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THE ROLE OF THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN IN ADVERTISING

A Thesis
Presented to the
Faculty of
California State University,
San Bernardino

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts
in
Interdisciplinary Studies

by
Anita Elaine Rivers
March 1991

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Approved by:

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ABSTRACT

The first African-American homesteaders, who farmed and owned businesses, used various simple methods of advertising to promote their goods and services. The African-American newspaper became the primary vehicle for print advertisements as well as the voice against slavery. The early 1900s witnessed the successes of African-American entrepreneurs, like Madam C. J. Walker. Later, John H. Johnson championed the cause for African-American market research. During the 1960s, increasing numbers of African-Americans participated in advertisements. Today, it is estimated that a \$305 billion African-American consumer market exists. Despite its presence, little research has identified the characteristics and consumer behavior relevant to the African-American market. Results of a focus group study, involving African-American college students, recommend increased visibility of African-Americans in advertisements. The findings also reveal a strong preference for all African-American ads or integrated ads with equal representation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I must give thanks to God for His unconditional love and continuous blessings. I thank God for and give thanks to my beautiful African-American princess, Alana Evette Rivers. We have spent hours upon hours in the libraries and apart. I love you and pray that someday you will understand. I give thanks to my parents, Ernie and Jim, for their careful watch over Alana during this lengthy endeavor.

I also thank the African-American students at California State University, San Bernardino (CSUSB), who participated in the focus group research. In particular, I would like to recognize Christina Booker and Leisa Smith (both Marketing students) for their candid responses. George Gibbs, thank you for coordinating the group of Summer Transition and Enrichment Program (STEP) students who participated.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Advertising has served to promote America's free enterprise system throughout history. Among the first settlers to partake in this industry were the African-American pioneers. Though little has been documented in standard marketing texts, African-Americans have ingested bittersweet pills of successes and failures in the industry. The African-American, despite the odds, has endured and oftentimes overcome the perils of racism and prejudice prevalent not only in the industry but in society as a whole. This thesis serves to document the many contributions African-Americans have made to advertising. It recounts the impact advertising has had on African-American businesses and their community from a historical context through contemporary America.

In addition to further advances in the area of African-American advertising, focus group research was employed to assess reactions to print advertisements. African-American, White, and integrated advertisements were rated based on: appeal, appropriateness of models used, colors represented, and purchase decisions.

Chapter One presents an historical overview of the role African-Americans have played in advertising. Chapter Two reviews literature pertaining to market research. Chapter

Three presents the methodology used in gathering data. Chapter Four presents the research findings and cites recommendations for future research. The final chapter contains research conclusions and discussion.

Historical Overview

Pre-Civil War

The first free African-American settlers arrived in Jamestown, Virginia in 1619. The small group of 20 homesteaders worked as indentured servants. They established small businesses, such as crop farms, and sold their goods among themselves and in the general marketplace to White consumers. By 1662, freedom came to a screeching halt as the institution of slavery was legalized. The demand for cheap farm labor paralyzed the African-American community with the mass kidnap and importation of African-Americans to serve as slaves.

Fearing for their lives and freedom, the early settlers fled to the north. Those who made it were left to start anew. Those who did not were enslaved. Their flourishing businesses fell to the hands of jealous White settlers, who burned the establishments to the ground.¹ The first bitter pill of advertising was felt.

¹Harry Ploski and James Williams, eds., The Negro Almanac-Reference Work On The Afro-American, 4th ed., (New York: Wiley Interscience, 1983), 552.

Ironically, advertising that launched the quest for free enterprise for most Americans promoted slavery for the African-American. The white press, along with flyers distributed throughout the south, carried ads announcing the sale of African-American slaves. This method proved so successful that slavery soon became a profitable and accepted economic institution. (See Ill. 1.)

The first groups of slaves proved able to endure long hours of hard labor and were inexpensive to house, clothe and feed. Advertisements carried this message making slave traders into prosperous businessmen. Slave auction profits more than compensated for the numerous African slaves who died in transit. Slave purchasers wielded their powerful political muscle against abolitionists, who conspired to thwart their efforts.

In 1662, the African-American population totaled 3,000. By 1700, the number increased to 27,817 as a result of the massive importation of slaves. When the first census was taken in 1790, African-Americans represented "19% of the nation's population."² This population was increasing at a faster rate than any other. The census counted 757,181 African-Americans. Of this group, 91% were enslaved.

²Ibid., 445-446.

TO BE SOLD on board the
 Ship *Bance Island*, on tuesday the 6th
 of *May* next, at *Appleby Ferry*, a choice
 cargo of about 250 fine healthy



NEGROES,



just arrived from the
Windward & Rice Coast.
 —The utmost care has
 already been taken, and
 shall be continued, to keep them free from
 the least danger of being infected with the
SMALL-POX, no boat having been on
 board, and all other communication with
 people from *Charles-Town* prevented.

Auskin, Laurens, & Appleby.

N. E. Full one Half of the above Negroes have had the
SMALL-POX in their own Country.

Ranaway

From my house (No. 14 *Commerca-street*)
 on the 6th inst. my Negro Slave **HARRIET**.
 She is about the common height, has a very
 large mouth, thick lips, and flat nose, of rather
 a copper complexion: she said she intended
 to go either to *Annapolis* or *Philadelphia*. I
 will give to any person who will apprehend
 and deliver her to me at the above mentioned
 place, the sum of *Thirty Dollars*, and pay any
 reasonable expences: she is a good seam-
 stress. If taken out of the state and delivered
 as above, I will give *Fifty Dollars*.

Since writing the above, I have reason to
 believe she may have gone to *Alexandria*.

JOSEPH NATTALI.

April 7.

d12t

Ill. 1. Depiction of the African-American slave in early advertisements.

Early statistics confirm the viability of slavery. The masses of African-Americans became the "workhorses" of White America. "The Black was, in their view, biologically inferior--a fact which they would at times assert without any seeming malice."³

The annihilation of the African-American community left rumors and stereotypes unchallenged in the south. Northern freedmen, on the other hand, sought to resurrect their communities. Self-education fostered pride and confidence. Those who were gifted in the disciplines refused to accept the limitations society had placed upon them. One such marvel among African-Americans was Benjamin Banneker.

Banneker was born a free man in Ellicott, Maryland, in 1731. As a child, he is credited with having invented America's first working clock. Later in life, Banneker taught himself mathematics and astronomy. His genius in the sciences and his ability to articulate his findings brought him great respect within his community.

In 1791 Banneker began publishing the ALMANAC to publicize his scientific findings. (See Ill. 2.) He was also able to promote the anti-slavery movement. The greater

³Ibid., 1373.



Ill. 2. Benjamin Banneker and the cover of ALMANAC.

message conveyed, however, was that African-Americans were intelligent individuals with the ability to learn.⁴

The "freedmen" population carried the weight of their enslaved brethren on their shoulders. According to the Negro Almanac, "In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, free Blacks owned inns, construction, tailoring, farming, catering, and many other small businesses."⁵ Among the varied business ventures, several African-American newspapers were launched. It was the newspapers that sounded the cry for abolition both near and far.

The African-American Press

The first African-American newspaper on record was The Freedom's Journal.⁶ The weekly was published by Reverend Samuel Cornish and John B. Russwurm. (Russwurm was the nation's second African-American college graduate who received his degree from Bowdoin College in 1826). In 1827, the pair established the Journal in New York City. However, due to financial and philosophical differences, the paper folded after three years of circulation.

⁴Russell L. Adams, Great Negroes Past and Present, (Chicago: Afro-Am Publishing Company, 1964), 18.

⁵Harry Ploski and James Williams, eds. 552.

⁶Donald M. Jacobs., Antebellum Black Newspapers (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1976), 8-11.

The Journal denounced slavery and colonization.

Through its advertisements and notices, messages of self-reliance and self-determination were reiterated. Many small entrepreneurs and private individuals advertised. Examples include: Richard Augustus, who advertised social events; Scipio C. Augustus, owner of a boarding home, advertised room rentals; and Cornish, who was largely responsible for increasing the Journal's circulation, advertised the sale of land plots located in the New York suburbs. The following is copy from Cornish's advertisement, which ran until the paper folded in 1829:

LAND FOR SALE.

THE subscriber is authorised to offer to his coloured brethren, 2,000 Acres of excellent Land, at less than one half its value, provided they will take measures to settle, or have it settled, by coloured farmers. The land is in the state of New-York, within 70 miles of the city: its location is delightful, being on the banks of the Delaware river, with an open navigation to the city of Philadelphia. The canal leading from the Delaware to the Hudson river passed through the tract, opening a direct navigation to New-York city. The passage to either city may be made in one day or less. The land is of the best quality, and well timbered.

The subscriber hopes that some of his brethren, who are capitalists, will at least invest 500 or 1,000 dollars, in these lands. To such he will take the liberty to say, this land can be purchased for 5 dollars the acre, (by coloured men), though it has been selling for \$25. He also takes the liberty to observe that the purchase will be safe and advantageous and he thinks such a settlement formed by coloured families, would be conducive of much

good: With this object in view he will invest 500 dollars in the purchase.

SAMUEL E. CORNISH
(Freedom's Journal, New York, March 20, 1827)⁷

Educational opportunities were consistently advertised in the Journal. Examples of schools advertised include: The African Free School; Jeremiah Gloucester and the Philadelphia School; William Lively and the Baltimore School; and the Mutual Instruction Society (a school for African-American adults); and Joseph Shippard's School for Free Blacks in Richmond, Virginia. Russwurm, the Journal's editor, advertised his Evening School for Blacks. Also numerous clothing, tailoring, clothes cleaners, grocery stores, and tobacco products were advertised. Ironically, notices for runaway slaves appeared in the Journal.⁸

When Russwurm and Cornish no longer shared common philosophical ground, the paper folded. Russwurm favored the Colonization Society's viewpoint that African-Americans should establish their own communities on foreign land. The following advertisement is testament of Russwurm's dedication to this movement:

⁷Martin E. Dann, The Black Press, 1872-1890, The Quest for National Identity (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1971), 186-187.

⁸Donald M. Jacobs, Antebellum Black Newspapers. 8-11

WANTED IMMEDIATELY

Thirty able bodied men well acquainted with farming to go out to Hayti, as cultivators. For terms enquire of the subscriber.

JNO. B. RUSSWURM

(Freedom's Journal, New York, May 30, 1828)⁹

Cornish, on the other hand, was a revolutionary. He supported freed African-Americans, who were determined to stay on American soil. Cornish's next publishing effort was another powerful African-American newspaper called The Rights Of All (1829). Like its predecessor, Rights met with financial difficulties and folded after six months.

The rise and fall of the first African-American newspapers did not deter those to follow. In 1837, the Weekly Advocate took shape. Its name was later changed to The Colored American, to better identify with the population it served. American's philosophy reflected the concern for well-being in the African-American community. Its advertisements largely focused on social and church events. Political philosophies, campaigns, and their candidates also received advertising support. The message of self-preservation prevailed in ads pertaining to training opportunities and membership drives for social organiza-

⁹Martin E. Dann, The Black Press, 1827-1890, The Quest for National Identity, 246.

tions. The American Anti-Slavery Society and Baptist Anti-Slavery Society were regular advertisers. The Colored People's State Temperance Society, the Committee of Free Discussion, the New York Association for the Political Elevation and Improvement of the People of Color advertised. Churches, state conventions, and women's and men's clubs promoted their causes in the American.¹⁰

The advertisements in the American displayed printed copy, using only minor variances of typeface. The following is an example of advertising copy that appeared in that newspaper in 1837:

ADVANTAGEOUS NOTICE

The Subscriber will undertake to furnish colored apprentices, gratis, to the different Mechanical business. Philanthropists, on application to him, at his dwelling, in the evening, at No. 272 Spring Street, up stairs or through the day at No. 118 Anthony, near Elm St., will be attended to.

Colored parents and guardians of our youths, are respectfully requested to give in the names, residence, and age of their boys, in season, so as to secure a place, that will be to their future advantage.

JAMES FRASER

(The Colored American, New York, April 15, 1837)¹¹

¹⁰ Donald M. Jacobs, Antebellum Black Newspapers, 229.

¹¹ Martin E. Dann, The Black Press, 1827-1890, The Quest for National Identity, 188.

The Colored American was published until 1841. As noted in the Encyclopedia of Black America, "Virtually all Afro-American newspapers that began before 1860 lasted only a few years, primarily because of financial difficulty."¹²

The post-Civil War years saw a continued influx of African-American newspapers. Martin E. Dann, author of The Black Press, wrote the following statement which eloquently summarizes the importance of the African-American press:

The black press throughout its history brought to its readers an awareness of oppressive conditions, while it emphasized the successes of black men and women. Black newspapers urged their readers to work for their own progress, for recognition in their professions as black men and women, with dignity and self-respect. The accomplishments of black people as doctors or lawyers, teachers or workmen, became a major theme in these papers. In such a way, the press was able to instill a positive sense of the progress and future of black people which was imperative to resisting persistent attempts by white racists to undermine the black community.¹³

The establishment and growth of self-help groups, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the National Negro Business League, can attribute their membership gains and initial success to advertisements in the local African-American press as will be noted later.

¹²W. Augustus Low, Encyclopedia of Black America (New York: McGraw Hill, 1981), 637-638.

¹³Martin E. Dann, The Black Press, 1827-1890, The Quest for National Identity, 22-23.

Advertisements carried the message of migration (or decentralization of African-Americans) throughout the South. (Note Ills. 3 and 4.) Benjamin "Pap" Singleton, the Pied Piper of the 1870's, used advertising to promote his exodus to the West. "Pap" was also responsible for leading hundreds of African-Americans to northern settlements. Described "as a tall, thin tawny man who could barely read, Singleton was a most persuasive talker and a compulsive promoter. Singleton marched through the South advertising and preaching a haven of ease and dignity just over in Kansas."¹⁴ Frederick Douglass, in his newspaper the North Star, encouraged southern African-Americans to move North. There, it was advertised, opportunities for the freed masses were plentiful.

The Encyclopedia of Black America states, "Some 30 newspapers are known to have been published during the antebellum period."¹⁵ The newspapers proved to be poor business investments, however. Commenting on the futile attempts by African-American publishers, Encyclopedia notes the following:

Editors found it difficult to obtain advertisements and they could not afford to reject those of doubtful propriety. This often meant the acceptance

¹⁴Russell L. Adams, Great Negroes Past and Present, 89.

¹⁵W. Augustus Low, Encyclopedia of Black America, 637.



Ill. 3. "Pap" Singleton and advertisement promoting exodus.

ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION!

TENDERED TO
"Pap" Singleton,

The originator of the Colored Emigration from the south to the west, and father of the late great "EXODUS," in the seventy-third year of his age, by the citizens of Kansas, for his untiring efforts to ameliorate human suffering,

TUESDAY, AUG. 15th,

To be held at **HARTZELL PARK,**
— NEAR THE CITY LIMITS OF —
TOPEKA, - KANSAS.

(Street cars run to and from the Park.)

BENJAMIN SINGLETON, better known as "Old Pap," was born in August, 1829, and therefore will be seventy-three years old that day. And on that day let every loyal citizen, be he speaker, statesman or minister of the Gospel, come forward and extend the right hand of fellowship.

Invitations have been extended to leading citizens in different cities of the State, and excursions are expected from each city.

-PROGRAMME FOR THE DAY:-

OPENING CHORUS..... Song, JOHN BROWN.

PRAYER.

" WHY WE CELEBRATE TO-DAY "..... JUDGE W. I. JAMISON, of North Topeka.

After which addresses will be delivered by the following prominent speakers and citizens:

Gov. John P. St. John,	Rev. Jno. M. Wilkerson,	Mayor Joseph Willson,
Rev. John F. Thomas,	James Troutman, Atty.,	D. B. Garrett,
" Peter Tucker,	Rev. R. F. Markham,	Rev. S. C. Pierce,
" L. S. Cooper,	" W. W. Williams,	" Sanford Griffin,
" Laver,	Hon. Thomas Ryan,	" J. Turner, Kan. City.

MUSIC WILL BE INTERSPERSED BETWEEN EACH SPEECH.

COMMITTEE OF INVITATION:		COMMITTEE OF RECEPTION:	
J. Wiley J. Johnson, H. Etherly, D. Ware,	Wm. Cole, R. Perkins, Dr. J. M. Janison,	G. W. Ware, Wm. Love, A. Scales, C. McNairy,	D. Ware, Louis Morgan, Chas. Williams,
J. Braaborn, G. White, Wm. Love,	G. W. Smith,	B. Jones, H. Duncan, J. H. Slaughter,	F. M. Stonestreet,

COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS:
A. Scales, Joseph Jones, H. Rolling, T. Bird, Rev. Jas. Bradshaw, C. H. Brown, A. D. DeFrank.
A. D. DEFRANK, President of the Day!

Gun salutes will be fired at early sunrise, and at 7 o'clock, P. M., by Officer James Mason. Stands can be had on the grounds by referring to the Committee of Arrangements.

Admission to Park, Five Cents.

All Sabbath School Scholars and their Teachers will be admitted FREE!



Ill. 4. Examples of advertisements promoting westward migration.

of advertisements for useless patent medicines and other panaceas.¹⁶

By the start of the next century, the odds did not deter the African-American press.

The African-American Entrepreneur

Journalism was merely one of several leading business enterprises among African-Americans that sought the tools of advertising to prosper. (The lack of advertisement dollars, however, forced the printing wheels to halt for several ventures.) The true beneficiaries of this era were the small business owners/operators. They had a mighty thirst for success. The spirit of free enterprise challenged them to devise ways and means to persuade intended consumers to buy their products. Very much in tune with the competitive spirit prevalent in White America, the African-American developed enterprising methods to attract customers. One such innovator was C.C. Spaulding.

Spaulding was eager to aid the ailing North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, established in 1898. The company's lone employee, he set out to promote insurance sales throughout the state. Local businesses were saturated with promotional materials advertising North Carolina

¹⁶Ibid., 637-638.

Mutual. Spaulding distributed calendars, pens, matchbooks and fans with the North Carolina Mutual name. He eventually hired and trained hundreds of agents (or salespeople) to sell the insurance to African-Americans throughout the east. As noted in Great Negroes Past and Present, "The Negro press carried advertisements of North Carolina Mutual in almost every edition."¹⁷

The dawn of the 1900s saw the birth of the National Black Business League, the first African-American business organization. Some 400 entrepreneurs held their conclave in Boston, under the leadership of Booker T. Washington. The League sought to support African-Americans and their business ventures. Inspired by the opportunity to own her own business, though somewhat by mistake, was Madam C. J. Walker.

It was July 19, 1905. Troubled by hair loss, Madam Walker created a pomade by mixing herbs and other natural products. The pomade, applied to her hair and scalp, helped reduce breakage and promote hair growth. Walker also invented an iron comb that could be heated and hand-held to straighten hair. Prior to the "straightening" comb, African-American women literally ironed their curly locks.

¹⁷Russell L. Adams, Great Negroes Past and Present, 74.

By September 15, 1905, Madam Walker placed her products on the market. With the savvy of an experienced business person, Madam Walker established an elaborate mail order system and developed an advertising campaign that launched her new hair care business into an overnight success.

Demand became so great that Walker opened a manufacturing plant in Pittsburgh. She later expanded her manufacturing operation and established a new location in Indianapolis, Indiana, leaving the Pittsburgh plant to her daughter. Walker went on to establish training schools to assist aspiring hair care specialists in the use of the Walker system of special products and procedures. The Walker method and its reputed success in treating a variety of hair and scalp ailments became the rage of African-American communities. Walker schools of beauty were established around the country. The Madam C. J. Walker Beauty Manual, produced by the Walker Manufacturing company in Indianapolis, Indiana, was written to assist with training. The manual accompanied products sold and distributed by Walker agents and mail orders.¹⁸

Before her death in 1919, Madam Walker had more than 2,000 sales agents and an annual payroll exceeding \$200,000.

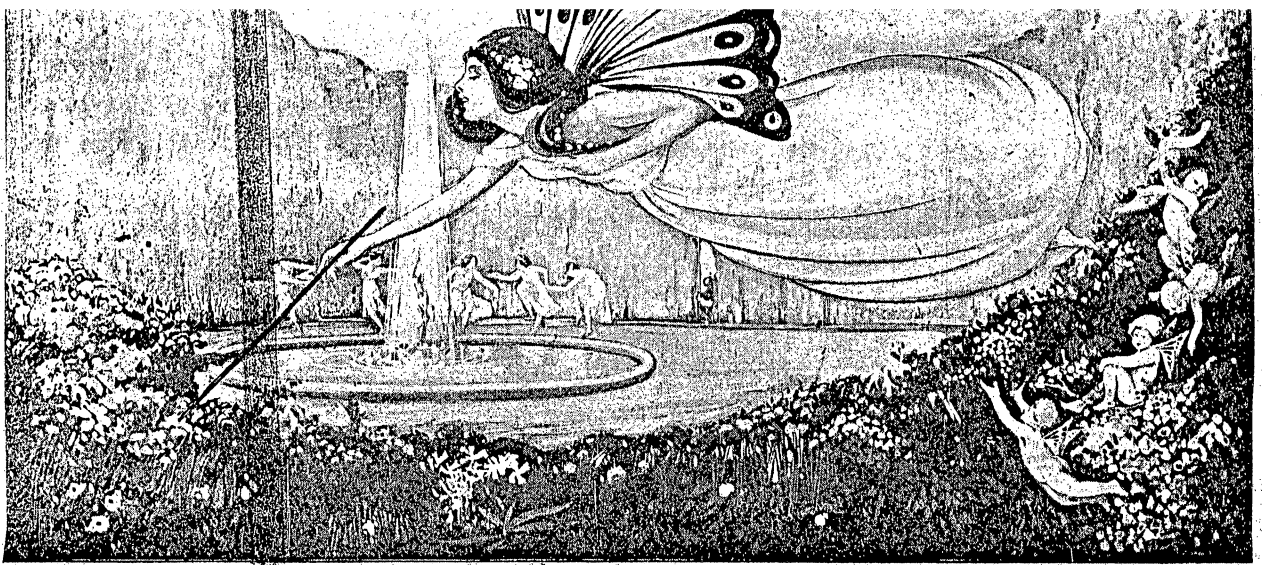
¹⁸Madam C. J. Walker, The Madam C. J. Walker Beauty Manual (Indianapolis: Madam C. J. Walker Manufacturing Company, Inc.).

Advertisements promoting Walker's product line appeared in a variety of African-American newspapers and periodicals. The Walker ad in Ill. 5, appeared in The Brownie's Book in July, 1920. (The periodical was published out of New York by DuBois and Dell.) As evidenced in the advertisement, Walker's products expanded from the original hair care line to include a variety of skin care products.

Madam Walker is credited with having given the African-American woman a newfound sense of beauty and self-awareness. Her start in the personal care industry led to a long list of successors. The National Business League, along with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) established in 1910, widely recognized Madam Walker's accomplishments. It is particularly important to note that Walker was somewhat of a phenomenon. Her acclaim extends beyond her recognition as the first African-American female millionaire. Madam Walker was one of few females to achieve this rank in any business.

The African-American on Madison Avenue

The "old boy network" on Madison Avenue determined who was denied access and employment in the industry. Not only were women discriminated against, ethnic groups as well as certain religious affiliations were frowned upon. Marchand writes, "the editors of the 1931 Who's Who [in Advertising],



THE GIFT OF THE GOOD FAIRY

ONCE upon a time there lived a Good Fairy whose daily thoughts were of pretty little boys and girls and of beautiful women and handsome men and of how she might make beautiful those unfortunate ones whom nature had not given long, wavy hair and a smooth, lovely complexion. So she waved her magic wand and immediately gave to those who would be beautiful a group of preparations known from that time, fifteen years ago, until to-day and at home and abroad as

MADAM C. J. WALKER'S SUPERFINE PREPARATIONS FOR THE HAIR AND FOR THE SKIN

Wonderful Hair Grower
Glossine
Temple Grower
Tetter Salve
Vegetable Shampoo

Vanishing Cream
Cleansing Cream
Cold Cream
Antiseptic Hand Soap
Complexion Soap

Superfine Face Powder (white, rose-flesh, brown)
Floral Cluster Talcum Powder
Antiseptic Dental Cream
Witch Hazel Jelly

Results from the use of our preparations especially noticeable in the hair and skin of children.

*Very liberal trial treatment sent anywhere
upon receipt of a dollar and a half.*

THE MADAM C. J. WALKER MFG. CO.

640 North West Street Dept. 1-X Indianapolis, Indiana

Ill. 5. One of Walker's advertisements.

described the profession as dominated by a blue-eyed Nordic strain."¹⁹

At this time, African-Americans were employed as no more than janitors. Agencies shied away from anyone who would cause any discomfort to their clients. It was also their belief that African-Americans did not represent the masses and, thus, would be limited to portraying roles as servants. Marchand states that African-Americans were cast as "contented porters, janitors, washwomen and houseboys."²⁰

This image of the African-American was first cast by the creation of trade characters Aunt Jemima and Cream of Wheat's black chef, Rasmus. Both were created by Calkins & Holden (agency) for Force breakfast cereals in the 1890s. As Stephen Fox noted in The Mirror Makers, the trade characters "by their comfortable familiarity...reminded the public of the product, gently but persistently."²¹

In general, advertisers were not interested in depicting diversity in their ads. Even as social status

¹⁹ Roland Marchand, Advertising the American Dream, Making Way For Modernity 1920-1940 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 35.

²⁰ Ibid., 193.

²¹ Stephen Fox, The Mirror Makers, A History of American Advertising and Its Creators (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1984), 44.

gained a foothold in the industry, the depiction of maids in ads were far from realistic. Advertisers were quick to capitalize on personal wealth and status, by creating ads featuring elegantly dressed White women being pampered by their young, French maids. In reality, however, the maids were primarily African-American or immigrant. Marchand reports the following 1930 census data: "18 percent of women listed under 'other domestic and personal service' were foreign-born and 39 percent were black; by 1940 the percentage of blacks...would surpass 46 percent; in 1930, 39 percent of...servants were over thirty-five years of age; and by 1940, those over thirty-five had increased to 47.8 percent."²²

Advertisements proceeded to cater to a very small percentage of the American population. The narrow vision of Madison Avenue advertising executives accommodated the "class" audience as opposed to the "mass" audience. Consumer citizenship, it appeared, had very clear limits. The African-American was, therefore, considered a non-citizen. "The exclusion of blacks is confirmed by the meager national advertising in black newspapers such as the

²² Roland Marchand, Advertising the American Dream, Making Way For Modernity, 1920-1940, 202.

Chicago Defender and the Pittsburgh Courier," Marchand explains.²³

Demographically, the swift increase in the population of African-Americans realized in the mid-1800s had subsided by the 1900s. Slavery had ended. African-Americans were no longer imported to America in masses. At the turn of the century, Europeans immigrated to the American shores. In 1900, there were 75,994,775 people living in America. Of this number, 8,833,994 (or 11.6%) were African-American. By 1920, the general population increased to 105,710,620, with 10,463,131 (9.9%) African-Americans. For the next 30 years, the percentage of African-Americans continued to decrease.²⁴

Clearly, African-Americans represented a sizable slice of the American pie. Even with the advent of electronic media, advertisers continued to ignore the existence of this segment.

Radio and Television

The age of radio and television begins. Radio is said to have revolutionized the advertising industry, though it met with early opposition. With the invention of wireless radio in 1895, music and newscasts enjoyed nearly 25 years

²³Ibid., 64.

²⁴Harry Ploski and James Williams, eds, The Negro Almanac-A Reference Work On The Afro-American, 458.

of advertisement-free programming on a handful of privately-owned stations. Radio was viewed as a medium that offered intimacy to its listening public. Those who opposed advertising wanted to preserve this relationship by keeping the program format uncluttered. Despite their efforts, by the 1920s, commercial stations emerged. This development led to program sponsorship and the eventual opportunity for massive radio advertising.

WEAF (New York) was the trailblazer among commercially licensed radio stations. After a modest start with an AT & T ad in 1922, the station secured 14 sponsors before its first anniversary. In just two years, 150 out of 561 commercial stations accepted advertising. By 1926, hard sell advertising made its way into program formats. Station owners saw revenue-producing advertisements as radio's primary source of support. Statistics show that by 1927, 20% of radio time was sponsored. By 1931, the percentage increased to 36%.²⁵

As the success of radio advertising continued to develop, the industry clearly catered to a small segment of White consumers. The African-American was non-existent in advertising. In the mid-1930s, one of radio's most popular comedy shows was "Amos 'n Andy." The program featured two

²⁵Cobbett Steinberg, T V Facts (New York: Facts on File, Inc., 1985), 119-120.

'black minstrels' who were much like Rasmus and Jemima of earlier times.

The first black radio network did not appear on the scene until 1954. It was called the National Negro Network, with its New York station WOV. Programs featured by this time attracted top sponsors such as Philip Morris and Pet Milk.

Radio's popularity in the African-American community soared. Being an inexpensive medium and able to travel with its audience, radio provided greater reach and found more frequent listeners in this market. This phenomenon continues to exist today, as more African-American radio networks have evolved. The most popular African-American radio station to date is WBLS-FM New York, owned by Inner City Broadcasting. Station ownership has also proven to be a profitable business venture for such African-American entrepreneurs as John H. Johnson (Ebony publisher), Inner City Broadcasting (Amsterdam News), and Earl Graves (Black Enterprise).

Television followed radio's lead. Without the convenience of radio's flexibility and easy access, television created a new challenge for advertisers. Its viability as a revenue generating medium was initially met with skepticism, mainly because its receiver was bulky and cumbersome. The television set could not follow wherever

the listening public ventured. Thus, television's popularity got off to a slow start. Both World Wars I and II added to the delay of what we now know as the 'Golden age' of television. Radio, on the other hand, provided a means of communicating with troops abroad and families at home. As WWII neared an end, television's growing popularity sparked the beginning of a new era of advertising history.

In July 1941, commercial television was approved by the Federal Communication Commission or FCC. Television's advertisement policy followed that of radio, whereby sponsored programs dominated for more than a decade. Examples of such programs were the "Texaco Star Theatre," "Colgate Comedy Hour," and "Kraft Television Theatre."²⁶

According to author Roger D. Rice, "approximately 102,000 television sets were in use by 1948, with close to two-thirds in New York." Rice goes on to confirm the phenomenal growth of this new medium with the following statistics:

- In 1950, 7,400,000 sets sold

²⁶Ibid., 120

- In 1971, 14,900,000 sets sold
- In 1974, 17,400,000 sets sold²⁷

Television's popularity continued to spiral. Yet, few opportunities existed for African-Americans on the big screen. In programming, the one exception was the telecast of the Joe Louis-Billy Conn heavyweight championship fight in 1946. The "Amos 'n Andy" comedy hour made its way from radio to television in the 1950s. Once on screen, an African-American cast was hired to play the main characters. Also in 1950, African-American actress Ethel Waters starred in her own program called "Beulah." The "Nat King Cole Show" followed in 1957, but was shortlived because of poor sponsorship.

Both radio and television employed several African-American musical groups as commercial background singers. Popular groups featured included "The Ink Spots," "The Mills Brothers," and "The Vagabonds." The latter is credited with being the first African-American group to do commercials for a national audience.²⁸ A major breakthrough for African-Americans was realized as African-American entrepreneurs

²⁷Roger D. Rice, "Baby medium, television grows up since 1940," How It Was In Advertising: 1776-1976 (Chicago: Crain Books, 1976), 100.

²⁸W. Augustus Low, Encyclopedia of Black America, 723.

began to explore the national market. The African-American print media plotted this new territory.

African-American Magazines

The African-American magazine industry was also affected by the lack of advertising. Numerous magazine starts were out of publication in months. Despite a discouraging track record, the birth of what has become one of the most successful magazine ventures was in the making.

John H. Johnson, newly hired at Supreme Liberty Life Insurance Company in Chicago in 1936, carefully plotted his way into the magazine industry. Under the tutelage of the company's CEO Harry H. Pace, Johnson learned the nuts and bolts of business administration. As Johnson soon discovered, Pace was a journalist at heart whose ill-fated attempt at magazine publishing never dampened his love for writing. In 1906, Pace and W.E.B. DuBois co-published the Moon.

Johnson worked his way up to editorship of Supreme's monthly newspaper, The Guardian. As editor, he was able to gain the technical and administrative experience that would later prove invaluable. More invaluable, however, was his friendship with Pace.

On November 1, 1942, Johnson launched his first magazine called The Negro Digest. With 3,000 prepaid subscriptions, resulting from a 20,000 name mailing list and \$500

invested in stamps, Johnson secured \$6,000 for the first issue. Johnson, however, published 5,000 copies. As if born with the gift of salesmanship, Johnson sold the additional copies by taking them to the African-American community. Issues of The Digest were left on newsstands, in barbershops, markets and drugstores.

On the first page of the magazine, Johnson identified the purpose of the magazine, identified its publisher and address and gave the reader an opportunity to subscribe. This strategy allowed Johnson to promote subscription buying from the onset. Like C. C. Spaulding of insurance fame, Johnson became publisher, editor, salesman, and deliverer. His negotiating skills, along with flyers and hired salesagents, helped to broaden the magazine's circulation base. Within six months, The Negro Digest had a circulation of 50,000. Circulation increased to more than 100,000 after only a year of publication.

Two years of successful magazine publishing led to Johnson's next venture. Ebony, designed to rival Life and Look magazines, was born on November 1, 1945. Called the first and now infamous entertainment magazine for African-Americans, Ebony began without a single advertisement. This was Johnson's decision. As he explains in his autobiography, Succeeding Against The Odds:

I took the high road from the beginning, announcing that I wouldn't accept ads until we had a guaranteed circulation of 100,000...I also discouraged the small and unsightly 'charm' and 'reader'-type²⁹ ads that had been the staple of the Negro press.

The first four major advertisers in Ebony were Chesterfield, Kotex, Supreme Life Insurance and Murray's Pomeade. Between 1946 and 1947, Johnson was unsuccessful in attracting new sponsors. He then personally set out to attract companies that had sizable African-American patronage.

Johnson's first major breakthrough came with Zenith products. The Zenith account was closely followed by accounts with Swift Packing, Elgin Watch, Armour Foods, and Quaker Oats. Johnson hired his first advertising manager in 1947. Within a year of hiring Bill Grayson, the magazine had accounts with Pepsi, Colgate, and Seagram. By December of 1948, Ebony became the first African-American magazine to run a four-color page advertisement.³⁰

The next few years witnessed Johnson's attempt to capitalize in the true-confessions magazine market with Tan, Hue, and Copper. Johnson discovered a goldmine in Jet, which was first published on November 1, 1951. Like its successful predecessor, Jet captivated the African-American

²⁹ John H. Johnson, Succeeding Against The Odds (New York: Warner Books, 1989), 161.

³⁰ Ibid., 186-190.

community with its stylish, new format. It was the first news weekly in pocket size. More importantly, Jet captured the advertiser's interest almost immediately.

The Johnson Publishing empire continued to grow. Johnson expanded his operations with offices located throughout the country. During this period of expansion, Johnson continued to have an avid interest in the development of advertising. Armed with the expertise of his newly formed advertising department, Johnson set out to inform the business world of the credentials of the African-American consumer market. Johnson declared that a multi-billion dollar market existed, but had been ignored. He further provided specific evidence relative to the buying habits of this market. It was Johnson's position that if more product advertisements availed themselves of this market, the companies would realize increased sales.

Johnson's persistence paid off. The Johnson Publishing Company is now a multi-million dollar business conglomeration. Johnson's lead in cultivating marketing interests among White advertisers has proven to be a major groundbreaker for African-American business interests. This is especially true for the African-American pioneers in the advertising industry.

As is presented in the historical overview, many accomplishments and setbacks were experienced by early African-American entrepreneurs. The advertising industry can both applaud and bow its head in shame for the role it played in this bittersweet history.

CHAPTER TWO

Research and Literature Review

This chapter presents literature relevant to African-Americans in advertising. It also includes interviews with African-American advertising executives, pertaining to this research. The review is divided into three sections: marketing research, African-American advertising agencies and practitioners, and the African-American consumer market.

Market Research

The first source of information about the African-American consumer market dates back to the mid-1930s. Burns Roper, of the Elmer Roper research organization, estimated that this market had a net worth of \$30 billion. He went further to note that as African-Americans continued to make economic gains their market value would steadily increase. Madison Avenue chose to ignore Roper's findings.

After more than a decade, John H. Johnson confirmed Roper's. Although Johnson estimated the market value at half of the earlier finding, he was able to identify distinct buying characteristics unique to African-American consumers. He found that these consumers were largely brand loyal and exhibited disproportionately higher consumption patterns of "quality" products. Such products included

brands of televisions, like RCA, and brands of whiskey, like Scotch.

Johnson's research also met with deafened ears among industry practitioners. Johnson, however, was determined to gain their attention, primarily because the life of his new magazine, Ebony, was at stake. Armed with tenacity and the ability to convince advertisers to invest in his magazine, Johnson succeeded. In Johnson's words, "The Negro consumer market was so big, so obvious, and so critically important to the balance sheets of American industries that advertising and marketing experts couldn't see the forest for the trees."¹

For Johnson, bringing recognition to the African-American consumer market meant changing the American psyche. This mission was particularly challenging because racism was underlying Madison Avenue's denial of this credible market.

Major advertising accounts trickled into the Ebony camp. Johnson's staff spent more than a decade to attract the first automobile account. The first to yield was Chrysler. General Motors followed. It took nearly two decades to attract the major retail chain, Sears Roebuck. On the other hand, the Campbell Soup company refused to advertise in the African-American magazine.

¹John H. Johnson, Succeeding Against The Odds (New York: Warner Books, 1989), 223-224.

Johnson's experiences typify that of African-American entrepreneurs throughout America's history. The challenge was particularly arduous for those who would not accept the limitations imposed by prejudice and racism. Initially, their efforts appeared to have paid off. By the 1950s, African-Americans were more visible in both print and television advertisements. However, research conducted a decade later revealed that very little progress had been made.

Harold Kassarian, a leading market researcher, discovered that the presence of African-Americans in advertising had not increased from 1946 to 1965. His study reviewed key magazines and counted the number of African-American models appearing in 1946, 1956, and 1965. After the first decade, Kassarian cited a decline in the number of advertisements using African-American models. By 1965, the numbers had increased. This increase, however, was equivalent to the numbers cited in the first year of the study. Kassarian further concludes that this phenomenon is due to social attitudes towards African-Americans. He states that African-Americans who appeared in advertisements in 1946 portrayed roles that supported society's views. Thus, the stereotypes comfortable to White America prevailed. The 1950s, on the other hand, saw an emergence of social consciousness. This was particularly true among

African-Americans, as civil rights movement began to escalate. Groups like the Congress for Racial Equality (CORE) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) demanded a change in the way African-Americans were portrayed in advertisements. The stereotypical characters such as "Rasmus" and "Sambo" were no longer tolerated. This move, however, backfired. Industry officials were fearful of producing ads that would offend Whites and elected not to feature African-Americans. This decision resulted in the decrease cited in Kassarian's report.

The 1960s brought a renewed interest in increasing the numbers of African-Americans in advertising. Once again the industry was faced with producing positive, non-stereotypical characters. In addition, pressure was also directed at providing opportunities for African-Americans in all aspects of the industry.²

Additional research conducted by Kassarian in the late 1960s did find positive changes. From 1965 to 1969, he noted that the numbers had doubled in print advertisements. Kassarian writes, "Counting each ad each time it appeared in the sample of magazines studies, the number of ads with

²Harold H. Kassarian, "The Negro and American Advertising, 1946-1965," Journal of Marketing Research 6 (February 1969): 29-39.

blacks went from 273 in 1946, 230 in 1956, 305 in 1965 to 697 in 1969."³

One of the first general market magazines to feature an African-American on its cover was Life. Its October 1967 issue showcased model Naomi Sims. By the late 1960s, most African-Americans appeared in integrated scenes. The group scenes usually featured fewer numbers of African-Americans to Whites. The models also portrayed insignificant roles or represented non-professional occupations. The Life article criticized the use of African-American sports and entertainment figures, as opposed to business or other professional types. The use of light skinned models to appease White audiences was also criticized. This subtle form of discrimination in the selection of models has been prevalent in the industry, the article cited.

Johnson's efforts challenged the industry to appreciate the broad spectrum of African-American beauty. By using Ebony as a springboard, he featured some of today's top names in fashion and entertainment. Johnson writes in his autobiography:

Largely because of our efforts, the fashion business was opened to gorgeous Black models who posed at first for Ebony ads and then moved, in the sixties and seventies to their present positions of eminence

³Kassarjian, "Blacks in Advertising: A Further Comment," Journal of Marketing Research 8 (August 1971): 393.

in New York, Hollywood, and Paris. Among the celebrated beauties who made their debut in our pages was Diahann Carroll...Jayne Kennedy, Pam Grier,⁴ Lola Falana, Marilyn McCoo, and Judy Pace.

Following this courageous effort by Johnson, advertisers began to display greater sensitivity to the issue of color. However, Ebony had been subject of research relevant to the racial appearance of models featured in the magazine over a 17-year period. Gitter, O'Connell and Mostofsky in 1972 examined the models in Ebony from 1952-68. Their study concluded that the models featured were more white than African-American, in terms of skin color, thickness of lips, and hair texture.⁵ Chapko conducted a similar study in 1976. He examined issues of Ebony in 1970, 1972 and 1974. The most prevalent ads found promoted African-American products and the African-American "look." Such ads were in contrast to earlier ads, promoting skin lighteners and hair straighteners. Interestingly, Chapko found that although African-American males were darker-skinned, their female counterparts were not.⁶

⁴John H. Johnson, 231-232.

⁵A. George Gitter, Stephen M. O'Connell, and David Mostofsky, "Trends in Appearance of Models in Ebony Ads Over 17 Years," Journalism Quarterly 49 (Autumn 1972): 547-550.

⁶Michael K. Chapko, "Black Ads Are Getting Blacker," Journal of Communication 26 (Autumn 1976): 175-178.

Research continued to reveal greater access for African-Americans in advertising, though at an alarmingly slow pace. Advertisements that appealed the White masses prevailed, leaving African-Americans in background scenes and menial roles. This was despite increasing evidence that both White and African-American audiences reacted positively to the presence of African-Americans in advertisements.

Arnold M. Barban and Edward W. Cundiff found in 1964 that Whites responded neutrally to African-American ads. Barban went on to study the effects of African-Americans in integrated ads in 1969. Here, he found the responses from Whites virtually the same. Like Kassarjian's research, Barban and Cundiff's helped to promote subsequent efforts.

As indicated earlier, Kassarjian followed up his initial research with a study covering 1965 to 1969. Though increases were recorded, Kassarjian cautioned that the increases represented a mere 1.3% of all ads contained in the sample magazines. Kassarjian's methodology was sharply criticized by John J. Wheatley. He also countered Kassarjian's claim that social climate dictated the presence of African-American's in print advertisements. Wheatley, in contrast, states that advertising strategies are driven by economic impact and not by social commentary. He further asserts that business prospects are colorblind. Rather, it

is the dollar (profit potential) that determines whether advertisements contain non-White models or human models at all. Wheatley, however, agrees with Kassarian that progress has been slow.⁷

Fear of White backlash dictated the scope of early research. Advertisers reluctantly began to yield to the external pressures. Colfax and Steinberg found in 1972 that although there were more African-Americans present in advertisements, they continued to portray stereotypical roles that were comfortable to White America.⁸

A major research effort designed to validate sales responses to the use of African-American models was conducted by researchers Ronald F. Bush, Joseph F. Hair, Jr., and Paul J. Solomon. Their study using high- and low-prejudice White audiences found no significant difference in sales response between the two groups. They further concluded that there was little difference in the way both White and African-American consumers evaluated ads containing all White, all African-American, and integrated

⁷John J. Wheatley, "The Use of Black Models in Advertising," Journal of Marketing Research 8 (August 1971): 390-392.

⁸David Colfax and Susan Steinberg, "The Perpetuation of Racial Stereotypes: Blacks in Mass Circulation Magazine Advertisements," Public Opinion Quarterly (Spring 1972): 8-18.

models.⁹ William Muse, in 1971, measured product-related responses among midwestern college students. He found that the all-White audience rated print ads with all African-American models as favorably as they rated all-White ads. Product categories consisted of cigarettes, liquor, beer, and feminine napkins. Muse notes that the fourth product category elicited responses favoring all-White ads. He attributes this difference to the personal nature of the product. He concluded the difference in ratings is product-related.¹⁰

In a 1972 study, Mary Jane Schlinger and Joseph T. Plummer further confirmed Muse's findings. Schlinger and Plummer were the first to measure response differences using television commercials. Cigarette commercials featuring all-White and all African-American casts. The study included female participants only, but measured responses from the African-American and White audiences separately. Each audience had the opportunity to respond to both versions of the same commercial. The all-White audience viewed the all-White commercial as more profession and

⁹Ronald F. Bush, Joseph F. Hair, Jr., and Paul J. Solomon, "Consumers' Level of Prejudice and Response to Black Models in Advertisements," Journal of Marketing Research 16 (August 1979): 341-345.

¹⁰William V. Muse, "Product-Related Response to Use of Black Models in Advertising," Journal of Marketing Research 8 (February 1971): 107-109.

sophisticated. The participants further stated, however, that the less favored all African-American ad would not dissuade them from purchasing the product. The African-American audience, conversely, expressed a strong preference for the African-American commercial. Their responses indicated that they could relate better to the African-American cast. They also indicated that their purchase decisions were strongly influenced by the commercial to which they could relate. Further conclusive evidence that advertisers may better reach the African-American audience by using the appropriate models is provided here.¹¹

In a 1976 study of White consumers in the South, Paul J. Solomon, Ronald F. Bush, and Joseph F. Hair, Jr. found that no significant difference in purchasing behavior was apparent. Point-of-purchase displays, featuring all-White, integrated and African-American models, were set up in a local grocery store and were rotated throughout a three-day period. Both White and African-American consumers were observed. The findings show that White consumers did not react adversely to the African-American displays nor were

¹¹Mary Jane Schlinger and Joseph T. Plummer, "Advertising in Black and White," Journal of Marketing Research 9 (May 1972): 149-153.

there significant differences in their reactions to the all-White and integrated displays.¹²

Stafford, Birdwell, and Van Tassel selected 100 white consumers (50 men and 50 women) from New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles and measured their attitudes toward integrated ads. This study revealed that reactions were similar to integrated and nonintegrated ads. Although there was a slightly negative rating to a personal product ad promoting lipstick, the researchers concluded that this reaction was due to the composition of the ad and not the race of the models.¹³

The majority of ongoing research efforts disproved the advertisers fear of potential white backlash. There were, however, studies which added fuel to their flame of fear. The Cagley and Cardozo study of 1970, which measured the attitudes of high- and low-prejudice White consumers towards the presence of African-American models in advertisements. Though their study failed to provide conclusive evidence, it suggested that the level of prejudice is an important factor

¹²Paul J. Solomon, Ronald F. Bush, and Joseph F. Hair, Jr., "White and Black Consumer Sales Response to Black Models," Journal of Marketing Research 13 (November 1976): 431-434.

¹³James Stafford, Al Birdwell, and Charles Van Tassel, "Integrated Advertising-White Backlash," Journal of Advertising Research 10 (April 1970): 15-20.

for advertisers to consider.¹⁴ Szybillo and Jacoby's study in 1974 attracted similar attention. By using various levels of integrated advertisements, response levels were measured. The results suggested that White audiences preferred ads featuring greater numbers of Whites (i.e., three Whites to one African-American). By contrast, the African-American participants preferred ads with either equal numbers of Whites and African-Americans in an integrated setting or all African-Americans. The biggest difference in responses cited in this study relates to the ratio of Whites to African-Americans. The inference here suggests that Whites felt uncomfortable being equal to or outnumbered by African-Americans in the advertisements. In final summation, Szybillo and Jacoby determined that fears of potential backlash were not warranted.¹⁵

Market research has followed this mode for nearly four decades. In the meanwhile, the African-American consumer market has been a rapidly changing and growing market. Adding to the claims of Roper and Johnson, this market has been consistently loyal to top brand products and

¹⁴James W. Cagley and Richard Cardozo, "White Response to Integrated Advertising," Journal of Advertising Research 10 (April 1970): 35-39.

¹⁵George J. Szybillo and Jacob Jacoby, "Effects of Different Levels of Integration on Advertising Preference and Intention to Purchase," Journal of Applied Psychology 59, no. 3 (1974): 274-280.

demonstrates a higher consumption pattern for certain products than do White consumers. In a 1986 report presented to the Southwestern Marketing Association, Patricia Robinson and C. P. Rao criticize the calibre of market research on African-American consumer behavior. Robinson and Rao assert that the studies conducted demonstrated few strides into identifying the unique qualities of this market. They claim that much of the research has been guided by the desire to reach African-Americans with a general market approach. Furthering the predominant view that African-Americans desire to be White, Robinson and Rao hold researchers accountable for failing to challenge this notion. There have been a few notable efforts that have made headway. The findings suggest that there are many behavioral characteristics that are distinct to this market. For example, African-Americans are appearance-conscious. Therefore, they display higher consumption rates of clothing and personal products (such as cosmetics, hair care products, toothpaste, and deodorant). Their attention to social stature has bearing on their heavy consumption of furniture, cars, alcohol, and tobacco.

Additional factors important in studying the African-American market are: income, education, residence, age, and social and economic changes. In the following excerpt from

Robinson and Rao's report, the researchers attempt to promote future studies:

A critical review of these studies revealed that the research studies of the 60s and 70s in this topic area may not be appropriate for understanding and predicting the U.S. Black consumer behaviors of the 80s and 90s. The socioeconomic and cultural status and milieu of the Black consumers have substantially changed in the past decade...The time is opportune for a new wave of research studies dealing with the U.S. Black consumers both for purposes of developing a definite body of knowledge and for pragmatic marketing management needs.¹⁶

The researchers' claim that social changes have impacted the structure of the African-American consumer market has become a source of debate. The notion of social class as it exists in the African-American market goes beyond income levels and occupations. Kahl in 1957 determined that social class is determined by the following seven categories: family, occupation, personal performance, possessions, value orientation, class consciousness, and class interaction. He concludes that although money and occupation are important, it is how the person is accepted by a given community or that person's social position that is important.¹⁷ This summation very aptly fits the multidimensional African-

¹⁶Patricia Robinson and C. P. Rao, ed. by Thomas D. Jenson, "A Critical Review and Reassessment of Black Consumer Behavioral Research," Proceedings of Southwestern Marketing Association (March 1986): 11.

¹⁷Joseph A. Kahl, The American Class Structure: A New Synthesis, (Homewood: The Dryden Press, 1982).

American community and further warrants the need for market analysis to effectively reach specific segments within this market. Hudson P. Rogers, Reginald Peyton, and Robert L. Berl suggest that social class be established according to race. Because African-Americans and Whites exhibit different values, beliefs, lifestyles, and buying behaviors, social classifications must take into account these differences.¹⁸

Author Tom Peters notes that marketing and advertising have fallen to the mass audience appeal, in the belief that everyone could be effectively reached with the same promotion and message. Peters counters this approach with the assertion that marketing must become "market creating, niche focus, innovation from being closer to markets, thriving on market fragmentation and ceaseless differentiation..." He goes further to suggest that minority markets are the wave of the future, whether it be African-Americans, women, the elderly, or other segments of society.¹⁹

¹⁸Hudson P. Rogers, Reginald Peyton, and Robert L. Berl, ed. by Robert L. King, "The Notion Of Social Class And The Minority Buyer," Minority Marketing: Issues and Prospects, Special Conference Series 3 (November 1987): 28-32.

¹⁹Tom Peters, Thriving on Chaos, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987).

A. Coskun Samli has outlined the following four steps, which he feels is necessary to better analyze minority markets:

1. Different minority markets must be identified.
2. These markets must be analyzed.
3. Minority markets must be understood.
4. The needs of each and every market must be satisfied separately, particularly and as effectively as possible.

Samli believes that these steps will lend to increased consumer satisfaction, improved quality of life, and greater marketing effectiveness.²⁰

Due to the need for special market research, the responsibilities placed on the shoulders of the African-American agencies and industry practitioners are great. Much of the data available to date has been collected by this segment of the industry.

African-American Advertising Agencies and Practitioners

David Sullivan was the first to establish an African-American advertising agency. His New York agency started in 1943. Fusche, Young & Powell followed with an agency in Detroit, also established in 1943. Within six years, Sullivan was out of business due to lack of work. The

²⁰A. Coskun Samli, ed. by Robert L. King, "Minority Marketing: Then and Now," Minority Marketing: Issues and Prospects, Special Conference Series 3 (November 1987): 1-2.

African-American agencies were sent a clear message that their expertise was limited to the special market, which most major accounts did not recognize.

John H. Johnson established his group of marketing/advertising specialists, called the Johnson Publishing Company agency, in the late 1940s. He went on to publish his strategies on how to sell to African-Americans, in the March 17, 1952 edition of Advertising Age. With limited opportunities available in White agencies, Johnson helped to train some of the industry's first African-American account executives. Several years elapsed before the top White agencies, such as BBDO, Young & Rubicam, and Benton & Bowles, hired their first African-Americans to service special markets and to fend off pressure from civil rights groups.

In the 1960s, with groups demanding greater access in all aspects of advertising, African-Americans were gaining ground. CORE, NAACP, and Operation PUSH advocate Jesse Jackson initiated pacts or covenants with corporate giants to facilitate the growth of the new agencies. The covenants secured pledges from companies like Schlitz, General Foods, Avon, and Quaker Oats. Percentages of the companies' advertising budgets were earmarked for special market campaigns. Zebra Associates, UniWorld Group, Burrell, Proctor, Mingo-Jones (now Mingo Group and the Caroline Jones

agency), Lockhart & Pettus, and the Carol Williams agency are representative of the African-American agencies that benefitted from the covenants. There are nearly 35 agencies and marketing consultant companies in operation today.

Since their beginnings, the African-American agencies have countered claims that their expertise is limited. The label "black shops," cast upon them by White agencies, has hurt their continuous efforts to breakout of this mold. White agencies appear to be winning the battle, as they are winning accounts earmarked for special markets. By hiring African-American consultants, the White agencies have been successful in maintaining a monopoly over all accounts. Though discouraging, African-American agencies and their staff continue to conduct further research and gain greater recognition of their market. Specific strategies are identified in the following accounts from two agency executives:

In an interview with Account Supervisor Beverly Nelson, in charge of the Burger King account at UniWorld Group, she says that the covenants have served her agency well. She cites the Burger King account as one of the more successful ones. Nelson says, "The fast food industry enjoys significant patronage from the Black consumer." She adds, "The idea here is twofold. First, we [must] recognize

[their] patronage by way of advertising directly to that audience. Secondly, that as a minority agency, it becomes our responsibility to see that there is [appropriate usage] of those dollars." The agency hires African-American producers, actors, and suppliers. The agency attempts to promote relevant roles in a believable format. The "slice of life" approach is able to depict meaningful experiences Nelson states.

Nelson believes that family is at the root of the African-American psyche. With the apparent breakdown of this structure and the dominance of female-run households, Nelson feels more compelled to reflect positive male role models in her commercials. Nelson says, "It's really true that there are more single, head-of-household women in the Black population than there are men. But, its also important that we express aspirationally that we want the young Black man to be a part of the household and that there is a place for them."²¹

Market sales data clearly indicate that a proportionately higher percentage of young African-American males, between the ages of 18 and 25, patronize Burger King. Nelson feels fortunate that the new Burger King management

²¹Excerpt from interview with Beverly Nelson, Account Supervisor of Burger King business at UniWorld Group, conducted August 1989 at UniWorld Group headquarters in New York City.

supports her objectives. Burger King has also embarked on a community-based campaign called The Burger King Academy. A joint venture with New York public schools, Department of Justice, and the non-profit agency Cities in Schools, the first academy was started at PS 140 four years ago. The academy provides alternative education for at-risk high schoolers. Burger King hopes to expand the Academy into a nationwide effort.

The concept of giving something back to the community is a viable strategy in reaching the African-American market Nelson believes. She credits McDonalds and Pepsi for their community sponsorship. Special market sponsorship, in some cases, has trapped the African-American agency. This sentiment is echoed by Al Anderson, President of A. H. Anderson & Associates. Anderson writes, "The black advertising profession or company should be retained by clients or agencies to provide input into their over-all market strategies and plans for execution."²² Instead, there is increasing competition and, thus, tension between the African-American and White agencies. General market campaigns created by White agencies produce "oreo" ads, which merely place African-American faces in otherwise White

²²Al Anderson, "White Agencies and Black Consultants," Minority Marketing, (Chicago: Crain Books, 1980), 49.

characters. This, according to Tom Jones, is an old argument.

To Tom Jones, account executive assigned to Pepsi's special market campaign at Lockhart & Pettus, "general market-itis" has been perpetuated by ignorance in the industry. Jones states that the dramatic growth of the market more than justifies increased efforts to attract this unique market. Because of poor research and tracking, Jones says, "corporations are allowed to live in denial of [the] minorities' importance." Jones continues, "there are segments within the segment, but this is a difficult proposition to sell to all but the richest and most sophisticated clients. Most think of Blacks as one homogeneous group. [Therefore] formats are the same as [with] general markets."

Lockhart & Pettus has been in business for 12 years. The agency handles accounts for Chrysler (all categories), Carson Hair Care products (Dark & Lovely), and Pepsi. Thus far, the Chrysler commercials, featuring the Le Baron and New Yorker, have represented the agency's claim to fame.²³

Both Jones and Nelson agree that successful advertising to African-Americans has to take into account the culture,

²³ Excerpt from telephone interview with Tom Jones, Account Executive assigned to Pepsi special market account at Lockhart & Pettus, New York City, August 1989.

language, style of dress, music, and character portrayals. Jones also believes that much of the culture lends well to crossover appeal. Jones' remark is evident with the commercial successes of the Cosby Family and the infamous Bill Cosby. His promotion of Jello and Kodak have skyrocketed sales. Celebrity endorsements have been commonplace in the industry. Research has revealed that both African-Americans and Hispanics favor celebrities over non-celebrities, because they are deemed more believable. Heading the list of endorsers are athletes, with entertainers following a close second.²⁴

Numerous African-American athletes, like Magic Johnson of the Los Angeles Lakers and Bo Jackson with multiple sports affiliations, have universal advertising appeal. Musical genius Michael Jackson and his reputed multi-million dollar promotion for Pepsi was designed not to attract African-Americans. His promotion sought to attract the 12-18 year old general market and the Japanese. Pepsi, however, achieved a 20% lead over Coke with this campaign.

An advertising bonanza was Disney World's campaign featuring members of the Cosby Family. Thomas Elrod, senior vice president of marketing for Walt Disney

²⁴ Scott Hume, "Stars Are Lacking Luster as Ad Presenters," Advertising Age, 7 November 1988, 3; and "Survey Measures Blacks' Media, Product, Ad Preferences," Marketing News, 21 August 1981, 6.

Attractions, is quoted in Black Enterprise as saying, "Being the world's most popular family vacation destination, we wanted to portray the feeling of the world's most popular family, which happens to be the Cosby Family."²⁵

The Cosby Family campaign was a quantum leap for Disney, because it had never featured an African-American family in its commercials! Disney's gamble paid off in a number of ways. Attendance during the second half of 1988 bounced back to previous levels of 25 million. It also proved to have substantial crossover appeal. Another success story is the Wheaties campaign, featuring Connie Payton (of Walter Payton fame), as the chief spokesperson. It was a gamble using a celebrity's spouse; and, to everyone's surprise, Connie was loved by housewives around the country.

Such advertising successes have occurred without solid market research data. To this end, the next section denotes what is known about the African-American market.

The African-American Consumer Market

As of 1990, the African-American population is estimated at nearly 32 million. According to U. S. Bureau of the Census projections, the population will reach 37.6

²⁵Jube Shiver, "Star Struck, The magical attraction of celebrity families has Madison Avenue under a spell," Black Enterprise, December 1988, 51.

million by 2000. This figure represents a 41.9% gain over 1980 statistics. Their collective earnings are estimated at \$305 billion. The median family income is less than \$18,000. The number of households earning more than \$35,000 doubled between 1983 and 1987.²⁶

Demographically, one out of every three African-Americans lives in the following five states: California, which boasts the biggest increase with 2.9 million; Texas with 2.4 million; New York, with the largest population totaling 3.2 million; Georgia with 2.2 million; and Florida with 2.3 million. Data shows that one fourth of the African-American population live in the south, representing the following percentages: Mississippi (36%); Louisiana (32%); South Carolina (30%); Maryland (28%); Georgia (27%); and Alabama (26%).²⁷

Data confirms that African-Americans are more educated, have a higher employment rate, and have more white collar professional positions than in the previous decade. Between 1970 and 1985, the number of African-Americans attending college increased from 522,000 to 1,742,000.

²⁶U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, We, The Black Americans 3 of 6, March 1986. (Washington, D.C.: Public Information Office), 1-13.

²⁷Joe Schwartz, "Black Clout", American Demographics, (Ithaca: Dow Jones & Co., Inc.)

African-Americans have been shown to have disproportionately higher spending patterns than White consumers within certain product categories, as indicated in the following:

- \$782.0 billion spent on over-the-counter drugs and topical dressings
- 34.8 billion on food
- 3.4 billion on tobacco products
- 3.0 billion on alcoholic beverages
- 4.4 billion on non-alcoholic beverages (i.e. soft drinks)
- 7.5 billion on clothing and accessories
- 7.3 billion on automobiles
- 2.7 billion on cosmetics and personal care
- 3.8 billion on home furnishings and appliances

(Data taken from Ebony advertisement, citing the following sources: U. S. Census Bureau; U. S. Department of Commerce; U. S. Department of Labor; and Brimmer & Company.)

Research also suggests that brand-name preferences represent products that enhance self-images. It has been found that at all income levels, African-Americans are more concerned about price and product status than their White counterparts.²⁸ Another study reports that low-income

²⁸ Lawrence P. Feldman and Alvin D. Star, "Racial Factors in Shopping Behavior," Proceedings of the American Marketing Association National Conference (Chicago: American Marketing Association, 1968), 216-26.

African-Americans prefer brand items, buy more of these items, and are more familiar with the prices of brand items.²⁹ The following was extrapolated from several Advertising Age special reports:

1. Business Trend analysts write, "By 1993, black consumer purchases of cosmetics, fragrances and other personal care items will total \$500 million, about one-quarter of the sales for the entire toiletries and beauty aids industry."³⁰
2. In 1985, \$943 million was spent on ethnic hair care products.³¹
3. "Cognac consumption by blacks accounted for half of the 2.3 million cases sold in 1985."³²
4. There are 9.2 million African-American households with televisions, with half also owning video cassette recorders (VCRs). Television viewing is 39% higher than in White households.³³

²⁹ Robert L. King and Earl R. DeManche, "Comparative Acceptance of Selected Private-Branded Food Products by Low-Income Negro and White Families," Marketing Involvement, 22.

³⁰ Delores J. Brooks, "Pumping dollars into fragrance, cosmetics sales," Advertising Age, 25 August 1986, Special Report Section, S6.

³¹ Sheila E. Gadsden, "Worlds of Curls unlocks hope in hair care industry," Advertising Age, 25 August 1986, Special Report Section, S4.

³² Joseph W. Franklyn, "Liquor, Wine & Beer Marketing: Black Consumers Bolster Cognac's Market Share," Advertising Age, 16 February 1988, Special Report section, S10-S11.

³³ ---. "Blacks spend disproportionate share of disposable income on entertainment," Video Marketing, 15 August 1988, 5.

To elaborate further on the consumption patterns of African-Americans as compared with Whites, it is noted: African-Americans spend more on orange juice, rice, soft drinks, instant potatoes and record albums.³⁴ African-Americans purchase half of the Scotch and Rum sold, and 77 percent of the Canadian whiskey.³⁵ African-Americans consume twice as much chicken.³⁶

These astounding figures simply scratch the surface of what appears to be a potential marketer's heaven. Why then is this market continually overlooked? Freelance writer Djata writes, "The advertising of most companies is directed at Whites, and participants in commercials are often all Whites, evidence that companies are failing to maximize profits by making the mistake of ignoring the growing black market."³⁷

Djata is highly critical of the industry for perpetuating the cycle of prejudice and racism that has existed for decades. He asserts that marketers remain

³⁴---. "Potpourri of Stats," Advertising Age, 18 May 1981, Special Report Section, S11.

³⁵Raymond O. Oladipudo, How Distinct Is the Negro Market? (New York: Ogilvy and Mather, 1970), 30-34.

³⁶Irwin Ross, "PUSH Collides with Bush," Fortune, 15 November 1982, 92.

³⁷Djata, "Madison Avenue Blindly Ignores the Black Consumer," Business & Society Review, Winter 1987, 9.

intimidated by the fear of White backlash. He further discounts the notion that African-Americans aspire to be White.

What type of advertisement appropriately represents the African-American consumer? What are the best research methods to answer this ongoing question? One successful method has been the focus group study. This approach has proven effective in several studies. As advertisers move to present more relevant images, many choose to go directly to the African-American consumer. Tom Pirko, consultant for BevMark Management, conducted consumer focus group studies in Los Angeles. His findings are recorded in a March 1989 American Demographics article, written by Marty Westerman. African-Americans want to see positive, healthy role models and prefer integrated settings. Pirko is quoted as saying, "Blacks resent 'malt-liquor macho.' They don't want to see black women portrayed as sex symbols or homebound frumps, or black men as footloose, irresponsible studs."³⁸ He adds that family ties are very important.

The early literature on the African-American consumer market centers on the reaction of Whites to the presence of African-Americans in advertisement. Most studies confirmed that Whites did not react adversely to either integrated or

³⁸Marty Westerman, "Death of the Frito Bandito," American Demographics, March 1989, 31.

all African-American ads. The few studies that suggested that prejudice levels play an important role in the White consumers attitude toward African-Americans in ads did not present conclusive evidence to support this hypothesis. Subsequent studies supported earlier findings that Whites were not offended. These studies went on to suggest that African-Americans favored ads they could relate to, particularly all African-American ads.

Despite these gains, little research has focused on the makeup of this market. What has been studied suggests that there are characteristics unique to this market and rather than taking a macro-market approach, micro-market strategies may be highly effective in reaching the African-American consumer. To this end the notion of social class is being challenged to incorporate the many dimensions of the African-American consumer market.

Largely because the African-American market is changing so rapidly and attracting more attention, research efforts are attempting to identify and market to the various segments and sub-segments within this market. The focus group method of research is becoming widely accepted by advertisers as a means to test market new products or new advertising campaigns. Based on its success in the African-American market, the next chapter details a focus group experiment that measures responses to a random selection of

print advertisements. The purpose of the study is to identify what types of advertisements African-Americans college students prefer as well as to assess their opinions based upon appropriateness of colors and models used.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the methodology used to carry out the research objectives. Five sections comprise this chapter. They are: 1) Design Choice; 2) Research Purpose and Goals; 3) Subjects; 4) Research Stimuli; and 5) Questionnaire.

Design Choice

The qualitative method of research dates back to the 1950s. The focus group study method was selected for this research. Initially, focus group study was criticized by researchers, because of its unscientific or non-quantitative basis. However, as time progressed the method has become widely used to provide specific pre-test market information.

By way of in-depth questions, a small sample of participants from a specific market can help to produce hypothesis to be later tested. Kress suggests that a standard focus group ranges from 5 to 12 participants with 7 or 8 being the average.¹ This method can also identify reactions to new concepts or new products. In markets where spontaneous purchase decisions are prevalent or where

¹George Kress, Marketing Research, 3rd ed., (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1988), 212-217.

purchase decisions are emotion-driven, the focus group study can identify attitudes and measure reactions.

Focus group research entails group interviews. With a skilled moderator, this method allows for more flexibility in responses and can help identify potential new ideas for market testing. Of particular importance, focus groups are relatively economical. Focus group studies are often conducted before costly promotional campaigns are implemented and, in many cases, before full product lines are manufactured.

The actual study is conducted in an area free of distractions. Relaxed surroundings are highly recommended. Prospective focus group participants are identified based on the focus of the study. For example, a study identifying reactions of college students would not include high school participants. After a list of prospective candidates is generated, phone calls or mailed invitations identify group participants. In shopping malls, prospective candidates are approached, asked a series of qualifying questions, and are then solicited for participation. As incentives, companies provide prizes to participants.

The resulting data can then be quickly obtained from the tape transcription and analyzed. Therefore, answers to important marketing questions are provided with relative speed.

Research Purpose and Goals

The purpose of this study was to identify contemporary African-American college students' reactions to print advertisements. The research questions are: 1) Do these students favor African-American advertisements more than White or integrated ones? 2) Does recognition of models make a difference? 3) Are the African-American models appropriately featured? 4) Do colors, clothing, hairstyles make a difference? 5) Are these students more prone to purchase products based on advertisements featuring African-American models?

The study was also designed to investigate the claim that African-Americans have specific tastes and respond differently to advertisements. Research cited in Chapter Two suggested that several studies found that African-Americans identified specific preferences. According to Szybillo and Jacoby (1974), young African-American males strongly preferred African-American models in advertisement. They also favored equally integrated ads. In Schlinger and Plummer's research (1972), the African-American female audience also strongly favored the African-American models used in television commercials. This group further indicated that they would purchase the product.

Additional research literature confirms that African-American audiences react more positively to advertisements to which they can relate.

Subjects

The college student population was selected because it is considered a fertile testing ground for market research. This group helps to forecast trends and changes in social attitudes. This population also represents tomorrow's wage earners with considerable economic muscle. The college students were very candid and were able to follow instructions well. They were also willing to participate without compensation.

A sampling of 15 African-American students at CSUSB were selected to participate in the focus group study. The students ranged in age from 17 to 29 years. Class levels ranged from first-time freshmen to graduate status. Eight of the participants were female and seven were males. (One male was later disqualified for not accurately completing the questionnaire.) The study was conducted during the months of July and August, 1990. It was particularly challenging to find students who would take the time to participate during these summer months. Most of the students lived independently. The freshmen, however, were housed in the on-campus residence halls.

Students were selected based on student involvement on campus, willingness to participate, ability to participate when scheduled, and ability to communicate openly in a group setting. A group of freshmen participating in CSUSB's Summer Transition and Enrichment Program (STEP) were pre-selected by the program's director, George Gibbs. (Gibbs was contacted in person and asked to identify a group of STEP students who met the above criteria.) Word of mouth also helped in identifying candidates. In one case, two brothers participated.

Once a list of candidates was compiled, four focus groups were scheduled. Group One consisted of four students. Group Two consisted of three students. Group Three consisted of two students. The final group was the largest with seven students. With the exception of Group Two, there was a mixture of males and females. (Group Two was all-male.) Various ages and class levels were represented in three of the four group studies. Group Four, consisting of the STEP students, consisted of first-time freshmen.

In addition to age and class level ranges, participants represented a mixture of social and economic backgrounds. Levels of religious or spiritual identification were also apparent.

Research Stimuli

Nine print advertisements were selected from popular ethnic and general market magazines. Criteria used to select the advertisements included: product or brand; ethnic mix; gender ranging from all-female, male/female (depicted primarily in family settings), and all-male; advertisement layout (i.e. colors, type, appearance of model); use of celebrity vs non-celebrity; and two advertisements represented the same product, but featured celebrity models of different ethnic backgrounds. The following print advertisements were used:

- Ad 1: Sasson Clothing; casual; featuring Rashad family; GQ, March 1990; all African-American models
- Ad 2: Guess jeans; casual; featuring two females; GQ, March 1990; all-White
- Ad 3: Ray Ban sunglasses by Bausch & Lomb; featuring baseball player, Dave Winfield; Ebony, May 1990; all African-American
- Ad 4: U. S. Armed Forces; featuring two males and one female; Ebony, March 1990; integrated setting (one African-American male, one White male, and one White female)
- Ad 5: Saks Fifth Avenue (department store); casual clothing; featuring family; Travel and Leisure, February 1990; all-White
- Ad 6: Avon introducing "Undeniable," fragrance for women; featuring actor Billy Dee Williams, with three females; Essence, May 1990; equally integrated
- Ad 7: Kodak film; featuring actor Bill Cosby, along with simulated family-style snapshots;

Essence, May 1990; integrated with more
African-Americans

Ad 8: diet Coke soft drink; featuring one female;
Essence, May 1990; African-American

Ad 9: Ray Ban sunglasses by Bausch & Lomb;
featuring baseball player Orel Hershiser; GQ,
March 1990; White

Collectively, the advertisements represent a broad cross-range of brands, styles, colors, and usage of celebrities. (See Appendix for copies of advertisements.)

Questionnaire

An example of the questionnaire is shown in Appendix Two. I served as facilitator of the focus groups. (I am an African-American female, employed as an Outreach Counselor at CSUSB. In this position, I have been able to establish and maintain a positive rapport with a broad contingent of CSUSB students.)

At the beginning of each session, participants were given thorough instructions. Each advertisement was displayed for the duration of the questions and discussion pertinent to that ad. When requested, participants were handed advertisements for closer inspection. Students were given ample time to respond to each question. All verbal responses were allowed before proceeding to the next advertisement. As facilitator, I attempted to give everyone an opportunity to respond. Participants were also encouraged to respond both in writing and verbally.

Students were asked to respond to the following four questions for each of the advertisements shown:

- Q. 1 How Would you rate the appeal of this ad?
- Q. 2 How would you rate the models used in this ad?
- Q. 3 How would you rate the colors used in this ad?
- Q. 4 Would you buy this product?

Respondents were instructed to rate their responses using a scale ranging from one (representing "one of the worst I've seen") to nine (representing "one of the best I've seen" with five being neutral. The expanded scale ratings allowed greater response flexibility. Question 4 required a Y for yes, or N for no, or NS not sure. (For analysis, the Y was assigned nine points, the N one point, and NS was assigned five points.)

Following the standard questions, respondents were given the option to respond to "opinion" questions. This section was included to identify additional areas of concern or interest. The questions in this section included:

In your opinion...

are the images projected appropriate?

what would you like to see in future advertisements?

what is your favorite advertisement?

why is the advertisement noted above, your favorite?

what is your least favorite advertisement?

why is the advertisement noted above, your
least favorite?

As noted earlier in the text, the focus group methodology has proven successful in identifying interests in new products or testing product campaigns. Caroline Jones, of the Caroline Jones Advertising Agency, states that focus groups are oftentimes "disaster checks." This methodology is also economical and flexible, which are attributes that advertisers find appealing.

The next chapter details the findings of this focus group experiment.

CHAPTER FOUR

Research Findings

This chapter details the research findings. Extensive quotes are taken from the taped sessions and are used to support the ratings given to each advertisement. (See Appendix Three for transcriptions.) This chapter is divided into three sections: 1) Data Analysis; 2) Conclusion; and 3) Recommendations.

Data Analysis

As indicated in the previous chapter, data was collected from four taped focus group studies. The questionnaire responses and ratings provided support information as well as the ratings used to determine most popular to least popular print advertisement. (On the questionnaire, responses to the fourth question relating to purchase decisions were assigned ratings. For example, Y for yes was assigned nine points (as with the "best I've seen" rating); the NS answer for not sure was assigned five points (as with the neutral rating); and the N for no response was assigned one point (as with the "worst I've seen" rating).

Based on the findings, the Sasson ad (Ad. 1), featuring the Rashad family, received the highest rating out of the nine print advertisement samples. It received 82.8% of the total points possible for each advertisement. The ratings show that male participants favored the ad more than their

female counterparts. The males expressed strong traditional values about family life and the importance of a strong family structure. R 2 took this point a step further in her comments:

I like it, I really do. I like it because of the family. To me it represents the family. It's not just one person. You know, because in the Black family, people always assume that there's a one-parent family, so here they're showing that there is a family unit within the Black race.

Overall, the strong African-American family theme, featuring a highly recognizable character (Phylicia Rashad from "The Cosby Show"), represented a winning combination among the majority of focus group participants. Although some indicated that the use of any attractive model would have similar appeal, the overriding vote cited celebrity usage as the advertisement's primary attraction. It is also important to note that Phylicia Rashad is a well-respected and likable celebrity figure, who has a strong following among all sectors. Responses to support this claim include:

I like this ad. The colors they use are very nice. The family they use is very nice. I think the whole appeal is very nice. They have nice models that are presented in a positive form. The two people are celebrities and I think that makes it more interesting and the clothes look nice on them. (R 6)

This ad is about family. It has a little family in it and that means a lot. That's a way of selling the product in the sense that this family is wearing the clothes, your family can wear them too. The models are very recognizable. Whether or not a celebrity is used, a lot of people look at how

attractive the models are. Besides, Phylicia Rashad we see her every week on "The Cosby Show." She's been on the show for six years. Actually when I see her, I look for Bill Cosby. (R 5)

Well I gave it a 9! Well you see the Rashad family and they look like happy people. They're just a happy family...Phylicia Rashad appeals to me. It's another familiar face. Ahmad (Phylicia's husband) is pretty goodlooking too. (R 9)

I feel that using familiar TV celebrities kind of attracts the viewers to their ads, because of the fact that we're always watching the TV show. They are kind of like my favorites (Rashad family). If I didn't recognize the family, the ad wouldn't stand out. (R 11)

Despite this preference, only seven of the respondents would purchase the product. The decision not to purchase Sasson, was based on the selection of clothing. Respondents recognized the name in most cases, but found the clothing unappealing. Comments were:

The clothes to me just kind of turn me off. It's too bland you know. But if it were something more representative of what we're wearing today, then probably would buy it. (R 2)

I wouldn't buy the product though. I might buy it for my dad or my little sister, but I wouldn't buy them for myself. I'm not really that familiar with the brand. (R 5)

I don't like the clothes they have on. They look "fad-ey." (R 8)

The clothing looks kind of cheesy. The clothes look like something they would wear out in recreation. (R 9)

The most negative comment the advertisement received questioned the ads appeal to the African-American masses.

Note the following:

Well, Phylicia Rashad and her husband aren't exactly middle class Blacks. They are quite wealthy. So, although there are Black models in the advertisement, they are not symbolic of middle class nor poor Blacks and that advertisement could suggest that only a certain class of Blacks could afford to buy that product. (R 4)

In consideration of R 4's viewpoint, marketing of this product to certain sub-segments of the African-American consumer market may not be effective. In general, however, Sasson would fare better if marketed to an 'older' segment of this market, based on the majority of the opinions expressed.

Ranked second was Avon introducing "Undeniable" fragrance for women, featuring actor Billy Dee Williams. Ad. 6 represented an equally proportionate integrated theme. The strongest attraction cited was the recognizable celebrity. Female respondents found Williams attractive and considered him "every woman's dream man." Comments to this effect included:

He's a lovely Black man! (R 3)

I think that from a woman's perspective they may be attracted to buying the perfume, because of Billy Dee Williams. (R 7)

I think Billy Dee Williams is appealing. I think a lot of women who see him in the ad will stop to see what it's all about. (R 13)

Billy Dee does appeal to women. I feel he projects a positive image and he's sexy to everyone. (R 12)

In addition, they cited the stylish attire and usage of female models very attractive. Respondent 14 stated that she liked the way the two White women were "off to the side" and not the focal point of the ad. Respondents also related well to the African-American female and her positioning in the advertisement. "Undeniable" received 78.8% of the total ratings. Like the Sasson advertisement, however, only seven respondents stated that they would purchase the product. Two were not sure. There were various reasons cited, such as: lack of interest in Avon products; several males did not find Billy Dee Williams attractive; one cited poor layout and use of colors; and fragrances often require testing to determine personal appeal.

Advertisements 7 and 8 received equal percentage ratings, resulting in a tie for third. Both Kodak film, featuring actor Bill Cosby (integrated) and diet Coke (African-American female) received 78.6%.

Bill Cosby's image as a positive African-American male was confirmed by the majority. He is liked as much if not more than Phylicia Rashad. The following comment is representative of the general attitude toward Bill Cosby as a spokesperson:

Bill (Cosby) probably endorses Kodak, so they had to put him in there somewhere. Just like about Phylicia Rashad. She's been seen every week for the last six years and Bill Cosby is like apple pie almost. You can go anywhere in the world and find someone who can relate to Bill Cosby. It gives you a warm feeling...you know that family thing. His ads are dominantly kid-oriented or family-oriented. You'll never see him in an ad doing something like beer. His thing is like family, like Kool-Aid or something. I would definitely purchase the product. (R 5)

The use of children and the "slice of life" approach were also appeal factors.

The expressions on the little kids faces are joyful and happy. Everyone is happy and I think that all relates to Kodak film and taking pictures. (R 10)

I see the kids and then I see Bill Cosby. (R 15)

I like that ad. It's so precious. Well, I like babies, especially if they're not mine! This little girl just caught my eye. She is so adorable. She's a baby, she's Black, she's with her mother. Also this little White girl caught my eye. This is just a good ad. (R 3)

In view of the 5:2 ratio of African-Americans to Whites, one respondent expressed a negative opinion about the general use of integrated themes while commenting about this advertisement:

I don't see why they always have to use a fifty-fifty balance like with the last ad (Ad. 6). If it came from a White magazine, it probably wouldn't have Blacks at all. That kind of turns me off.

The diet Coke ad received favorable ratings based on the attractiveness of the African-American female. Most

respondents were not dieting, but stated that Coke was a favored brand. The ad's overall message was viewed positively.

I like it. I drink diet Coke. I think a lot of girls will look at what she's wearing and say that she's too skinny, but...it appeals to me. (R 15)

Yes, it does appeal to me because its a Black model and because of the way she displays the Coke. It looks like she's really happy and she's enjoying it. (R 11)

It's very nice and she's pretty. It's very interesting the way that she's displaying the Coke. It's very appealing to me. I like Coke. (R 10)

I like it. It makes me feel good. She looks like she was out at a party and someone just wanted to take her picture. She's feeling good. (R 3)

I think the ad works and the model. I think they're trying to get across that she has a nice figure, because she drinks diet Coke. I think the overall appeal of the ad works as far as I'm concerned. (R 7)

On the other hand, there were several negative comments expressed about the model:

I don't like this ad, because the average person walking down the street is not going to be dressed like that drinking diet Coke. First of all, she is too skinny to be drinking diet Coke anyway, but I guess it's just for the 'wow of it'. (R 2)

I don't think that she's Black. On my comments, I put "dot, dot, dot, question!" I don't like that outfit at all. She is not attractive to me, but she is attractive to a certain type. Well, I am very conservative and she looks more like a lounge lizard! (R 4)

I see her pictured more like a White woman, because of the way the she looks...the kind of clothes that

she's wearing and her hairstyle (which is a weave)!
(R 6)

Why don't they have a Black woman with short hair?
Why do they always have to have a woman with long
hair? They have some nice short haircuts. (R 8)

Although the overall appeal ratings for Ad. 7 and 8
were equal, 13 out of 14 respondents said they would
purchase Kodak film, whereas only seven would purchase diet
Coke.

Kodak represented quality, featured one of the most
popular celebrity spokespersons, and promoted a family
theme. (As expressed in earlier comments about Ad. 1, the
family theme has strong appeal.) Respondent 11, female,
stated that she would not purchase the product because of
the high cost. She also felt that the advertisement was
"very busy." Seven respondents would purchase diet Coke,
with six no answers, and one not sure.

I don't drink Coke at all. (R 14)

I think the ad would appeal to someone on a diet.
I'm not on a diet, but I drink regular Coke. (R 13)

I never drink soft drinks. (R 9)

The remainder of the sample print advertisements showed
integrated advertisements clearly favored over all-White.

The following lists shows how these ads were rated:

Fourth Place - Ray Ban sunglasses (Ad. 3),
featuring Dave Winfield,
African-American, 66.13%

- Fifth Place - Armed Services (Ad. 4), integrated theme, 61.9%
- Sixth Place - Saks Fifth Avenue (Ad. 5), all-White, 59.2%
- Seventh Place - Ray Ban sunglasses (Ad. 9), featuring Orel Hershiser, all-White, 54.49%
- Eighth Place - Guess jeans (Ad. 2), all-White, 44.97%

When analyzing the responses, Ads 3 and 4 received high ratings for general appeal as well as for models featured.

Comments about Ad. 3:

I like Dave Winfield (R 2)

A lot of women think that he's a sex symbol. A lot of women may look at it and buy the product for their husbands. (R 5)

The ad gives him that playboy look, you know with the glasses and that great smile. (R 7)

Again because of the celebrity-type figure, it's more attractive and also the color contrast is very appealing. (R 11)

I like the closeup. It shows a man and an athlete. (R 12)

Ad. 4 features an integrated theme, relating to a service provided by the Armed Forces.

I looked at the whole thing. I think it's a positive ad, because of the way the Black male is portrayed in it. He's kind of like the higher authority in the picture. (R 6)

Yeah, I think it projects a positive image for the Armed Forces and at one point, I did look into it.

It does sound appealing, getting your education paid for. I think every young person who wants to go to college would explore every option available to them. I think that a lot of people will choose the Armed Forces, because of the ad. I think it attracts a person's curiosity. It sparks their interest. The graduation aspect stands out in the ad. (R 7)

I think the dominant Black male role is necessary. Not out of a sexist reason, just out of the reason that you have more Black females in college and you should have more Black male professors shaking hands and handing out diplomas. That would enhance the likelihood of a person reading this magazine, thinking of the Black male as strong. (R 9)

I relate to this ad, because not only does it show that you can get an education but it also shows admiration. It's a happy scene. It shows togetherness. (R 11)

Ad. 5 was rated lower in appeal and models, but higher for colors featured.

The models they use show a family. What they're wearing doesn't spark any interest to me. I'm not into sweaters. Is this store basically for caucasian people or what? (R 7)

I like the colors. There's a variety of colors. I like the colors in the sweaters and the prints. As far as the models go, I just see the typical White family. This ad would not cause me to stop and look at it. (R 8)

Well, it's a nice ad with attractive models. I wouldn't be inclined to buy winter sweaters and all those smiling blonde faces really don't turn me on that much. Its just an average advertisement with average people. The department store is a nice place. It's really an upscale WASP establishment. I do like buying nice things from places, but maybe if there were minority representation I would be more inclined to shop there. (R 9)

There are no Black models in the ad. Most of the stores use White models and try to make it look like their things are so expensive that Black people can't afford them. I also don't like the clothes. But still, most of the stores use mostly White models. (R 14)

With Ad. 9, Orel Hershiser was given mixed ratings. The respondents who recognized Hershiser as a baseball great gave him favorable ratings. Those who were not familiar with him gave this advertisement very negative ratings and comments. Beginning with the more positive comments, note the following:

It shows that the different performers in baseball wear Ray Ban. They are nice glasses, but they are not my style. (R 12)

Looking at this ad, I am real pleased to see that Ray Ban is saying that the product is not just for the elite people, but for good people like baseball players. I was looking at Orel Hershiser and he's a real good pitcher and Dave Winfield is a good outfielder and so, good baseball players wear Ray Ban glasses. (R 2)

The more negative comments expressed were:

I still wouldn't purchase the glasses, because the ad doesn't appeal to me. I don't like the colors and with his big face, it seems like its taking away. You see him, then you see the gaps in his teeth! (R 13)

I'm really not a big baseball fan and Orel Hershiser is not one of my heroes. I really don't care for this ad. It really doesn't appeal to me. Those glasses look like something someone's father would wear. I don't care for them. I'd go for a more sporty look than Orel Hershiser. I'd prefer Bo Jackson. He's a highly visible athlete, who plays baseball and football. He's sort of an image of more versatility. But for somebody like Orel

Hershiser, he might be more appropriate in Golf Digest as opposed to GQ. I don't find him to be the epitome of fashion either. (R 9)

I don't know. I love baseball. The appeal that Dave Winfield has and Orel Hershiser has is completely different. Orel's like the good 'ole boy, "american-flagish" appeal, and so it doesn't work quite as well. Orel Hershiser has more popularity, because he won the Cy Young a couple of years ago and took the Dodgers to the World Series. But, he doesn't have the same appeal for me. (R 7)

There really isn't much appeal. Out of all that I've seen today (advertisements), this is one of the worst. Just the good 'ole boy image and he really shouldn't have a big picture, because he looks kind of goofy. I wouldn't buy the glasses, if I was going to look like that! (R 6)

Along with Ad. 9, the most negative purchase (or in this case usage) response was given to Ad. 4. Because the respondents were college students, most would not consider joining the military.

The Guess jeans ad, which ranked as one of the worst seen, nonetheless received high purchase ratings. Brand recognition was very high. Every respondent recognized the product name. To most respondents, Guess represented quality and status. Therefore, many of them aspired to own a pair of Guess jeans. The following response is typical of opinions expressed:

I would buy the jeans, because I'm a Guess lover first of all. Second, I feel that a lot of people feel that what enhances them is the name. Once people see that you've bought a name brand product, then they say...'well she spent more money on that product and she kind of pampered herself and took

the time out to buy herself a better pair of jeans.
(R 11)

However, the sexual imagery was deemed unappealing by most of the respondents. Clad in black lace bustiers and Guess jeans, the two White females were viewed as tramps. The black and white color scheme with a splash of red received a slightly higher rating. Despite the negative portrayal of the females, eight respondents stated strong intent to purchase. The majority of the respondents went further to state that brand recognition was the overriding factor and not the appeal of the advertisement.

It's very freudian, because they're using sex to sell and I wouldn't want to see women in the streets with a top on like what they have on. Plus, its just really looks trampy. Just trampy. I would buy Guess jeans, because I have some at home and I like the quality. But if I was basing my buying decision on that advertisement, I wouldn't buy them. (R 4)

Black and white could work if the background was white, but the jeans and the dark background don't look good. Now the way "guess jeans" is in red, that stands out nice. I don't like the appeal of the ad, the way the women are represented. Even though they are White, to try and sell jeans I don't see why they have to be half naked and really it doesn't seem like the emphasis is on the jeans. Its on what do you call that thing they have on...a brassier thing. I think the ad is designed to appeal more to men than women...with those brassier things on. (R 6)

I think its a distasteful ad. I personally wouldn't want my mother, sister, or significant other running around looking like that. The colors are dull and unattractive to me. The black and white colors just don't work for me. (R 7)

It looks sad. First of all, the camisoles don't go with the jeans. They should have a suit on with the camisoles. If they had on T-shirts with belts and they showed the sneakers, it would look better. I don't like the black and white. It reminds me of George Michael. I don't like the way the girls look. Their hair is not combed. The camisoles are throwing them off. (R 8)

Unsolicited responses suggested that the students want to see more African-Americans in advertisements. African-Americans are generally featured in ethnic magazines or during ethnic television commercials. Otherwise, White models are featured. The predominant view among respondents was that African-Americans are rarely visible. Relevant to this point of view is R 12's response to Ad. 5:

I think this magazine mainly caters to Whites. If it was Ebony, I would expect to see Black people. It's like when I watch "Soul Train" and they show a McDonald's commercial, I see Black people. But when I watch a different program, I see White people in the McDonald's commercials.

I think when companies don't advertise to Blacks, it's a form of racism. I was reading an article about after the George Bush and Michael Dukakis elections, how people were numbed by the racial imagery portrayed in their campaign advertisements. If you've got that sort of attitude, that's racism. It never hurts to have minority representation, because I think times are changing. (R 9)

Respondents felt that popular brands like Guess should use African-American models. R 3, who purchases the product regularly, indicates that she looks for Guess ads with African-American models but has not found any. She states:

I would like to see more Black people in ads. There are so many people who buy Guess products and you don't see Black people in their ads.

Comments further stated that African-Americans appearing as White "look-alikes" are also not acceptable. (See earlier comments expressed about African-American model featured in Ad. 8.)

Based on the opinion questions, respondents stated that more change is needed. McDonald's was cited as the company that does the most for African-Americans by R 3, but R 12 noted the company's use of ethnic commercials during ethnic programs only. In general, there is a call for more diversity.

I would like to see more Black people in commercials. I'd lean more towards all-Black, because it looks nicer. There would be more role models and I don't just want to see Blacks in just athletic advertisements. Athletic or entertainment, they're always in those two. I want to see something more educational. (R 8)

Yeah, I just think that more consistent minority representation should be achieved in advertisements. I think you should have Black Hispanic, Asian, Middle Easterners, whatever. It doesn't bother me. I just want to see more minorities, not just Black and White. You never see Asian people in ads or American Indians or Hispanics hardly. The only time you see Hispanics is when you look through a Hispanic magazine and then you see Blacks, when you look through Black magazines. It's a form of segregation right there. They should have more of everybody across the board. By seeing more people, everyone will become more aware of Black role models, White role Models (which I guess have already been established), or Hispanic role models. (R 9)

Conclusion

The results of the focus group study overwhelmingly confirmed: 1) African-American models are preferred in advertising; 2) integrated ads are acceptable, especially if they depict racial harmony and togetherness; 3) integrated ads displaying equal representation are acceptable; 4) African-American advertisements should be visible in all mediums; and 5) celebrities or attractive models are effective. Additional important considerations were: brand recognition; style of clothing and hair; age or popularity of celebrity featured.

Recommendations

More research is warranted. Strong responses against sexual messages in advertisements suggest that many of the campaigns are "turning off" this market segment. A return to traditional appeals, relative to family and church, may be more effective.

African-American college students also want to see more role models. Through the continued use of celebrities, this may be easily accomplished. A poll to determine the most popular celebrities and athletes would greatly assist this effort. Results of the focus group survey identified Bill Cosby, Phylicia Rashad, and Bo Jackson as favorites.

(Although both Billy Dee Williams and Dave Winfield were featured, they were not considered overall top choices.)

Non-celebrities or "everyday people" may also be acceptable, if their appearance and language are appropriate. In addition, status is important. Role models in professional capacities or projecting that image can be very effective. A broader range of African-American females is desired. The use of light-skinned females was cited by several female respondents as discriminating against darker-skinned females. All types and colors are desired. Females with long hair, as opposed to the short natural look, also appear to dominate in advertisements. Once again, the desire to see "themselves" was strongly expressed by female respondents.

Further research could identify the sub-segments within the African-American consumer market that would facilitate more effective target marketing. In reference to Ads. 3 and 9, baseball figures appeal to baseball fans and perhaps, an older audience, whereas football and basketball stars might have stronger appeal overall. Once again, Bo Jackson would be highly favored. His athletic versatility also gives him greater crossover appeal. (In a recent general market poll announced on ABC's "Eyewitness News," Bo Jackson was the top ranked athlete followed by Michael Jordan and several white athletes.)

Focus group respondents also suggested that some of their favorite commercials (or advertisements) included: JELLO, with Bill Cosby; Cerritos Auto Square, with Ernest; Levis 501; and McDonald's. Some of the least favorites have been: Calvin Klein, featuring Brooke Shields; Guess jeans; Stater Bros; and Las Vegas commercials, featuring Wayne Newton and Andrew Dice Clay. The general consensus is that African-Americans want to see more of "themselves" in advertisement. As R 1 said:

And not just around rating time. I want to see them while I'm watching "Cheers." I want to see some Black commercials. Not just while I'm watching "Cosby" and all that or BET (Black Entertainment Television).

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusion

The final chapter entails the conclusion and discussion pertaining to research findings. The sections included are: Discussion of Research Findings; Methodological Limitations; Research Conclusions; Future Prospects; and Closing Commentary.

Discussion of Research Findings

The findings support previous research in the following areas:

1. African-American college students prefer African-American advertisements to all-White. Both Szybillo and Jacoby as well as Schlinger and Plummer found a strong preference for advertisements that this audience could relate to. Not only was there a clear preference, but purchase decisions were based on the influence of the advertisements shown in Schlinger and Plummer's study.
2. Integrated advertisements are acceptable if equal representation is present. The response from the African-American males surveyed in Szybillo and Jacoby's was the same.
3. All-White advertisements were least favored or received neutral responses. The neutral response supports Solomon, Bush, and Hair's study of purchase behavior in the Deep South. The study found that African-Americans observed reacted neutrally to all-White point of purchase displays.
4. Responses support Robinson and Rao's claim that African-Americans do not desire to be White. On the contrary, negative responses were given to inappropriate models or models who did not look African-American.

5. Products perceived as quality were given high ratings. Purchase decisions were based on brand recognition.
6. Personal appearance is very important. Clothing, particularly brand name (status) items, continues to be heavily consumed.

As cited by Robinson and Rao, little research has been conducted to identify the sub-segments within the African-American consumer market. Also, research has not kept pace with the educational and social changes prevalent in this market.

Findings divergent with previous research suggests the following:

Income and social status are perhaps important considerations. Products or brands perceived as too expensive would not be found attractive by a particular segment such as college students.

Celebrity usage may be more effective with a particular age group.

Traditional values and perhaps spirituality are important considerations in appealing to a segment of the population such as these subjects.

General market campaigns are not effective because they don't include the language of the African-American. These campaigns also often feature African-Americans in otherwise less important roles.

Methodological Limitations

There are several limitations that warrant notation here. Running several focus groups to increase sample size to find demographic differences, for example, would be

appropriate. College students, although used frequently in previous research, are not classified as average consumers.

A higher level of statistical analysis would glean further information from this study.

Finally, another focus group facilitator, other than the author, would assure non-biased responses.

Research Conclusions

The research concludes that African-Americans have clear preferences. They want to be displayed in positive roles and more frequently. They want to be featured in all mediums. It is important that their images are relevant and depict reality. Family and church remain the focal points of the African-American community. The accurate depiction of these entities in advertisements can be highly effective. Finally, the African-American aspires to gain social, economic, and educational prominence.

Advertisements that portray achievement and aspirations are highly effective.

In reference to Kassarian's comments pertaining to social acceptance, today's African-American believes that social change is necessary. As a group, they strive to be recognized as a unique body of consumers with specific preferences.

Future Prospects

What is the future for the African-American in advertising? Looking back, it is one of certain challenge and struggle for positive change. Kassarian's earlier predictions that the presence of African-Americans in advertisements is predicated on social attitudes continue to ring true. It has been more than two decades since his research, yet less than three percent of all advertisements feature African-Americans. In an independent research study, Djata viewed television commercials on the three major networks. For 11 hours, in 2-3 hour settings, he found the following data:

229 White males (featured), representing 54% (of all commercials analyzed)

156 White females, representing 37%

25 African-American males, or 6%

10 African-American females, or 2%

2 Oriental males, or .5%

1 Oriental female, or .2%

Proportionately, African-Americans represent 12% of the U. S. population.¹

Further data found that African-Americans were more often shown in food commercials. Rarely was an African-

¹Djata, "Madison Avenue Blindly Ignores the Black Consumer," Business & Industry Review, 10.

American singled out, but rather appeared in large, integrated groups. There were, however, four times as many African-Americans as Hispanics.²

African-Americans employed in the advertising industry remain at a very low 3.6%. The number of African-American agencies total 35. Agency practitioners have witnessed a void left unattended over the years and are pulling together for effective action.

Effective Action by Collective Action

Throughout the history of advertising, African-Americans have effectively challenged the industry by collective action. The efforts of the early African-American press provided African-American entrepreneurs with the opportunity to promote their products and services through advertisements. By the 1940s, Johnson and his team of marketing professionals brought to the forefront the need for research and marketing to African-American consumers. The 1950s saw the NAACP cry out against stereotypes of African-Americans that had been prevalent in advertising and the media for decades. This led to added pressure in the 1960s, which led to the establishment of African-American advertising agencies. Covenants (business agreements) helped to nurture the agencies and provide for greater

²Robert E. Wilkes, "Hispanics and Blacks in Television Commercials," Journal of Advertising, v. 18, 1989, 19-25.

opportunities in the industry in general. Today, thanks largely to the African-American advertising agencies progress continues to be made.

One such agency, the Mingo Group in New York, has recently established a special division to cater to promotions to African-American markets. Called Mingo Group Plus, this band of promotional experts hope to stimulate the number of promotional campaigns designed for African-Americans.

African-American advertising agency experts have recently yielded to the call for collective action by establishing a type of watchdog organization. The African American Marketing & Media Association was organized because the industry continues to do a poor job in addressing the needs of the African-American consumer. The premise is: let the African-American agencies sell to African-Americans. Why? AAMA believes that Madison Avenue's general campaigns are not effective. In a recent Los Angeles Times article, AAMA founders assert that there is still very little information about the African-American consumer market. They hope to remedy this by attracting the dollars necessary to do the job. Caroline Jones, of the Caroline Jones Advertising agency, is founding board member of AAMA. For Jones, the challenge has been a long and arduous one, yet she believes its one that can be easily remedied. "It's

really no mystery how blacks feel about products. All you have to do is ask them," she said.³

Another attempt at collective action dates back to 1981, when a group of hair care companies joined to create and market a private label. POWER or People Organized and Working for Economic Rebirth aimed at keeping African-American consumer dollars in their community. (This concept is based on Muslim leader Louis Farrakhan's self help philosophy.) POWER represents Johnson (Chicago); Pro-Line (Dallas); M & M Products Co (Atlanta); Worlds of Curls (Los Angeles); and Austin W. Curtis Laboratories (Detroit). The Wellington Group, located in New Jersey, manufactures and markets the private label.

A diversity of products are marketed under the POWER label. They include: toothpaste, mouthwash, detergents, tissue, foodstuff, and baby products. A marketing strategy implemented by the Wellington Group is consumer membership.⁴

³Bruce Horovitz, "Ad Group Hopes to Show How to Sell to Blacks," Los Angeles Times, 6 October 1990, D2.

⁴---, "Black Marketers Push Power to the People," Advertising Age, 16 September 1985, 96.

Closing Commentary

The common thread of information, woven throughout the thesis, is that the African-American has played a substantial role in the history of advertising. Despite the trials and tribulations of social injustice and racism, the successes are numerous. The African-American's rich past as farmers, carpenters, newspaper and magazine publishers, hair and skin care manufacturers, insurance agents, advertising agents, for example, contributed to the esteemed advertising industry as it exists today. However, this very industry fails to fully recognize the worth and importance of the African-American consumer market. When contemplating the reasons why, I am perplexed. I am angered and outraged.

I am a middle-aged, middle income, educated African-American female. I have been a loyal patron of certain products like Campbell Soup, until I embarked upon this project. I have since not purchased Campbell Soup because of its earlier discrimination against advertising in Ebony. As I proposed the question of why to the group of African-American students who participated in the focus group study, they too were appalled to learn that they have largely been ignored as consumers. They also expressed dismay at learning about the early trade characters, such as Aunt Jemima, and how these stereotypes represented the dominant portrayal of African-Americans for decades. This discussion

led to the question, what can we do? The answer, economic empowerment.

Jesse Jackson's PUSH describes economic empowerment as selective patronage. The Selective Patronage Council of Operation PUSH, organized in over 50 cities, promotes "selective buying campaigns against any company that is unfair to the black community in its hiring practices, advertising in black media, and investments in black banks."⁵

This strategy, though not new, is one that has become effective ammunition for African-American consumers. Most recently, the NAACP launched a boycott against the athletic shoe company NIKE. The Oregon based firm was spending a meager percentage of its multi-million dollar advertising budget on marketing to African-American consumers. This was despite sales showing strong patronage from this market. The boycott also cited the lack of African-American professionals employed by NIKE. This was a highly effective campaign. Strategist believe, that following this effort, Reebok moved to renew its commitment to NAACP's Fair Share program. Similar to earlier covenants, the company vows to

⁵Bennett W. Smith, "The Black Economic Giant Flexes Its Mighty Muscles," Business & Society Review, Spring 1985, 35-37.

support African-American business as well as community-based programs.

Economic empowerment. To become fully effective, this strategy requires consciousness raising to the extent that every African-American consumer has to realize that he or she has economic power. Once accomplished, the next step requires collective action. By means of joining together, effective change will happen. This is one way I believe the advertising industry will not only begin to recognize the contributions and role of the African-American in its history, but will also begin to realize this market's full potential.

Postscript

This documentary serves as a beginning. It serves as a means to include the contributions of African-Americans in the study of Marketing. I challenge the individual who reads this thesis, to challenge the educational system to include the contributions of all people in all aspects of study. Without this inclusion, it is a disservice to all of us as it presents one side of a very richly decorated picture. Finally, I challenge you, to pick up where I have left off.

OO LA LA!

Photograph: Gary Bernstein © 1990

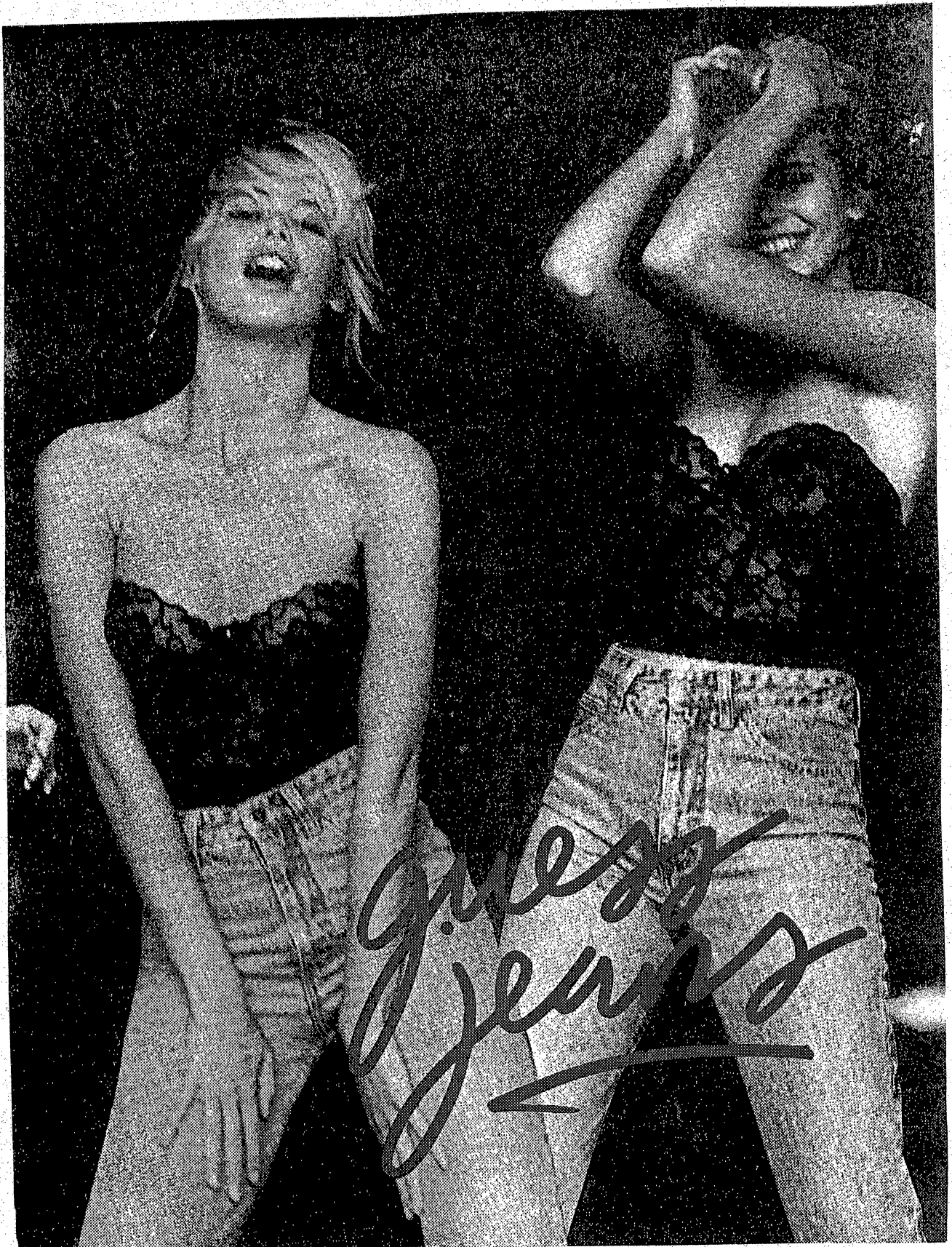
© 1990 Sasson Licensing Corp.



AHMAD, PHYLICIA, AND PHYLEA RASHAD

EXEONIO

Appendix One. Ad #1-Sasson, featuring the Rashad family, GQ, March, 1990.



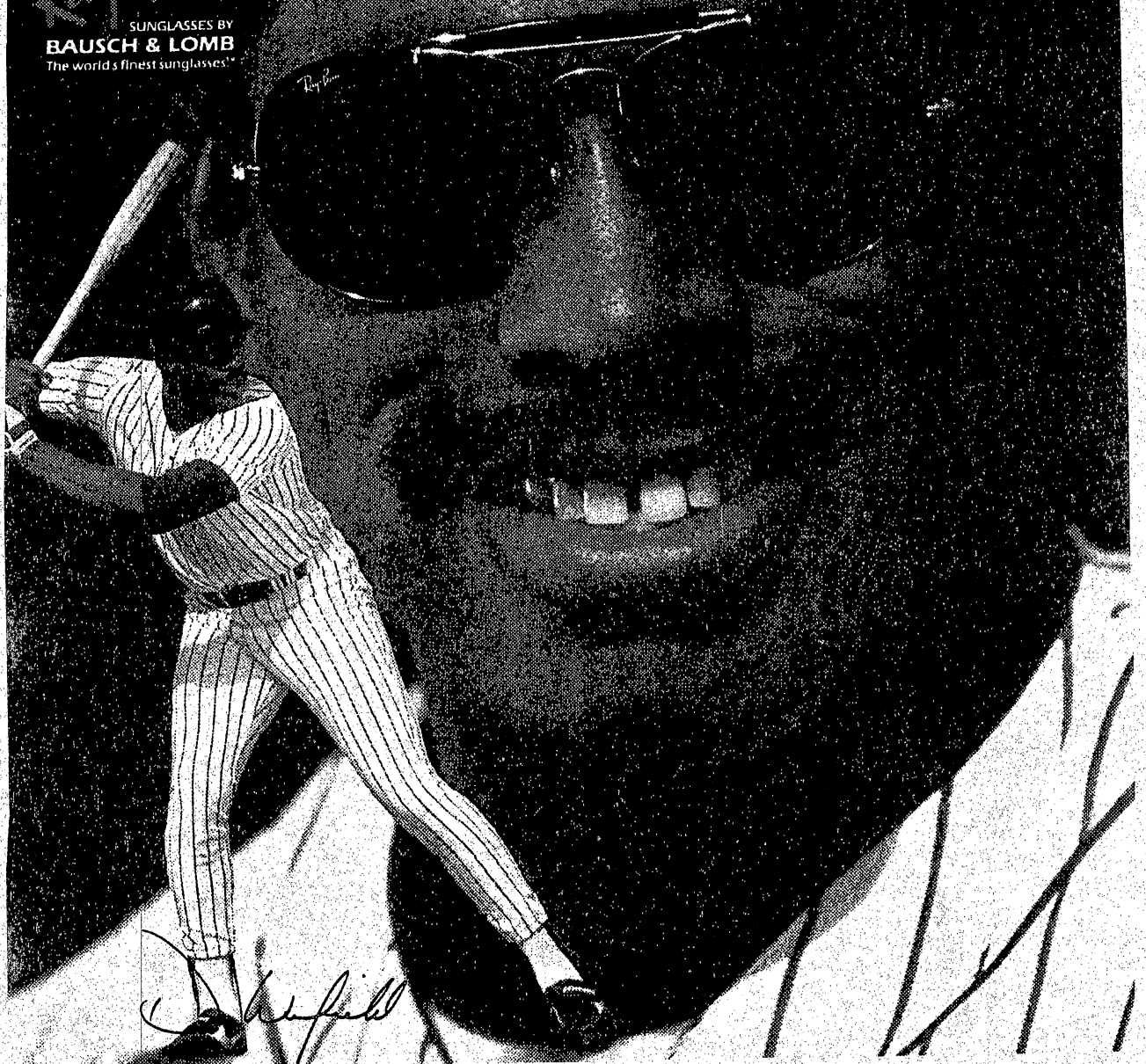
Ad #2-Guess jeans, GQ, March 1990.

GREAT PERFORMERS

Dave Winfield and Ray-Ban Sunglasses

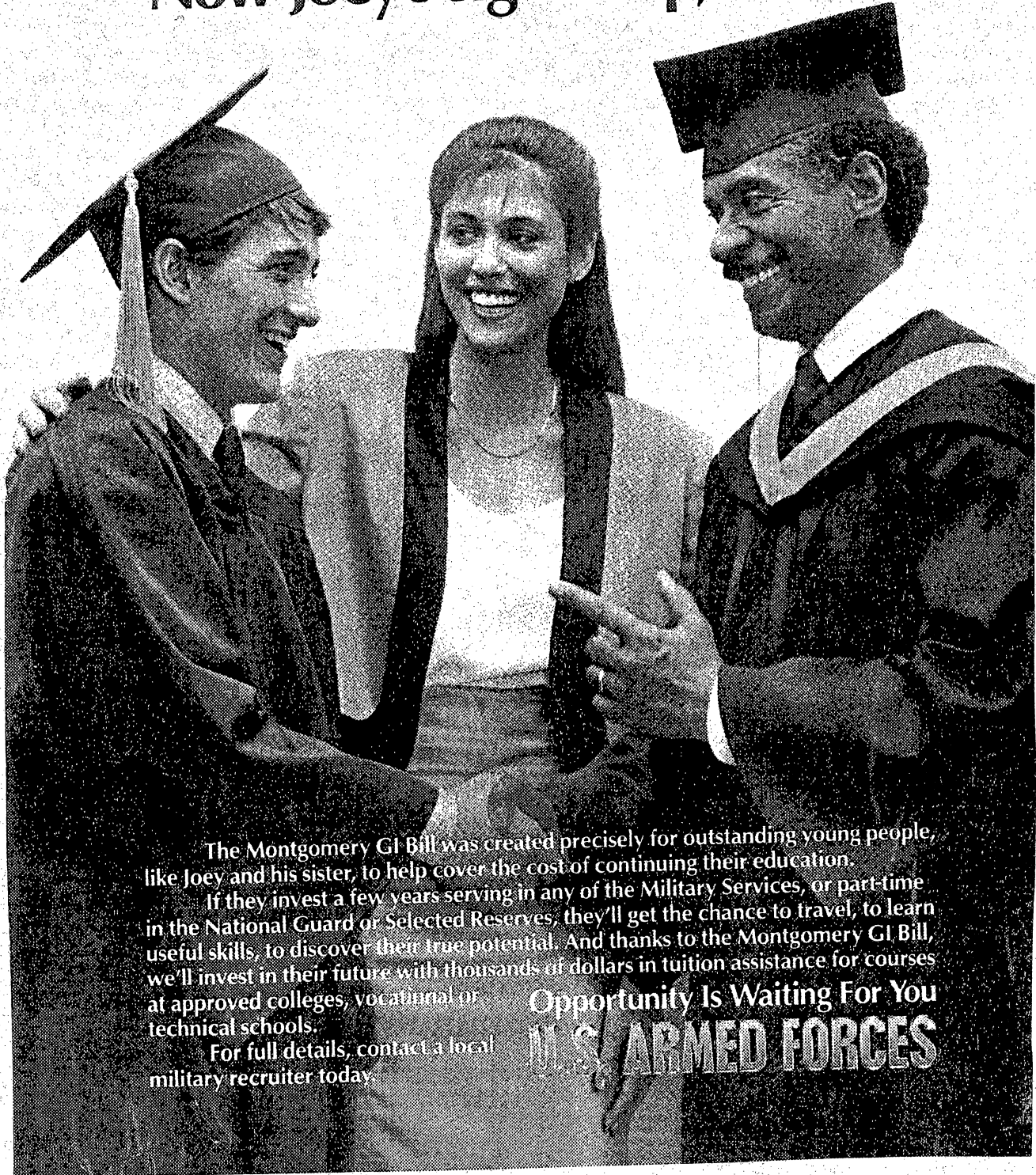
Ray-Ban

SUNGLASSES BY
BAUSCH & LOMB
The world's finest sunglasses.*



Ad #3-Ray Ban sunglasses by Bausch & Lomb, featuring Dave Winfield, Ebony, May 1990.

Joey's big sister went to school on the GI Bill. Now Joey's signed up, too.



The Montgomery GI Bill was created precisely for outstanding young people, like Joey and his sister, to help cover the cost of continuing their education.

If they invest a few years serving in any of the Military Services, or part-time in the National Guard or Selected Reserves, they'll get the chance to travel, to learn useful skills, to discover their true potential. And thanks to the Montgomery GI Bill, we'll invest in their future with thousands of dollars in tuition assistance for courses at approved colleges, vocational or technical schools.

For full details, contact a local military recruiter today.

Opportunity Is Waiting For You
U.S. ARMED FORCES

Ad #4-U.S. Armed Forces, Ebony, March 1990.

Real family ties.

Heading for the season's sunnier climes, the knit news is all about going the distance together. And with style that's as eye-catching as it is easygoing, the Real Clothes® collections at Saks close the gap between what you wear and how you live. Which makes for some very happy holidays...for you, from us.

*Saks
Fifth
Avenue*

From Saks' exclusive Real Clothes® collections, clockwise from front center: Handknit flower and urn sweater in navy and multicolored cotton for women's sizes S,M,L, \$115 (96-275). Bright nautical cotton sweater for S,M,L for Toddlers 2 to 4, \$36; S,M,L for girls 4 to 6X, \$38; S,M,L for girls 7 to 14, \$40 (96-274). Handknit argyle sweater in ivory and multicolored cotton for men's sizes S,M,L,XL, \$85 (96-276). Handknit nautical sweater in linen and cotton for boys' sizes S,M,L,XL, \$65 (96-277). To order, call 1-800-345-3454.

We accept
American Express,
Diners Club,
MasterCard
and Visa.

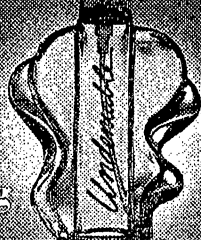


Ad #5-Saks Fifth Avenue, Travel and Leisure, February 1990.



I love a woman
who knows what to wear.
Especially
behind the cars.

Introducing



Undeniable

The new fragrance for women inspired by Billy Dee Williams

AVON

Ad #6-Introducing "Undeniable" by Avon, featuring Billy Dee Williams, Essence, May 1990.



How do you know where to drop off the kids?



Just look for the Kodak Colorwatch seal. It means a Kodak system checks the developing for great color. And every print is on Kodak paper. **Colorwatch seal, great color. No seal, who knows?**



Ad #7-Kodak, featuring Bill Cosby, Essence, May 1990.

Just for the
Wow! of it



Dress by JACKIE ROGERS

One calorie. Just for the taste of it.

"diet Coke" and "diet Coca-Cola" are registered trademarks of The Coca-Cola Company. © 1988 "diet Coke" and caffeine-free diet Coke with 100% NutraSweet not available at fountain outlets. NutraSweet and the NutraSweet symbol are registered trademarks of The NutraSweet Company for its brand of sweetening ingredient.

Ad #8-diet Coke, Essence, May 1990.

GREAT PERFORMERS

Orel Hershiser and Ray-Ban Sunglasses



BAUSCH & LOMB
The world's most famous sunglasses

Orel Hershiser, 1988 Cincinnati Reds Cy Young Award
1988 World Series MVP

Ad #9-Ray Ban sunglasses by Bausch & Lomb, featuring Orel Hershiser, GQ, March 1990.

Questions cont'd:

3. AD # _____

____ Q.1 How would you rate the appeal of this ad?

____ Q.2 How would you rate the models used in this ad?

____ Q.3 How would you rate the colors used in this ad?

____ Q.4 Would you buy this product? (Y=yes, N=no, NS=not sure)

Comments: _____

4. AD # _____

____ Q.1 How would you rate the appeal of this ad?

____ Q.2 How would you rate the models used in this ad?

____ Q.3 How would you rate the colors used in this ad?

____ Q.4 Would you buy this product? (Y=yes, N=no, NS=not sure)

Comments: _____

5. AD # _____

____ Q.1 How would you rate the appeal of this ad?

____ Q.2 How would you rate the models used in this ad?

____ Q.3 How would you rate the colors used in this ad?

____ Q.4 Would you buy this product? (Y=yes, N=no, NS=not sure)

Comments: _____

6. AD # _____

____ Q.1 How would you rate the appeal of this ad?

____ Q.2 How would you rate the models used in this ad?

____ Q.3 How would you rate the colors used in this ad?

____ Q.4 Would you buy this product? (Y=yes, N=no, NS=not sure)

Comments: _____

7. AD # _____

____ Q.1 How would you rate the appeal of this ad?

____ Q.2 How would you rate the models used in this ad?

____ Q.3 How would you rate the colors used in this ad?

____ Q.4 Would you buy this product? (Y=yes, N=no, NS=not sure)

Comments: _____

Example of Questionnaire. Part Two.

Questions cont'd:

8. AD # _____

- ____ Q.1 How would you rate the appeal of this ad?
____ Q.2 How would you rate the models used in this ad?
____ Q.3 How would you rate the colors used in this ad?
____ Q.4 Would you buy this product? (Y=yes, N=no, NS=not sure)

Comments: _____

9. AD # _____

- ____ Q.1 How would you rate the appeal of this ad?
____ Q.2 How would you rate the models used in this ad?
____ Q.3 How would you rate the colors used in this ad?
____ Q.4 Would you buy this product? (Y=yes, N=no, NS=not sure)

Comments: _____

In your opinion...

1. are the images projected appropriate? _____
2. what would you like to see in future advertisements? _____

3. what is your favorite advertisement? _____

4. why is the advertisement noted above your favorite? _____

5. what is your least favorite advertisement? _____

6. why is the advertisement noted above your least favorite? _____

THIS IS THE END OF THE FOCUS GROUP STUDY. THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION IN THIS PROJECT. PLEASE GIVE YOUR COMPLETED RESPONSE SHEET TO THE FACILITATOR BEFORE LEAVING.

Example of Questionnaire. Part Three.

Appendix Three. Focus Group One

Four Participants:

- R 1 - African-American Female
- R 2 - African-American Female
- R 3 - African-American Female
- R 4 - African-American Male

Facilitator (or F). As part of my thesis, I am conducting a focus group study, using print advertisements that appear magazines. I am asking you to answer the questions on the response sheet. Please use the scale, it's a one to nine scale. One represents "the worst (ad) I've ever seen." You have a lot of leverage in that five is neutral. So if it's a bad advertisement, but is not the worst, you might select 2 or 3 and then when you look on the positive side where the nine represents "one of the best (ads) I've seen," you have the same flexibility.

I will show you a total of nine print advertisements and you will be asked the same questions for each of the ads shown. You'll have the opportunity to comment after you have seen each ad. If you have any questions anywhere along the line, please bring them up or if you have additional comments or if you find something that is really disturbing or really positive, please mention it.

Please take a minute to fill out the demographic data. If you would like me to use your name, you can write your name on the response sheet.

I don't know whether you realize it, but today's African-American consumer market represents \$300 billion and many advertisers still haven't gotten around to seriously looking at targeting their advertisements. Unfortunately, the tobacco and alcohol manufacturers are the ones making the greatest progress and what they're doing is advertising vices. In terms of mainstream advertisements, however, you will find that very few of them target the African-American consumer market.

I am going to show you a series of nine ads. I am going to read the questions out loud and ask that you please indicate the ad number for each ad shown. If you would like to look at the ads closer, just let me know and I will pass them around the room. Again, this is a random sampling of advertisements. The questions for each of the ads are the

same, so if it gets a little repetitious please bear with me.

F. This is Ad. 1, representing Sasson clothing, casual. This ad is out of GQ magazine, March 1990. On a scale from one (one being "one of the worst I've seen") to nine (nine being "one of the best I've seen"), how would you rate the appeal of this ad. In other words, how attractive is this ad to you as an individual. (pause)

Question 2, on a scale from one to nine, how would you rate the models used in this ad? (pause)

Question 3, on a scale from one to nine, how would you rate the colors used in this ad? (pause)

Question 4, based on your responses to questions 1 through 4, would you buy this product and please answer Y for yes, N for no, or NS for not sure. Please take the liberty to comment.

Ad. 1 (responses)

R 2. I like it, I really do. I like it because of the family. To me it represents the family. It's not just one person. You know because in the Black family, people always assume that there's a one-parent family, so here they're showing that there is a family unit within the Black race. I don't necessarily like the clothes.

R 3. I agree, that's what caught my eye-the whole family.

F. So its not necessarily the product here? What about the product?

R 1. I don't like Sasson. Its too White. It just doesn't look natural to me.

F. What if you were selected to do the modeling and you were wearing the clothes?

R 1. I would do it if it were my job. It's just another product. I have seen this ad in GQ and I was more taken by the characters, the people portraying a family and they are a true family and I'm fascinated with the stars so I was attracted to their faces rather than to what they were wearing.

R 2. The clothes to me just kind of turn me off. It's too bland you know. But if it were something more representative of what we're wearing today, then I probably would buy it.

R 4. I like blue, but Sasson items are quite showy. I wouldn't wear that. I'm into the classics. I would not buy Sasson products. In fact I don't!

F. How about the composition of the ad?

R 4. Well, Phylicia Rashad and her husband aren't exactly middle class Blacks. They are quite wealthy. So, although there are Black models in the advertisement, they are not symbolic of middle class nor poor Blacks and that advertisement could suggest that only a certain class of Blacks could afford to buy that product, which in fact that is not the case at all. But that could be a hidden message in that advertisement.

F. So what you're saying is that the use of celebrities might be a turn off?

R 4. Of course, because they are not everyday people that we rub elbows with.

F. Ad. 2 and we're going to go through the same series of questions. This ad represents Guess brand jeans, pretty trendy these days. Source again is GQ. (After series of questions asked.) Comments....number 4.

Ad. 2 (responses)

R 4. It's very freudian because they're using sex to sell and I wouldn't want to see a women in the streets with a top on like what they have on. Plus, it's just really looks trampy. Just trampy. I would buy Guess jeans, because I have some at home and I like the quality, but if I was basing my buying decision on that advertisement, I wouldn't buy them.

R 1. I agree. I like the product, but I don't like the way they're advertising it and when you think about it to me they never...I look at magazines quite often and they hardly ever have a Black face in there and that goes to show you that they're not...we are just as much consumers as they are. In fact, I bought a pair of Guess jeans yesterday and so that goes to show you that when I save my money and I can afford it, I will buy them just like you (White consumers).

F. What about the fact that you very rarely see Black models advertising Guess jeans?

R 4. They claim that to be the most expensive.

R 1. I know that for a fact (Black models are not used). I'm always looking in magazines. If they have, I've never seen one.

F. So number 2, being that you are a Black consumer and you represent a certain percentage of that \$300 billion market, how does this affect your buying habits?

R 2. I have a problem with them not using Black models and everything, but this ad I don't really see anything wrong with it. He (R 4) was saying that they're using sex to sell, well that's what everyone is wearing. I mean those kinds of tops and those jeans. So I just think that they're using today's styles and showing the people the versatility of these jeans and the many different ways you can wear them. The models don't look that good though. (laughter)

F. Would you purchase the product?

R 2. Not based on this ad no.

R 4. I bought a pair of Guess jeans in 1987. I had no idea (that they were a popular brand). I had never even heard of Guess Jeans. I bought them because they were marked from \$65 to \$25 and could wear them. After I bought them and hemmed them, they (friends) would say, "Oh Guess jeans! Where did you buy those jeans." I'd say, "What are Guess jeans?" I bought them by accident, because I could afford them. (laughter)

R 3. Well, I buy them all the time. I like good sale things. Well, I get my things on sale anyway at downtown Cooperville in LA with my relatives. So for us it's like a neighborhood thing. All my neighbors and our kids, that's what we wear. Yes its true and sad that our parents say that we never see any others buying Guess, but it's a good product and if I ever have any problems with my Guess jeans, I just take them back to Broadway (even if I didn't buy them there). I haven't had any problems out of that product, that's why I buy them.

F. And its not as important to you that you're not represented...

R 3. It's important to me but its a good product. They stand by it and when I go to Broadway, they don't stand around and look at me as if to say you're Black we can't exchange them.

F. Ad number 3, Ray Ban brand sunglasses. Source Ebony, May 1990. Again, I'm going through the same set of questions. (Questions presented.) Any comments...number 2.

Ad. 3

R 2. I like Dave Winfield.

F. Does the use of him in the advertisement, make a difference to you?

R 2. No, not as far as just purchasing the glasses. I would buy Ray Ban because the product represents quality.

F. Do you see that the use of a celebrity enhances the quality of the product or enhances the image of the product?

R 2. Yeah.

R 4. Well, I don't think the celebrity has anything to do with enhancing the quality anymore than your average "Joe Smoe." It's just a top notch product. Besides he's not going to be wearing Ray Ban's playing baseball. I'm saying that while he is playing baseball, he won't have his trusty Ray Ban's on.

R 1. To me the colors are real dark. I mean his skin color is probably that color, but the background is real dark.

R 4. I think the coloring is good considering he has the white uniform with the black stripes. Plus his teeth are white and not yellow. I like his white teeth.

R 3. I like Ray Ban's. I think its a very good product. I've never bought Ray Ban's, but I like them.

F. Let's go on to the next ad. Here's ad number 4, representing the Armed Forces and taken from the Ebony magazine. (Questions asked.) Number one, comment?

Ad. 4

R 1. When I first looked at the ad, I didn't notice the Black man until the last. It wasn't a draw to my eye... because he's not very dark. Not that he has to be dark. We're not all that dark and we're not all that light. But for some reason, it just didn't make me want to read... I mean it doesn't draw my attention anywhere and I didn't notice that it was Armed Forces until you...until I looked over at the last minute.

F. So it was a little misleading? Would you have preferred a slightly darker skinned Black person?

R 1. Yes. They're trying to promote the US Forces and college. I guess they're trying to show that Black and Whites-the armed forces period!

R 4. Well, the first thing that caught my attention was the fact that the brother is wearing academic regalia. He does not have a Ph.D. He has a master's degree. What's refreshing to see was the brother shaking the White boy's hand as opposed to a Black high school graduate shaking a white administrator's hand as to imply that the only way for a Black to go to college is with the GI bill and go to the army, which is not exactly the most sterling branch...but it is a very good advertisement, very good.

R 2. No comment....I was just trying to figure it out. If the girl was mixed? I couldn't tell. What first caught my eye was the man in there. He doesn't look like he is all Black and she doesn't look like she's all White. So, I think they're trying to get a good mixture in there.

R 3. I don't like that ad because it should have been two Blacks. I just like the fact that the White and the Black are mixed. To me Ebony...I mean I know that we're an integrated society, but I still don't like this ad.

R 4. You! I think there's an assumption here...I think we all assumed that was Joey's big sister, when in fact that could be Joey's girlfriend or one of his friends who was at the graduation with him when he walked up to whoever this man is to be congratulated. So we're assuming that this is Joey's big sister, when in fact that may not be, because she doesn't look like a White girl at all. She looks very Black.

R 1. Do you think that when advertisers look for White models that they look deep...I mean are they looking for blue eyes and blonde hair?

R 4. She is not White.

R 2. She is Mexican or Oriental.

R 3. I think all three people in that ad should be Black, because it came out of Ebony. Ebony is an all Black magazine. When I look in there I expect to see all Black faces. I think other races should buy our magazine, because our history is rich. We're doing a lot and our race is still continuing to climb up that ladder. When I look at Ebony, I just think of Black faces...

R 1. Well, that's how they're going to feel about Guess jeans, if they're going to put this in GQ. Well, you see I want to be in GQ too. That's a White upscale magazine, but I'd like to see some Black men in Guess jeans in GQ magazine. Now I don't have to have all Black people in one ad. I don't, but what does bug me is when I buy Glamour magazine I want to see little beauty tips just like I see in Essence. I think they could include a Black in their magazine here and there...salt and pepper it a little bit.

F. Ad number 5, representing Saks Fifth Avenue out of Travel and Leisure magazine. One, how would you rate the appeal of this ad or how attractive is it? (Questions asked.)

Ad. 5

R 4. The first time I went to Saks Fifth Avenue, was when I was going to school in Pittsburgh in the late '70s and I was very taken by Saks. As expensive as the items were, I was very impressed with the quality of their merchandise-like Bloomingdales, B. Altman. All those stores are basically the same. The quality of the merchandise is pretty much for your middle income group who can afford to buy there. Apparently this family featured can afford to buy there...if they're a family. They probably live in a pretty ritzy area and financially the dad is probably pretty successful with whatever he does. The mother is probably the good old trusty homemaker. That is the trend for the women in the upper classes.

R 2. First of all, they look too young to be a family. They look more like brother and sister. He looks too young to be that little boy's father. But I like it because the title of this is "Real Family Ties," and it just looks like they're real close and everything like that. In that sense I don't see a problem with it. I like the colors used. I mean I don't see a problem with them not using black models. I could look at it from one perspective and say that Saks Fifth Avenue ad doesn't have any Black people. Are they saying that Blacks cannot afford to shop there? I'm not going to say that. I mean I'm not going to look for something to say about it. I mean I like it. I like the family and that's what caught my eye at first--real family ties. It would have been nice to see a Black family wearing clothes like that to show that there are family ties there too, but I'm not going to point that out and say they should have done that.

R 4. They're all good looking too.

R 2. If I could afford their clothes, I would be up in there all the time!

R 4. Oh you could afford to shop there all the time...at Saks and Lord and Taylor...

R 3. Well I agree with number 2 about their clothes. I like them. Also, it would have been nice to see a Black family on there. Everybody can afford to shop there as far as I'm concerned because I've been to Saks in Atlanta. There are Black people that work there and customer service is real nice.

R 1. I like the ad and I like Saks. I don't see how, when I flip the page, I'd like say "ooh, I like that sweater. I need to go to Saks." No, it's not like that but I like the ad.

F. Number 6, Undeniable--women's fragrance by Avon. Source Essence. (Questions asked.)

Ad. 6

R 1. Is the cologne for a man or a woman? I don't know. It looks like he could be undeniable. It looks like they are after him.

R 3. Yeah, it looks like they're attracted to him because of the fragrance that he has on! (laughter)

R 2. I like it! I like it because it has a Black man as a spokesperson for this particular product and in the background they have not only a Black woman, but a White woman as well. They can be attracted to him just as much as the Black woman. Some people way that that's promoting interracial marriages or whatever, but I still like it.

R 1. In fact the Black woman is next to the Black man. That's what I like.

R 3. Yeah, that's what I like.

R 4. No, the Black woman is standing behind the Black man! (laughter)

R 3. But a few more tries she will be!

R 4. I do not like Billy Dee Williams at all. In fact, I think the best thing he did was "Brian's Song." Beyond that and the role he played in "Lady Sings The Blues," but beyond that all the chemicals in his hair...I don't think so. I don't like him. I definitely don't like him.

R 3. He's a lovely Black man!

R 1. Um, hum!

F. Number 7, representing Kodak film taken from Essence. (Questions asked.)

Ad. 7

R 3. I like that ad. It's so precious. I like babies, especially if they're not mine! This little girl just caught my eye. She is so adorable. She's a baby, she's Black, she's with her mother. Also this little White girl caught my eye. This is just a good ad.

R 1. I like the interracial. It is warm. It is peaceful. I like peace. I'm not very...I mean I am into my race and I would do anything to promote it, but as afar as...I'd rather see us as all one. I could live in my own country, but I'd rather live together. I like the mixture and I like the ads to show that we can all use the same products. It supports peace or harmony.

R 4. I don't know about it supporting harmony, but I think it is interesting that it was put together like that.

Very tasteful. In fact, I like Kodak and wouldn't care whose picture was on the advertisement. From using Kodak, from having Kodak develop film down through the years, I have always been impressed with their service. My purchasing products has nothing to do with who is in the advertisement. It has to do with whether I like the product and whether I can afford it. That's what I base my decision on, not because it is Bill Cosby or Phylicia Rashad and Dave Winfield. I buy things that I think are very tasteful and look good on me and are things I can afford. Not because its Bill Cosby.

R 2. I like this ad because its showing a lot of color, real beautiful coloring and its got all the little Black kids and White kids and all the beautiful coloring in the background. Its saying no matter what color you are, this product is going to make your pictures come out looking like you.

F. Number 8, diet Coke. This was taken from Essence. (Questions asked.)

Ad. 8

R 2. I like coke, but not diet Coke. I don't like this ad because the average person walking down the street is not going to be dressed like that drinking diet Coke. First of all, she is too skinny to be drinking diet Coke anyway, but I guess its just for the "wow of it." I guess you don't have to be all that skinny to be drinking diet coke or all that fat to be drinking diet Coke. You drink it because it taste good. The silver dress and the diamond bracelets I think it's just a bit much. They could have just had an average Black woman...or an average Black model like one of us, dressed casually with a diet Coke in her hand. But I think that's a bit overdone. We're not going to have our hair all done up....

R 4. I don't think that she's Black. On my comments I put "dot, dot, dot, question!" (laughter)

R 3. Oh number 4! I like it. It makes me feel good. She looks like she was out at a party and someone just wanted to take her picture. She's feeling good.

R 1. It shows that she's got style and coke is not going to cramp her style.

R 4. What that shows is that she's very enterprising. She believes in working.

R 3. Yeah, that's a good way of looking at it.

R 2. I don't know...to me it looks fake. She looks too made up. It's a diet Coke.

R 3. But she looks like you don't have to be on a diet to like it. You can be thin and still like it.

R 2. Dressed like that, it seems that she should be out at a party and drinking diet Coke is just not going to cut it.

R 1. She could be a model out on a shoot and taking a break.

R 4. I don't like that outfit at all. She is not attractive to me, but she is attractive to a certain type. Well, I am very conservative and she looks more like a lounge lizard! (laughter)

F. Number 9, this was taken from GQ. (Questions asked.)

Ad. 9

R 2. Looking at that ad, I am real pleased to see that Ray Ban is saying that the product is not just for the elite people but for good people like baseball players. I was looking at Orel Hershiser and he's a real good pitcher and Dave Winfield is a good outfielder and so, good baseball players wear Ray Ban glasses.

R 3. I agree with number 2. But it just seems like a repetitious ad using a White person.

R 4. We still have the pseudo-projection that you have to be a person with money to buy Ray Ban's...(i.e. baseball player and male either Black or White) and that's not true at all.

R 1. I like the fact that they have the same product using two different races. I like that. Other than that, I still think that the background is too dark.

Opinion Questions

F. What about the images projected?

R 4. I thought they were basically ok.

F. What images would yo like to see?

R 4. More everyday people.

R 3. I would like to see more Black people in ads. There are soo many people who buy Guess products and you don't see Black people in their ads.

R 2. I think we could do something about it, but all we do is sit around and complain.

F. What would you like to see in the future?

R 3. More black people.

R 2. And not just baseball players...just regular everyday black people.

R 1. And not just around RTD time. I want to see them while I'm watching Cheers. I want to see some black commercials. Not just while I'm watching Cosby and all that or BET.

F. What is your favorite commercial?

R 3. McDonald'sthe one where the little girl is jumping double-dutch. To me it looks fun for one. For two, you can tell that McDonald's is behind blacks 100% because they have a lot of different Black commercials.

F. What's your least favorite?

R 1. I didn't like the Guess ad. I thought it was too sexual. Sex has nothing to do with jeans. I don't like to see any billboards that advertise people black, white, hispanic, whatever, smoking cigarettes or drinking. They are very negative eyesores or very negative visual clues.

F. Has any commercial every really gotten to you emotionally?

R 4. I like the earlier 501 commercials. In fact when I saw the first commercial and the singing...it had a lot of

black people in it and the singing was soo good. It sounded just like it was church. It was very tasteful.

R 3. Calvin Klein jeans commercial really made me mad. Some of his commercials were banned like the ones with Brooke Shields and she isn't wearing a top and it says "how would you like to get into my Calvin's." I think that's vulgar. He does too many weird things....

Focus Group Two

Three Participants:

- R 5 - African-American Male
- R 6 - African-American Male
- R 7 - African-American Male

Ad. 1

R 5. This ad is about a family. It has a little family in it and that means a lot. That's a way of selling the product in the sense that this family is wearing the clothes, your family can wear them too. The models are very recognizable. Whether or not a celebrity is used, a lot of people look at how attractive the models are. Besides, Phylicia Rashad we see her every week on the "Cosby Show." She's been on the show for six years. Actually when I see her, I look for Bill Cosby. I wouldn't buy the product though. I might buy it for my dad or my little sister, but I wouldn't buy them for myself. I'm not really that familiar with the brand.

R 6. I like this ad. The colors they use are very nice. The family they use is very nice. I think the whole appeal is very nice. They have nice models that are presented in a positive form. The two people are celebrities and I think that makes it more interesting and the clothes look nice on them. I think I might look into them. I'm not a name brand person, but I like the way the shirt looks on him and I might look into buying the shirt.

R 7. It's a nice Black family. There are two stars who are very classy, but they have a down-to-earth look. It's appealing to me. I like what Ahmad is wearing. I would buy it. Even if celebrities weren't used, I like the style of clothing and they look attractive and clean cut.

R 6. I think the use of celebrities would make a difference. Flipping through a magazine and seeing a familiar face makes the difference I think.

Ad. 2

R 5. Guess jeans are real familiar and that's the only thing that stands out. But I like the models. I gave them a nine (9 rating), because they have sex appeal. The models are there so that people would notice the jeans more.

R 7. I think it's a distasteful ad. I personally wouldn't want my mother, sister, or significant other running around looking like that. The colors are dull and unattractive to me. The black and white (colors) just don't work for me either.

R 6. Black and white could work if the background was white, but the jeans and the dark background don't look good. Now the way "guess jeans" is in red, that stands out nice. I don't like the appeal of the ad, the way the women are represented. Even though they are White, to try and sell jeans I don't see why they have to be half naked and really it doesn't seem like the emphasis is on the jeans. Its on what do you call that thing that they have on...a brassier thing. I think the ad is designed to appeal more to men than women...with those brassier things on.

Ad. 3

R 5. A lot of women think that he's (Dave Winfield) a sex symbol. A lot of women may look at it and buy the product for their husbands, but I wouldn't buy them for myself. I don't particularly like that style. You have to also look at Dave Winfield is an older man and maybe he might appeal more to my dad.

R 6. Actually those glasses would probably be better than the glasses my dad currently wears. (laughter) I'm not a big sports fan and I didn't know who that was. So that really didn't have an appeal to me.

R 7. The first thing, I'm not going to spend \$100 for a pair of glasses. I'm also not a big sports fan and the only publicity he's gotten was that thing he had with Robin Givens' mother, which was really negative. Yeah! So that would make it like, if you wear those glasses, uh! The ad gives him a playboy look, you know with the glasses and that great smile. I can see that as a positive, because a guy seeing this ad might go out and buy the glasses in hopes that it sparks his popularity.

R 6. I would buy the glasses, but I think that by him wearing them wouldn't have much to do with it. I would buy them as a gift for someone, rather than buy them for myself. The glasses are nice.

Ad. 4

R 5. At this point in my life, it doesn't appeal to me. But I think someone graduating from high school and not knowing what they're going to do, this may be the thing to do. The ad says that the Armed Forces can help you get an education. After looking at the picture and then reading the caption, you get that impression.

R 6. I looked at the whole thing. I think it's a positive ad, because of the way the Black male is portrayed in it. He's kind of like the higher authority in the picture. But, I'm not interested in the military. As number 5 said, it might provide someone younger with an option to consider.

R 7. Yeah, I think it projects a positive image for the Armed Forces and at one point I did look into it. But, I wasn't exactly sure about what I wanted to do. It does sound appealing, getting your education paid for. I think every young person who wants to go to college, would explore every option available to them. I think that a lot of people will choose the Armed Forces, because of the ad. I think it attracts a person's curiosity. It sparks their interest. The graduation aspect stands out in the ad.

Ad. 5

R 6. I think it's a nice ad. The coloring that they use is nice. The people in the ad are nice. They look nice. But, the ad doesn't appeal to me, because there's nothing in the ad that relates to me. Although it is a nice ad, they would have to have clothes in the style I like or have some Black models. That would help. But, maybe the style of clothes would make a difference.

R 5. I think the addition of at least one Black model would make a difference. For one thing, then you would have an interracial family! (laughter) Its a family picture, you know. Being that I know what Saks Fifth Avenue is and they're wearing sweaters, because it's cold back there during this time of the year. I've been in Saks. I've never bought anything from Saks, but I've been in Saks. I guess you would say its like May Co on the west coast.

R 7. The models they use show a family. What they're wearing doesn't spark any interest to me. I'm not into sweaters. Is this store basically for caucasian people or what?

Ad. 6

R 6. I don't like this ad that much. There's something about the colors and the layout and the models. I think it would be better if the colors were either more alike or... I just don't like the way it flows and the way the pictures are spliced together. And the models, I guess they're OK. But, I don't really get the point they're trying to make with the Black male in the front. If this is for a woman's perfume, it doesn't look like he's attracted to the women or they're attracted to him. I don't see any connection. If it was a man's perfume or I was looking for a perfume for my mother, sister, or significant other, I would probably try to get a woman's opinion, because it looks like it's a nice perfume. But the ad, I don't care for. I don't see the significance of using Billy Dee Williams. Maybe he's trying to lure the women to the perfume.

R 7. I think that from a woman's perspective they may be attracted to buying the perfume, because of Billy Dee Williams. I guess he endorses it and they may be attracted, but from my perspective he could be left out.

R 5. Well, they use Billy dee Williams as a lure actually. I can tell that. I guess they picked him because supposedly everybody likes Billy Dee Williams. I think it's funny that they would pick the White women. I think that's interesting. I know that White women look at Essence. I know they look at a lot of Black things. It would be interesting to see this same ad in Glamour magazine. I don't think Billy Dee Williams would be standing out in front. Definitely not!

R 6. I think just like number 5. They have the White women, because they know that White women look at the magazine. I think also it might be a situation where they want to get Black people interested in the product, but they are not willing to use all Black models in the photo. I think that's unfair. I think Blacks would feel more compelled to use the product if they saw Black models in it and I think they would feel that maybe, you (the advertiser) would care a little more about them buying it.

R 5. The way the picture's taken, they probably weren't all together when they took it. These women probably never met Billy Dee Williams. It looks like they just laid him over the picture. Avon wants to catch some of the Black People with this fragrance. But if it was a Mary

Kay ad, I believe it would be all Black models. I really do.

Ad. 7

R 6. I would purchase the product. I think the layout of the ad is fine. I like the Black person as the focus. It also has a Black celebrity as a focus. There's a nice balance with the mixed ethnic groups. I don't think the pictures are all that great. I think I would purchase the product though, because I'm use to good film.

R 7. I agree with number 6, except I don't see why they always have to use a fifty-fifty balance like with the last ad. If it came from a White magazine, it probably wouldn't have Blacks at all. That kind of turns me off...but I like the product and would buy it.

R 5. Bill (Cosby) probably endorses Kodak, so they had to put him in there somewhere. Just like about Phylicia Rashad. (See comments pertaining to Ad. 1.) She's been seen every week for the last six years and Bill Cosby is like apple pie almost. You can go anywhere in the world and find someone who can relate to Bill Cosby. It gives you a warm feeling...you know that family thing. His ads are dominantly kid-oriented or family-oriented. You'll never see him in an ad doing something like beer or something. His thing is like family, like Kool-Aid or something. I would definitely purchase the product.

Ad. 8

R 6. I would purchase the product, because I've used it before. But I don't particularly find the ad appealing, even though there is a Black woman featured. I see her pictured more like a White woman, because of the way that she looks...the kind of clothes that she's wearing and her hairstyle (which is a weave)! (laughter) It is a very long one too! I probably would have presented a women that was more business-oriented. Don't get me wrong, I like to see Black people in glamorous positions or conditions, but just the way she is it looks like a White person.

R 5. Well, I think their main objective was to show this girl's waistline basically. I agree with the clothes. The clothes are not appropriate. I mean they could have thrown her in some jeans and a shirt and everything would have been fine. The first thing you notice is her hair.

R 7. I think the ad works and the model. I think they're trying to get across that she has a nice figure, because she drinks diet Coke. I think the overall appeal of the ad works as far as I'm concerned.

Ad. 9

R 5. Where's Dave Winfield? They totally took this from a different angle. It doesn't seem as...they put Black models in Ebony and White models in GO. Its also a different set of shades. It doesn't...I don't know. Seeing Orel Hershiser, it really isn't a Black and White thing, but its become more of a baseball thing. Like its something for baseball players.

R 7. I don't know. I love baseball. The appeal that Dave Winfield has and Orel Hershiser has, is completely different. Orel's like the "good 'ole boy," "american-flagish" appeal and so it doesn't work quite as well. Orel Hershiser has more popularity, because he won the Cy Young (award) a couple of years ago and took the Dodgers to the World Series. But, he doesn't have the same appeal for me.

R 6. There really isn't much appeal. Out of all that I've seen today, this is one of the worst. Just the "good 'ole boy" image and he really shouldn't have a big picture, because he looks kind of goofy. I wouldn't buy the glasses, If I was going to look like that! (laughter)

Opinion Questions

(Only one respondent elected to answer verbally. The others chose to write their responses.)

R 6. I don't like the way advertisements have a Black person with one line or a person who simulates the Whites (like in the diet Coke ad, where there is a Black person, but that person really looks White). I kind of like the TV program "Designing Women," because the one Black character acts Black. He uses Black slang and basically acts like a Black person and not like the Bryant Gumble, who is Black but acts White.

Focus Group Three

Two Participants:

R 8 - African-American Female

R 9 - African-American Male

Ad. 1

R 8. The colors and Phylicia Rashad attract me. I like the royal blue that Phylicia has on. I like Phylicia Rashad. I like her, but I wouldn't purchase the product. I don't like the clothes they have on. They look "fad-ey." When I look at the ad, I think of the "Cosby Show." Its showing Phylicia and her family. The clothes don't do anything for me. I'd look at the ad, because of Phylicia.

R 9. Well, I gave it a 9. Well, you see the Rashad family and they look like happy people. They're just a happy family. The clothing looks kind of cheesy. The clothes look like something they would wear out in recreation. Sort of like weekend casual wear. Phylicia Rashad appeals to me. It's another familiar face. Ahmad is pretty good looking too.

Ad. 2

R 8. It looks sad. First of all the camisoles don't go with the jeans. They should have a suit on with the camisoles. If they had on T-shirts with belts and they showed the sneakers, it would look better. I don't like the black and white. It reminds me of George Michael. I don't like the way the girls look. Their hair is not combed. The camisoles are throwing them off.

R 9. I know a lot of women are going to get upset when they see this ad in the magazines, but I guess its ok. I would probably take a second look at an advertisement like this. But I don't know. I have never worn Guess clothing, but I guess its ok. My brother has worn Guess clothing. I usually wear other brands of designer jeans...french brand. I wear those and also Levis.

Ad. 3

R 8. I think this ad is neutral. It just doesn't spark me. It just doesn't appeal to me. The model is ok. I'm not a baseball fan. If it had Bo Jackson or Reggie Jackson, then it would appeal to me.

R 9. He's (Dave Winfield) pretty flashy, but they could have picked someone with better teeth. (laughter) Look at those teeth!

Ad. 4

R 8. The appeal to me is neutral. It doesn't represent the military to me.

R 9. It doesn't stand out. It's just an average advertisement with minority representation. I find that good. It's a nice advertisement, but that's about it.

R 8. It's good to have minority representation in advertisements. In this ad, though, there's a majority and a minority. It isn't very diverse to me. It's only two caucasians and one minority. They should have more of a variety, maybe more than three people so that more minorities could be in it.

R 9. I think the caucasian female balances it out. Then you have the Black male in a positive role.

R 8. What about a Black female?

R 9. This is probably offsetting the stereotype about the strong Black female, having an assertive Black male in a dominant role. I see nothing wrong with that.

R 8. I would prefer to see a Black female. It could be both, but I would prefer to see a female.

R 9. I think the dominant Black male role is necessary. Not out of a sexist reason, just out of the reason that you have more Black females in college and you should have more Black male professors shaking hands and handing out diplomas. That would enhance the likelihood of a person reading this magazine, thinking of the Black male as strong.

R 8. Uh huh.

Ad. 5

R 8. I like the colors. There's a variety of colors. I like the colors in the sweaters and the prints. As far as the models go, I just see the typical White family. This ad would not cause me to stop and look at it.

R 9. Well, it's a nice ad with attractive models. I wouldn't be inclined to buy winter sweaters and all those smiling blonde faces really don't turn me on that much. It's just an average advertisement with average people. The department store is a nice place. It's really an upscale WASP establishment. I do like buying nice things from places, but maybe if there were minority representation, I would be more inclined to shop there.

R 8. I would shop there because of the sweaters. The one that the woman has on is nice, but the one the gentleman has on, the argyle-style one, is just average.

R 9. I think they look cheap personally, because I've got some sweaters imported from Europe that my brother sent. I don't really care where the product comes from or how much it cost. I care about quality, then I'll buy it. But just because some attractive people are modeling it, doesn't make me want to buy it.

R 8. I still like the sweaters.

Ad. 6

R 9. Perhaps I would buy it because I'd be more drawn to the product because of the familiar face, Billy Dee Williams. Then again, I haven't smelled it [the fragrance]. I like the way the ad is put together.

R 8. I wouldn't buy the product by looking at the ad. I wouldn't. I'd look more at the clothes and the clothes take away from the cologne. I see it as a fashion statement. I'd look at the clothes and Billy Dee and the Black woman. She is sharp. I like the way they have a dark Black woman. You know how they always have the light-complexioned ones on television commercials.

R 9. With contact lenses! (laughter)

R 8. Here you have chocolate woman and a chocolate mad. They are both dark.

R 9. I like the way the women are standing behind the man. It makes a statement. I think its a nice role, how he states that he loves a woman who know what to wear, especially behind the ears! (laughter)

R 8. I see the two Black people together and they are color coordinated.

R 9. I think Billy Dee is a good role model, plus he's handsome and he's sort of like an image for the upper echelon of Black consumers and that's attractive.

R 8. He's sophisticated.

Ad. 7

R 9. I would buy the product or continue to buy the product based on the advertisement. It has minority representation. My grandfather used to work at the Kodak factories, but things have changed since the 1930s when all the could do is push a broom. Now, they have Bill Cosby as a spokesperson and that's a nice change.

R 8. I would buy the product. I like the colors in the ad. Kodak represents clearer pictures. Even though Bill Cosby has a small picture, he still plays a significant role in the ad. He just doesn't overpower it.

R 9. The focal point of the ad, is the child with his mouth open with the baseball cap on.

R 8. I like the little girl on the bottom, but I don't like the writing at the top. It takes away from the pictures.

R 9. I think there is some sort of message in any ad and having text is sort of necessary.

Ad. 8

R 9. I never drink soft drinks.

R 8. I'm an occasional Coke drinker. I prefer Sunkist orange.

R 9. I think it's a nice ad. It has an attractive Black woman in it with nice hair and a good outfit. She's probably related to Bill Cosby with the way she's positioning the can. (laughter) It's a nice ad though. It would catch my eye in a magazine.

R 8. I like the way they use the slim woman, instead of using an obese woman. Well you know diet Coke has always been stressed for women who are on a diet. They don't think that a slim woman drinks diet Coke. They first thing they

ask a slim woman is why do you drink diet Coke. I don't know why anybody drinks diet Coke myself, but... Why don't they have a Black woman with short hair? Why do they always have to have a woman with long hair? They have some nice short haircuts.

R 9. I think long hair is more attractive on Black women. I like natural styles as opposed to straight and that's sort of in between.

R 8. But the short hair is just as sophisticated as the long hair! They always portray a Black woman with long hair.

R 9. That's more feminine.

R 8. That's the stereotype. You see long hair as more feminine, but what about the women with the short haircuts. They look really nice and sophisticated and they still look feminine. Everybody thinks that short hair is for the man. What about the men with the long hair? That seems ok, but not for the woman with short hair.

R 9. I think it's more attractive for women to have long hair.

R 8. But I think they should show some women with short, beautiful, black hair more than the long hair.

(Here, respondents reflect on Ad. 6 with Billy Dee Williams.

F. Do you think Billy Dee represents the typical male?

R 8. Uh huh. Short hair, clean cut.

R 9. I'd say so.

F. But you are saying that the model in Ad. #8, does not truly represent the Black woman?

R 8. Right!

R 9. She looks more like a model.

R 8. Right and she has medium to light skin too. I see her as light. I don't see her as dark...dark and lovely. She's beautiful, but... She's sharp, but... I don't know.

Ad. 9

R 9. I'm really not a big baseball fan and Orel Hershiser is not one of my heroes. I really don't care for this ad. It really doesn't appeal to me. Those glasses look like something someone's father would wear. I don't care for them. I'd go for a more sporty look than Orel Hershiser. I'd prefer Bo Jackson. He's a highly visible athlete, who plays baseball and football. He's sort of an image of more versatility, but for somebody like Orel Hershiser, he might be more appropriate in Golf Digest as opposed to GQ. I don't find him to be the epitome of fashion either.

R 8. It's just an average picture. The sunglasses are wrong. I don't like sunglasses.

R 9. Maybe, if they had the astronaut Neal Armstrong, wearing high flightsuit and Ray Ban's sunglasses. Thinking back at Ad. 3, though, I think Orel Hershiser has a better smile than Dave Winfield!

Opinion Questions

R 8. In future advertisements, I would like to see more diversity. I would like to see more Black people in commercials (advertisements). I'd lean more towards all-Black, because it looks nicer. There would be more role models and I don't just want to see Blacks in just athletic advertisements. Athletic or entertainment, they're always in those two. I want to see something more educational.

R 9. Yeah, I just think that more consistent minority representation should be achieved in advertisement. I think you should have Black, Hispanic, Asian, Middle Easterners, whatever. It doesn't bother me. I just want to see more minorities, not just Black and White. You never see Asian people in ads or American Indians or Hispanics hardly. The only time you see Hispanics is when you look through at Hispanic magazine and then you see Blacks when you look through Black magazines. It's a form of segregation right there. They should have more of everybody cross the board. By seeing more people, everyone will become more aware of Black role models, White role models (which I guess have already been established), or Hispanic role models.

R 9. My overall favorite advertisements are the ones with Ernest in them, in the Cerritos Auto commercials. He's

one of my favorite comedians. So whenever I see one of his commercials, I always pay close attention to them.

R 8. Bill Cosby and the Jello pudding commercials. He's so smooth, he makes the Jello pudding look good! He really does. He makes you want to eat it with him.

R 9. My least favorite is when I see the ultra clean cut, White conservatives in advertising. A good example is when you see Bob Hope in an advertisement. Just when you see these people...I consider them the icons of the 80s. I get really turned off by that stuff. Oh and those Las Vegas commercials with Wayne Newton also. I would never go to Vegas based on his ads, because I consider it to be more redneck than anything else. With those big sideburns... Or Andrew Dice Clay, I wouldn't patronize those establishments with his face in it [ads].

I'm more inclined to buy products that show Black people. If I'm watching TV and I need to get some groceries and I'm watching one of those Stater Bros. commercials with a guy in an old beat up pickup, wearing a dirty baseball cap and an unshaven face, saying how great it is to live in the heartland of California...I'm really going to be skeptical about shopping in a place like that. What is the heartland of California? Fallbrook...Hemet? You know, Fontana? That's what I consider the heartland, not San Francisco Bay or Oakland. We need places where more minorities live. When I see that commercial with all the White faces in it, it sort of turns me off. I just got a Sprint phone card and I don't recall too many minorities in their commercials although there could have been some. It becomes more of a subconscious thing in my mind, when I'm watching commercials. The Stater Bros. commercials are just too much.

R 8. I think I would be more inclined to purchase a product that has more Black representation. That's important to me.

R 9. I think when companies don't advertise to Blacks, it's a form of racism. I was reading an article about after the George Bush and Michael Dukakis elections, how people were numbed by the racial imagery portrayed in their campaign advertisements. If you've got that sort of attitude, that's racism. It never hurts to have minority representation, because I think times are changing.

Focus Group Four

Seven Participants:

- R 10 - African-American Male
- R 11 - African-American Female
- R 12 - African-American Male
- R 13 - African-American Female
- R 14 - African-American Female
- R 15 - African-American Female

Ad. 1

R 10. No comment.

R 11. Yes, I feel that using familiar TV celebrities kind of attracts the viewers to their ads, because of the fact that we're always watching the TV shows. They are kind of like my favorites (Rashad family). If I didn't recognize the family, the ad wouldn't stand out.

R 13. I feel the same way. I know who they are.

R 12. Because it shows Phylicia Rashad of the "Cosby Family," it shows a good family and show us that we should wear the same kind of products. I would purchase the product because of that.

Ad. 2

R 10. The ad represents jeans and I might not like jeans, so it doesn't interest me. Every general ad doesn't relate to each individual. I'm just not into jeans.

R 11. I would buy the jeans, because I'm a Guess lover first of all. Second, I feel that a lot of people feel that what enhances them, is the name. Once people see that you've bought a name brand product, then they say...well she spent more money on that product and she kind of pampered herself and took the time out to buy herself a better pair of jeans.

R 13. I have a pair of Guess jeans that I've had since I was 12. I've had them for six or seven years and they've lasted that long. I got my money's worth. I really don't like the ad though. The colors are drab with only the black and white. If there was more color, it would make a statement.

R 12. By it coming from GQ magazine, most of the women do appeal to men. Because most men don't wear a lot of colors, I like the black and white. I think it's cool. The use of black and white has more definite appeal. Personally, I wouldn't buy the product based on the ad, because they have women wearing those lace whatever you want to call those things.

Ad. 3

R 10. I think something more needs to be done with the glasses. I need more details about the glasses. Because what makes his glasses better than one's you can buy in the drug store. Is it the name or because he's wearing them?

R 11. I wouldn't buy them for myself, but I might buy them for a friend. Again because of the celebrity-type figure, it's more attractive and also the color contrast is very appealing.

R 15. When I first looked at the ad, I thought the sunglasses were some cheap brand. But after I read the top, I recognized the name.

R 14. I wouldn't buy them, because I don't like dark shades. I don't like the frames. I don't like the style. This ad doesn't do anything for me.

R 12. I like the closeup. It shows a man and an athlete. Like after a hard day's work, he puts on his Ray Ban's. I wouldn't personally purchase this style. It's like [the] Sasson [ad], it shows something of quality. It has dark colors that appeal more to men and it brings out the product.

Ad. 4

R 11. I relate to this ad, because not only does it show that you can get an education but it also shows admiration. It's a happy scene. It shows togetherness.

R 10. I like it because it shows something positive. It also shows a direction to go right after high school. It gives you that togetherness feeling. It gives some people options. Everybody doesn't want to go to college. Personally, I'm into college.

R 13. I think it's very positive.

R 14. I like the ad, because most of the time you see ads on television in commercials and you see Black people coming right out of high school like they can't go to college. Like maybe they can take up a trade, but this here he's Black and showing a more positive situation.

R 15. I don't know whether this has anything to do with it, but my parents always felt that people who couldn't get into college went into the military. But looking at this, everyone just seems so happy. It appeals to me.

R 12. Personally, I think it's bland with the white background. I like the mix of people. I don't think Joey's sister should be in it. It should be more like Joey's brother or Joey's father. It would be more appealing to me.

Ad. 5

R 14. There are no black models in the ad. Most of the stores use White models and try to make it look like their things are so expensive that Black people can't afford them. I also don't like the clothes. But still, most of the stores use mostly White models.

R 15. The clothes are kind of blah.

R 10. I think the ad is good. I like the clothes. I think the sweaters are real nice for the winter. I think the sweaters are real appropriate for college. Whether the models are White or Black, if I want something I am going to purchase it. If I was treated differently, then that's a different story. I wouldn't take abuse, trying to spend my money.

R 12. The sweaters are nice and all, but I don't do prints. They're kind of "ski-ish." I think this magazine mainly caters to Whites. If it was Ebony, I would expect to see Black people. It's like when I watch "Soul Train" and they show a McDonald's commercial, I see Black people. But when I watch a different program, I see White people in the McDonald's commercials.

Ad. 6

R 13. I think Billy Dee Williams is appealing. I think a lot of women who see him in the ad will stop to see what it's all about.

R 11. I also think he appeals and you have the interracial theme. Plus, they're all good looking people. I think that brought out the advertisement.

R 10. I'm not interested in Avon products. The ad is pretty interesting. It displays a lot like the clothes. The expressions on the faces and the different races are appealing.

R 15. I think the people look nice and they all have on nice clothes.

R 12. Billy Dee does appeal to women. I feel he projects a positive image and he's sexy to everyone. Seriously, the dark colors are sexy and it has the dark colors that are sexy and appeal to a more mature crowd. I think I'd try it, if it was for men.

R 14. When I first looked at it, I thought it was a clothing ad. I like the way the White people ar pushed to side and the Black star is in the middle with a Black female in the background. You know sometimes, you'll see a Black in a commercial with only one line. There are little messages that you can pick out of some ads. So, I like this ad.

Ad. 7

R 14. The first thing that caught my eye were the pictures. All of the pictures. Most of the time, I use Kodak because the pictures are clearer. When you have kids you like to take a lot of pictures and you see Bill Cosby, the star, at the bottom. I buy it because its good film.

R 11. It appeals to me, because the color contrast and it shows an easier way to develop film with the drop box. It assures you that you will be a quicker delivery.

R 12. The contrast, I like it. The black background causes the pictures to stand out. Its showing with the kids, like someone you can leave your kids with--its showing the product is safe.

R 10. The expressions on the little kids' faces are joyful and happy. Everyone is happy and I think that all relates to Kodak film and taking pictures. I think it would appeal to the consumer.

R 15. I see the kids and then I see Bill Cosby. I like the colors, I like the ad.

Ad. 8

R 15. I like it. I drink diet Coke. I think a lot of girls will look at what she's wearing and say that she's too skinny, but...it appeals to me.

R 11. Yes, it does appeal to me because it's a Black model and because of the way she displays the Coke. It looks like she's really happy and she's enjoying it.

R 10. It's very nice and she's pretty. It's very interesting the way that she's displaying the Coke. It's very appealing to me. I like Coke.

R 14. I like what she's wearing. The ad is nice, but I don't drink Coke at all. What she's wearing is shimmery. The only thing that stands out is the female.

R 13. I think that they took a different approach to try and get their message across. I'm used to seeing dirty baseball players drinking Coke, but in this ad they're showing her figure and how nutritious it is. I think that the ad would probably appeal to someone on a diet. I'm not on a diet, but I drink regular Coke.

R 12. I really don't like the colors. It has charisma, but it's bland because of the plain background. It could have a darker background. "Just for the wow of it" seems to work. Her smile says it. I like this image of the Black female, but I think the dress is more after five-ish.

Ad. 9

R 14. I just feel I wouldn't buy the glasses based on this ad. I didn't know who that was. If I saw it in a magazine I would just go on to the next page. With a Black model, I would have stopped and looked at it.

R 13. I still wouldn't purchase the glasses, because the ad doesn't appeal to me. I don't like the colors and with his big face, it seems like it's taking away. You see him, then you see the gaps in his teeth!

R 12. It shows that the different performers in baseball, wear Ray Ban. They are nice glasses, but they are not my style.

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