768
Boston (Includes 40-mile radius)	121,000	31,900	141,860	4,447
Milwaukee (Includes Racine)	96,800	26,840	137,840	5,143
	<u>6,130,010</u>	<u>1,614,670</u>	<u>\$7,505,270</u>	<u>\$4,733</u> (Average)

*Source: Tuesday Publications, Inc., Chicago, 1965 market data.

TABLE II
TREND OF WHITE AND NEGRO POPULATIONS IN
EIGHT MAJOR METROPOLITAN MARKETS

Metropolitan Area	1950 Increase White	to or	1960 Decrease Negro
New York	- 5.9%		+ 40.3%
Chicago	-12.0		+ 59.5
Philadelphia	-13.0		+ 39.7
Detroit	-23.0		+ 58.0
Los Angeles	+21.9		+ 58.3
Cleveland	-18.3		+ 67.7
Boston	+ 8.0		+ 50.8
Milwaukee	+32.9		+185.5

*Source: Tuesday Publications, Inc., Chicago, 1965
market data.

whites, it soon comes to connote "quality and equality" among Negroes. Consequently, many Negro shoppers will ignore unknown brands that are in their price range and instead buy high quality "white" brands.¹⁰

Another study led Professor Raymond A. Bauer, of the Harvard Graduate School of Business, to conclude that Negroes are more brand conscious than whites. He emphasized, however, that this does not mean that Negroes display a greater brand loyalty than do whites, but rather that they are more aware of what brands they are buying.

In addition, Bauer said the Negro market is divided between "strivers" and "non-strivers," who often find themselves in "a state of tension" with regard to their purchases. He arrived at this classification because most Negroes "have accepted the values of the majority white middle-class culture but are disadvantaged in obtaining those values."¹¹ Since the odds are against their obtaining these values, they have to make a basic decision of whether to strive for them, a factor which in itself segments the Negro market. The "state of tension" in which Negro

¹⁰"Negro Market Is Changing, Misunderstood, Reports Harris Survey for Bernard Howard," Advertising Age, 37:112, February 7, 1966.

¹¹"Negroes More 'Brand Conscious' Than Whites, Bauer Says," Advertising Age, 35:75, March 23, 1964.

purchasers often find themselves is a result of this dilemma (to strive or not to strive). It is a question of embracing white middle-class values and of "exchanging scarce resources (money) for goods about which one does not want to make a mistake."¹² The "threat of being left out of the American way of life" is what a vice president of a soft drink company says differentiates the Negro market from others.¹³

The Negro market accounts for anywhere from 5 to 25 per cent of all sales of many lines of nationally known name-brand products. This fact indicates that manufacturers might make considerable increases in their shares of the market by directing some of their advertising to Negroes.¹⁴

Stereotypes of Negroes are misleading. Advertising and marketing men should be careful not to allow the stereotypes of Negroes held by the majority of whites in the country to influence their own marketing decisions.¹⁵ To

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴"Too Many Ads Bore Consumer, Hattwick Says," Advertising Age, 34:126, October 21, 1963.

¹⁵Roy Wilkins, "Economic Impact of the Civil Rights Struggle" (paper read at the American Association of Advertising Agencies Eastern Annual Conference, New York, November 8, 1963).

illustrate: a 1965 survey by Louis Harris & Associates proved that the old stereotyped saying "that more Negroes than whites own Cadillacs" is incorrect. In fact, the study revealed that an equal percentage (3 per cent) of whites and Negroes owned Cadillacs. The most popular cars—Chevrolet, Ford, and Pontiac, in that order—were the same with both races.¹⁶ Obviously, marketing decisions that might have been based upon stereotypes about Negroes in relation to cars could have ended in disaster.

Another example of a stereotype that could be costly if a marketing decision were based upon it can be found in the Scotch whisky market. Although white buyers who consume the most Scotch earn \$8,000 or more per year, the Negro market accounts for 57 per cent of all Scotch sales in the country. Consequently, if the executives who market Scotch based their decisions upon the stereotype that most Negroes drink bourbon, gin or wine, they would be placing 57 per cent of their market in jeopardy.¹⁷

"Hard-headed economics." The marketer's decision today on whether to direct his sales efforts to the Negro

¹⁶"Negro Market Is Changing, Misunderstood, Reports Harris Survey for Bernard Howard," loc. cit.

¹⁷Johnson, "The Negro's Role in the Marketing Revolution," loc. cit.

market is no longer a major policy decision for top-level executives in many companies. According to John H. Johnson, president of Johnson Publishing Company, "this is simply a marketing and sales decision. It's now a matter of hard-headed economics."¹⁸

The changes in recent years of the Negro consumer's status and mood have made him more responsive, more insistent, and more self-confident. He has rejected the old way of life that made him an outsider, and he now wants to participate actively in every aspect of American life, including trade and commerce. Briefly, "he wants to be counted in."¹⁹

The Negro market is constantly growing more and more lucrative, so lucrative that businessmen cannot afford to ignore it if they hope to achieve their full sales potential. Johnson calls the urban Negro consumer "the dominant fact in American life today," and he predicts that by 1990, Negroes will comprise more than 50 per cent of the populations in Detroit, Cleveland, Baltimore, St. Louis, and Chicago. The population of Washington, D. C., already is

¹⁸"Negro Market Sought Because of Hard-Headed Economics: Johnson," Advertising Age, 36:3, November 29, 1965.

¹⁹Johnson, "Life Insurance and the New Urban Negro," loc. cit.

nearly 60 per cent Negro.²⁰

There is every indication that changes and shifts in the Negro market will continue in the years immediately ahead. Better education and social status will undoubtedly result in higher income and new spending patterns and media habits. Therefore, careful and continuing research will be necessary if marketing and advertising are to keep pace with the Negro market.²¹ But, as one Negro publisher put it: "Marketing men owe it to themselves to know the Negro market in depth . . . \$23.5 billion is worth giving a man the recognition that is rightfully his anyway."²²

Civil rights leaders are fully aware of the tremendous potential of the Negro market, and they are taking steps to win recognition of the Negro as a first-class consumer as well as a first-class citizen. Their efforts to integrate advertising will be discussed in the next chapter.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Ingrid C. Kildegaard, "The Changing Negro Market," Journal of Advertising Research, 4:49, June, 1964.

²²"Treat Negro Equally to Get His Business, Marketing Men Told," Advertising Age, 34:62, October 7, 1963.

CHAPTER IV

EFFORTS TO INTEGRATE ADVERTISING

Breaking the "rules" of advertising. There is an unwritten rule in the advertising business that few people dared to break until recently. This basic principle is "not to get involved in controversy."¹ The reason, obviously, is to avoid offending the consumers whom advertisers are trying to win and hold as customers. Since 1962, however, more and more advertisers have been throwing the rule book aside in an effort to gain a share of the Negro market through the use of integrated advertisements in general media. This trend coincided with a surge forward in the Negro "revolt," but it was not by chance. Demands by Negroes for first-class citizenship in all areas of life—including trade and commerce—helped many advertisers to realize the necessity of revising their marketing strategies to meet the changes in American society. In this chapter, the efforts that have been made to promote the use of integrated advertising will be examined.

A weak beginning. The use of integrated advertising

¹Jesse W. Lewis, Jr., "Admen Are Painting Negroes Into the American Scene," Seattle Post-Intelligencer, October 13, 1964, p. 11.

in general media first received widespread notice in the fall of 1962, when some Negro models were used by the garment industry in a few women's clothing advertisements.² Prior to this time, only a few corporations had taken steps on their own accord to "correct racial distortions in their advertising."³

The New York Mayor's Committee on Job Advancement thoroughly examined the country's four largest magazines in 1962 and found only two corporations that had used minority groups in their advertisements during the previous twelve months. Over the next three years, the committee proceeded to contact over five hundred companies and urged them to integrate their advertisements, because "the systematic exclusion of . . . minority groups, has created a serious impediment to job advancement and better race relations." As a result of the committee's efforts, more than fifty of the firms contacted are now using minority group models in their advertisements.⁴

In a newspaper advertisement in the spring of 1963, the New York Telephone Company used a Negro model,

²William H. Boyenton, "The Negro Turns to Advertising," Journalism Quarterly, 42:228, Spring, 1965.

³New York Mayor's Committee on Job Advancement, The Racial Revolution in Advertising (undated pamphlet).

⁴Ibid.

who portrayed a young executive walking into a telephone booth. The fact that he was the dominant figure in the illustration and not merely part of a group caused a stir in the advertising world.⁵ Throughout the Bell Telephone System, at least four other integrated advertisements were used during 1963.⁶

According to a study in April, 1963, television producers felt that the strongest objections to the use of more Negroes came from the advertising agencies rather than from the advertisers. The study went on to say:

The nation, including the South, is more receptive to a fuller participation in our national life of all minorities. . . . Either agency men are ignorant of this factor or they choose to cling to old fears and ignore it.⁷

The next month, a Negro was featured as a principal character in a television commercial aired in the New York area for Rheingold Beer. It was claimed to have been the first time a Negro appeared in an integrated commercial on television.⁸

⁵Joseph Kaselow, "Integration--A Start," The New York Herald Tribune Business-Advertising-News, May 12, 1963, p. 5.

⁶"Advertising: March on Madison Avenue," Newsweek, 62:68, September 9, 1963.

⁷New York State Commission for Human Rights, Report on Employment and Image of Minority Groups on TV, April 9, 1963, p. 12, cited by Boynton, op. cit., p. 230.

⁸Kaselow, loc. cit.

Pressure from civil rights groups. During the summer and fall of 1963, civil rights groups made further inroads into advertising. The drive for integrated advertisements was spearheaded by the two largest groups, the Congress for Racial Equality (CORE) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Both groups took a militant position and made either direct threats of or alluded to boycotts in the form of "selected patronage."⁹

Clarence Funnye, who led the CORE drive, claimed that advertisers "owed" it to Negroes to include them in advertisements and programs in general media. With this attitude, CORE representatives at first called upon individual advertisers and made business-like presentations of their case for integrated advertising. For bargaining purposes, CORE kept a threat of a boycott in the background. Advertisers were told that selective purchasing committees existed in major cities and would effect a boycott of their products if they did not cooperate.¹⁰

CORE soon decided to arrange meetings of groups of advertisers in an effort to speed up its campaign. The biggest advertisers were concentrated on most, and CORE

⁹Boyenton, op. cit., p. 228.

¹⁰Maurine Christopher, "CORE Intensifies Drive for Negroes in Ads; Zeroes in on Pepsi-Cola Co.," Advertising Age, 35:71, November 9, 1964.

emphasized the importance of placing more Negroes on television.

Lever Bros. was the first major advertiser to take action on the CORE demands, but Colgate quickly followed suit. It was hoped that other advertisers soon would do the same.¹¹

In cooperation with the NAACP, the American Association of Advertising Agencies (AAAA) held a meeting in New York in September, 1963, to promote the increased use of integrated advertisements. Thomas G. Neusom, Los Angeles, West Coast area attorney, made the following six demands upon 102 representatives of fifty-six advertising agencies:

1. We demand the recognition of the simple truth that 20,000,000 American citizens are Negro and each one a consumer. Therefore, the content of all future advertising in the basic media, including newspapers, magazines, radio and television, must reflect the fact that these 20,000,000 consumers are represented in every stratum of American life; that among these consumers incomes range from that of the unskilled laborer to the highest paid professionals and technicians in the American society.

2. In all sponsored television and radio programs and commercials we demand the dropping of present racial barriers and the immediate adoption of a policy of unrestricted use of Negro performers.

3. We demand that a policy of merit employment be instituted by all advertising agencies within their own organizations. Employment of Negroes as indicated above is essential to agency implementation of this program.

¹¹Boynton, loc. cit.

4. We demand the use of Negro models in advertising, in the general printed media, including newspapers, magazines, billboards and posters.

5. We demand recognition of the fact that the Negro press in large measure serves a substantial portion of the Negro consumer market and, therefore, unrestricted advertising in all available media is essential.

6. In conclusion, we recommend that within the American Association of Advertising Agencies some continuing group or committee be established with whom we can maintain contact for immediate negotiations concerning implementation of these demands and having the additional role¹² of resolving any problems that may arise in the future.

Concerning the demands, Herbert Hill, NAACP labor secretary, said it was "more than token adjustments" that were being requested, but rather a "fundamental alteration of sponsor and advertising agency attitudes." The NAACP did acknowledge, however, that some token gains had been made in recent months.¹³

In response to the NAACP demands, the AAAA said that advertising agencies handling most of the broadcast advertising volume had signed a joint-policy statement the previous June that condemned discrimination in the employment of talent. The statement, issued by the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists, encouraged agencies to

¹²American Association of Advertising Agencies, "NAACP Presents 6-Point Program to Ad Agencies" (New York: September 6, 1963). (Mimeographed news release.)

¹³Boynton, op. cit., p. 229.

"take affirmative steps toward the end that minority group performers are cast in all types of roles so that the American scene may be portrayed realistically."¹⁴

The CORE and NAACP meetings took place during a period filled with racial tension, only two weeks before the much-publicized Freedom March on Washington. The fact that no corporation was willing to sponsor any of the many hours devoted to television coverage of the event was indicative of the attitude that most advertisers had toward the race problem.¹⁵ They thought it was safest to adhere to the old advertising principle of avoiding controversy.

Shortly afterwards, however, the Travelers Insurance Company ventured to sponsor a CBS documentary that dealt with integration of Catholic schools in Louisiana. And, two and a half months after the march, the Gillette Company and the Chrysler Corporation had the courage to approve NBC's cancellation of a nationwide telecast, which they were to sponsor, of the Blue-Gray football game in Alabama, because Negro collegiate stars were not invited to play.¹⁶

It was apparent that the efforts by civil rights

¹⁴American Association of Advertising Agencies, loc. cit.

¹⁵Boynton, loc. cit.

¹⁶Ibid.

groups to integrate advertising were having some positive effects when, on November 8, 1963, the AAAA discussed the subject at length for the first time at its Eastern Region Annual Conference in New York. Four speeches were made on the general topic of "The Expanding Negro Market and Its Importance--Methods to Reach It."¹⁷

In his speech, Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, urged agencies and advertisers to help the Negro achieve equal rights by projecting a "new realistic image" of the Negro. He alluded to selective patronage when he said that Negroes are "increasingly concerned about jobs and image. They like to spend their money where Negroes can get employment, and with businesses which do not distort the Negro image" by omitting them from their advertisements and programs altogether or by placing them in a bad light. Wilkins warned the AAAA members that if they made "an obvious play for the Negro in integrated advertising at a time of high emotional disturbance, it could be interpreted as cheap pandering." A way of avoiding such a hazard is to use Negroes in "natural" situations.¹⁸

Robert Liddel, a vice president and associate media

¹⁷"Help Negro in Image Effort via Ads, Wilkins Asks," Advertising Age, 34:1, November 11, 1963.

¹⁸Ibid.

director of Compton Advertising, also spoke. He said he did not believe that "agency media directors are 'really aware' of how the change in the Negro's mood relates to current marketing approaches."¹⁹

The final speech on the convention's topic was delivered by Michael J. Donovan, a vice president and media manager of Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn, who called for more research to help agencies make effective media decisions. He also said that it is not necessary to include Negro models in all advertising situations in order to appeal to the Negro market's potential and sensitivity. He suggested that each situation should be examined individually, "rather than submitting to pressures from sensitive lobby groups."²⁰

In an article appearing in Saturday Review the day after the AAAA conference ended, a writer discussed integrated advertising. He declared without doubt that "the color line has been irrevocably splintered in national advertising as of the fall of 1963."²¹

The following week, integrated advertising was once again a major topic of discussion at the annual meeting of

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Boynton, loc. cit.

the Association of National Advertisers in Hot Springs, Virginia. Like the AAAA, this was the first time the ANA had formally discussed the topic.

The ANA heard public opinion analyst Louis Harris discuss a survey of Negroes he had made the previous summer. He found that 63 per cent of those Negroes questioned were willing to boycott a company's products if they felt they were being discriminated against. However, Harris said that Negroes "probably couldn't effectuate a nationwide boycott of a specific product," even though they might be able to do it at the local level.²²

The ANA said it would not establish a special committee to deal with the problem of integrated advertising, but that it would "act in an advisory capacity to individual advertiser members." It was made clear that the ANA did not intend to apply pressure on its members to use integrated advertising.²³

A. R. Pinkham, vice president in charge of media and programs at Ted Bates and Company, made a statement at an October meeting of the New York chapter of the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences that might summarize

²²"ANA Grapples with Problems of Integrated Ads, Agency Compensation," Advertising Age, 34:105, November 18, 1963.

²³Ibid.

the attitudes of agencies and advertisers that fall. He said, "You must understand that the businessman does not wish to antagonize anybody--even the bigots."²⁴

In a February, 1964, article in the NAACP's magazine, The Crisis, one writer demanded that "the inclusion of Negro models should become a prompt, habitual, daily procedure instead of the sometime thing that, by its rarity, causes a tremulous quiver in the air waves." Such action could lead to better economic opportunities.²⁵

The next month, CORE reported it was having some success in its drive to get the top 100 advertisers to use integrated advertisements. Nevertheless, CORE announced that it had established a selective purchase boycott system "in case an advertiser fails to adopt an integrated program after a reasonable time," but thus far had not used it. CORE also said that companies using integrated advertising had not experienced any decreases in sales.²⁶

In an unusual move for the normally conservative advertising business, Carson/Roberts, an advertising agency,

²⁴"Use of Negroes in Ads Has Not Hurt Sales: Lever," Advertising Age, 34:8, November 4, 1963.

²⁵Sylvia Applebaum, "More on Desegregating Advertising," The Crisis, February, 1964, pp. 73-78.

²⁶"CORE Reports Drive for Negroes in Ads So Far Successful," Advertising Age, 35:14, March 30, 1964.

ran a pro-integration advertisement above its own name in the Los Angeles Times and the Washington Post in June, 1964. The illustration showed two young blind boys—a Negro and a white—with their arms around each other. The headline read: "THE BLIND ARE ALSO COLOR BLIND." The action came as a result of the Carson/Roberts stockholders' decision to run comment advertisements on important issues in the spirit of public interest.²⁷

The NAACP applied additional pressure in August, when Roy Wilkins wrote a letter to 100 advertising agencies and asked them to reconsider placing their clients' advertising in Mississippi media because of the anti-civil rights atmosphere in that state. Wilkins wrote:

. . . 20 million Negro Americans plus millions of other civil rights advocates can only view utilization of un-American and militantly segregationist media as support of Mississippi lawlessness.²⁸

He asked agencies and their clients not to use media that failed to support "fundamental American principles."²⁹

Donald W. Newton, president of the Advertising Club of Mississippi, ridiculed Wilkins' plea as "the prize joke of

²⁷"Carson/Roberts Ad Backs Civil Rights," Advertising Age, 35:6, June 8, 1964.

²⁸"NAACP Head Asks Admen to Re-examine Media in Mississippi," Advertising Age, 35:8, August 17, 1964.

²⁹Ibid.

the year," and said, "He'll get about as far with this request as he would by asking the Ku Klux Klan to integrate." Newton called Mississippi a \$3,500,000,000 market that national advertisers could not afford to neglect.³⁰

In reference to Wilkin's letter, John Crichton, president of the AAAA, commented:

Our attitude has always been that an advertising medium has to be judged by its advertising values, and it's unfair and unwise to try to influence editorial policies through advertising."³¹

Research of trade periodicals failed to reveal any open support by advertising agencies of Wilkins' request.

Following the national elections in November, CORE stepped up its campaign to convince major advertisers to use Negroes regularly in their advertisements. This was done to revive interest among such companies as Colgate-Palmolive and Procter & Gamble, whose earlier enthusiasm for integrated advertising was beginning to dwindle. Reminder letters were sent to such companies, and at the same time, new advertisers were contacted and asked to attend a meeting in late November in New York.

But early in November, CORE and the Pepsi-Cola Company had a flare-up that attracted considerable

³⁰"Newton Ridicules NAACP Plea to Skip Mississippi Media," Advertising Age, 35:192, August 31, 1964.

³¹Ibid.

publicity. The trouble began the previous spring, when Pepsi-Cola representatives attended a meeting of advertisers called by CORE in New York. Following the meeting, CORE sent Pepsi-Cola a letter asking for a report of its plans to integrate its advertisements. When Pepsi-Cola failed to answer the CORE inquiry and when no Negroes were noticed in the Pepsi-Cola advertisements, CORE threatened to activate its selective purchasing committees in major cities throughout the nation unless positive steps were taken by December 15 to integrate Pepsi-Cola advertisements. In addition to the threat of a boycott, CORE said two other weapons it might use against advertisers who failed to cooperate were "the publicity spotlight and picketing of executive offices."³²

Pepsi-Cola promptly responded to the CORE threat and said the entire problem was "a misunderstanding growing out of Pepsi's failure to answer its mail from CORE."³³ The soft-drink firm promised to have integrated advertisements on television and in print media by January, 1965. Pepsi-Cola pointed out that it was sponsoring Negro sports personalities on radio and television programs in a number of

³²Christopher, loc. cit.

³³"CORE, Pepsi End Flareup Based on Misunderstanding," Advertising Age, 35:143, November 16, 1964.

cities. In addition, it had been distributing a free recording of "Adventures in Negro History" to schools throughout the country. CORE was satisfied with the reply, and the incident was closed; nevertheless, the incident did illustrate just how sensitive a company can be to the threat of a boycott and just how quickly it can act to integrate its advertising once it decides to do so.³⁴

CORE's meeting with fifty large advertisers later in the month in New York was relatively uneventful, but the civil rights group was pleased with the response. Some of the advertisers, however, probably were irritated by Clarence Funnye's request that they send CORE "progress reports" on the 21st of each month.³⁵

The "lily-white, unreal world" portrayed on the nation's television screens was condemned by the New York Society for Ethical Culture in December, 1964. The society suggested that civil rights, religious, and educational groups monitor television shows throughout the country in an effort to pressure the television industry into including more Negroes in its broadcasts.³⁶

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵"CORE Pleased with Advertisers' Attitude in Latest Meeting," Advertising Age, 35:46, November 30, 1964.

³⁶"Group Questions Whether TV Shows Enough Negroes; Sees Improvement in Commercials," Advertising Age, 35:62, December 14, 1964.

An incident related to the acceptance by whites of integrated advertising occurred in March, 1964, in Bogalusa, Louisiana. Radio station WBOX had invited Representative Brooks Hays and several other persons to talk on the subject of racial relations to an audience of Negroes and whites. The station canceled the program after Bogalusa merchants and civic leaders had voiced strong resentment of it. Even so, the station was almost forced off the air during the following weeks, when anonymous telephone calls threatening boycotts were made to the station's local sponsors.³⁷ The Bogalusa incident illustrates how sensitive the race issue still is in many areas of the South. It also gives national advertisers some indication of the type of reception that would meet an integrated advertisement in such an area.

In June, a small company in Lafayette, Alabama, announced that it had taken emergency measures to dissociate itself from the state's racial issues. The company, Ford MacElvain Inventor, Inc., which made garden tools, attributed a 30 per cent drop in its mail order sales early in 1965 to the unfavorable publicity Alabama was receiving throughout the nation.

³⁷"Segregationists' Boycott Threatens Louisiana Station," Advertising Age, 36:40, March 29, 1965.

To halt the decline in sales, the owners included literature, telling of the company's favorable attitude toward the civil rights movement, in each shipment mailed. Later, a slogan and a logo connoting a progressive attitude were put on the envelopes used in a large direct-mail campaign. And, when Martin Luther King proposed a boycott of Alabama products, the company enclosed a note "about the trouble in Alabama . . ." in all of its correspondence. It was not long before favorable letters began to pour in from all over the country and before orders began to increase.³⁸

This incident shows how unfavorable racial publicity had damaged Alabama's image to the point that civil rights supporters would not even order a garden tool from a small company that had not been involved in the trouble. The incident is another indicator of how sensitive consumers can be to racial issues.

The campaign loses momentum. During the past year, civil rights leaders seem to have slacked off in their organized efforts to promote integrated advertising. Judging from the dearth of material on the subject in recent months, it appears as though their campaign has lost its momentum.

³⁸"Alabama Company's Ads Aim to Reduce Rights Strife Stigma," Advertising Age, 36:28, June 28, 1965.

In addition, some of the companies have not continued their use of integrated advertisements, probably because they are no longer receiving as much pressure from civil rights leaders. The fact that some of the early efforts to integrate advertising were not handled very tactfully by the civil rights leaders probably alienated some advertisers and agencies. Furthermore, the violent summers of 1964 and 1965 may have served to reaffirm the beliefs of some advertisers that it is too risky to venture into integrated advertising at this time.³⁹

The fact still remains, however, that the color line in advertising has been broken. The changing social character of the United States makes it appear very unlikely that advertisers will return to their old ways of excluding Negroes and other racial minorities from their advertisements and sponsored programs. The big question now is, how long will it be before integrated advertising is commonplace?

The results of the foregoing efforts to integrate advertising will be seen in the next chapter. The chapter includes descriptions and reproductions of advertisements that have appeared during the past few years.

³⁹Boyenton, op. cit., p. 233.

CHAPTER V

SOME EXAMPLES OF INTEGRATED ADVERTISEMENTS

"Realistic treatment." Negro leaders have made strenuous objections to the picture that advertising has created of the United States, which makes it appear as if the country is not inhabited by "any persons other than White Anglo-Saxon Protestants." In efforts to persuade advertisers and agencies to integrate their advertisements and programs, Negro leaders have called for the "realistic treatment of the Negro in the roles he actually plays in American life today."¹

Advocates of integrated advertising claim that the "lily-white world" advertising has presented over the years is detrimental to both whites and Negroes. The absence of Negroes from advertising gives white children a misleading and superficial view of life, while at the same time, "the Negro boy or girl who is thus offered a glowing picture of a world to reach out for that is exclusively white loses the ambition to become a part of it."²

¹Roy Wilkins, "Economic Impact of the Civil Rights Struggle" (paper read at the American Association of Advertising Agencies Eastern Annual Conference, New York, November 8, 1963).

²New York Mayor's Committee on Job Advancement, The Racial Revolution in Advertising (undated pamphlet).

Most advertisers who have begun using integrated advertisements in recent years have been careful not to use Negro models in a forced situation, but rather in scenes where it would be natural for them to appear in everyday life. Some examples of these and other advertisements will be presented in the following pages.

Some integrated advertisements. Using Negro athletic stars as models was one of the first methods used in presenting integrated advertisements. In Figure 1, Page 64, Jantzen includes two Negro athletes in a full-color illustration of a group of twelve husky professional football players. Since Jackie Robinson broke the color barrier in professional athletics when he joined the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1947, integration in sports has become commonplace. Because of this, and also because Jantzen manufactures sportswear, this advertisement certainly could be considered a natural situation for the inclusion of Negro models.

In Figure 2, Page 65, Volkswagen, noted for its novel approach to advertising, uses Wilt Chamberlain, a seven-foot one-inch tall Negro basketball star, to illustrate the amount of leg room in its sedan. The fact that Chamberlain is alone, rather than with a group of white teammates, makes this advertisement unusual.

Metropolitan Life presently is one of the heaviest

the new J formation

INTERNATIONAL SPORTS CLUB

Figure 1. Groups of athletes provide a natural situation for the inclusion of Negroes in advertisements.

*Playboy, 11:64, September, 1964.

**They said it couldn't be done.
It couldn't.**

We tried. You know we tried. But no amount of pushing or faking could get us into the front seat of a Volkswagen. So if you're 7'1" tall like Wilk, our car is not for you. But maybe you're a mere 6'7". In that case, you'd be small enough to appreciate what a big thing we've made

of the Volkswagen. There's more headroom than you'd expect. (Over 37" from seat to roof.) And there's more legroom in front than you'd get in a limousine. Because the engine's tucked over the rear wheels where it's out of the way and where it can give the most horsepower. You can put 2 medium-sized suitcases up

front (where the engine isn't) and 3 full-sized kids in the back seat. And you can sleep an enormous infant in back of the back seat. Actually, there's only one part of a VW that you can't put much into. The gas tank. But you can get about 29 miles per gallon out of it.

Figure 2. This advertisement also makes use of a Negro athlete, but it is unusual, because he is alone rather than in a group.

*Life, 60:R5, January 14, 1966.

users of integrated advertising in general media. In Figure 3, Page 67, a typical Metropolitan advertisement shows individual photographs of forty-three men and women, who represent some of Metropolitan's policyholders named Smith. Four of the women are Negroes. What could be more natural than finding some Negroes in a group of four hundred thousand Smiths? In other advertisements in this campaign, Metropolitan has used Negroes to portray an accountant, a nurse, a mail carrier, a truck driver, an executive, an athlete, children, and housewives—all in group situations.

The Prudential Insurance Company also makes use of the group technique; but, in this case, the company uses children instead of adults, a common technique in integrated advertising. In Figure 4, Page 68, individual full-color photographs of twelve wholesome and attractive children are shown. A Negro girl and boy are in the group. Since, according to the copy, the children are representative of all children, it is only natural to find Negroes among them. The fact that children serve as good attention-getters is another reason why they frequently are used in integrated advertisements.

Figure 5, Page 70, shows babies being used in a group for a full-color advertisement by the William Carter Company, a clothing manufacturer. Babies attract even more attention than adolescent children. The obvious fact that

How come Metropolitan Life insures more than 400,000 Smiths and a Smitti?

Have you heard the Smiths? Metropolitan insures more than 400,000 of them - and in the largest policyholder home group.

What you probably assume people that their names could change of these Smiths is names a surprise. And Metropolitan protects 1,200,000 people from disaster.

The two largest reasons:
Our extremely wide range of policies,
and special provisions, options and riders
like income rider that can make a policy
pay off as much as \$100,000 in cash value.

And the ready, able help from trained
full-time Metropolitan advisors in factoring
a premium to the client's needs and
budget situation. Or any.

Why not ask your Metropolitan
representative for a confidential Family
Security Check-Up? It's a thorough analysis
of your family's financial security.
Remember, there's no obligation
to accept the plan you're given.

More choose Metropolitan Life
and more than 400,000 Smiths and a Smitti.

Figure 3. Metropolitan Life has run a number of similar integrated advertisements, all of which portray Negroes as part of a group.

*Life, 58:4, April 23, 1965.

THE PRUDENTIAL INSURANCE COMPANY OF AMERICA

Figure 4. Prudential Insurance Company also makes use of the group technique in integrated advertisements, but this time uses children rather than adults.

*Life, 59:39, July 23, 1965.

Negro babies, too, wear play clothes, makes this situation an acceptable integrated advertisement. In addition, the friendly smile on the Negro baby's face as he reaches toward the reader makes him even more appealing.

The Fruit of the Loom advertisement shown in Figure 6, Page 71, is integrated in what appears to be an unnatural manner. It would be interesting to know why a Negro boy and not a man was used beside the three white men modeling shirts and underwear. Perhaps it is related to the stereotype that Negro men supposedly have such great sexual potency that they make some white men feel inferior.³ At any rate, a Negro man might have some difficulty identifying with the child in the illustration.

Kodak has run a number of advertisements similar to the one in Figure 7, Page 72. Once again, the group method is used; the photograph of a handsome Negro man is only one of six full-color illustrations. And, although it is not very noticeable, the illustration of the Negro is the smallest one of the six.

Figure 8, Page 74, pictures a full-color advertisement by Ship 'n Shore that includes a pretty Negro teen-age girl with light skin and Caucasian facial features. She is

³Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1958), pp. 351-355.

STRETCH AWAYS.
Carter's stretch cotton and nylon knits with the look of grown-up denim. Winked with embroidery and wonderfully comfortable. With snap-and-go that goes for quite a stretch.

(Just see how they machine wash and wear!)
Only Carter's knows how to fondle fashion babies so beautifully!
A coo for Carter's!

Carter's

Carter's "Stretch A Ways" All in play! Blue, embroidered with "Carter's" tag. Embroidered waist. M, L, XL. Each \$5.
The William Carter Co., Needham Heights, Mass. 02194.

Figure 5. The William Carter Company adds another twist to the group technique in this advertisement by using babies.

*McCall's, 93:41, March, 1966.

*Life, 59:131, December 3, 1965.

Summer times like these deserve Kodak film

Just when you're enjoying the summer months, Kodak's new Super 8 film gives you the freedom to capture the moments that make the summer so special. Kodak's new Super 8 film is the only film that gives you the freedom to capture the moments that make the summer so special. Kodak's new Super 8 film is the only film that gives you the freedom to capture the moments that make the summer so special.

EASTMAN KODAK COMPANY, ROCHESTER, N.Y.

Figure 7. This Kodak advertisement is typical of ones run in a recent campaign that have used a variation of the group technique by including Negroes in one of several scenes.

*Life, 59:49, July 16, 1968.

one of a group of six girls modeling sportswear. The use of both female and male Negro models with Caucasian physical features is a common practice in integrated advertisements.

Seagram's full-color advertisement, illustrated in Figure 9, Page 75, presents a young Negro executive taking part in a business conference with five white men. Although he is shown in the background, he is in a very prominent position in the center of the illustration. Because Negroes are getting better educations and executive job opportunities, this situation might be accepted as quite natural. It is interesting to note, however, that no advertisements have been observed that portray either male or female Negroes in a strictly social situation, such as at a party, with white women.

Figure 10, Page 76, shows two young blind boys—a Negro and a white—at a summer camp with their arms around each other. The headline reads: "THE BLIND ARE ALSO COLOR BLIND." As was previously discussed in Chapter IV, this advertisement is unusual in that an advertising agency ran it above its own name in two general circulation newspapers in major cities. The agency later placed it in advertising trade publications. The advertisement also makes use of children as attention-getters, but the fact that these children are blind makes the message thought-provoking and highly emotional.

lead the Ship'n Shore life!

Figure 8. Ship 'n Shore follows a common practice in integrated advertising by using a Negro model with Caucasian facial features and light skin.

*Seventeen, 24:10, April, 1965.

Sometimes this great Canadian whisky,
Seagram's V.O.,
tastes even better. Like now.
V.O. does for you what no other whisky can.
It defines smooth once and for all.
Light? Of course.

Figure 9. Seagram's inclusion of a Negro in this group of business executives is an example of the use of integrated advertising in a natural situation.

*Life, 58:80, February 19, 1965.

CHAPTER VI

A SURVEY OF SOME ADVERTISERS WHO HAVE USED INTEGRATED ADS

Statement of the problem. Since the advent of integrated advertising nearly four years ago, a number of advertisers throughout the nation have experimented with integrated advertising; others have made it a part of their marketing policy to continue using Negroes in advertisements. The purpose of this survey was to learn from some of these advertisers why they began using integrated advertisements, what some of their experiences have been with the advertisements and whether they plan to continue using Negro models in advertisements in the general media.

The procedure followed. A list of thirty-nine advertisers that have used integrated advertisements at one time or another since 1962 was compiled by scanning advertisements in magazines and newspapers and by reading articles in advertising trade publications. A list of these advertisers and their addresses may be found in the Appendix.

Because of the nature of the racial problem in the United States today and because of the sensitivity of some corporations to pressure groups and unfavorable publicity, it seemed inadvisable to present the above questions in a

normal questionnaire format. Furthermore, because many business executives are too busy to take the time to answer a detailed questionnaire, the investigator thought that a maximum response could be obtained by asking four brief questions in a short, personal letter. The letters were individually typed and addressed to a specific person at each company, usually to the advertising manager or somebody in a similar position. The letters were mailed from Columbia, Missouri, on February 25, 1966. A copy of one of the letters may be found in the Appendix.

In the letter, four questions were presented in the following form:

1. What considerations led to your decision to begin using Negro models in advertisements in general media?
2. What reactions--positive and/or negative--have you received?
3. Has the use of Negro models resulted in any problems that were impossible to anticipate?
4. Do you plan to continue the use of "integrated" advertising in general media?

The response. Out of the thirty-nine advertisers queried, twenty-four had replied by the end of April. The investigator felt that these replies, representing 61.5 per cent of the advertisers contacted, contained sufficient information to be indicative of some representative attitudes toward integrated advertising. Copies of these

replies may be found in the Appendix.

In order to provide an over-all view of the answers to each of the four questions, significant excerpts will be presented along with the tabulation of each response.

Question 1. What considerations led to your decision to begin using Negro models in advertisements in general media? The answers of twelve companies were interpreted as saying they thought it was the natural thing to do, because such a large part of the nation's population is composed of Negroes. Seven companies alluded to the economic aspect when they said that Negroes were an important part of their market. One company said it began using integrated advertisements because this practice is more economical than preparing separate advertisements for Negro and white media. Three companies gave vague, indirect answers. It is significant to note that only one company admitted its integrated advertisements were a result of pressure from CORE.

Following are excerpts from some of the letters regarding this question:

. . . Having made the decision to advertise to the Negro market, we decided to use Negro models because it is our understanding they make the ads more effective.¹

¹Letter, William F. Hedden, advertising director, The Prudential Insurance Company of America, Newark, New Jersey, March 8, 1966.

. . . To my knowledge, we have always been receptive to using talent from all ethnic groups in all phases of advertising.²

. . . our procedure has been to utilize a variety of models so that the reader will quickly understand that we do business with a cross section of the U. S. population. . . . Our purpose in all this is to demonstrate that Metropolitan seeks to serve every level of our society.³

. . . It was our belief that the pictures used in these communicative messages should be representative of the population and, to present a realistic situation, Negro models were included in groups.⁴

. . . the Negro market represents a good share of the distilled spirits business. . . .⁵

. . . I don't believe there was ever a specific decision to use or not use a Negro. Rather, it would have been the natural evolvement from a basic creative idea.⁶

. . . we see no reason not to use them, since they are part of the population of this country and it is, therefore, natural that they should be included.⁷

²Letter, G. N. Eggertsen, assistant to director of marketing services, Purex Corporation, Lakewood, California, March 10, 1966.

³Letter, Robert G. Booth, assistant vice president of advertising, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, New York, March 14, 1966.

⁴Letter, Jo Ann N. Buller, consumer relations, Scott Paper Company, Philadelphia, March 23, 1966.

⁵Letter, George E. Mosley, vice president, Seagram Distillers Company, New York, March 23, 1966.

⁶Letter, John T. Landry, group marketing director, Philip Morris, Inc., New York, March 25, 1966.

⁷Letter, James W. Conceison, advertising manager, The William Carter Company, Needham Heights, Massachusetts, March 25, 1966.

. . . In reality, there were no deep considerations which went into our decision to use Negro models in general advertising media. It seemed to be consistent in portraying the world as it is today to use people from different races . . . Our advertising is thus made to be more realistic and hopefully more productive for TWA.⁸

. . . There were no specific considerations that led to our decision to use Negro models in ads beyond what may perhaps have been a tardy awareness of the fact that Negroes were customers and users of telephone service. In this connection it appeared perfectly appropriate that they should be shown in our advertising.⁹

. . . the basic decision which led to the use of Negro models was our recognition of the importance of the Negro not only in terms of the total economy, but more specifically, of his importance to us as a customer for our products. The Negro consumer is, to an even greater degree than his white counterpart, extremely brand conscious, and we naturally want to win Negro loyalty for the Fruit of the Loom brand.¹⁰

. . . One of our advertising objectives is to reflect contemporary living--and while we have used Negroes in advertising for many years, increasing integration is a part of the pattern. Pictures interest all people. And that is our business--pictures and people!¹¹

. . . Although we have had occasion to show Negroes in some of our ads in the past, our current usage stems

⁸Letter, C. A. Finkbeiner, acting head, advertising and sales promotion, Trans World Airlines, Inc., New York, March 7, 1966.

⁹Letter, A. H. Walsh, advertising manager, printed media, American Telephone and Telegraph Company, New York, March 8, 1966.

¹⁰Letter, Lester Schwartz, advertising manager, Union Underwear Company, Inc., New York, March 1, 1966.

¹¹Letter, Reo Young, manager, advertising planning, Consumer Markets Division, Eastman Kodak Company, Rochester, New York, March 1, 1966.

from a request the Committee On Racial Equality has made. We agreed to cooperate wherever it is possible to do so and also, to show Negroes in natural situations. (The interest of CORE lies in showing Negroes in natural situations rather than publicizing Negro celebrities.)¹²

. . . the only consideration given to the use of any model, male or female or white or colored, is that the sales point being advanced in any ad is presented in the most effective way we can find.¹³

. . . We began to use Negroes in our advertising several years ago when we started advertising in Negro publications. It then became apparent that it was more economical to try and produce an ad that could run in almost any publication. In other words, it was just good business to start using Negro models.¹⁴

. . . We used Negro models in advertisements in general media where it seemed appropriate. By that I mean that Negroes have to be part of any representative group as they are part of our population . . . If these purport to show a group of Americans . . . certainly the Negroes should and must be included in order to have a true-to-life photograph.¹⁵

. . . Negroes form an important segment of our population and we could see no reason why Negro models should not be used.¹⁶

¹²Letter, Herbert A. Lehrter, advertising manager, Hiram Walker, Inc., Detroit, March 2, 1966.

¹³Letter, Robert Fine, account supervisor, Doyle, Dane, Bernbach, Inc. (answering for Volkswagen), New York, March 3, 1966.

¹⁴Letter, Henry O'Neil, director of advertising, American Airlines, New York, March 1, 1966.

¹⁵Letter, Arthur Schwartz, director of advertising, Bulova Watch Company, New York, March 1, 1966.

¹⁶Letter, Gregg Millett, advertising manager, Jantzen, Portland, Oregon, March 3, 1966.

do.¹⁷ . I decided that this was the proper thing to

Question 2. What reactions--positive and/or negative--have you received? Three companies reported they had received a few negative reactions, but they did not mention any positive reactions. Five other companies said they had received a few negative reactions, but also had some positive reactions. Eight companies received only positive reactions. And, eight companies reported they had not received any reactions--negative or positive--to their integrated advertisements. None of the companies that received negative responses gave any indication of being greatly concerned with them.

Following are excerpts from some of the letters regarding this question:

. . . The reaction we have had to our integrated advertising has been quite favorable. This was not surprising to us, however, as we pretested our ads before using them.¹⁸

. . . The reaction in this regard from those with whom we have had occasion to discuss our advertising has been very good. . . . We have had no negative reactions from any source. Therefore, we feel that such inclusion is being taken as a matter of course by the readers of

¹⁷Letter, William Netzkky, Ship 'n Shore, New York, March 4, 1966.

¹⁸Hedden, loc. cit.

our advertisements.¹⁹

. . . we have had a small amount of positive and negative reactions but not enough of either to concern us.²⁰

. . . We cannot recall any instances of either positive or negative reactions to our use of Negro models. In my opinion this is due to the fact that we used the Negro model in a natural, rather than forced, manner.²¹

. . . they have been few and far between. Those we have received reflected both sides, with some condemning us for showing the Negro and others praising us for having the courage to do so.

Since these letters were so few, however, we believe we have to depend on our sales activities as the best barometer and certainly there has been no indication in this respect that the public over-all paid any particular attention to this single facet of our advertising.²²

. . . I do not recall any negative reactions, and, of course, we have occasionally had some positive feelings expressed through the CORE organization.²³

. . . Exactly what you would expect—high praise from those who approve; condemnation from those who disapprove.²⁴

. . . To our knowledge, there were a few irate letters from the lunatic fringe received by our client, but

¹⁹Booth, loc. cit.

²⁰Mosley, loc. cit.

²¹Landry, loc. cit.

²²Letter, Richard L. Thomas, director of advertising, Gillette Safety Razor Company, Boston, March 9, 1966.

²³Finkbeiner, loc. cit.

²⁴Young, loc. cit.

our feeling about the overall reception was neither negative nor positive because of the use of a Negro in the ad. . . . I can tell you that the ad featuring Wilt Chamberlain enjoyed what we consider to be very good readership scores.²⁵

. . . Negative--a few crank letters and post cards received (and filed in the wastebasket).²⁶

. . . We have received a number of favorable reactions from organizations interested in civil rights and we have had no negative reactions.²⁷

Question 3. Has the use of Negro models resulted in any problems that were impossible to anticipate? None of the twenty-four companies responding reported any unusual problems. The following single quote is representative of all the answers to this question:

. . . The use of Negro models has not created any unanticipated problems. As a matter of fact, no problems were created by such usage.²⁸

Question 4. Do you plan to continue the use of "integrated" advertising in general media? In answer to this question, three companies gave non-committal answers; two companies said their advertising plans are indefinite; and nineteen companies said they intended to continue using

²⁵Fine, loc. cit.

²⁶Arthur Schwartz, loc. cit.

²⁷Netzky, loc. cit.

²⁸Lehrter, loc. cit.

Negroes in their advertisements in the general media.

Following are excerpts from some of the letters regarding this question:

. . . While we have no firm plans for running more integrated ads in LIFE, there is always the possibility that we may do so. Generally speaking, however, we feel that we can reach the Negro much more effectively at this time by using integrated ads in Negro publications.²⁹

. . . "yes," whenever we felt that the use of integrated advertising would be effective.³⁰

. . . As far as planning to continue the use of "integrated" advertising, this will depend upon the creativity of the advertising planned and whether any particular advertisement lends itself to the inclusion of a Negro model without forcing a situation.³¹

. . . It is our intention to continue to use "integrated" advertising whenever it is a natural, unforced reflection of the mainstream of American life.³²

. . . We are not using Negroes in our advertising at the present time since the format of our present campaign does not involve the use of models.³³

. . . I can assure you that we plan to continue to use the "integrated" advertising in all media when it is logical to do so in meeting our advertising

²⁹Hedden, loc. cit.

³⁰Letter, F. G. Vaughan, vice president, director of marketing, The Grolier Society, Inc., New York, March 17, 1966.

³¹Mosley, loc. cit.

³²Landry, loc. cit.

³³Lester Schwartz, loc. cit.

objectives.³⁴

. . . Because we have changed our advertising campaign to focus on product rather than on people; I do not foresee the use of models, either Negro or white, over the next year in Bulova brand advertising.³⁵

. . . We have recently added Tim Brown to our group of International Sportsmen and will be using him as a model in future advertising.³⁶

. . . I would say that we will continue to use whatever situations help us make the most telling sales arguments for our client, Volkswagen of America, so long as they are honest, interesting, and in good taste.³⁷

. . . there is no reason to suspect that our policy will change. In other words, we will continue to depict the American scene in a realistic manner without any attempt to include Negroes because it is now the thing to do, or exclude them because of any possible unfavorable reaction.³⁸

. . . of course, we plan to continue this usage which has become pretty much routine over the last few years. . . . the simple fact of the matter is that this usage is now quite run of the mill and pretty generally accepted as such.³⁹

³⁴Letter, Jay M. Sharp, manager, advertising and promotion, Aluminum Company of America, Pittsburgh, March 2, 1966.

³⁵Arthur Schwartz, loc. cit.

³⁶Millett, loc. cit.

³⁷Fine, loc. cit.

³⁸Thomas, loc. cit.

³⁹Walsh, loc. cit.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary of the study. One purpose of this study was to examine the beginning and the growth of integrated advertising in general consumer media. The other purpose was to learn why some advertisers have used it, what some of their problems have been, and their plans in regard to it for the future.

In order to place the advent of integrated advertising in proper perspective, this study began by reviewing some of the highlights of the Negro history in the United States. Without such an historical perspective, it would be difficult to comprehend the full significance of integrated advertising as a part of the changing social character of our society.

A study then was made of the Negro market to learn why it has become so important in recent years. Some comprehension of the economic importance and opportunities of the relatively untapped Negro market is necessary to understand why many advertisers are attempting to gain a share of it through the use of integrated advertising.

Since the efforts of civil rights workers were instrumental in persuading many companies to begin using integrated advertisements, it was necessary to trace their

endeavors in this area. Negro leaders realize the need to create a new image of their people if they are to succeed in their struggle for equal opportunity in every area of American life. The leaders are especially aware of the potential of advertising to help them create a more favorable image of the Negro and to present a more realistic view of the world through the communications media to whites and Negroes alike.

In Chapter V, examples of integrated advertisements were displayed and discussed. They illustrated such frequently used techniques as: Negro stars in groups of white athletes, individual Negro stars, groups of ordinary people that include Negroes, Negro children in groups of white children, Negroes with light skin and Caucasian features, and an unnatural situation that forced integration in an advertisement.

Finally, a survey was made of thirty-nine advertisers that have used integrated advertisements in recent years. The purpose of this survey was to learn what considerations prompted the advertisers to begin using integrated advertisements, what problems the advertisements might have caused, and what the advertisers' plans were in regard to this type of advertising. Some conclusions based on the results of this survey are the next topic of discussion.

Conclusions drawn from the survey. Although some of the twenty-four advertisers who responded gave indirect and guarded answers to a few of the questions, nearly half of them clearly attributed their use of integrated advertising to the belief that it is a true reflection of the nation's population and that it is only natural to include Negroes in their advertisements. One of the most direct answers to the question about the decision to use integrated advertisements was made by an executive of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. He wrote that his company's decision was based upon what "may perhaps have been a tardy awareness of the fact that Negroes were customers and users of telephone service."¹

The belief that it is natural to use Negroes in advertisements, because they are customers and provide a more realistic reflection of the population, seems to echo the arguments of CORE and the NAACP. This led the investigator to the conclusion that the persuasive efforts of these organizations might have influenced the marketing philosophies of the companies queried. However, it is significant to note once more that only one of the companies admitted that such pressure had prompted it to run

¹Letter, A. H. Walsh, advertising manager, printed media, American Telephone and Telegraph Company, New York, March 8, 1966.

integrated advertisements. This could be interpreted as indicating these businessmen resented the pressure and threats of boycotts that Negro leaders made in an effort to persuade them to integrate their advertisements. This same idea was expressed by a writer in the spring of 1965: "CORE and NAACP began their campaigns by promising reprisals. Threats are resented, even if not admitted; compliance grudging."² Perhaps those engaged in promoting the use of integrated advertising should take heed of this apparent resentment and employ a different approach.

Even though only seven respondents admitted or implied that they integrated their advertisements in order to gain a greater share of the Negro market, it can be assumed that all of these businessmen are aware of the potential of this market. It is possible that some of the companies omitted this consideration from their responses for public relations reasons.

In spite of the fact that many advertisers have been hesitant to use integrated advertisements because of a fear of losing the patronage of white consumers, the answers given by advertisers in this survey indicate that there has not been any significant reaction one way or the other.

²William H. Boyenton, "The Negro Turns to Advertising," Journalism Quarterly, 42:233, Spring, 1965.

Most advertisers reported only a few negative and a few positive reactions, and a few said they had not received any reactions whatsoever. All of the companies showed little or no concern for the few negative reactions they had received.

None of the companies reported any changes in their sales activities that could be attributed to the use of integrated advertisements. Furthermore, not a single company reported any unusual problems that they were not able to anticipate beforehand. Thus, on the basis of this survey, it appears as though the use of integrated advertising by a major advertiser would do little or nothing to hurt sales volumes, if it were handled skillfully and tastefully.

Seventy-nine per cent of the responding advertisers (a few had some reservations) gave affirmative answers to the question regarding their plans for the continued use of integrated advertisements. This fact seems to substantiate a prediction that the future of integrated advertising looks promising.

The question remains as to how long it will be until integrated advertising becomes a common practice in the American marketplace. The answer, of course, ultimately depends upon the advertisers and not the advertising agencies. Although agencies and advertisers often work closely in developing marketing strategies, the final decision on whether to go after a share of the Negro market

through the use of integrated advertising obviously belongs to the advertisers.

Finally, there is a question of social responsibility on the part of the advertiser. When companies use mass communications to sell their products, they become educators at the same time; in the process of advertising, they are influencing the ideals, goals, habits, mores, and actions of their fellow men. And in their role as educators, they have inherited a social responsibility for the content of their messages.³

Suggestions for future research. Since integrated advertising is a relatively recent innovation in marketing, there are a number of possibilities for future research. For example, depth interviews with Negroes to ascertain their attitudes toward companies that use integrated advertisements might provide some revealing and very useful information to marketing strategists in determining how to approach the Negro market.

An important problem that advertising agencies face when producing an integrated advertisement is deciding what kind of Negro model to use. There is a serious question as to whether Negro models with light skin and Caucasian

³Henry A. Bullock, "Consumer Motivations in Black and White," Harvard Business Review, 39:124, July-August, 1961.

features are more effective in appealing to Negro consumers than are Negro models with dark skin and Negroid features.⁴ Research in this area might help to solve a perplexing problem.

Another possibility that could be explored is that of studying the effectiveness upon Negroes of integrated advertisements in general consumer media as compared with those appearing in Negro media. Agency media buyers sometimes have difficulty deciding whether to listen to the civil rights leaders, who urge the use of integrated advertisements in general consumer media, or to the sales pitches of the Negro media representatives, who claim the only way to sell the Negro market is through Negro media.

Although the twenty-four advertisers who responded to this survey did not seem too concerned about the possibility of a white "backlash," further research should be accomplished in this area. If more convincing proof could be obtained to show that the possibility of a white boycott is minimal, perhaps more advertisers could be persuaded to use integrated advertisements.

If we do now what we must do, first integrate our vision and then our actions, we can play a decisive role

⁴Boyenton, op. cit., p. 234.

in healing the divisions in our marketplace and in our national life. Then, so-called "integrated advertising" will automatically fall into its proper perspective. If we do these things, as men and as businessmen, future historians will say that when America came to the cross-roads, the advertising community pointed the way by selling the greatest product in the world, The American Dream.⁵

⁵John H. Johnson, "How Integrated Is Integrated Advertising?" (paper read at meeting of the Western States Advertising Agencies Association, Palm Springs, California, April 24, 1964).

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APPENDIX

212 South Garth Avenue
Columbia, Missouri 65201
February 25, 1966

Mr. Robert G. Booth
Advertising Manager
Metropolitan Life Insurance Company
1 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Booth:

As a graduate student in advertising at the University of Missouri School of Journalism, I am writing my master's thesis on "The Emerging Negro in Advertising." I am deeply interested in "integrated" advertising and began collecting material on the subject almost three years ago, while still in the Air Force. Since that time, I have noticed that your company has used Negro models in some phase of its advertising in general media.

I would greatly appreciate your comments on the following questions:

1. What considerations led to your decision to begin using Negro models in advertisements in general media?
2. What reactions--positive and/or negative--have you received?
3. Has the use of Negro models resulted in any problems that were impossible to anticipate?
4. Do you plan to continue the use of "integrated" advertising in general media?

Thank you very much for your time and consideration. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Charles J. Hasser

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Advertising Manager
William Winkler, Inc.
1410 Broadway
New York, New York

ALUMINUM COMPANY OF AMERICA

ALCOA BUILDING - PITTSBURGH 13, PENNSYLVANIA

JAY M. SHARP, Manager-Advertising and Promotion

110

March 2, 1966

Mr. Charles J. Hasser
212 South Garth Avenue
Columbia, Missouri 65201

Dear Mr. Hasser:

I am happy to give you our philosophy on the use of negroes in our advertising activities as requested in your letter of February 25 to Mr. Torrence M. Hunt who is no longer associated with the advertising department.

It is true that you have probably noticed the appearance of negroes in some of our national advertisements recently, but actually, we have used negro models from time to time in many advertisements in the past. During the past year, we have also used negro models from time to time in our television commercials. As a matter of fact, we are having one produced right now which will have negro models -- one of them in a very prominent role in the commercial.

[It is difficult to say what prompted us to use negro models. It is our attitude that negroes comprise a good percentage of the American population -- I believe it is approximately 20% -- and as such should be shown at least from time to time as representative of the country's entire population.

To my knowledge, we have had no reaction, either positive or negative, from the inclusion of negro models and there have been no problems from their inclusion.

[With reference to your last question, I can assure you that we plan to continue to use the "integrated" advertising in all media when it is logical to do so in meeting our advertising objectives.

Cordially yours,

Jay M. Sharp
Jay M. Sharp
JMS/m

AMERICAN AIRLINES
633 THIRD AVENUE • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017 • TN 7-1234
CABLE ADDRESS AMAIR

March 1, 1966

Mr. C. J. Hasser
212 South Garth Avenue
Columbia, Missouri 65201

Dear Mr. Hasser:

To answer your four questions in your letter of February 25th:

1. [We began to use Negroes in our advertising several years ago when we started advertising in Negro publications. It then became apparent that it was more economical to try and produce an ad that could run in almost any publication. In other words, it was just good business to start using Negro models.
2. I do not have evidence that using Negro models has created any positive or negative reactions. We don't have any statistics on how many Negroes we carry.
3. We don't know of any problems resulting from our including Negro models in our advertising.
4. We plan to continue "integrated" advertising.

I hope the above answers your questions and if not, let us hear from you.

Sincerely,

Henry O'Neil
Director of Advertising

/ers

AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY

195 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10007

AREA CODE 212 393-4071

A. H. WALSH
ADVERTISING MANAGER
PRINTED MEDIA

March 8, 1966

Mr. Charles J. Hasser
212 South Garth Avenue
Columbia, Missouri 65201

Dear Mr. Hasser:

I hope I can give helpful answers to the questions you ask in connection with your thesis on "The Emerging Negro in Advertising".

[There were no specific considerations that led to our decision to use Negro models in ads beyond what may perhaps have been a tardy awareness of the fact that Negroes were customers and users of telephone service. In this connection it appeared perfectly appropriate that they should be shown in our advertising.

We have had no reactions that could be described as such, certainly of a negative nature. On the positive side there has been a scattering of letters approving what we did.

No problems of any sort that, as you state, were "impossible to anticipate" arose. And, of course, we plan to continue this usage which has become pretty much routine over the last few years.

I don't know that my response has been of much help to you but the simple fact of the matter is that this usage is now quite run of the mill and pretty generally accepted as such.

Sincerely,

ARTHUR SCHWARTZ
DIRECTOR OF ADVERTISING

March 1, 1966

Mr. Charles J. Hasser
212 South Garth Avenue
Columbia, Missouri 65201

Dear Mr. Hasser:

Here are the answers to your questions of February 25:

1. [We used Negro models in advertisements in general media where it seemed appropriate. By that I mean that Negroes have to be part of any representative group as they are part of our population. For example, if we were to run an advertisement showing a group of soldiers, policemen, white-collar workers, mill workers, housewives -- or you name the category. If these purport to show a group of Americans in that category, certainly the Negroes should and must be included in order to have a true-to-life photograph.
2. Reactions:
 - A. Positive -- no particular comment noted or received.
 - [B. Negative -- a few crank letters and post cards received (and filed in the wastebasket).
3. The use of Negro models would not create any particular problem that was impossible to anticipate. *can't deal with*
4. [Because we have changed our advertising campaign to focus on product rather than on people; I do not foresee the use of models, either Negro or white, over the next year in Bulova brand advertising. With respect to Negro models, we will continue to use them in our advertising of the Accutron brand in EBONY Magazine. This is on the advice of the representatives of EBONY -- but only when the advertisement calls for a model. Again, as with the Bulova brand, some ads will focus on

BULOVA WATCH COMPANY, INC.,

Mr. Charles J. Hasser

- 2 -

March 1, 1966

product and will not require illustrations using models.

I hope that I have answered your questions in a satisfactory manner. If you have any further questions, please write.

Yours very truly,

Arthur Schwartz

AS:ss

THE WILLIAM CARTER COMPANY

NEEDHAM HEIGHTS, MASS. 02194

March 25, 1966

Mr. Charles J. Hasser
212 S. Carth Avenue
Columbia, Missouri 65201

Dear Mr. Hasser:

This is in answer to the letter you wrote to us recently inquiring about our use of Negro models in advertising.

In answer to your first question on what considerations led to our decision ~~use~~ use Negro models, we see no reason not to use them, since they are part of the population of this country and it is, therefore, natural that they should be included. As regards reactions to our use of these models, for the most part, they have been favorable. We have received some unfavorable letters, but these have been in the minority. As of this date, we have encountered no problems that were impossible to anticipate and we plan to continue to use Negro models whenever the situation warrants it.

Thank you for your interest in our advertising and I wish you success in the writing of your thesis.

Sincerely,

James W. Conceison
Advertising Manager

32/11

March 3, 1966

Mr. Charles J. Hasser
212 South Garth Avenue
Columbia, Missouri 65201

Dear Mr. Hasser:

Mr. Sanyour of Volkswagen of America, Inc. asked me to reply to your letter of February 25th since he is currently on an extended business trip. I am the Account Supervisor on the Volkswagen account at Doyle Dane Bernbach, Inc., Volkswagen's advertising agency.

In answer to your first question about what considerations led to our decision to use Negro models: the only consideration given to the use of any model, male or female or white or colored, is that the sales point being advanced in any ad is presented in the most effective way we can find. For example; a recent Volkswagen advertisement featured Wilt "the stilt" Chamberlain. The point we were trying to make was that the Volkswagen has surprising interior space (and headroom) for a car which is considered by many people to be quite small. We said that 7'1" Wilt couldn't fit, but that a 6'7" man could. We did not feature Chamberlain because he is Negro. We used him because he is the best known and most attractive 7'1" person we could find. (Incidentally, we just completed a TV commercial using Wilt to again make the same point. We used him in TV for the very same reasons we used him in print advertising.)

In your second question, you asked about positive and negative reactions received. To our knowledge, there were a few irate letters from the lunatic fringe received by our client, but our feeling about the overall reception was neither positive nor negative because of the use of a Negro in the ad. I do not know if you are familiar with the Starch method of evaluating ad readership, but I can tell you that the ad featuring Wilt Chamberlain enjoyed what we consider to be very good readership scores.

DOYLE · DANE · BERNBACH · INC. ADVERTISING

117

- 2 -

Mr. Charles J. Hasser

March 3, 1966

Your question #3 asked about problems that were impossible to anticipate, and I would say that the answer to that one is "no".

And in answer to your last question about our plans to continue the use of integrated advertising, I would say that we will continue to use whatever situations help us make the most telling sales arguments for our client, Volkswagen of America, so long as they are honest, interesting, and in good taste.

I hope the above answers your questions satisfactorily.

Sincerely,

Robert Fine

RF:tmc

EASTMAN KODAK COMPANY

GENERAL OFFICES
343 STATE STREET

ROCHESTER, NEW YORK 14650

TELEPHONE
AREA CODE 716 325-2000

March 1, 1966

Mr. Charles J. Hasser
212 South Gorch Avenue
Columbia, Missouri 65201

Dear Mr. Hasser:

Your letter of February 25 asked four questions, which I will attempt to answer briefly:

1. What considerations led to your decision to begin using Negro models in advertisements in general media?

Answer: One of our advertising objectives is to reflect contemporary living -- and while we have used Negroes in advertising for many years, increasing integration is a part of the pattern. Pictures interest all people. And that is our business -- pictures and people!

2. What reactions -- positive and/or negative -- have you received?

Answer: Exactly what you would expect -- high praise from those who approve; condemnation from those who disapprove.

3. Has the use of Negro models resulted in any problems that were impossible to anticipate?

Answer: No. The main problem is to "integrate" the advertisements in a natural manner without forcing the situation.

4. Do you plan to continue the use of "integrated" advertising in general media?

Answer: Yes.

Yours very truly,

/KO

Reo Young
Manager, Advertising Planning
Consumer Markets Division

GILLETTE SAFETY RAZOR COMPANY

A DIVISION OF THE GILLETTE COMPANY

GILLETTE PARK

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02106

RICHARD L. THOMAS
DIRECTOR OF ADVERTISING

March 9, 1966

Mr. Charles J. Hasser
212 South Garth Avenue
Columbia, Missouri 65201

Dear Mr. Hasser:

We are happy to help out in any way we can in providing background material for your forthcoming thesis, "The Emerging Negro in Advertising", even though the theme is hardly applicable to Gillette.

Television is our primary advertising vehicle, with nearly 90% of the advertising budget so directed. As a result, our experience concerns this medium exclusively.

Through the years, Gillette sponsorship of sporting events on television has been a major part of our advertising. As a logical tie-in, we have featured a great many of the stars of the sporting world in the advertising we scheduled on these events. Since the complement of outstanding athletes includes both white and Negro, so did our advertising. Such top Negro stars as Roy Campanella, Don Newcombe, Willie Mays, Hank Aaron have all taken active parts in our commercials since as far back as 1954 ... and we could go on and on through another dozen or so names.

With 12 years of such activity now behind us, you can understand, I'm sure, why we don't regard our advertising as representative of "The Emerging Negro in Advertising". I might add we have for years used Negro models in supporting roles, as well. Typical was a Maury Wills (Negro) commercial of 1961, where we featured Mr. Wills teaching basketball to two young boys ... one white, the other Negro.

This policy has continued right through the years with the result that in all types of our commercials we have used Negroes wherever it was natural for them to be. When we used a New York City subway scene as a setting, the passengers shown were both white and Negro, since otherwise it would not be a typical New York City subway.

Mr. Charles J. Hasser

-2-

March 9, 1966

As far as reactions to such advertising are concerned, if you mean by this letters from the public, they have been few and far between. Those we have received reflected both sides, with some condemning us for showing the Negro and others praising us for having the courage to do so.

Since these letters were so few, however, we believe we have to depend on our sales activities as the best barometer and certainly there has been no indication in this respect that the public over-all paid any particular attention to this single facet of our advertising.

In response to your question four, there is no reason at all to suspect our policy will change. In other words, we will continue to depict the American scene in a realistic manner without any attempt to include Negroes because it is now the thing to do, or exclude them because of any possible unfavorable reaction.

We certainly hope this report will be of value to you in completing your project.

Sincerely,

RLT/ia

THE GROLIER SOCIETY INC. Publishers

Grolier Building 575 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10022 Plaza 1-3800

March 17, 1966

Mr. Charles J. Hasser
212 South Garth Avenue
Columbia, Missouri 65201

Dear Mr. Hasser:

I hope the following answers to the four questions contained in your February 27th letter concerning the use of Negro models will be useful.

Several hundred individuals are employed in the various offices and departments of Grolier Inc. at the above address. Among them are a number of Negroes whose ability and experience finds expression in secretarial work, in typing and in filing, some in Editorial Research and some in Factual Research in the Information Service Division of the Company. Negroes served in various capacities within the framework of the Grolier organization long before the Fair Employment Act of the state became a reality. Applications for positions were judged on their merit. In certain instances this led to the selection of a Negro because of ability.

Your questions refer to Negro models used in advertising. The above in a sense is a preamble to the answer to question number 3. On a number of occasions, we have selected various of our working units to be photographed for use in advertising our publications. I feel this answers questions 1 through 3. This shows effectively, and in an interesting fashion, what goes on behind the scenes when an encyclopedia is created. Integrated advertising has created no problems. We received a number of letters commending us upon the illustrations used in our advertising.

The answer to question 4 would be "yes," whenever we felt that the use of integrated advertising would be effective.

Sincerely yours,

F. G. Vaughan

Vice President

Director of Marketing

FGV:lk

122

JANTZEN INC. • P. O. BOX 3001 • PORTLAND, OREGON 97208 • THE WORLD'S MOST FAMOUS APPAREL NAME

March 3, 1966

Jantzen

Mr. Charles J. Hasser
212 South Garth Avenue
Columbia, Missouri 65201

Dear Mr. Hasser:

This will acknowledge your letter of February 25.

I will try to answer your questions in the order in which you presented them:

1. [Negroes form an important segment of our population and ~~we~~ we could see no reason why Negro models should not be used.
2. Not aware of any particular reactions.
3. Not to my knowledge.
4. [We have recently added Tim Brown to our group of International Sportsmen and will be using him as a model in future advertising.

Sincerely

Gregg Millett, Manager
Advertising Department

c
sm

LIFE

TIME & LIFE BUILDING
ROCKEFELLER CENTER
NEW YORK 10020

JUDSON 6-1212

April 21, 1966

Mr. Charles J. Hasser
212 South Garth Avenue
Columbia, Missouri 65201

Dear Mr. Hasser:

Mr. Crandell passed on your letter to me.

LIFE first started using Negro models in occasional house ads and mailings a year or so ago. No particular policy dictated this; only an awareness that advertising, in general, was beginning to use Negro models in representative rather than purely racial situations.

We've had no reactions, pro or con, and I imagine that we will continue to use Negroes in general situations as the needs and mood of the message arise.

Many thanks for your interest in LIFE.

Cordially,

Robert P. Fidler
Promotion Director

RPF:st

METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

124

ONE MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010

March 14, 1966

ROBERT G. BOOTH
Assistant Vice-President
ADVERTISING

Mr. Charles J. Hasser
212 South Garth Avenue
Columbia, Missouri 65201

Dear Mr. Hasser:

This is in reply to your recent inquiry regarding the "Negro in Advertising."

We have, as you mention in your letter, included Negroes in a number of our advertisements which have appeared in "general media" and for your information we are attaching hereto a number of such ad reprints.

In making up these advertisements, our procedure has been to utilize a variety of models so that the reader will quickly understand that we do business with a cross section of the U. S. population. Similarly, our advertisements show people involved in a variety of occupations and hobbies; people of average income and high income; young people and older people; males and females. Our purpose in all this is to demonstrate that Metropolitan seeks to serve every level of our society. We, in fact, do just that. The people insured by Metropolitan are more numerous than those insured by any other company, and they are probably a more varied and all-inclusive group (if you can call 45 million people a "group").

* [I dwell on this point to make it quite clear that we do not use Negro models to "insert integration" into our advertisements. They are there because they "belong" there, and the situation is a "natural" one -- not a contrived one; they are there because we value them as people and as present and future good customers.

The reaction in this regard from those with whom we have had occasion to discuss our advertising has been very good. For example, our Negro representatives have told us that they and their friends have reacted favorably. We have had no negative reactions from any source. Therefore, [we feel that such inclusion has and is being taken as a matter of course by the readers of our advertisements.

We, of course, intend to continue our present procedure in preparing our advertisements and trust that the above information will be of help to you.

Sincerely yours,

Robert G. Booth

PHILIP MORRIS
INCORPORATED
100 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK 6, NEW YORK 10017

125

JOHN T. LANDRY
GROUP MARKETING DIRECTOR-TOBACCO

March 25, 1966

Mr. Charles J. Hasser
252 South Sixth Avenue
Columbia
Missouri 65201

Dear Mr. Hasser:

First, please accept our apologies for the long delay in replying to your request of February 25. Your letter was mis-routed and has finally ended up in this office.

Philip Morris has used Negroes in its advertising during the years whenever the situation or plot of the particular commercial involved the natural participation of the Negro in his normal activities. Since the objective would not be to "force" the Negro into an advertisement, but to use him in his natural position in our mainstream, I don't believe there was ever a specific decision to use or not use a Negro. Rather, it would have been the natural involvement from a basic creative idea.

We cannot recall any instances of either positive or negative reactions to our use of Negro models. In my opinion this is due to the fact that we used the Negro model in a natural, rather than forced, manner. In answer to your third question, therefore, I can assure you that the use of Negroes has not created any unanticipated problems.

It is our intention to continue to use "integrated" advertising whenever it is a natural, unforced reflection of the mainstream of American life.

I hope these answers are of some assistance to you in the preparation of your thesis. Our best wishes to you and thanks for your interest.

Sincerely,

John T. Landry

JTL/el

WILLIAM F. HEDDEN
ADVERTISING DIRECTOR
PUBLIC RELATIONS AND ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT

THE PRUDENTIAL
INSURANCE COMPANY OF AMERICA
HOME OFFICE
PRUDENTIAL PLAZA NEWARK, N. J. 07101

March 8, 1966

Mr. Charles J. Hasser
212 South Garth Avenue
Columbia, Missouri 65201

Dear Mr. Hasser:

Thank you for your recent letter concerning the thesis on "The Emerging Negro in Advertising". I'll try to answer your questions in the same order you asked them.

1. Having made the decision to advertise to the Negro market, we decided to use Negro models because it is our understanding they make the ads more effective. Incidentally, we do not use Negro models exclusively, we try to use both Negro and white models so that the ad will be integrated.
2. The reaction we have had to our integrated advertising has been quite favorable. This was not surprising to us, however, as we pretested our ads before using them. The ads which we ran in EBONY were tested on a sampling of 308 Negroes, and the integrated ad we ran in LIFE was tested on 154 whites and 154 Negroes. All interviewers were of the same race as of the interviewee. The EBONY ads performed extremely well and the LIFE ad did too, although it performed somewhat better among Negroes than whites.
3. The use of Negro models in our ads has not created any problems for us.
4. We are currently advertising in two Negro publications, EBONY and TUESDAY. We are also advertising in LIFE and ran one integrated ad in this magazine. While we have no firm plans for running more integrated ads in LIFE, there is always the possibility that we may do so. Generally speaking, however, we feel that we can reach the Negro much more effectively at this time by using integrated ads in Negro publications.

I hope this information will be of help to you.

Sincerely,

WFH/sw

Advertising Director

PUREX CORPORATION, LTD.
LAKEWOOD • CALIFORNIA

March 10, 1966

Mr. Charles J. Hasser
212 South Garth Avenue
Columbia, Missouri 65201

Dear Mr. Hasser:

This is to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of February 25 to Mr. Heiler.

Our limited use of print media and limited use of advertisements in which models are required has restricted our experience with integrated advertisements, however, I do hope the following helps to answer your questions.

1. To my knowledge, we have always been receptive to using talent from all ethnic groups in all phases of advertising. When zeroing in specifically on Negro models in integrated print advertising, the only requirement would be to depict a scene that is realistic rather than artificial or contrived.
2. We have not measured our public's reaction to integrated advertisements, however, out of the several letters we received about Harry Belafonte's guest appearance on last season's "Purex - Dinah Shore Special" television program, only three alluded to the integrated aspect; only one of the three was critical, and this was interpreted as being of minor significance because the grammar and tone indicated the critic's IQ was possibly limited.
3. To date, we have experienced nothing that could be classified as a problem that resulted from the use of Negro models.
4. Historically, our plans for the future are usually more elaborate than reality permits, but we continue to remain hopeful of having more opportunities to run more integrated and more of all other type advertisements in all print media.

Mr. Charles J. Hasser

- 2 -

March 10, 1966

In addition to giving us the opportunity to try to help, your letter also gives us the pleasure of extending every best wish for the complete success of your master's thesis on "The Emerging Negro in Advertising".

Sincerely,

G. N. Eggertsen
Assistant to Director,
Marketing Services

/jb

RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA

RCA BUILDING, 30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020

RALSTON H. COFFIN
STAFF VICE PRESIDENT
ADVERTISING AND
SALES PROMOTION

March 1, 1966

Mr. Charles J. Hasser
212 South Garth Avenue
Columbia, Missouri 65201

Dear Mr. Hasser:

Thank you for your letter of February 25. I shall be very happy to answer your questions and will set them forth numerically as you have done:

1. What considerations led to your decision to begin using Negro models in advertisements in general media?

We have always featured our Negro recording artists in both the popular and classical categories, because they are among our top best sellers. We include Negroes in our other ads wherever it seems natural to do so, because Negroes represent an important segment of our markets.

2. What reactions -- positive and/or negative -- have you received?

We have had no negative reactions. But there certainly have been positive reactions from representatives of the Negro national community and representatives of Government agencies interested in Equal Opportunity and merit employment.

-2-

3. Has the use of Negro models resulted in any problems that were impossible to anticipate?

No.

4. Do you plan to continue the use of "integrated" advertising in general media?

Yes, wherever it is natural to do so.

I hope this information will prove helpful to you in your work on your Master's Thesis, "The Emerging Negro in Advertising."

Sincerely,

RHC:js

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA, 19113
TELEPHONE: SARATOGA 4-2000

March 23, 1966

Mr. Charles J. Hasser
212 South Garth Avenue
Columbia, Missouri 65201

Dear Mr. Hasser:

Thank you for your recent letter to Mr. C. G. Ward. He has referred your letter to Consumer Relations and we are happy to have the opportunity to reply.

Our company has long been interested and concerned with advertising which not only communicates the quality and value story of Scott Paper Company's products, but also presents this story in an informative, tasteful and realistic manner. We have long used Negro models for advertising in such a publication as Ebony as well as in advertisements receiving other public exposure. It was our belief that the pictures used in these communicative messages should be representative of the population and, to present a realistic situation, Negro models were included in groups. These messages have enjoyed very positive reaction from the public and we do plan to continue our representative advertising.

Thank you, again, for taking the time to write to us. Under separate cover, we are sending you some reprints of these messages and hope that you will find them interesting and informative. And, we wish you success in your project.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Jo Ann N. Buller
CONSUMER RELATIONS

bem

SEAGRAM DISTILLERS COMPANY EXECUTIVE OFFICES/375 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022/212-672-7000

March 23, 1966

Mr. Charles H. Hasser
112 South Garth Avenue
Columbia, Missouri 65201

Dear Mr. Hasser:

This will acknowledge your letter of February 25 in which you ask specific questions concerning our use of negro models in advertising.

I might advise you that we have used a negro model in one of our Seagram's V.O. magazine advertisements.

In answer to your first question, our decision to use a negro model was prompted by the fact that the negro market represents a good share of the distilled spirits business and, in the particular situation as represented in this advertisement, we felt that the use of a negro model was most appropriate.

However, most of our advertising does not include the use of people in groups, particularly large groups, where we feel there would be any logical numerical representation of the negro.

In answer to your second question concerning reactions, we have had a small amount of positive and negative reactions but not enough of either to concern us.

Three: As to any problems that were impossible to anticipate, we have had none.

As far as planning to continue the use of "integrated" advertising, this will depend upon the creativity of the advertising planned and whether any particular advertisement lends itself to the inclusion of a negro model without forcing a situation.

I hope that this information will be of some help to you.

Sincerely,

George E. Mosley
Vice-President

GEM:rk

UPLAND, CHESTER, PENNA. 19015
TREMONT 4-4241

Ship'n Shore INC.

March 4, 1966

Mr. Charles J. Hasser
212 South Garth Avenue
Columbia, Missouri 65201

Dear Mr. Hasser:

Answering your letter of February 25 question
by question, I am happy to advise you as
follows:

1. I decided that this was the
proper thing to do.
2. We have received a number of
favorable reactions from organi-
zations interested in Civil Rights
and we have had no negative re-
actions.
3. No
4. Yes.

Very truly yours,

SHIP'n SHORE, Inc.

William Netzky

WILLIAM NETZKY

WN:RB

SINCLAIR REFINING COMPANY
600 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020

March 2, 1966

Mr. Charles J. Hasser
212 South Carth Avenue
Columbia, Missouri 65201

Dear Mr. Hasser:

As you noted in your letter of February 25th Sinclair has been making use of Negro models in advertising for some time. We will be happy to answer the four questions you pose on this subject:-

1. The consideration that led to Sinclair's decision to use Negro models is simply that Negroes make up a large portion of the motoring audience we wish to reach. Obviously, we are anxious to convert as many as possible of these prospects into regular Sinclair customers and it is our view that the use of Negro models helps us do so.
2. We have had no definitive reactions to our use of Negro models either negative or positive.
3. We anticipate no problems in the use of Negro models and have had none.
4. We plan no changes in our general advertising strategy at this time.

We wish you success with your work on your master's thesis.

Yours very truly,

J. J. Delaney

LRA:jr

TRANS WORLD AIRLINES, Inc.

605 THIRD AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK, U.S.A. 10016

March 7, 1966

Mr. Charles J. Hasser
212 South Garth Avenue
Columbia, Missouri 65201

Dear Mr. Hasser:

It was very pleasant to hear from you last week and to know of your interest in TWA's Advertising Program and the specific interest you have in our use of Negro models in this advertising.

In reality, there were no deep considerations which went into our decision to use Negro models in general media advertising. It seemed to be consistent in portraying the world as it is today to use people from different races in the development of newspaper, television, and magazine copy. Our advertising is thus made to be more realistic and hopefully more productive for TWA.

We have not received a great number of reactions from the general public because we incorporate Negroes into our advertising. I do not recall any negative reactions, and, of course, we have occasionally had some positive feelings expressed through the CORE Organization. We certainly have no plans to revert from anything we are now doing, which means that you can anticipate a continuation of TWA ads which will not feature Caucasians exclusively.

Again, thanks very much for your interest in TWA's Advertising Program. I do hope that I have been of some help to you.

Sincerely,

C. A. Finkbeiner
Acting Head-
Advertising & Sales Promotion

CABLE ADDRESS: UNIWEARCOM

a subsidiary of Philadelphia and Reading Corp.

1290 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10019 • LT 1-9700

MEN'S & BOYS' SPORT CLOTHES • HATS • SHOES • SPORTSWEAR

March 1, 1966

Mr. Charles J. Hasser
212 South Garth Avenue
Columbia, Missouri

Dear Mr. Hasser:

Concerning our use of Negro models and integrated advertising in general, the basic decision which lead to use of Negro models was our recognition of the importance of the Negro not only in terms of the total economy, but more specifically, of his importance to us as a customer for our products. The Negro consumer is to an even greater degree than his white counterpart, extremely brand conscious, and we naturally want to win Negro loyalty for the Fruit of the Loom brand.

We did not experience any problems resulting from the use of Negro models. A relatively small number of letters were received, some for and some against the use of Negroes. The return is insufficient to attempt to make any projections of attitude.

We are not using Negroes in our advertising at the present time since the format of our present campaign does not involve the use of models.

I hope this information has been helpful and that your thesis will be very well received.

Cordially,

UNION UNDERWEAR CO., INC.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Lester Schwartz".

Lester Schwartz
Advertising Manager

LS/jm

YARN MILLS
Aliceville, Ala.
Fayette, Ala.
Jacksonville, Ala.

CLOTH MILLS
Fayette, Ala.
Winfield, Ala.

ELASTIC PLANT
W. Columbia, S. C.

FINISHED GARMENTS
Bechtelsville, Pa.—Knit Goods
Bowling Green, Ky.—Broadcloth Shorts and Knit Goods
Campbellsville, Ky.—Knit Underwear and Sweatshirts
Frankfort, Ky.—Broadcloth Shorts

Hiram Walker Incorporated

HEAD OFFICE

P.O. BOX 3302

Detroit, Michigan 48214

March 2, 1966

Mr. Charles J. Hesser
282 South Garth Avenue
Columbia, Missouri 65201

Dear Mr. Hesser:

This is in reply to your recent request for information about our advertising in connection with your master's thesis on "The Emerging Negro in Advertising". You are quite correct in stating that we show Negroes in some of our advertising.

Here are the answers to your questions:

1. Although we have had occasion to show Negroes in some of our ads in the past, our current usage stems from a request the Committee On Racial Equality has made. We agreed to cooperate wherever it is possible to do so and also, to show Negroes in natural situations. (The interest of CORE lies in showing Negroes in natural situations rather than publicizing Negro celebrities.)
2. We have received neither negative or positive reactions to this treatment.
3. The use of Negro models has not created any unanticipated problems. As a matter of fact, no problems were created by such usage.
4. We plan to continue with our integrated advertising. Of course, it must be realized that four-color magazine plates are extremely expensive and this means that we must have a natural situation for the use of Negro models and also to be involved in shooting new ads.

DATE March 2, 1966 138

I think that the preceding should answer your questions. I should like to wish you every success with your thesis.

Very truly yours,

HERBERT A. LEWIS

HERBERT A. LEWIS
ADVERTISING MANAGER

HAL/ps

WHITEHALL LABORATORIES

Division of American Home Products Corporation

305 THIRD AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

YUKON 8-1000

March 1, 1966

Mr. Charles J. Hasser
212 South Garth Avenue
Columbia, Missouri 65201

Dear Mr. Hasser:

This is in reference to your letter of February 25, 1966.

In answer to your question #1: What considerations led to your decision to begin using Negro models in advertisements in general media? - We have been advertising in Negro media for many, many years, both print and radio, so that no particular considerations led to our decision to use Negro media or Negro models in advertising in general media, other than the fact that we are well aware of the potential of this market.

In answer to your question #2: What reactions--positive and/or negative--have you received? - We have received no particular reactions, positive or negative.

In answer to your question #3: Has the use of Negro models resulted in any problems that were impossible to anticipate? - No

In answer to your question #4: Do you plan to continue the use of "integrated" advertising in general media? - Yes

Very truly yours,

R. G. Rettig
Vice President

RGR:mal

**Masters
Thesis
June
1966**

T-70

C.J. Hassser

ED

NE

DO