

The Dilemma of "Integrated" Advertising

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## THE DILEMMA OF "INTEGRATED" ADVERTISING\*

ARNOLD M. BARBAN†

### INTRODUCTION

THE marketer wishing to effectively reach the so-called Negro market—estimated to consist of 23 million consumers spending \$30 billion<sup>1</sup>—is faced with a number of unique problems and dilemmas. For one thing, there are a number of problem areas which relate to *overall marketing* strategy. For example, is there in fact such a thing as a "Negro market"? W. Leonard Evans, editor and publisher of *Tuesday*—a newspaper supplement with predominantly Negro readership—claims the term is a misnomer and that this "market" is better defined in economic terms and not racially or sociologically.<sup>2</sup> Naylor Fitzhugh, vice-president of Pepsi-Cola Company, on the other hand, views the market more in terms of its racial orientation.<sup>3</sup>

A number of commercial research studies—often conducted under the sponsorship of "Negro" media—have pointed to the distinctiveness of Negro consumers in their product- and brand-purchasing patterns. Yet, B. E. Sawyer

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<sup>1</sup> See *Marketing Insights* (January 29, 1968), p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> "The Negro Market—Two Viewpoints," *Media/Scope* 11 (November 1967): 70-78.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

concluded from a statistical analysis of consumption data: "The inference is clear that factors other than race are at work in the determination of consumption patterns."<sup>4</sup> Still others, like Bauer, Cunningham, and Wortzel, present an impressive argument that there *are* special characteristics which distinguish the Negro from other groups. Their further assessment is that the Negro market is self-segmenting, on the basis of whether or not the individual Negro is striving for middle-class values (white) as reflected in material goods.<sup>5</sup>

The dilemma of reaching the Negro market (if it exists!) is obviously related to more than just overall marketing strategy and market targeting. It impinges directly on the major and minor components of the marketing system. Implications become apparent for strategies and tactics related to such things as product design, brand perceptions, labeling, merchandising, and advertising. Taking the advertising component as our point of focus, let us consider the problem areas in reaching the Negro consumer.

Initially, one might consider the dilemma regarding Negro reaction to advertising in general. Some argue that Negroes are basically less predisposed to

<sup>4</sup> Broadus E. Sawyer, "An Examination of Race as a Factor in Negro-White Consumption Patterns," *Review of Economics and Statistics* 44 (May 1962): 220.

<sup>5</sup> Raymond A. Bauer, Scott M. Cunningham, and Lawrence H. Wortzel, "The Marketing Dilemma of Negroes," *Journal of Marketing* 29 (July 1965): 1-6.

advertising than whites because of the dominant white orientation of so much advertising. Counter to this, one might argue that Negroes are more favorably inclined (or at least have the same reaction) than whites because advertising gives them the opportunity to be more self-reliant about brands. They might, accordingly, be able to rely less on the retail outlet, which many Negroes view as having exploited them in the past. The fact is that there is little concrete evidence to support either of these positions. Our earlier work, using samples of college students, showed that the overall judgment of "advertising" was almost identical among Negroes and whites, with both groups viewing the concept as generally "favorable."<sup>6</sup> But reactions of college students to such a matter are limiting for generalization purposes.

Turning from advertising in general to specific advertising functions, the difficult problems of advertising media become apparent. What images of the world do media portray for the Negro? If distinctive images, what impact does this have on advertising receptivity? Do Negro reactions to ads in general media differ from those in Negro media? Do Negroes and whites differentially expose themselves to the various media and, if so, why? And the dilemma goes on!

In addition to the problems posed about the institution of advertising and the advertising media in terms of Negro-white patterns, we have saved perhaps the most perplexing set of questions until now; that is, what should an advertiser wishing to communicate with the Negro consumer consider in determining his *message* strategy? Are there unique,

racially structured motivational patterns such that ads must be designed with specialized appeals? What influence (on product perception, or attitudes, or sales) does the use of Negro models (in Negro media) have on Negroes? What about the use of white models in Negro media? Negro reaction to white models in general media? What influence do ads jointly containing Negroes and whites (so-called integrated advertising) have on Negro consumers? In Negro media versus general media? What do whites think about integrated advertising (in general media)? With regard to such integrated advertising, some argue that integrated ads are unrealistic in an unintegrated society and that they only call attention to an area of Negro frustration, while others state that advertising to Negroes *solely as Negroes*—that is, in Negro media with Negro models—is ineffective.

And if these problems and their ramifications are not enough to cause the marketing manager to consider "chucking it all" for a teaching career, he can always inject the possibility of a "selective purchasing" campaign (better known as a buying boycott) if his strategy should be offensive to any of the parties involved. Collier summed up some of the advertiser's frustration regarding integrated advertising when he reported: "Worried by white reaction, especially in the South, and frightened by the prospect of a Negro boycott, advertisers complain bitterly of being damned if they do and damned if they don't."<sup>7</sup>

Having established an overview of the problem areas, our purpose now is to focus specifically on the *one* dilemma of integrated advertising and, hopefully,

<sup>6</sup> Arnold M. Barban and Edward W. Cundiff, "Negro and White Response to Advertising Stimuli," *Journal of Marketing Research* 1 (November 1964): 53-56.

<sup>7</sup> James L. Collier, "The Black and White Revolution on Madison Avenue," *Pageant* 20 (January 1965): 134.

to provide objective insights into this challenging concern. Such an investigation of Negro and white reactions to advertising stimuli has direct application and utility to the advertising practitioner. Yet there also would appear to be certain theoretical aspects of such research, primarily relating to the sociology of mass communications. There has been a sizable amount of research which focuses on the behavioral facet of the Negro community and market, but relatively little has been undertaken relating to mass communication effects and especially advertising effects.

Recent efforts by several civic-minded groups—especially "civil rights" organizations—have brought direct pressure upon advertisers for action to include Negroes in advertising layouts, to use more Negro actors in television programming, and to hire more Negroes into the advertising industry. In large part, it seems fair to state that advertisers have not responded to such suggestions with great vigor. On the matter of including Negro models in layouts, Boyenton reported<sup>8</sup> that an examination of 1964 sample issues of *Life*, *Good Housekeeping*, and *Atlantic* revealed only four ads in which Negroes were included jointly with white models; in three of these instances, the Negro models were fairly obscure. More recently, a television study conducted by UCLA for the Southern California chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union revealed that Negroes are given only 0.65 per cent of the speaking roles in commercials and 1.39 per cent of the nonspeaking roles. Negroes fared somewhat better on the program portion, with 3.36 per cent of

the speaking roles and 8.49 per cent of the nonspeaking roles.<sup>9</sup>

It is not the aim of this paper to debate the reasons why racial integration in advertising has not come about with greater dispatch or with more extensive coverage. It does seem reasonable, though, to observe that many advertisers have probably been reluctant to venture into such advertising practices simply because they cannot predict the results, either among the white or the Negro markets. Most research information in the area of Negro-white similarities or differences relates either to general patterns of behavior—such as studies on the personality variable—or to specific marketing studies on Negro-white patterns of product consumption. Generally, the comparison of Negroes and whites on the basis of advertising receptivity and media consumption is infrequent, at least in terms of published material. Bullock<sup>10</sup> has provided some material on Negro media patterns, and Carey<sup>11</sup> more recently reported on some variations in Negro-white television preferences. Our own past research has attempted to focus more directly on the question of Negro and white reaction to advertising stimuli. Thus, this research revealed that samples of Negro and white college students responded quite *similarly* to typical print magazine advertisements.<sup>12</sup> In a further processing of the data obtained from this study,

<sup>9</sup> "TV Ads, Shows Still Lag in Use of Negro, Other Races: ACLU," *Advertising Age* (April 11, 1966), p. 128.

<sup>10</sup> Henry Allen Bullock, "Consumer Motivations in Black and White—II," *Harvard Business Review* 39 (July–August 1961): 110–24.

<sup>11</sup> James W. Carey, "Variations in Negro/White Television Preferences," *Journal of Broadcasting* 10, no. 3 (1966): 199–212.

<sup>12</sup> Barban and Cundiff. (n. 6 above).

<sup>8</sup> W. H. Boyenton, "The Negro Turns to Advertising," *Journalism Quarterly* 42 (Spring 1965): 227–35.

Barban and Grunbaum<sup>13</sup> showed that Negro and white students had highly similar semantic structures through which these magazine concepts were judged. But these insights are limited due to the selective composition of the samples—that is, college students.

Accordingly, the research project to be described in this paper was designed to broaden the scope of the earlier study in several meaningful ways. First, the samples were drawn from a large metropolitan city; and, although the results cannot be statistically projected beyond the universe, there is some assurance that such a selection is more realistic than a student population. Second, the stimuli in the current study were constructed so as to focus primarily on the matter of racially integrated pictorial stimuli, a matter which was only briefly treated in the first experiment. Third, the advertising illustrations chosen represented rather diverse treatments in terms of the “social intimacy” of the posed models. Also, there was the opportunity to assess the relative saliency of several demographic variables as they related to the judgment of advertisements.

#### THE RESEARCH DESIGN

Turning to methodology, it will be helpful to recount some of the key aspects of the research design.

#### SAMPLES

The subjects consisted of 246 residents from the city of Chicago. Sample selection was made from a “master sample” which is maintained by the Survey Research Laboratory of the University of Illinois.<sup>14</sup> The master sample itself is a

<sup>13</sup> Arnold M. Barban and Werner F. Grunbaum, “A Factor Analytic Study of Negro and White Responses to Advertising Stimuli,” *Journal of Applied Psychology* 49 (August 1965): 274–79.

probability sample, and the selection of housing units for this particular study was made via random methods.

The objective in selecting samples was to get approximately equal numbers of white and Negro families living in middle-income census tracts in Chicago. Thus, the sampling frame was limited to those tracts in which the median family incomes were within the middle third of the income range prevailing for the relevant race. Tracts in the master sample are also designated in terms of their racial characteristics; selections were accordingly made from thirty-nine tract units designated as “white middle income” and eleven labeled “Negro middle income.” Generalization of results are thus limited to the white middle-income tracts and the Negro middle-income tracts in the city of Chicago.

Since one aim of the sample selection was to secure approximately 150 interviews in each racial group, sampling fractions were derived to allow for discrepancies in household listings, occupancy rates, nonresponses, and the like. Accordingly, 301 housing units (154 white and 147 Negro) were expected to yield interviews. Of the 246 usable returns, 121 were from subjects in white families and 125 were from Negro units.

The respondent interviewed, within a selected housing unit, was chosen randomly from a list of adults (eighteen years old and over) in that household. The order of advertisement presentation for each respondent was also randomized.

<sup>14</sup> Appreciation is expressed to the Survey Research Laboratory, especially to Robert Ferber, director of SRL, for assistance in the sample selection, questionnaire design, field interviewing, and data preparation related to the study.

ADVERTISEMENTS JUDGED

The subjects within each racial grouping were randomly assigned to one of three subgroups in order to meet the design requirements of the advertisements to be judged. In total, there were ten different magazine advertisements for four different products.

These ads, all of which had *photographed* illustrations, can be described as follows:

- Ad 1: Four models (two couples) posed in a scene depicting casual drinking and conversation; the product advertised is a popular-brand bourbon; all models are white,
- Ad 2: Nine picture panels make up this layout; there is no physical contact between the posed models—each panel is socially independent; the advertiser is a major service organization; all models are white.
- Ad 3: Outdoor scene of a couple on a picnic; product advertised is a menthol cigarette; white models.
- Ad 4: Young couple having a soft drink in a sports car; product is the soft drink; models are white.

[These four ads were each judged by thirty-six white and forty-three Negro respondents.]

- Ad 5: This ad is identical to ad 1, except that one of the two couples is Negro. Thus, this ad contains a racially integrated illustration and depicts a "socially intimate" scene.
- Ad 6: Identical to ad 2, except that one panel here contains a Negro model; this represents a racially integrated illustration but of the "nonsocially intimate" variety.

[Ads 5 and 6 were viewed by forty-three white and forty-two Negro subjects.]

- Ad 7: Identical to ads 1 and 5, except that both couples are Negro.
- Ad 8: Same as ads 2 and 6—that is, panel layout—but with all models Negro.
- Ad 9: Identical to ad 3; models, though, are Negro.
- Ad 10: Same as ad 4 except change in race of models.

[This last set of four ads, in which all of the models are Negro, was judged by forty-two whites and forty Negroes.]

Thus, the overall design can be described as a factorial experiment with repeated measures on the same variables.<sup>15</sup> One group of whites ( $N = 36$ ) and one group of Negroes ( $N = 43$ ) each judged four different ads, all ads using white models in the illustrations. A second set of whites ( $N = 42$ ) and Negroes ( $N = 40$ ) saw the identical ads, except that in this instance the models were all Negro. And a third set of subjects (whites,  $N = 43$ ; Negroes,  $N = 42$ ) saw the socially intimate bourbon ad and the nonsocially intimate service organization layout in which the pictorial presentations were racially integrated. The variables, and their respective numbers of levels, are as shown in tabulation at bottom of page.

The illustrations in several of the ads described were "dummied" by the researcher. For example, the original bourbon ad was found in *Ebony* magazine and

<sup>15</sup> See, e. g., B. J. Winer, *Statistical Principles in Experimental Designs* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1962), chap. 7.

Variable	Number of Levels
1. Race of subject . . . . .	2 (white; Negro)
2. Race of models in ad . . . . .	3 (all white; Negro and white; all Negro)
3. Intimacy of illustration . . . . .	2 (socially intimate; nonsocially intimate)
4. Scales on which ads were judged . . .	10 (ten 7-position bipolar semantic differential scales)
5. Subjects . . . . .	6 cells (ranging from 36 to 43 per cell)

had all Negro models. It thus was ad 7 in the study. Ad 1 was "created" by finding a picture of two white couples who were posed quite similarly to the Negro couples in ad 7. The picture of these white couples was pasted into the same layout. Ad 5—the racially integrated ad—was a composite of the illustrations in ads 1 and 7.

Ads 2, 6, and 8 were created in basically the same way, although here the original was an advertisement in *Life* with all white models.

Ads 3 and 9—for a menthol cigarette—and 4 and 10—for a soft drink product—were found in *Life* and *Ebony*, respectively, and required no "dummying."

All ads were photographed full size and placed in plastic "sleeves." The plastic sleeve reduced the extremely high gloss of the photographic paper and prevented damage to the ads by interviewer handling. The stimuli thus presented looked authentic, and *none* of the respondents questioned the reality of the material.

#### MEASURING INSTRUMENT

Subjects judged a given advertisement by recording their responses on a set of ten bipolar semantic differential scales with seven positions across each scale. The scales used were mostly selected from the earlier research project and represented the three major dimensions of "meaning"—evaluation, potency, activity—uncovered in the research of Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum.<sup>16</sup> The ten scales were as follows: Active-Passive, Pleasant-Unpleasant, Masculine-Feminine, Beautiful-Ugly, Good-Bad, Heavy-Light, Friendly-Unfriendly, "For

<sup>16</sup> Charles E. Osgood, George J. Suci, and Percy H. Tannenbaum, *The Measurement of Meaning* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1957).

Me"—"Not for Me," Strong-Weak, Fast-Slow.

In addition to responding to the ads on the ten scales, each subject provided the interviewer with information about himself and his family. Accordingly, data are available for: education level, family income, occupation, marital status, sex, age.

#### FIELD WORK

Personal interviewing was conducted by field staff members of the Survey Research Laboratory during the winter of 1966-67. Selection of housing units, respondent within housing units, set of ads to view, and sequence of viewing were all established by random procedures and were not in any way controlled by the interviewer. Advance letters were used in some instances, and in all cases the respondent was handed a letter by the interviewer explaining the purposes of the study, sponsorship, etc. A "thank you" letter was also provided at the completion of the interview.

Census tracts identified as "Negro" were assigned exclusively to Negro interviewers, and the reverse was the case for "white" tracts. Approximately 10 percent of each interviewer's work was spot-checked by follow-up contact with respondents. No irregularities were detected.

#### ANALYTIC METHODS

Several types of analytic methods were used. Initially, the *direction* and *intensity* of a group of subjects' responses to a particular advertisement on a given scale were noted. Since responses of a group of subjects (whites, Negroes) on any one scale yield a frequency distribution, measurements of central tendency and dispersion could be made. Thus, all possible mean values were computed

along with their corresponding variance estimates.

In turn, all possible Negro-white comparisons to common stimuli were tested for statistical significance via *t*-tests. Since ten ads were each viewed on ten scales by comparable groups of white and Negro respondents, 100 *t*-values were computed. Although such a statistical procedure is desirable because it allows one to observe group "profile" comparisons directly, it is admitted that generating such a large number of *t*-tests capitalizes on chance and can lead to fallacious conclusions. The profiles were thus observed more from the standpoint of *consistency of pattern* than to establish statistical differences of observed means. Factor analyses were also conducted in order to determine the comparability of Negro-white scale structures and to discover which of the ten scales were being similarly used by the two groups of respondents. Several such analyses can be executed; for example, by summing over in each racial group those subjects who judged the various ad treatments for the bourbon and service-organization ads, six analyses can be made (three for whites; three for Negroes). Four additional factor structures can be generated from the four groups who each viewed four ads; two last analyses derive from summing over all of the subjects in a given racial grouping (i.e., 121 whites and 125 Negroes) in terms of the differing treatments of the bourbon and service-company advertisements.

All of the factor analyses reported were accomplished by first generating a  $10 \times 10$  matrix of scale intercorrelations, that is, by summing over both subjects and concepts (ads). In turn, each scale matrix was factor analyzed by the principal-axis solution.<sup>17</sup> Subsequently, four extracted factors were rotated by

the varimax method which redistributes a factor matrix variance so that the matrix approaches orthogonal simple structure.<sup>18</sup>

Of major concern to this study was the relative magnitude of certain variables included in the design, namely, the race of the subject, the race of the models in an advertisement, and the social intimacy of the illustration (which also reflects a product variation). The main effects as well as the *interactions* of these variables can be measured and observed by analysis of variance—in this study by utilizing a repeated-measures design involving unequal group sizes.<sup>19</sup>

Last, there was the opportunity to assess the relative saliency of the demographic characteristics of the respondents, including their race. The demographic variables were included in a series of regression equations and tested, totally and individually, for statistical significance. Since some of these variables (such as age, education, and income) were in broad groupings, and others (such as race, marital status, sex, and occupation) were qualitative in nature, the procedure used was to establish "dummy" variables for the regression analyses. In turn, the significance of a given demographic subgroup was determined from an analysis-of-variance procedure.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> See, e. g., Harry Harmon, *Modern Factor Analysis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), pp. 154–91.

<sup>18</sup> H. F. Kaiser, "Computer Program for Varimax Rotation in Factor Analysis," *Educational and Psychological Measurement* 19 (November 1959): 413–20.

<sup>19</sup> The statistical solution for this case involves an "unweighted-means" analysis, and can be noted in Winer, pp. 374–78.

<sup>20</sup> A brief treatment of "dummy" variables is available in J. Johnston, *Econometric Methods* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1963), pp. 221–28. Johnston also provides (pp. 115–35) the analysis of



## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

## FACTOR ANALYSES

As stated above, factor analyses were for the purposes of comparing the semantic structures of Negroes and whites and to determine the scales used commonly by the two groups. In terms of the research design, one is faced with either the problem of summing over a limited number of subjects who judged identical ads or the problem of summing

viewed ads 1 and 2, 5 and 6, or 7 and 8; and, two, from the 125 Negro respondents judging identical stimuli.

In general, it seems reasonable to state that the semantic (scale) structures of whites and Negroes are fairly similar, especially when one recognizes the limited number of scales involved. The first factor, for both whites and Negroes, would appear to be the familiar "evaluative" dimension. Interestingly, though,

TABLE 1  
ROTATED FACTOR LOADINGS FROM SUMMING OVER ALL SUBJECTS AND  
ALL TREATMENTS OF BOURBON AND SERVICE-COMPANY ADS

SCALE	FACTOR LOADINGS							
	White (I)	Negro (I)	White (II)	Negro (II)	White (III)	Negro (III)	White (IV)	Negro (IV)
Active-Passive . . . . .	.37	-.03	.45	.82	.44	-.26	.36	-.12
Pleasant-Unpleasant . . . . .	.78	.41	.02	.62	.26	.25	.02	.15
Masculine-Feminine . . . . .	-.08	-.04	.08	-.12	-.91	.87	.03	-.02
Beautiful-Ugly . . . . .	.72	.56	.09	.14	.34	-.17	-.25	.37
Good-Bad . . . . .	.75	.68	.20	.20	.10	-.02	-.26	.21
Heavy-Light . . . . .	-.25	-.04	-.15	-.05	-.02	.00	.88	.90
Friendly-Unfriendly . . . . .	.68	.54	.32	.08	.02	.06	-.14	.02
"For Me"- "Not for Me" . . . . .	.79	.67	.14	.07	-.13	.14	.02	-.18
Strong-Weak . . . . .	.37	.75	.75	.02	-.06	-.21	-.07	-.11
Fast-Slow . . . . .	.02	.62	.91	-.19	-.02	-.40	-.12	.03
Variance:								
White . . . . .	43.20%		24.76%		17.03%		15.01%	
Negro . . . . .		43.60%		19.49%		19.03%		17.88%

over all subjects who judged similar, but not identical, concepts. Both approaches were undertaken, but present discussion is limited to the results derived from summing over *all* subjects in each of the two racial groups.<sup>21</sup> Thus, table 1 contains the rotated factor loadings for two factor analyses: one, derived by summing over the 121 white subjects who

the Strong-Weak and Fast-Slow scales each loads high on this factor for Negroes but not for whites. And Pleasant-Unpleasant loads much higher for whites. Active-Passive loads high for both groups on the second dimension; Strong-Weak and Fast-Slow appear in this factor for whites and generally indicate the coalescence of activity and potency scales into

variance procedure for testing the significance of subgroups of variables. I am indebted to Donald Frederick and D. J. Laughhunn, both formerly of the College of Commerce and Business Administration, University of Illinois, for assistance with this methodology.

<sup>21</sup> Since the analysis of variance, discussed below, revealed no significant differences by the race of the models in the advertisements, these factor analyses seem the most logical; further, the other factor structures did not produce results antithetical to those reported here.

a "dynamism factor."<sup>22</sup> Masculine-Feminine loads high for both groups on the third dimension, and Heavy-Light is located in factor four. The last two factors are probably meaningless, a fact which is given substance by the large number of "neutral" responses on the two scales mentioned.<sup>23</sup>

As a result of these factor analyses, it seems logical to limit Negro and white comparisons to four common scales on

the single dimension of "evaluation." For the judging of advertising stimuli, the limitation is quite reasonable and can be supported by earlier research. Accordingly, the following scales are especially pertinent for comparison analyses: Beautiful-Ugly, Good-Bad, Friendly-Unfriendly, and "For Me"—"Not For Me."

PROFILE COMPARISONS

Negro-white judgments of common advertisements were assessed by observing the direction and intensity of scale means. As determined from the factor analyses, focus here is on the four evaluative scales. Table 2 and figures 1 and 2, reveal the patterns which resulted from the judgments of the bourbon and service-company ads when the pictorial

<sup>22</sup> See Osgood et al., p. 74.

<sup>23</sup> There are seven positions across each scale, the positions being arbitrarily assigned—from left to right—a number from 1 to 7, like this:

Masculine : (1) : (2) : (3) : (4) : (5) : (6) : (7) : Feminine

A score of 4 indicates a feeling of neutrality (or equality); average scores for the Masculine-Feminine and Heavy-Light scales were invariably in the neutral range.

TABLE 2  
NEGRO-WHITE RESPONSES TO BOURBON AND SERVICE-COMPANY ADS, WHITE MODELS

SCALE	BOURBON AD			SERVICE-COMPANY AD		
	Whites ( $\bar{x}$ )	Negroes ( $\bar{x}$ )	t-Value	Whites ( $\bar{x}$ )	Negroes ( $\bar{x}$ )	t-Value
Beautiful-Ugly.....	3.61	2.72	2.69*	3.17	2.86	1.08
Good-Bad.....	3.36	2.14	3.50*	2.58	2.28	0.94
Friendly-Unfriendly.....	2.47	1.65	2.86*	2.17	1.84	1.30
"For Me"—"Not for Me".....	3.94	3.37	1.20	2.94	2.49	1.24

NOTE.—Mean scores reflect the average position on a scale, from 1 to 7, left to right.  
\* Significant at .01 level.

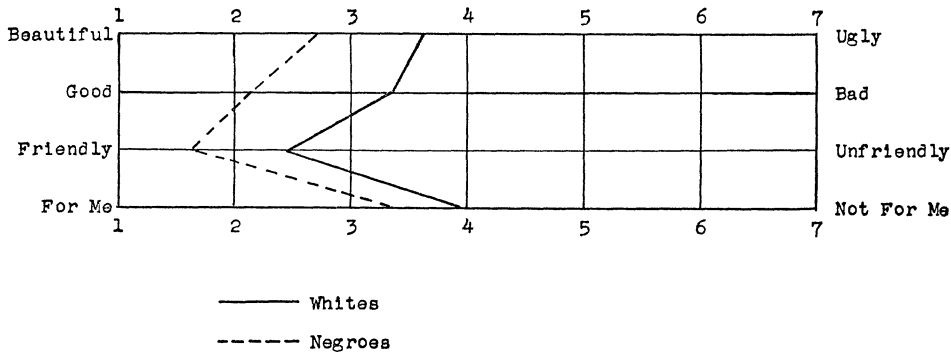


FIG. 1.—Profile of Negro-white responses to bourbon ad with white models

treatments included only white models. In general, both Negroes and whites judged these ads as "favorable"; that is, judgments were toward the *positive* pole of the scales. Negroes, however, were consistently *more favorable* than whites, with statistically significant differences

occurring on the bourbon ad. Whites generally preferred the service-company ad (which had a panel layout) to the bourbon ad.

Where these same two advertisements included posed models all of whom were Negro, the differences between the two

TABLE 3  
NEGRO-WHITE RESPONSES TO BOURBON AND SERVICE-COMPANY ADS, NEGRO MODELS

SCALE	BOURBON AD			SERVICE-COMPANY AD		
	Whites ( $\bar{x}$ )	Negroes ( $\bar{x}$ )	t-Value	Whites ( $\bar{x}$ )	Negroes ( $\bar{x}$ )	t-Value
Beautiful-Ugly.....	3.62	2.03	7.01**	3.55	2.60	3.13**
Good-Bad.....	3.36	1.73	6.43**	3.02	1.55	6.55**
Friendly-Unfriendly.....	2.71	1.60	3.95**	2.86	1.33	5.92**
"For Me"—"Not for Me".....	3.81	2.83	2.37*	3.64	2.10	4.16**

\* Significant at .05 level.  
\*\* Significant at .01 level.

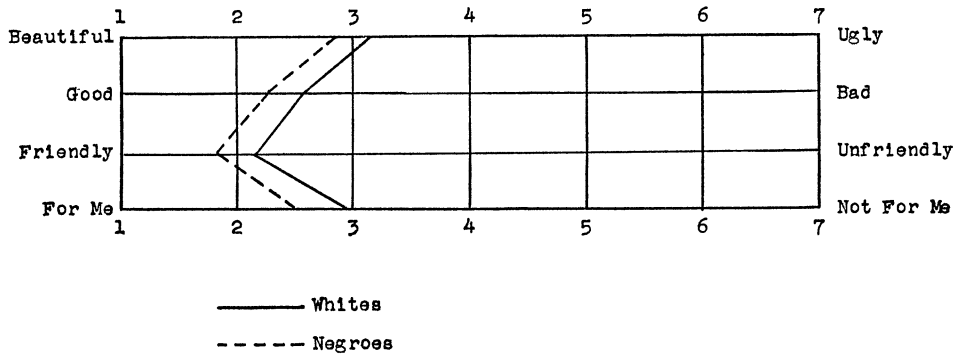


FIG. 2.—Profile of Negro-white responses to service-company ad with white models

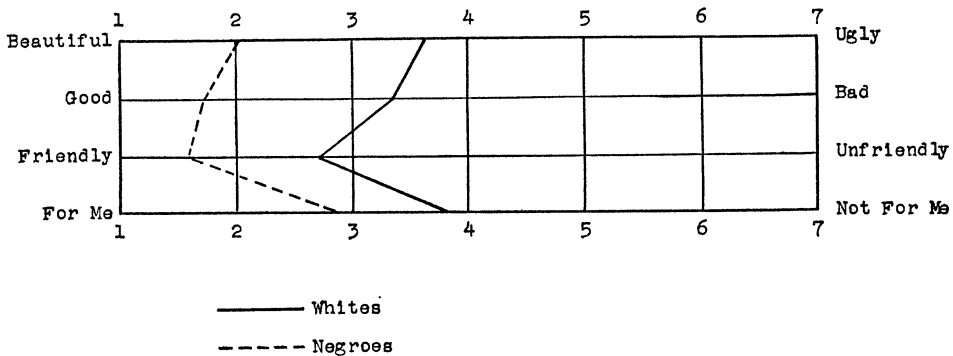


FIG. 3.—Profile of Negro-white responses to bourbon ad with Negro models

groups became more distinct (see table 3 and figs. 3 and 4). Negro judgment here was rather *strongly favorable*, whereas white reaction—although still on the favorable side—moved somewhat more toward "neutrality."

Of special interest to this study was the response to the ads containing both white and Negro models—that is, the so-called integrated advertisements. Looking to table 4 and figures 5 and 6, it is seen that the same pattern emerged—Negro reaction is more favorable than white. Both groups judged the "integrated" ads to be decidedly *positive*. White subjects showed a preference for the service-company ad over the bourbon ad—just as they did when all the posed models were white—but even with a

racially integrated ad in which the pictorial setting included a socially intimate scene, overall white reaction was *positive* and not negative.

*Intrarace profiles.*—The research design allows comparisons to be made between the various pictorial treatments within a given racial grouping. Thus, for the bourbon ad and the service-company ad, the effect of the variation—from white models, to Negro and white models, to Negro models—can be observed among white and among Negro subjects. These results can be seen in figures 7–10.

Figure 7 reveals that white subjects responded rather similarly to the three different pictorial treatments of the bourbon ad. On three of the four evaluative

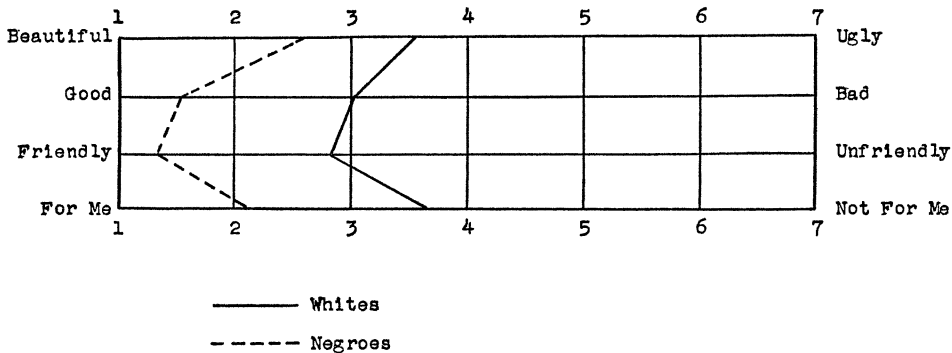


FIG. 4.—Profile of Negro-white responses to service-company ad with Negro models

TABLE 4  
NEGRO-WHITE RESPONSES TO BOURBON AND SERVICE-COMPANY ADS, NEGRO AND WHITE MODELS

SCALE	BOURBON AD			SERVICE-COMPANY AD		
	Whites ( $\bar{x}$ )	Negroes ( $\bar{x}$ )	t-Value	Whites ( $\bar{x}$ )	Negroes ( $\bar{x}$ )	t-Value
Beautiful-Ugly . . . . .	3.44	2.55	2.84**	3.19	2.67	1.91
Good-Bad . . . . .	3.14	1.88	4.21**	2.74	1.74	3.42**
Friendly-Unfriendly . . . . .	2.81	1.40	4.96**	2.02	1.62	2.05*
'For Me'-'Not for Me' . . . . .	3.67	2.26	3.49**	2.91	2.00	2.86**

\* Significant at .05 level.  
\*\* Significant at .01 level.

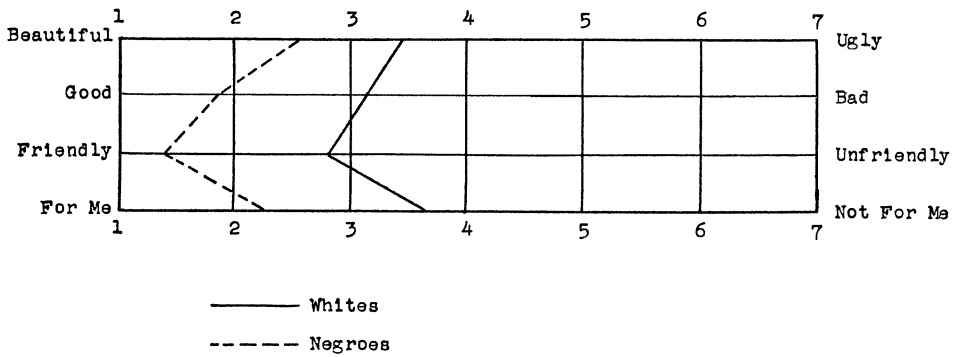


FIG. 5.—Profile of Negro-white responses to bourbon ad with Negro and white models

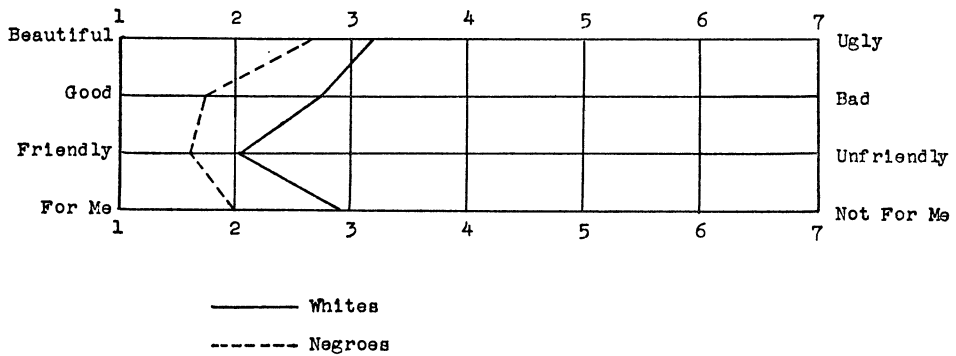


FIG. 6.—Profile of Negro-white responses to service-company ad with Negro and white models

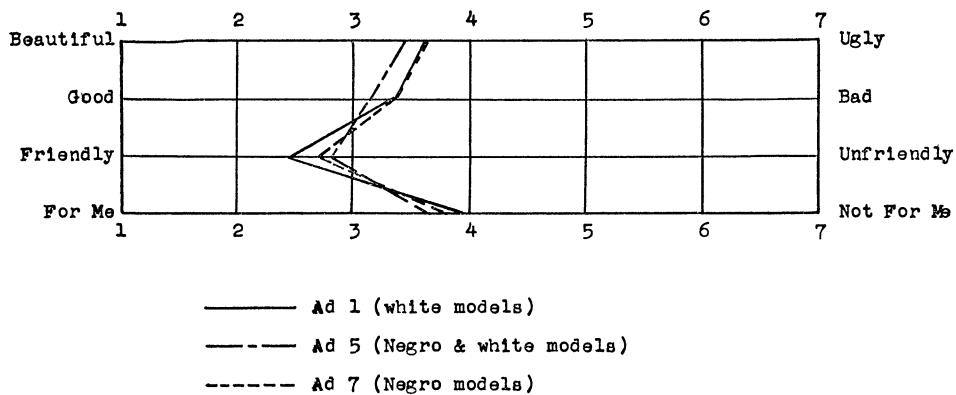


FIG. 7.—Profile of white responses to bourbon ads

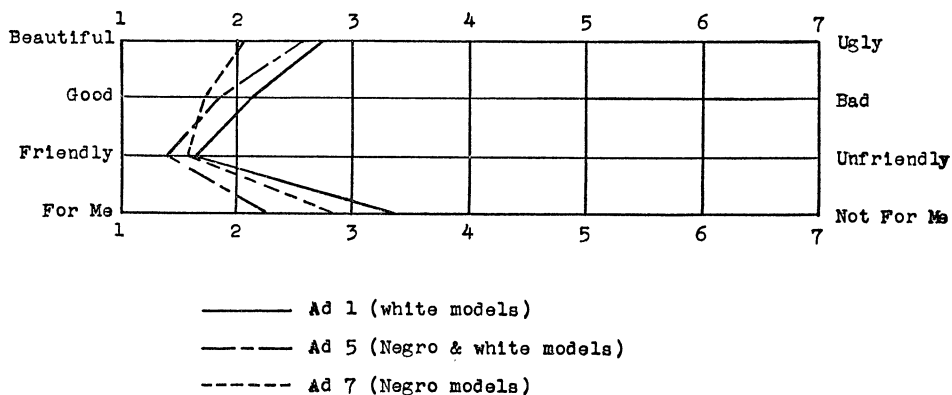


FIG. 8.—Profile of Negro responses to bourbon ads

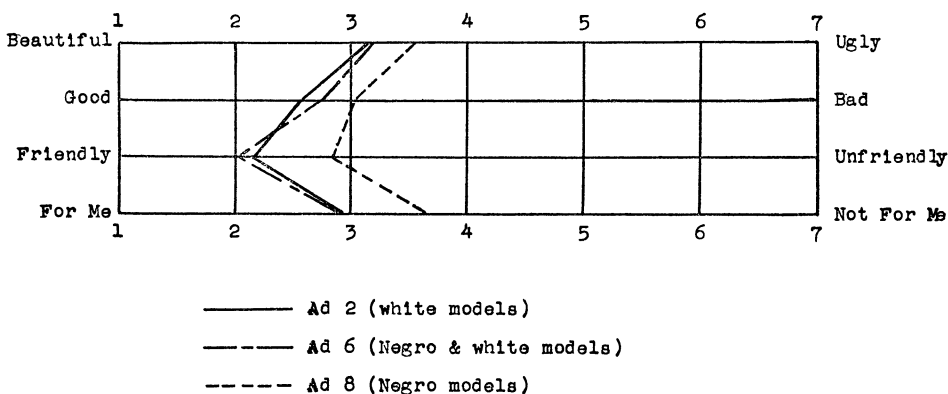


FIG. 9.—Profile of white responses to service-company ads

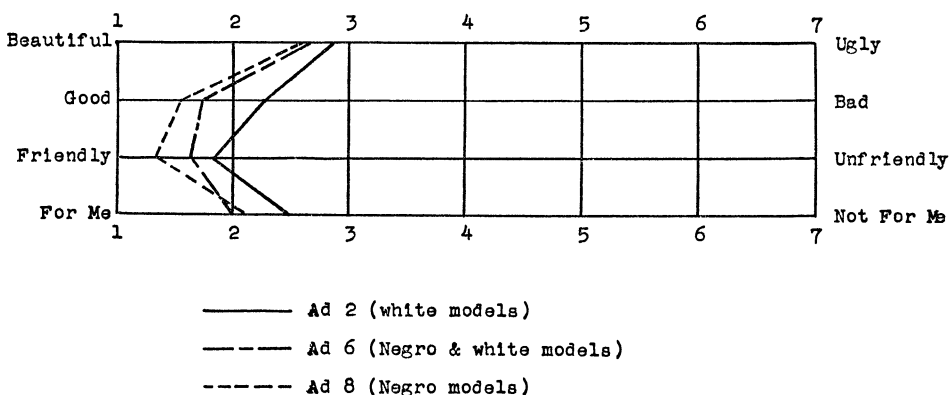


FIG. 10.—Profile of Negro responses to service-company ads

scales, the ad (ad 5) using racially integrated models—in a scene of social drinking and conversation—was slightly preferred. Although the Negro models in these ads were rather light in terms of skin pigmentation, a pretest indicated that the models were universally perceived as Negro.<sup>24</sup>

Negro subjects (fig. 8) also judged the three bourbon ads similarly; here, though, there was more tendency to prefer either the integrated ad or the treatment with Negro models. The white-model advertisement was consistently least preferred, although all variations were judged as favorable.

Profiles of white and, in turn, Negro responses (figs. 9 and 10) to a panel layout for a service company yield relatively clear patterns. White subjects consistently preferred either the racially integrated or the white-model treatment to the Negro-model ad; Negroes only slightly preferred the Negro-model variation to the integrated ad, and preferred both of these over the white-model treatment.

Brief attention should also be directed to the advertisements for a menthol cigarette and a soft drink, in which the pictorial treatment was either white models or Negro models. This is a typical advertising pattern for many advertisers—white models in general media and identical ads, but with Negro models in Negro media. Whites who judged the soft-drink ads preferred, as might be expected, the treatment with white models; reaction to the Negro-model ad was generally neutral. On the other hand, white judgment of the cigarette ads revealed a pattern of almost equal preference—generally favorable for both the white-model and Negro-model pictorial treatment. It may be significant that the

<sup>24</sup> In fact, the Negro models in *all* ads were judged to be Negro by the pretest subjects.

Negro models in the cigarette ad were very fair-skinned in color, whereas the models in the soft drink ad were noticeably darker.

Negro subjects judged the white-model and the Negro-model treatments of the cigarette and soft drink ads about the same—and all illustrations were favorably received. That is, the race of the models had no differential effect on Negro respondents.

#### ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

The profile comparisons permitted some general insights into the data. There was the opportunity to observe the direction and intensity of average group responses. It now becomes helpful to discuss the results of more powerful analytic methods.

Since the research design specified several variables, each with various levels, a multifactor analysis of variance could be conducted through computer use. The results show the effects of the single variables as well as their interactions. Table 5 summarizes these results.<sup>25</sup>

The race of the subjects (across the three treatments for each of the ads) is shown to be highly significant ( $F = 85.33$ , significant well beyond the .01 level). This result was, of course, anticipated from the earlier profile comparisons where Negro-white differences were graphically observed. The analysis-of-variance computation further confirmed that Negro judgment of the ads was *more positive* than that of whites; the overall mean scale value for Negro subjects was 2.13, compared with 3.11 for whites.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup> The analysis of variance in table 5 is based on the "scale" variable of four levels, namely, for the four evaluative scales isolated by the factor analyses.

<sup>26</sup> As before, the "mean values" reported in this section relate to the seven-position scale, with the lower the number, the *more favorable* the judgment.

The variation in pictorial treatments did not produce a significant *F*-ratio ( $F = 1.49$ ), but it must be kept in mind that this computation is formed by summing over all subjects (the *interaction* effect will be discussed below). The mean values produced are as follows: ads with white models, 2.72; ads with Negro models, 2.65; ads with Negro and white models, 2.50.

There was an overall significant differ-

ence was due to social intimacy since the product also varied across these ads. In fact, a close examination of the profiles of these ads reveals that white subjects consistently favored the service-company ads over the bourbon ads, regardless of the racial treatment of the models. Negroes, on the other hand, had about equal preference for both ads on all three pictorial treatments.

Turning to the interactions, table 5

TABLE 5

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE SUMMARY FOR NEGRO-WHITE JUDGMENT OF THREE PICTORIAL TREATMENTS OF BOURBON AND SERVICE-COMPANY ADS ON FOUR EVALUATIVE SCALES

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	DEGREES OF FREEDOM		MEAN SQUARE	F-RATIO
		Numer-ator	Denomi-nator		
<b>Main effects:</b>					
Race of subjects.....	471.24	1	240	471.24	85.33**
Race of models in ads.....	16.50	2	240	8.25	1.49
Intimacy of illustration (or product variable).....	33.30	1	240	33.30	11.03**
<b>Interactions:</b>					
Race of subjects×race of models.....	44.74	2	240	22.37	4.05*
Race of subjects×intimacy of illustration (or product).....	14.13	1	240	14.13	4.68*
Race of models×intimacy of illustration (or product).....	4.84	2	240	2.42	0.80
Race of subjects×race of models×intimacy of illustration (or product).....	8.96	2	240	4.48	1.48

\* Significant at .05 level.  
 \*\* Significant at .01 level.

ence between the two ads—bourbon versus service company ( $F = 11.03$ , significant at .01). These ads were constructed to reflect a difference in the "social intimacy" of the illustrative matter—one depicting a relatively socially intimate scene of two couples engaging in drinking and conversation (bourbon ad), the other being a panel layout in which the photographed models have no physical or social contact (service-company ad). The result was a preferred reaction to the service-company ad ( $\bar{x} = 2.49$  vs. 2.75 for bourbon ad). It cannot be concluded, however, that the differ-

TABLE 6

MODELS IN ADS	RACE OF SUBJECTS	
	White	Negro
White.....	3.03	2.42
Negro.....	3.32	1.97
Negro and White.....	2.99	2.01

indicates a significant *F*-ratio (4.05, significant at .05 level) for the interaction of the race of the subjects and the race of the models in the ads. The mean values produced are shown in table 6.

Negro-white agreement is closest on



the ads with white models, next on integrated ads, and least on ads containing only Negro models. Within each of the racial groupings, it can be seen that white subjects have a slight preference for the integrated ads over the ads with white models, and least preference for the Negro-model ads. Among Negroes, the preference for the ads with Negro models is strongest, followed closely by the integrated ads and, in turn, the white-model ads. All responses by both groups are favorable.

TABLE 7

PRODUCT	RACE OF MODELS	RACE OF SUBJECTS	
		White	Negro
Bourbon . . . . .	White	3.35	2.47
	Negro	3.37	2.04
Service Company . . . . .	Negro and White	3.27	2.02
	White	2.72	2.37
	Negro	3.27	1.89
	Negro and White	2.72	2.01

The interaction of the race of the subjects and the ads for the two products (or intimacy of illustration) also is significant ( $F = 4.68$ ). The mean values for this interaction show that there is greater Negro-white congruence on the service-company (panel-layout) ads than on the bourbon ads. More specifically: white subjects, bourbon ads, 3.33; white subjects, service-company ads, 2.90; Negro subjects, bourbon ads, 2.18; Negro subjects, service-company ads, 2.09. These mean values confirm an earlier speculation: namely, whites noticeably preferred the service-company ads to the bourbon ads, whereas Negro subjects had about equal preference.

The interaction of the race of models and the two sets of ads was not sig-

nificant, and the locations of the mean values revealed no unique pattern. This interaction is across *both* groups of subjects, and the likelihood is that such a summation "washed out" the major effects.

The second-order interaction of race of subjects, race of models in ads, and product variable (intimacy of illustration) also does not result in a significant  $F$ -ratio, but the mean locations are worth noting (see table 7). These means allow us to simultaneously view the three key variables. Thus, several earlier observations are confirmed, namely:

1. Negro judgments are consistently more positive than whites.
2. The service-company ads are generally preferred more than the bourbon ads, especially by white subjects.
3. Negro-white agreement is closest for the ads with white models, especially for the service-company ad; then for the integrated ads; and most apart for the Negro-model ads.
4. Among white subjects, the integrated ads are preferred as much or more than the ads with white models; Negro-model ads are third in preference.
5. Among Negro respondents, either the integrated ad or the Negro-model ad is preferred to the ad with only white models.

#### MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSES

As a means of assessing the relative saliency of several demographic variables, multiple regressions were computed. The dependent variable was the individual's evaluative judgment of a given advertisement, as measured by his scoring (1-7) on the four "evaluative" scales. Independent variables were race, marital status, sex, age, education, occupation, and family income. As mentioned in the section on analytic methods, these independent variables were either in grouped form or qualitative in nature; accordingly, the data were

handled as dummy variables. Testing the significance, then, of a given independent variable (as race, sex, etc.) was accomplished by treating the dummy variables as a subgroup and computing an analysis-of-variance summary table.

The procedure described above was used for the judgments of six advertisements—the bourbon and service-company ads under each of the three varying pictorial treatments. For the two ads (one bourbon product, one for the service company) with white models, each of

It was only on the ads with Negro models that definite significance resulted. Accordingly, tables 8 and 9 are presented to reveal these results as well as to show the overall format for all of the regression analyses. For the bourbon ad (table 8), *education* yielded an *F*-ratio significant at the .05 level ( $F = 2.48$ ); none of the six other demographic variables was significant in this regression. Having established that education was significantly related to the judgment of this advertisement, a subsequent multiple re-

TABLE 8  
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE SUMMARY FOR MULTIPLE REGRESSIONS,  
JUDGMENT OF BOURBON AD WITH NEGRO MODELS

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Square	F-Ratio
All 36 variables in 7 subgroups (SSR).....	59.14	36	1.643	1.72*
SSR—SSR <sub>1</sub> attributable to race.....	1.38	1	1.380	1.44
SSR—SSR <sub>2</sub> attributable to marital status.....	1.51	4	0.378	0.40
SSR—SSR <sub>3</sub> attributable to sex.....	0.78	1	0.780	0.82
SSR—SSR <sub>4</sub> attributable to age.....	6.23	5	1.246	1.30
SSR—SSR <sub>5</sub> attributable to education...	16.59	7	2.370	2.48**
SSR—SSR <sub>6</sub> attributable to occupation..	3.94	8	0.493	0.52
SSR—SSR <sub>7</sub> attributable to income.....	8.65	10	0.865	0.90
Residual.....	24.86	26	0.9562	.....
Total.....	84.00	62	.....	.....

\* Significant at .10 level.  
\*\* Significant at .05 level.

the overall  $R^2$ -values was not significant, nor were any of the seven independent variables statistically salient. The  $R^2$  for the service-company ad approached being significant at the .10 level; the *educational* level also was very close to being significant at .10.

The same basic results also occurred for the multiple regressions relative to the two ads with Negro and white models (integrated ads). Education, as before, approached statistical significance (at the .10 level) for the service-company advertisement, but here *race* also tended toward being significant on the bourbon ad.

gression was run in which the education subgroup was excluded. This produced a change in the sum of squares attributable to the remaining six variables, which allows one to determine whether these remaining variables might then become significant. The *F*-ratio produced by this second regression was not significant; and, accordingly, education is judged to be solely significant for judgments of the bourbon ad (with Negro models).

Table 9 reveals a significant *F*-ratio ( $F = 5.69$ , significant at .05) attributable to the *race* variable; that is, race significantly relates to responses to the

Negro-model service-company ad. The *education* variable, though not significant, approaches the .10 level. Secondary regressions, where the significant variable is excluded, confirm this observation.

Thus, on an overall basis, the *race* and *education* variables appear to be the only two—of the seven demographic characteristics—which are significantly related to the judgments of these advertisements. A question which might be raised at this point relates to the judgments of

Only eleven subjects who judged the integrated ads were in the “grade school” level and, indeed, are too few for even tentative conclusions. Among *all* of the grade school subjects, though, who judged the ads, the pattern showed this educational level to be consistently *more favorable* than the higher-educated groups.

There were forty-nine high schoolers and twenty-five college-level subjects—and their responses were highly consistent. Among those with a high school

TABLE 9  
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE SUMMARY FOR MULTIPLE REGRESSIONS,  
JUDGMENT OF SERVICE-COMPANY AD WITH NEGRO MODELS

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Square	F-Ratio
All 36 variables in 7 subgroups (SSR).....	68.85	36	1.913	2.16*
SSR—SSR <sub>1</sub> attributable to race.....	5.03	1	5.030	5.69*
SSR—SSR <sub>2</sub> attributable to marital status	1.13	4	0.283	0.32
SSR—SSR <sub>3</sub> attributable to sex.....	0.00	1	0.000	0.00
SSR—SSR <sub>4</sub> attributable to age.....	5.62	5	1.124	1.27
SSR—SSR <sub>5</sub> attributable to education...	10.60	7	1.514	1.71
SSR—SSR <sub>6</sub> attributable to occupation..	6.63	8	0.829	0.94
SSR—SSR <sub>7</sub> attributable to income.....	12.71	10	1.271	1.44
Residual.....	22.99	26	0.8842	.....
Total.....	91.84	62	.....	.....

\* Significant at .05 level.

the ads by whites and Negroes of the same educational levels. Each group of subjects—white and Negro—was further grouped by educational level—grade school or below, high school (either a graduate or some high school education), and college. Mean judgments (on the four evaluative scales) of the advertisements were computed for each of these race-education cells. Since there are six cells associated with each ad, the sample sizes are unfortunately small. Nevertheless, it is interesting to report here the results for the two ads with integrated models, keeping in mind the tentative nature of the findings.

education, both whites and Negroes judged the ads positively, but Negroes were noticeably *more favorable* in judging both the bourbon and service-company ads which contained Negro and white models in the illustration. Further, Negroes showed about equal preference for the two ads, whereas whites revealed a distinct preference for the service-company ad. College-level subjects judged the ads virtually the same as the high school respondents. Thus, even when Negro-white educational levels are equated, Negroes tend still to judge integrated ads more favorably than whites.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The study reported here attempted to assess objectively the reactions of middle-income Negro and white respondents to a sample of magazine advertisements. Of keen concern was the judgment of ads which included both Negro and white models in the illustrations—so-called integrated advertisements.

The 246 subjects were chosen from a probability sample of middle-income residents of the city of Chicago and consisted of 121 white and 125 Negro respondents. Each of the racial groups was further randomly subdivided into three cells.

One group of whites and one group of Negroes assessed four magazine advertisements: One ad for a bourbon product pictured two couples in a scene of social drinking and conversation; a second ad (service organization) pictured photographed models in a panel layout, that is, there was no social contact between the models; the third ad was for a menthol cigarette and depicted a couple on a picnic in a rural setting; and the fourth advertisement (for a soft drink) showed a young couple in a sports car parked by a soft-drink machine. In each of these four ads, all models were white.

Two different groups of respondents—one white and one Negro—judged the identical four ads, except that all of the posed models were Negro. A third set of Negro and white subjects responded only to the bourbon and service-company ads; the bourbon ad here contained a Negro couple and a white couple in the social setting, whereas the service-company panel layout included one Negro among the posed models. Each subject judged a given ad on a series of bipolar semantic differential scales.

Among the major findings, it was revealed that the two groups of racially structured subjects generally responded to all of the advertisements in an evaluatively favorable way. Negroes, however, were consistently more favorable in their evaluation than their white counterparts. Negro-white congruence of judgment tended to be greatest for those ads which pictured white models, then for the integrated advertisement, with least communality for the Negro-model ads.

Among the groups of white subjects, the ads with Negro and white models were generally preferred as much or more than the treatments with only white models; least preference was shown for the ads containing only Negro models.

Negro subjects tended to evaluate both the integrated ads and the Negro-model ads rather similarly and showed slightly less relative preference for the white-model treatments. Uniquely, though, Negroes judged the white-model and the Negro-model treatments of the cigarette and soft-drink ads about the same—and all illustrations were favorably received.

It would appear that these findings offer some objective insights into the dilemma of advertising to both whites and Negroes. For one thing, there appears to be reasonable evidence that the special construction of advertisements with only Negro models does not seem to strengthen the advertiser's position greatly among Negroes. To be sure, this conclusion is based solely on Negro "evaluation" of a very few ads and does not consider such things as overall company or brand image or the very important matter of *sales response*. But, indeed, many marketers do in fact assess advertising impact in terms of attitudinal response. And the results here suggest that Negroes (that is, middle-

income Negroes in Chicago) can seemingly identify readily with ads containing white models. Perhaps our sample contains a disproportionately high percentage of what Raymond Bauer has called Negro "strivers" (that is, striving for a white material standard), but even so, the strategy implications for this segment of the Negro market are still clear. The striver/nonstriver distinction should certainly be considered in future studies.

Of even more importance than conclusions relative to Negro reaction to white advertising, is the matter of white response to integrated advertising. The results revealed a decidedly *favorable* white response to ads which pictorially combine white and Negro models. This is especially true when viewed on a relative basis, that is, by observing white reactions to varying racial treatments across the same product. Even a racially integrated advertisement which depicted a socially intimate scene was scored quite well by whites (as well as by Negroes). Again, the limitations of our sample—restricted to middle-income subjects in Chicago—are called to attention. However, this very limitation may reasonably have caused us to anticipate some measure of "backlash" reaction among the white population; it obviously did not occur.

Should advertisers, then, be as concerned and hesitant as they apparently are about integrating their advertising messages? Do these advertisers assume that white reaction to integrated advertising is perceived as potent an issue as open housing, school bussing, street rioting, voter registration, and intermarriage? Perhaps the reaction to integrated advertising is really no more

salient than, as the recent 4A study pointed up, the feeling toward advertising in general. Has another straw man been conjured?

It is believed that the findings of this study point to a reassessment of various communication strategies which, among other aspects, consider appeals to the racial components of a market. There appears to be an opportunity for reevaluation, not only by advertisers of commercial products and services, but by other agencies as well who require effective communication about racial matters.

Further, there is a need for more research concerning such topics. The study reported here was limited to one economic level. Future endeavors should logically consider the broader spectrum of socioeconomic and sociopsychological variability. The striver/nonstriver distinction is a pertinent example. The relative saliency of educational level, tentatively uncovered in the present project, is another area of future focus. And there should be a greater opportunity to measure reactions across the relative "social intimacy" of the illustrative treatments. This study used only two, and somewhat polarized, social situations which were also uncontrolled because of product variation. This limitation should be more carefully examined in succeeding studies.

The dilemma of integrated advertising is far from solved, but at least there is beginning to be some small amount of objective evidence to indicate that past fears on the part of advertisers are not well founded. With the growing complexity and urgency of the Negro's battle for full equality, the advertiser—no less than anyone else—must be vitally involved.