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GROWTH & EXPANSION

In the 1920s advertising entered its second phase of development. This period was marked by exponential growth and expansion. Advertising built upon the unprecedented success it achieved through its participation with the Committee on Public Information (CPI). The knowledge they acquired provided a paradigm for future prosperity.

Although pivotal, the newly established paradigm was limited in scope and precision due to its infinitesimal state. Consequently, advertising devoted significant attention to its articulation. Advertising's primary objective was to establish methods to increase productivity and effective problem solving using the new paradigm. Advertising also sought techniques to reinforce new understandings. This was accomplished in several ways. The first approach involved discovering methods to apply the paradigm to produce consistent successful outcomes. Advertising also explored ways to produce data and systems of measurement. Moreover, advertising investigated ways to identify techniques to apply the paradigm to future areas of interest (Kuhn, 1964).

As a full-fledged profession advertising was challenged to satisfy the requirements of an entire discipline. This included a number of areas. The various demands of advertising, including business, research, and graphic communications as well as the needs of advertising professionals, including

executives, practitioners, scientists, and advertisers, had to be met. Trade journals and scholarly publications had to be sophisticated and were promoted throughout the discipline. Additionally, curriculum had to be established to cultivate a thriving academe.

Although advertising was tasked with a number of goals, the profession was invigorated by confidence and favorable conditions. As a formidable contributor to the near unanimity of public support for WWI, advertising was entrusted with a new and bold sense of power (Fox, 1997). *Printers' Ink* affirmed "advertising had earned its credentials as an important implement of war" (Fox, 1984, p. 75). At the onset of the 1920s, advertising was poised and prepared to fulfill its promise. It passionately embarked on the work needed to affirm the newly established paradigm.

Cultural Fusion

The 1920s serve as the benchmark for the inextricable relationship between pop culture and advertising. This alliance resulted in cultural fusion. Through advertising American citizens learned to become consumers. A raw population accustomed to homemade goods, bartering, and unbranded merchandise was converted to a national market (Strasser, 2004).

In tandem, advertising altered society. During the Roaring Twenties, culture and communications became increasingly organized around marketing consumer goods, mass production, and consumption (Strasser, 2004). "Amid these fluid circumstances, advertising took on new powers ... It changed American life down to its most intimate details, with a speed and totality that left observers groping for precedents" (Fox, 1984, pp. 78–79).

Much of this fervor was fueled by advertising's desire to affirm its new profession. Armed with knowledge, success, and credentials, advertising set out to articulate its paradigm. Accordingly, advertising during the 1920s was largely characterized by prosperity and cultural fusion. Prosperity affirmed the successful articulation and application of knowledge, while cultural fusion foreshadowed entanglements associated with inextricable complexity. As advertising rose in cultural prominence, there were also shifts in societal values and the perception of consumers.

Success achieved throughout the 1920s affirmed the new paradigm. Both scholars and practitioners created works to further its development. This resulted in the strengthening of the profession. Useful theories, methods, terminology, data sets, ideologies, and campaigns were created. Advertising

flourished, which led to increased productivity and insights. The institutional approach to advertising garnered sizable budgets and a reverence for the sensitivities of human desire.

In 1923 acclaimed copywriter Theodore MacManus helped Walter Chrysler achieve success with the use of advertising campaign techniques (Curcio, 2000). This groundbreaking achievement launched Chrysler Corporation's first car, the Chrysler. The campaign included a unified theme, a coordinated rollout, strategic media placement, and teasers. MacManus incorporated advertisements that featured interviews with Walter Chrysler. This strategy is a testimonial approach in which the company's owner or a staff member acts as a spokesperson for the product. This approach is used to increase trustworthiness and authentic connections with consumers. Although MacManus used a hard sell to identify the product features, the overarching theme of the campaign was driven by prestige and romance (Curcio).

Surges in productivity propelled advertising into the decade yielding its greatest influence on American life that resonates even today (Hovland & Wolburg, 2010). Wealth, accrued from products created during these times, became an economical driving force nationally and internationally. In this way the Roaring Twenties signified advertising's coming of age.

As advertising began to establish itself as a cultural icon, its relationship to the operation of America's free market system became increasingly complex. Upon inception, advertising had the function of supplying market information. However, as advertising developed it began to apply more persuasive techniques. There was concern that conflicts would arise that would result in biases that would negatively impact consumers. Potter (1960) affirms the transformed functionality as follows:

Producers were no longer trying merely to use advertising as a coupling device between existing market demand and their own supply; rather, they were trying to create demand. Since the function of advertising had become one of exerting influence, rather than one of providing information, the older factual, prosy notice, which focused upon the specifications of the commodity, now gave way to a more lyrical type of appeal, which focused instead upon the desires of the consumer. (p. 22)

As advertising increased in importance, it also expanded its realm of influence. Through working to affirm the newly accepted paradigm, advertising took strides toward dominating media, harnessing technology, and influencing societal norms. Its ability to shape and influence popular standards placed advertising on par with America's most prominent institutions. Hence, the ideas, values, and habits surrounding advertising increased in significance.

As perceptions of advertising shifted and grew in importance, there were shifts in how consumers were perceived as well. Previously, consumers were generally perceived as rational human beings within the field of advertising. Consequently, advertising was primarily informational and reinforced the belief that consumers would make the most sagacious choice (Ohmann, 1996). However, as advertising began to function under its new paradigm it employed techniques associated with behaviorism and self-gratification. Ads became increasingly persuasive and appealed to the desires of consumers (Hovland & Wolburg).

Technology & Turmoil

Advertising productivity continued into the 1930s. With new knowledge, techniques, and experience with technology, advertising had the ability to turn previous failures into success.

When radio technology was first introduced it was a noncommercial medium and heavily rebuked by advertising (Socolow, 2004). Advertisers were reluctant to air content during the initial stages of radio. This presented a perplexing conundrum. Radio placed a renewed emphasis on words without visual images. Additionally, radio demanded the incorporation of sound effects, music, multiple voices, and ambient clutter in order to be memorable (Fox, 1997). However, under the accepted paradigm, radio was eventually embraced by the advertising community and grew into significant importance.

Advertisers recognized that radio supplied an invaluable opportunity to seize an additional segment that would strengthen its mass audience. Prior to the use of radio in this capacity, advertisers relied primarily upon print media to reach a mass audience. Newspapers generally reached local audiences (Strasser, 2004). Movies appealed to urban working-class communities (Lathan, 2006). Tabloids and magazines enthralled the sensibilities of what was deemed lowbrow popular culture (Taylor, 2009). Radio facilitated the opportunity to capture wealthier audiences of cultural significance. Upon inception, radio technology ownership was primarily concentrated among an elite audience and gradually spread to less affluent classes. Moreover, radio sets were predominantly located within homes, which represented an untapped market. Radio could also amass preliterate and illiterate audiences (Danesi, 2012).

Radio technology allowed advertising to increase and expand not only its depth but also its range of influence (Hovland & Wolburg). In accordance

with the newly established paradigm, the capabilities of radio were an invaluable asset. Advertising practitioners worked diligently to harness radio's attributes (Marchand, 1985). Program sponsorship, product testimonials, and endorsements were utilized as successful techniques. By the close of the decade, the lines between programming and content blurred significantly. Agencies developed in-house radio advertising departments and previous government restrictions virtually disappeared (Hovland & Wolburg).

Advertisers celebrated the interdependencies of modern society. They sought to further rationalize the operations of the marketplace, lubricate its mechanisms, and achieve greater control over advertising's newly emerged functioning (Potter). The advertising industry's use of radio helped to further articulate the promise of the discipline. It extended the knowledge and application of the paradigm by correlating predictions with behavior and events. Although American industrial society had matured, the consumer remained the most unpredictable and the most disruptive element in the economic system. Advertisers worked to induce consumers to comply with the needs of the market through a dependency on products. Moreover, advertisers sought to educate and condition consumers toward a predictable and enthusiastic demand for new products, thus, enhancing the rationality and dynamism of the modern business system and the advertising discipline itself (Marchand).

The alliance between radio and advertising proved to be even more beneficial as time progressed. Radio gave the advertising industry a much-needed boost during harsh economic times (Fox, 1997). The stock market crash of 1929 signaled the beginning of what became known as the Great Depression, a catastrophic worldwide economic downturn. America was engulfed in severe turmoil. While the 1920s were exceedingly prosperous, the early 1930s were treacherous worldwide. Unemployment was rampant, stock prices plummeted, trade suffered, and famine grew (Hovland & Wolburg).

Although the exact cause of events that spurred the Great Depression remains unknown, the public blamed advertising (Marchand). It was claimed that advertisers seduced the consumers with lavish excesses. The industry counteracted with no frills advertising and campaign themes to mitigate and assuage anxieties. Nonetheless, many agencies slowed production, cut salaries, and eliminated staff. The advertising industry then turned much of its efforts toward research and the further articulation of its discipline. During this period, Daniel Starch, A. C. Nielsen, and George Gallup founded companies devoted to advertising research (Fox, 1997).

War & Peace

In 1939 World War II began, signaling the beginning of the end of the Great Depression. As with World War I, the advertising industry was bolstered from American participation in war (Young, 2005). In 1942 the War Advertising Council was founded. However, unlike during World War I, advertisers were no longer as eager to devote their time, energy, and enthusiasm. Advertising was now an established discipline with well-respected professional efforts.

Esteemed advertising practitioner Raymond Rubicam suggested that the recruiting of men and money for wartime efforts was not undertaken in an atmosphere of universal agreement. There was some dissention and criticism. Advertising executive Bruce Barton noted that advertisers simply set forth in pictures and copy the administration's argument, which was sound, patriotic, and moral but did not tell the truth. Nonetheless, the industry donated nearly \$1 billion in space and time to World War II efforts. Advertising expenditures grew from \$2.2 billion in 1941 to \$2.9 billion in 1945, the end of the war (Fox, 1997).

Much like the postwar period after World War I, advertising grew as a result of its wartime involvement. Advertising specialists attained new knowledge and technological experiences (Young). One of the most significant achievements applied in advertising came in the form of a mass communications model. The Shannon-Weaver model of advertising (1948) was a key achievement that was used by the military for cryptanalysis in World War II (Khan & Baig, 2007). This model proposed that information was communicated by sending a signal through a sequence of linear stages (Shannon, 1948).

The Shannon-Weaver model became widely accepted and provided the foundation, as well as a unifying general theory, for mass communications. Highly influential, it stimulated subsequent works in modeling, education, research, and practice (Pietila, 2005). The Shannon-Weaver model was closely associated with behaviorism (Colombo, 2012). Psychologists suggested that human perception and memory were conceptualized in a capacity similar to the Shannon-Weaver model where sensory information is entered into receptors and then fed into perceptual analyzers. Subsequently, outputs are input into memory systems (Goldstein, 2011).

It is important to note that post-WWII, communications theorists were heavily influenced by the propagandistic efforts of both World Wars. Consequently, there was little distinction made among mass communication channels. It was virtually conclusive that advertising, media, and emergent

technologies were viewed as nondistinctive opportunities to transmit messaging (MacDonald, Marsden, & Geist, 1980).

Another influential force in advertising was the prolific work of one of mass communications' founding fathers, Harold Lasswell (Berelson, 1964). Lasswell, a scholar and interdisciplinary social scientist, served as chief of the Experimental Division for the Study of War Time Communications during World War II. He analyzed propaganda media to identify mechanisms of persuasion and later applied his findings to behaviorism techniques and research (Pietila).

Lasswell proclaimed that mass communications demanded verifiable facts as a basis for generalizations rather than even the most brilliant individual insights. He advocated rigorous research to ensure predictability. When applied to advertising, such ideology affirmed its current direction. Moreover, it suggested that an emphasis be placed upon research and science as a way to ensure profits and sustainability.

More than 20 years after it was established as a full-fledged profession, advertising continued to achieve. Through prosperity and calamity, advertising revealed its ability to endure. By the close of World War II, advertising realized the goals it set out to accomplish. With assurance, advertising was ready for even greater prosperity.

Colossal Expansion

As the years continued, advertising's success became increasingly apparent. For a sustained period of 15 years post-World War II, American advertising exploded. The gross total of advertising expenditures doubled in merely 5 years, from \$2.9 billion in 1945 to \$5.7 billion in 1950 (Fox, 1997).

Suburban expansion, construction, population growth, and new patterns of consumption led to a host of new products to advertise, specifically vehicles. In 1956 the Chevrolet advertising budget totaled \$30.4 million, while the Ford budget totaled \$25 million (Tungate, 2007). Demographics and geography fueled the largest advertising budgets to date.

Problem solving within the advertising industry had reached an apex. Work had become so plentiful that there was a healthy competition among advertising agencies (Tungate). JWT became the first advertising agency to exceed \$100 million in billings, followed by BBDO, Young & Rubicam, and McCann Erickson. By 1957 all four agencies well surpassed \$200 million in billings and they continued to soar.

The J. Walter Thompson agency achieved much of its success through innovation and fruitful relationships. For examples, JWT was the primary advertising agency of Kraft, a company well known for progressive advertising policies. For years they produced great advertising on a variety of media, including print, radio, and out of home. In 1947 the pair embarked on an unprecedented journey in television, the *Kraft Television Theater*. The program was the first regularly scheduled dramatic series on television. *Kraft Television Theater* was incredibly successful and is a highly revered classic of television's golden age.

Kraft Television Theater provided an incubator for creative experimentation. Thompson applied several of the techniques developed for radio and created new methods as well. The *Kraft Music Hall* radio program was relaxed, conversational, and featured celebrities, such as Bing Crosby. This tone was translated to television to ensure brand integrity. Thompson produced both programs and wrote much of the copy. His staff adapted the drama, hired directors, and cast performers. The program featured live adaptations of plays, familiar actors, and talented directors, including Stanley Quinn and Maury Holland. Commercials were eventually featured to demonstrate the uses of Kraft products. The "Kraft Hands" spots, which were among the first commercials to air on live television, featured no human faces and were considered nonintrusive and reassuring.

JWT provided significant models for the advertising industry and achieved great success. Prosperity was abundant during these times. As a result, their agency counterparts and competition did not trail far behind (Fox, 1997). As agencies grew in the years following the war, so did the expectations of clients. Accordingly, agencies expanded their staff and services. Agencies began to develop market research, merchandising, publicity, and public relations departments. Agencies were involved in product development, packaging, distribution, pricing, media, and more. Traffic departments became a welcomed addition to agencies as production, scheduling, and deadlines expanded advertising agencies in virtually all areas (Tungate). A trend of agency mergers began to develop as clients' demands increased. Consequently, in order to meet these demands, smaller agencies opted to merge with larger agencies as opposed to going under (Fox, 1997).

Postwar, the influence of psychology and interdisciplinary collaboration experienced a surge as well (Namba, 2002). The primary pioneer and agent behind this revival was Ernest Dichter, a strict Freudian psychologist and renowned advertising consultant. His success with campaigns for Chrysler and Ivory influenced many agencies to seek the collaborative efforts of

psychologists who explored areas of the subconscious and catharsis. Accordingly, McCann Erickson became one of the first agencies to develop its psychological research staff, with many other agencies eagerly following this pattern (Fox, 1997).

In addition to research efforts, psychology was applied to visual and graphic communications (Benjafield, 2010). Deriving from experimental studies in Berlin, Gestalt psychology investigated mental processes and information organization in order to determine visual perception among humans. Gestalt was also utilized as a foundation for visual perception and media related industries. Its major processes involved providing a structure for effective communicative properties utilized in advertising, namely graphic design, figure-ground relationships, illustration, branding, and art direction (Arnheim, 1974).

In the 1950s the advertising industry experienced more growth and stability than ever before. Several major agencies expanded their operations overseas (Tungate). International accounts became increasingly lucrative as the American advertising empire ballooned. Moreover, the roles of practitioners evolved as advertising integrated further within society. For example, President Dwight Eisenhower appointed Neil McElroy as America's Secretary of Defense. McElroy was a successful advertising executive with Procter & Gamble and an expert in branding (Fox, 1997). Similarly, the Vatican named Saint Bernardino of Siena as the Patron Saint of Advertising.

Advertising became even further exalted through the introduction of television, which was referred to as the ultimate ad medium. Although television technology had been available since the 1930s, it gained tremendous popularity during the 1950s. Television had a long gestation period due to initial bureaucratic and technological issues. However, in 1949 the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) lifted its ban on new television stations. Commercials appeared in the 1950s and contributed a huge stream of new revenue for the advertising industry.

Soon after, methods to measure this medium emerged. In 1952 the Nielsen rating system for television was established and endorsed by the Advertising Research Foundation. Nielsen's machine-based ratings system became the primary way to measure the reach of television commercials (Moriarty, Mitchell, & Wells, 2012). Television became so successful that by the close of the decade nearly 90% of all households owned a television set (Hovland & Wolburg).

During the golden age of television, the lines between advertising agencies and networks began to blur (Fox, 1997). Preliminary television advertising

was through sponsorship of entire programming. In its initial stages, interwoven relationships made it difficult to establish specific boundaries and standards. Consequently, abuse and corruption of television technology were a frequent occurrence. A system for selling individual spots and airtime was soon implemented. However, it was more profitable for television networks than for advertising agencies. Critics viewed this occurrence as yet another instance of American corporate monopoly (Fox, 1997).

The intense popularity of television during the 1950s marked a solidified relationship between advertising and yet another entity—the television media. Television joined newspaper, radio, and magazines as a linchpin in advertising media buys and national campaigns. In 1952 Rosser Reeves of the Ted Bates advertising agency used television to create advertisements for Republican Dwight D. Eisenhower during the presidential election of that year. Eisenhower won the election, thus, strengthening the relationship between advertising and media and politics.

By 1954 television became a leading medium for advertising. The year was also significant because during that same period, the Leo Burnett advertising agency introduced the iconic Marlboro Man as a character in its famous and highly successful campaign for Marlboro cigarettes (Fox, 1997). This commercial icon became renowned worldwide and a revered symbol of brand repositioning. In addition to its cultural appeal, the Marlboro Man campaign was economically profitable as well. According to *Ad Age* (*Ad Age Advertising Century: Timeline*, 1999), by 1955 sales for the product were at \$5 billion, a 3,241% increase over the year prior.

The Marlboro Man became a powerful marketing tool for the Phillip Morris Company. Far surpassing the brand and product, the Marlboro Man icon resonated worldwide as a symbol of American culture and masculinity. Its widespread allure represented the successful usage of popular culture tropes and classic narratives within advertising. Figures, including heroes, cowboys, and princesses, were used to provide frameworks to attain universal cultural appeal.

Throughout the 1950s advertising experienced astounding breakthroughs. Advertising expenditures increased to unprecedented levels. By the close of the decade annual advertising industry billings grew from \$1.3 billion to \$6 billion. Advertising capitalized on a steady increase of product manufacturing, consumption, and population growth. In addition to adults, children and teens became valuable targeted audiences (*“Ad Age Encyclopedia of Advertising,”* 2003).

However, in the midst of success, market penetration of television, government policies, and the proliferation of advertising sparked societal concerns. Research agendas were formulated to determine the impact of these factors (Fischhoff, 2005). Due to many of its close partnerships, advertising experienced reprimands that corresponded with societal concerns. The inability to succinctly extricate disciplines foreshadowed impending challenges (Taylor).

Although the advertising industry experienced great prosperity throughout the 1950s, an air of tension loomed just below the surface (Fox, 1997). An underlying battle within the discipline between two distinct methods of the practice began to rise to the surface. There were those who believed that advertising should be more heavily reliant upon art and creativity and those who did not. Creative advocates suggested that a strong emphasis on artistry, copy, visual communication, and creative techniques would inspire consumers to purchase goods and services. Conversely, others embodied a more pragmatic approach to advertising. These groups of individuals believed advertising techniques should be deeply rooted in facts and research (Moriarty et al.).

Due to the strength of the underlined paradigm and its successful application abroad and during World War II, the latter approach prevailed. For much of the late 1950s, advertising focused on consumer influence, strict research, and the strategic use of modernity. Despite dissension within the discipline, timing, funding, problem solving, or events would not widely permit alternatives.

Shifts & Upheavals

The 1960s ushered in a period of significant societal change that led to shifts in numerous areas of advertising. America experienced a period of counter-culture in which much of its ideology, politics, and contradictory behavior were challenged. Accordingly, this was reflected in advertising during these times. In the 1960s America was forced to examine its gender roles in society and urged to reform harmful environmental practices. While expanding American culture internationally through Peace Corps endeavors, the nation struggled with domestic unrest and ethnic inequalities. Upheaval experienced within society was reflected in advertising's workplace, audiences, and methods. Moreover, advocates of the creative approach would finally have an opportunity to advance to the forefront of advertising, thus, sparking an era known as the creative revolution (Tungate).

Critics of corporate mergers and big advertising agencies of the 1950s argued that their influence produced generic creative solutions that did not effectively connect with the American consumer. As a result, creative exploration increased. This exploration was aided by the prosperity of the 1950s, which facilitated the revenue for start-up boutiques and independent advertising agencies (Tungate). The decades of the 1960s and 1970s marked a period of resurgence for art, inspiration, and intuition in advertising.

This creative revolution was largely attributed to the works of three creative geniuses: Leo Burnett, David Ogilvy, and William Bernbach (Moriarty et al.). Burnett asserted:

There is entirely too much dull advertising. Pages and pages of dull, stupid, and uninteresting copy that does not offer the reader anything in return for his time taken in reading it. A lot of this is just plain razzle-dazzle. We have been in thrall to the shibboleth of Bigness ... The creative men are the men of the hour. It is high time that they were given the respect that they deserve. (Fox, 1984, pp. 221–222)

Advertisements produced during these times implemented nonconventional methods. Creatives placed an emphasis of visual aesthetic and tone, which enhanced brand continuity. Memorable characters, white space, and savvy copywriting were used to attract audiences and differentiate brands. Advertisers learned that great success could be acquired through nontraditional practices.

When Levy's, a thriving local brand, wanted to expand its audience it sought the advertising expertise of Doyle Dane Bernbach (DDB). Subsequently, a campaign was developed to increase Levy's public acceptance. The strategy used literal interpretations in unexpected ways. Advertisements featured beautiful photographic imagery that represented America's changing demographics. DDB advertised Levy's Jewish rye bread with an Irish cop, Native American man, and African American boy. The iconic "You don't have to be Jewish to love Levy's Real Jewish Rye" campaign slogan became a highly revered success (Fox, 1984).

At first glance it may have appeared as if the advertising methods of Burnett, Ogilvy, and Bernbach were totally new due to their revolutionary impact. However, many of their approaches to advertising were influenced by methods of the past. As indicated through previous examples in advertising history, legacies were created through the circulation of knowledge within close-knit groups. A rich heritage developed as prominent figures handed down knowledge and methods to members within their communities. Groups

that possessed the most affluence, whether through wealth or fruitful alliances, tended to dominate.

However, this did not indicate that other viable knowledge did not exist. In many cases, credible, yet less-prominent, concepts circulated within less powerful communities. When power shifted, as it did in the 1950s–1960s, multiple ideas ascended to the foreground. The prosperity of corporate ventures produced revenue, which was used to create independent advertising agencies. Thus, members of wider communities introduced concepts that were influenced by advertising leaders of the past. Accordingly, each of the leaders of the creative revolution of the 1960s was mentored under the works of a prominent figure in advertising history.

Burnett was mentored by advertising legend Theodore MacManus. Burnett developed an advertising approach known as the Chicago School of Advertising, which was heavily influenced by MacManus (Fox, 1997). Burnett's primary technique was known as inherent drama. In this technique, common narratives and cultural archetypes from American popular culture were used to create mythical characters that represented American cultural values. Burnett's most successful icons include the Jolly Green Giant, Tony the Tiger, the Pillsbury Doughboy, and the Marlboro Man (Fox, 1997).

Conversely, David Ogilvy proclaimed himself an advertising classicist. Ogilvy asserted that advertising once had a great period and he intended to return to it. Ogilvy fused the past styles of Raymond Rubicam, which were image driven, with the claim school of Albert Lasker. Ogilvy came to embody the ability to create strong brands through symbolism. Ogilvy's legacy includes product specific brands with information-rich claims, namely Rolls-Royce, Pepperidge Farm, and Guinness (Tungate).

Bernbach, considered the most innovative of the three giants, was a second-generation ad man as his father was an ad designer. Paul Rand, with whom he had worked early in his career, mentored Bernbach. Accordingly, he combined a keen sense of copy with design and innovative concepts. Bernbach is known for his focus on feelings, emotions, and intuition within advertising. Bernbach argued that there were numerous great technicians in advertising; however, persuasion is not a science but an art. In essence, advertising is the art of persuasion. Bernbach became widely known for his innovative Volkswagen campaign (Tungate). His legacy has been extremely influential in American popular culture and has contributed to advertising's social influence.

Although advertising was experiencing its own revolution, there were those who recognized that it was beginning to lag behind the world around

them. Over the years, aspects of American advertising became notorious for depicting stereotypical and false representations of ethnic communities, including African Americans, Native Americans, and Jewish Americans. However, in the 1960s, social justice movements and technology pushed the barometer of change forward. Sharp contrasts between reality and advertising depictions became glaringly obvious. The United States was experiencing unprecedented social upheaval while advertising continued to place women and people of color in subservient positions. The Vietnam War, the civil rights era, the youth movement, and the sexual revolution challenged advertising's perpetual tendency to cater to marketplace norms and dated character values (Tungate).

During the 1960s critics suggested that advertising's outdated models contributed to cultural inferiority and subordinate positioning. There was an increased demand for accurate and dignified portrayals of people of color in advertising. Many believed this would most likely occur through legislation and inclusive workplace models. Advocacy groups requested that advertisers and advertising agencies incorporate positive imagery of black people into their campaigns and take steps toward a more diversified workforce. Members of the U.S. government supported these ideas as well. In the Kerner Report, which was issued by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders in 1968, it was suggested that mass medium industries dominated by Caucasians would be unable to effectively communicate with diverse audiences (Wilson, Gutiérrez, & Chao, 2003).

The creative revolution marked a time when advertising began to become interactive with culture through connectivity. However, this line of reasoning was a distinct contradiction to established paradigms and theoretical communication models (Potter). Advertising communication was intended to be a linear process in which messages were transmitted and received. Communication was not intended to be circular nor was feedback sufficiently taken into account (Hovland & Wolburg). Advertising was intended to influence, not to react or respond to issues in society.

Despite its original intentions, advertising was now an institution of great prominence. Like citizens and advocacy groups, governing officials believed advertising had a responsibility to accurately reflect American consumers. Regardless of intentions or its original function, advertising was accountable.

As the creative revolution continued to interact with external factors, a realization of commonalities ensued. Mutual beliefs became increasingly apparent as the decade progressed. Moreover, generations of advertising

professionals became aware of their role within American culture (Fox, 1997). Some members of the advertising community and the youth generation recognized that they shared a disdain for authority, strong visual sensibilities, and media curiosities. Author and advertising copywriter Edward Hannibal proclaimed:

Just as the hippies, the kids and the Negroes were now beginning to raise hell with the country shaking up old farts and making them doubt themselves, advertising as a business was getting noise from the furnace room that it couldn't shut off any longer. (Fox, 1984, p. 270)

Additionally, the postwar baby boom was beginning to produce a significant impact within the workplace. As this generation matured, many sought careers in the advertising industry (Tungate). Once they joined the profession, this group infused their nonconventional views into their ads, seeking to make advertising serve the larger revolution. As consumers, this cohort was the first commercial generation accustomed to movies and television rather than magazines and books; therefore, many concluded that the consumers of this generation were primarily visual thinkers with reduced critical abilities. This led to concerns among seasoned advertising professionals. Critics argued that baby boomers' lack of traditional cultural roots led them to be exceedingly trend conscious, naïve, and obnoxious (Fox, 1997).

As the creative era came to a close, William Bernbach expressed his concern that consumers and advertising professionals were trying to be different for the sake of being different alone. Bernbach argued that young people working within agencies were mistaking the façade for the real thing. There was internal resistance toward the idea that advertising could be used as a catalyst to improve societal ills. Conflicts resulted between seasoned advertising professionals and recent members of the profession. Advertising executive Rosser Reeves predicted that advertising narcissists would wake up and big business would return as the immutable advertising law (Fox, 1984, p. 271).

Fortuitously, advertising's emphasis returned to hard sell, research, and science. After a decade that produced some of the most revered and innovative creative advertising solutions, communication strategies were altered. Increased competition, wealth, and a broadened societal scope propelled ideal consumers to the forefront of advertising's agenda (Coleman, 1998). The creative revolution resulted in a mastery of television, new approaches to print, and a renewed emphasis on photography and visual thinking.

Brands profited from creative success. Alka-Seltzer, in particular, provided unique creative examples that were often representative of larger shifts in culture and media. Scientific approaches gave way to strategic radio sponsorships and television media buys. The brand embraced newspaper, magazines, jingles, and developed promotional films for movie theaters. By 1951 Alka-Seltzer introduced “Speedy,” an animated character conceived by Wade advertising agency. Speedy became a celebrated icon associated with the success of Alka-Seltzer. Speedy appeared in hundreds of print and television advertisements. By 1963 Alka-Seltzer achieved more success with the humorous creative approaches of Jack Tinker and Partners advertising agency (Archives, Alka-Seltzer Oral History).

In 1968 Alka-Seltzer partnered with the wildly successful creative genius at Doyle, Dane, and Bernbach (DDB) advertising agency. DDB produced popular television commercials for Alka-Seltzer. Although the advertisements received adoration and were considered to be hilarious by the public, Alka-Seltzer’s market shares continued to fall. By the close of the 1960s, like many brands that had achieved marked success through creative solutions, Alka-Seltzer moved their \$20 million account from DDB to Wells, Rich, and Greene advertising agency for economic promise, hard sell, research, and product emphasis (Fox, 1997).

In the 1960s changes abounded throughout advertising. In concurrence with the creative revolution and societal upheaval, psychology experienced major shifts as well. These shifts were predictable because of prior developments in computer modeling. During World War II, computer modeling supplied powerful structures for information representation and models that operate inner structures. Many of these ideas were successfully applied to human information processing (Miller, 2003). Subsequently, effective methods to study diverse topics ranging from pattern recognition, attention, categorization, and memory to reasoning, decision making, problem solving, and language developed (Bandura, 2005).

In addition to advances in information processing, several outside factors contributed to major shifts in psychology. The works of noted linguist Noam Chomsky had a profound impact. The central theme of Chomsky’s work focused on mental structures and organization capabilities necessary for language competency. Chomsky developed syntactic structures that altered the intellectual landscape of psychology and fostered acceptance of cognitive sensibilities (Goldstein). Furthermore, Chomsky’s 1959 annihilating review of B. F. Skinner’s *Verbal Behavior* (1957) gained influential

notoriety as one of the most significant documents in the history of cognitive psychology.

Advances in technology and scholarly research contributed to the eventual rejection of behaviorism as the dominant paradigm in favor of cognition. In what became known as the “cognitive revolution,” it was concluded that behavior would be determined through inner processing. It was determined that the mind and mental processing were far too complex to be fully explained through predictable external factors (Goldstein).

Although the cognitive paradigm had yet to be articulated, this shift had a tremendous impact on advertising. Over the years advertising developed an essential relationship with psychology. The social sciences had become a valued and trusted tool within research and practice. Psychology informed and worked in tandem with many of advertising’s communications models. Moreover, the advances that occurred in psychology inferred that advertising was applying dated methods. Furthermore, advances suggested that consumers did not process information as previously believed. As with culture and societal issues, advertising lagged behind.

Hills & Valleys

In the 1970s the monumental highs of the 1960s were met with equally significant lows. This decade represented an overarching compendium of patterns that came to embody the rhythmic flow of advertising. After a period of some of the most creative campaigns ever produced, emphasis returned to hard sell and research. Brand development was replaced by product differentiation. Teams and group development transitioned into hierarchical management structures. By far, one of the most impactful shifts occurred within audiences. The upheaval of the 1960s left many Americans skeptical and confused. Advertising embraced logic over intuition as a means to connect with increasingly distrustful and cautious consumers. Despite signs of decay, the unifying paradigm was still useful. Advertising’s ability to harness technology and leverage strategic modernity proved to be reliable during one of advertising’s most turbulent decades.

The economy fell into recession at the onset of the 1970s, which exacerbated conditions. As national traditions began to erode, so did those in advertising. Large agencies, including JWT, McCann, and Y&R, suffered enormous loss from domestic billings. Professional organization and economic procedures were reexamined for productivity. Moreover, formidable longstanding

client relationships were dissolved. As advertisers desired assurance in an unstable economy, creative risks lost support. Advertisers left creative agencies in droves, which amounted to millions of dollars in declining revenue. Several creative agencies lost accounts, became conservative, or folded under confounding restrictions.

After a period of enormous success, many were bewildered by seemingly sudden and harsh change. However, others believed the calamity experienced during the 1970s was a residual impact from the previous decade. Critics advised advertising to readily embrace the American public in its entirety. As the world changed, advertising could no longer solely shape trends and exert influence. Advertising was now tasked to connect and respond with the needs and wants of consumers. As industries became increasingly consumer oriented, understanding the character of the American public became a critical issue for agencies and advertisers alike.

However, the ability to understand American consumers posed an enormous challenge. After experiencing significant upheaval the character of the nation itself was in flux. Disillusionment, spurred by the compounding assassinations of President John F. Kennedy and his brother, Robert F. Kennedy, and civil rights activists Medgar Evers, Malcolm X, and Martin Luther King Jr., was combined with the violence and aftermath of the Vietnam War. Moreover, the Watergate scandal—which ultimately brought down President Richard M. Nixon—deepened many Americans' levels of cynicism and distrust for tradition, bureaucracy, and government (Schulman, 2001).

Hence, the 1970s ushered in a unique phase of development for the entire nation. This period also revealed the changes that the American character underwent as the nation transitioned in a modern era. More so than previous generations, corporate agendas, peer groups, and mass media influenced Americans. As a result, the fabric of societal culture was significantly altered. A vast majority of Americans no longer relied upon traditional institutions for guidance. Instead, Americans began to turn inward or seek other factors for direction (Riesman, Glazer, & Denney, 1963). This, however, presented somewhat of a paradoxical conundrum for the nation. Since the post-WWII era, messaging that encouraged conformity and individuality simultaneously influenced Americans, particularly youth. As a result, there were contradictions within consumer behavior.

Corporate influence contributed to messages of conformity. In order to cultivate desirable market behavior, consumption and relatability were emphasized as favorable traits. Mass communication, including advertising,

stimulated ideals and habits among American consumers. Young children became elevated opinion leaders and were taught to cultivate consumption patterns with their parents and within their families. Teenagers were identified as cultural tastemakers. Although such strategies created brand loyalties and stimulated purchasing behavior, they also contributed to confusion. Boundaries surrounding consumer identity and the responsibilities of mass media were blurred (Riesman, Glazer, & Denney).

The influence of corporate institutions and consumer culture represented a broad, yet pervasive, cultural shift. Extraordinary transformations in social values were further complicated by experiential factors that promoted individuality. For example, Americans prided themselves on the spirit of individualism within the political arena, demanding the right to freedom of speech and religion. However, when confronted with social issues, the nation primarily responded in hypocrisy and conformity (Schulman). Thus, the 1960s produced radical individualism that extended from the political arena to personal lifestyle. Previously held traditional values were no longer congruent with the needs and wants of the vast majority of the generation coming of age during the 1970s. A greater emphasis on self-reliance developed. Through experience, Americans learned to be skeptical and distrustful of institutions. Americans learned that they could not solely rely on institutions, namely government, religion, and family, to provide an ideal way of life.

It was assumed that institutions were the blame for societal inequities and therefore responsible for rectification. Along with most American institutions, the public grew dissatisfied, disinterested, and skeptical of advertising as well. According to a 1970s Gallup poll, American citizens ranked advertising executives dead last when asked to rate the honesty and ethical standards of working professionals. Thus, regulation, deregulation, and its resultant tension became common themes in the 1970s.

As a societal institution, the public held advertising to obligatory responsibilities. Precedents associated with the Civil Rights Act (1964, 1965), Voting Rights Act (1968), and *Roe v. Wade* (1973) were mimicked throughout the advertising industry. Regulation pushed advertising toward ethnic and gender pluralism and elevated imagery. Advertising and its effects became the subject of increased scholarly study and scrutiny. Moreover, the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) held the advertising industry to an unprecedented level of honesty and disclosure. This led to a diversified workforce, increased ethnic representation in advertising, varied creative solutions, and awkward

discontent. Once a supporter of advertising regulation, advertising executive David Ogilvy began to reconsider his position.

Ogilvy stated, "I guess we deserved some of this; we failed to regulate ourselves. But we are now overregulated. The whole thing has become a farce" (Fox, 1984, p. 319). According to an AAAA study conducted from 1970 to 1974, minority employment within 38 of advertising's top agencies increased from 8.9% to 9.9%. However in 1975, the AAAA reported that African Americans were experiencing increased tensions within agencies and being denied positions of executive leadership. In fact, African Americans within leadership positions at advertising agencies decreased from 4.6% to 4.2% from 1970 to 1974 (Fox, 1997). Winthrop Jordan, an African American adman, declared that integration efforts had led to a degree of self-deception within the advertising industry (Jordan, 1975). Accordingly, many African Americans filed employment discrimination charges against most of the top advertising agencies during the 1970s (Fox).

Advertising experienced upheaval within the area of gender norms as well. Although there was a female professional prescience in advertising, pressure from inside and outside of the industry forced gender roles and female imagery to improve. There was an applied understanding that women's interests exceeded feminine products. Nonetheless, like ethnic minorities, few women held executive positions within the industry. Advertising giant Mary Wells recognized this inequality and acknowledged that she knew of several women who were qualified to perform at executive levels in advertising. However, she herself did not readily advocate gender progression. Wells asserted that male clients would not tolerate women at executive levels in advertising and that chauvinism prevented men from dealing comfortably with women of authority (Fox, 1997).

Despite opposition, there was some progress. In 1973 Reva Korda became a creative director at Ogilvy and Mather. Additionally, after a series of sexual discrimination charges, representation of women in professional jobs in advertising rose from 40% to 57% by 1982. Moreover, although they folded due to financial pressures, the 1970s witnessed the acquisition of major general market accounts by African American-owned agencies, among them John Falls Shop and Zebra Associates (Fox, 1997).

Although both America and advertising had begun to evolve, advertising's inextricable role within American consumer capitalism retarded its development. In addition to social regulation, areas of particular impact within advertising were its economic structure and creative practices, all of which

were significant to both the internal and external environment within advertising, and which foreshadowed a major forthcoming transition and eventual crisis. As predicated by existing advertising cycle norms, the industry shifted from creative prominence to a renewed emphasis on hard sell, science, and research. Yet, there were several factors that made advertising practices in the 1970s distinct.

During this period, there was a significant shift in advertising's economic structure. Creative boutiques could not withstand the economic pressures of recession and gave way to new practices and corporate mergers. However, unlike the economic practices that occurred in previous advertising cycles, the 1970s implemented public ownership to combat financial pressure. At the beginning of the decade, half of all top agencies had gone public, indicating the beginning of a trend. Although public ownership often supplied the cash reserves agencies needed to survive the turmoil associated with recession, it left the advertising industry obligated to the needs and wants of stockholders.

Advertising executive George Lois declared that public ownership was the catalyst for destroying partnerships (Fox, 1997). Consequently, several agencies began to repurchase their common stock and return to private ownership near the middle of the decade. However, this insight was determined after economic practices had been altered. Therefore, many of the remaining agencies were unable to regain private ownership and sought to embrace the changing economic environment.

Additionally, the mergers that occurred in the 1970s were also distinct. Increased business and marketing leadership throughout the advertising industry encouraged free enterprise and expansion. In the 1970s advertising executives had visions of "total agencies" that would expand advertising expertise and dominion. More profitable agencies took steps to achieve these goals, which resulted in a growing trend throughout the advertising industry. Numerous regional agencies and specialty boutiques, facilitated by the creative revolution of the 1960s, were targeted by larger, more successful advertising agencies. Economic instability, coupled with the prevalence of merging patterns, resulted in a serious decline of independent advertising agencies nationwide. In fact, no major independent advertising agencies existed on the entire West Coast by the close of the decade. James Heekin, an advertising executive of a small consulting firm, proclaimed that small agencies of that period had lost their entrepreneurial confidence. "They see God on the side of the big battalions. They don't want to be the last guy on the beach, so they figure they should get aboard," he stated (Fox, 1984, p. 327).

Within the realization of the vision for total agencies, executives sought to primarily acquire burgeoning independent enterprises rather than crippled operations in economic distress. Moreover, the advertising industry began to broaden its range of services and exceed seemingly infinite client demands. Young and Rubicam (Y&R) CEO and Chairman Edward Ney established an industry precedent as he worked toward achieving what he termed “a wide horizontal range of commercial persuasion” (Fox, 1984, p. 326). Ney bought advertising agencies and boutiques that specialized in a range of expertise from health care and direct marketing to retailing and sales promotions. By the close of the decade Y&R skyrocketed as an international leader, reaching billings of more than \$300 million worldwide. Many within the advertising industry began to model these practices and resultant success. The 1970s also witnessed the acquisition of the three largest public relations firms: J. Walter Thompson, Y&R and Foote, and Cone & Belding (Fox, 1997).

Internal upheaval and instability within the advertising industry forced many standard practices to shift in accordance with acquisitions, new media, expanded practitioner responsibilities, and fiscal procedures. Traditionally, advertising agencies relied on a system of compensation that yielded 15% commission on media billings. However, during the 1970s there were struggles among agencies, partners, and clients regarding this economic practice. To the benefit of high-end clients, a fee system was implemented throughout the advertising industry. Although the fee system offered agencies more definite forms of payment, this system primarily favored agencies that advertised new products. The traditional commission system rewarded effective advertising for most products as well as longstanding agreements. Moreover, the commission was the preferred norm throughout the advertising industry. Controversies surrounding the fee system resulted in intense friction throughout advertising. After much debate, nearly three-fourths of all agencies returned to the traditional practice of commission by the close of the decade (Fox, 1997).

Distinct shifts and occurrences during the 1970s also took place within advertising creativity. Although the technology, strategies, and procedures developed as a result of the creative revolution during the 1960s were formidable, hard sell and management practices prevailed during the tighter economic climate of the 1970s. Creative awards and acclaim no longer guaranteed financial success. Under the direction and leadership of MBAs, advertising agencies began to expand in the areas of marketing, pricing, distribution, and packaging.

The dominance of business within advertising during the 1970s contributed to the widespread usage of positioning as an advertising technique. Positioning addressed the needs of expanding markets through comparative strategy. Although it was a resurrected technique from the hard-sell approach implemented during the 1950s, Al Ries and Jack Trout, of the Ries, Cappiello, Colwell Agency, contributed to its renewed popularity and widespread application. Within their conceptualization of positioning, product differentiation and branding were emphasized. Moreover, it offered a creative way to emphasize specific information and facts without relying on puffery and generalities. This was highly welcomed during a time of intense regulation. Ries went on to co-author along with his daughter, Laura Ries, *The Fall of Advertising and the Rise of PR* (2002) in response to additional shifts in the industry. In it, Ries advocates the use of experiential interactivity within advertising.

Additional shifts in advertising were made through paring down agencies, the adoption of creative directors, and the expansion of international departments. With the decline of domestic commercial opportunities, American advertising agencies sought to service multinational clients, including Ford, Coca-Cola, and Procter & Gamble. Hence, American advertising agencies began a modern expansion into the European and Australian international markets.

Within these uncharted territories, advertising used giants in the industry as models for success. In addition to burgeoning international development, Y&R became a standard for creative modeling. Creative director Alex Kroll led the agency with astonishing creative growth in a time of economic turmoil. Kroll insisted that advertising must remain manic about creative discipline. However, in contrast to the creative revolution of the 1960s, Kroll declared that discipline to be just as vital as creative. He maintained that creativity is tactical, stating, "Creativity should be measured by the cold, gritty eye of the marketplace, not by the vibes acquired in a screening room" (Fox, 1997). Kroll established the precedent that advertising creativity be judged by the consumer takeaway and not peer applause. Thus began the shift toward consumer-driven advertising.

As more of an emphasis was placed on consumers, technology proved to be a critical tool for advertising. Geodemographic clustering systems technology was introduced in the 1970s. This technology facilitated advertising's ability to shape and meet the needs and wants of consumers in a more sophisticated manner. Advertisers assumed that consumers who resided in similar neighborhoods or postal codes zones shared demographics and lifestyles. Hence, the

ability to obtain this information allowed advertisers to determine consumer purchasing power and marketplace behavior. Geodemographic clustering technology presented statistical analyses and databases at more defined levels than previously available within the national and international mass markets. Advertisers used the information to label and characterize consumers in illustrative categories including bohemian mix, suburban pioneers, and upper crust. Additionally, geodemographic clustering technology assisted advertisers in making vital marketing communications (marcom) decisions, including selecting geographic locales for narrowcasting media advertisements and identifying audiences for direct marketing campaigns (Shimp, 2010).

Despite instabilities spurred by economic and social agitation, areas of technology helped sustain advertising during the distressed 1970s era. Moreover, color television, FM radio, and new production techniques were developed in the mid-1970s, which rejuvenated media, achieved commercial success, and fortified global influence. Additionally, special effects helped catapult the film industry to even greater prominence. Consequently, the 1970s, which featured the major profitable blockbuster films, provided opportunities for product placement and branding for the advertising industry (Schulman).

The 1970s period also became known as a fashion era, with fabric and design technology spurring the production of synthetic and natural fabrics in a variety of patterns and colors. The advertisement industry played a dominant role in this development, particularly in the campaign promotion of denim jeans. Although previously associated with the Beat Generation subculture, advertising elevated denim jeans to a widely accepted and highly revered quintessential symbol within American popular culture. Denim jeans personified the rebellious individualism of the 1970s and embodied labor, leisure, style, and comfort, regardless of class (Frum, 2000). Moreover, new technology accelerated production, enhancing fashion cycles. Advertising used effective strategies, branding, and positioning techniques to increase product consumption, thus, complimenting cultural and economic shifts of the 1970s associated with two-income households, diverse audiences, and increased female earning power. Additionally, advertising relied on its sustaining principle of modernity through the cycle of product obsolescence to achieve continued success (Frum).

Despite obvious success through technological advances, global changes within the economy led to increased fragmentation and significant unrest. Contributing to these challenges was a growing number of Americans who

retreated into solitude, attributing their discontent to growing pressures from the pace of society, environmental concerns, monetary demands, credit woes, time restraints, and the relentless proliferation of technology and mass media (Fox, 1997).

Following the lead of consumers, advertising echoed society's individualistic sentiments by communicating that self-indulgence was not only an appropriate but also a critical element for human development. Personalization was further conveyed through advertising campaigns, which introduced new technologies, including the VCR, video rental, cassette tape, and cable television. Imminent fragmentation characterized the close of what was coined the "Me decade" in the 1970s (Hovland & Wolburg).