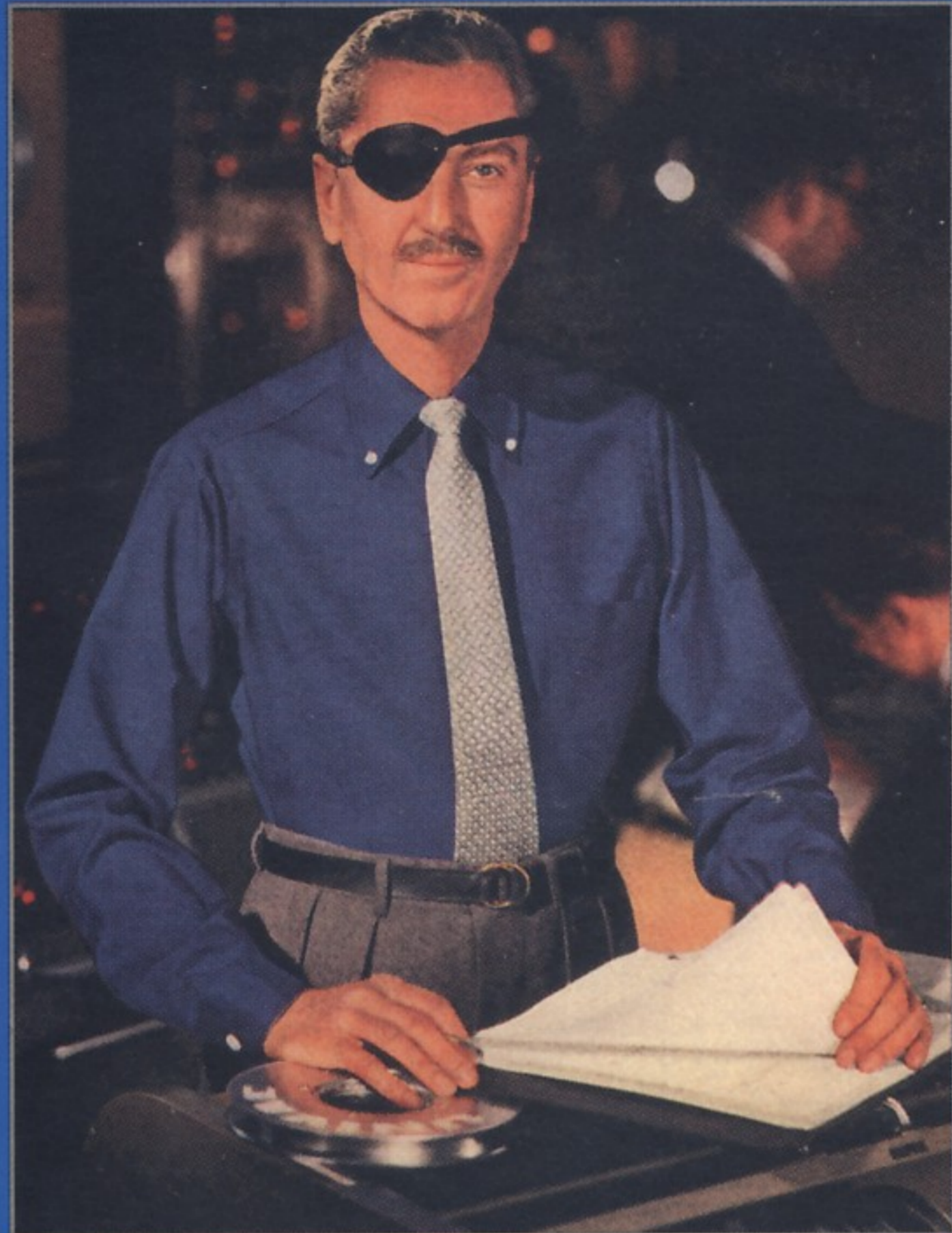
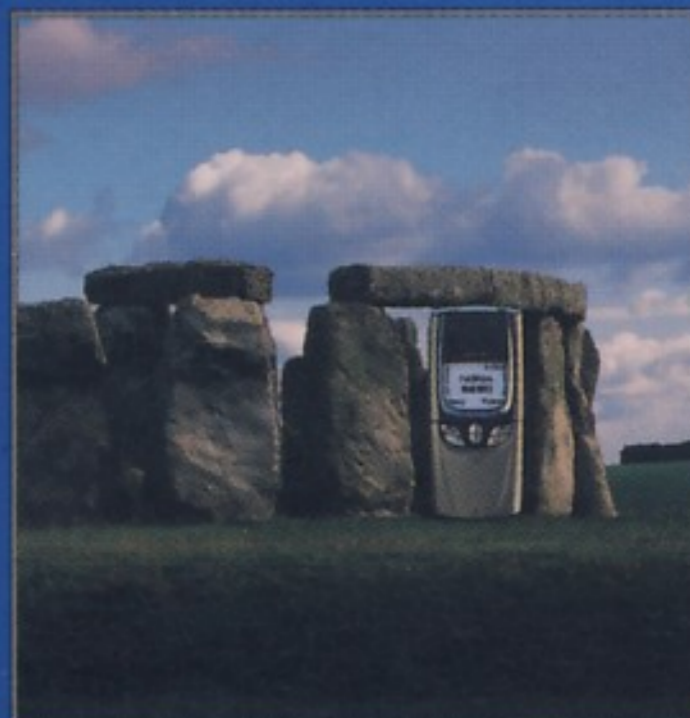
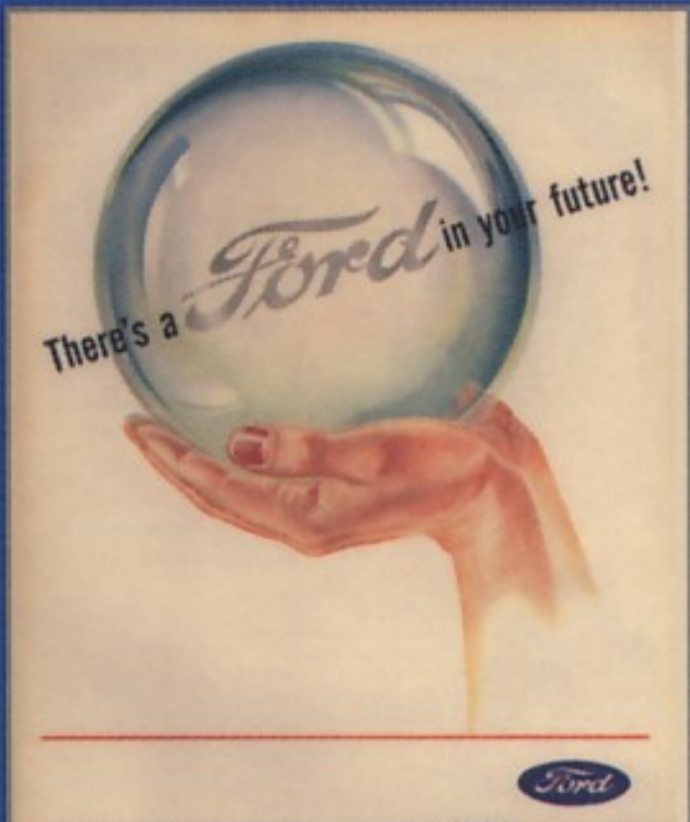
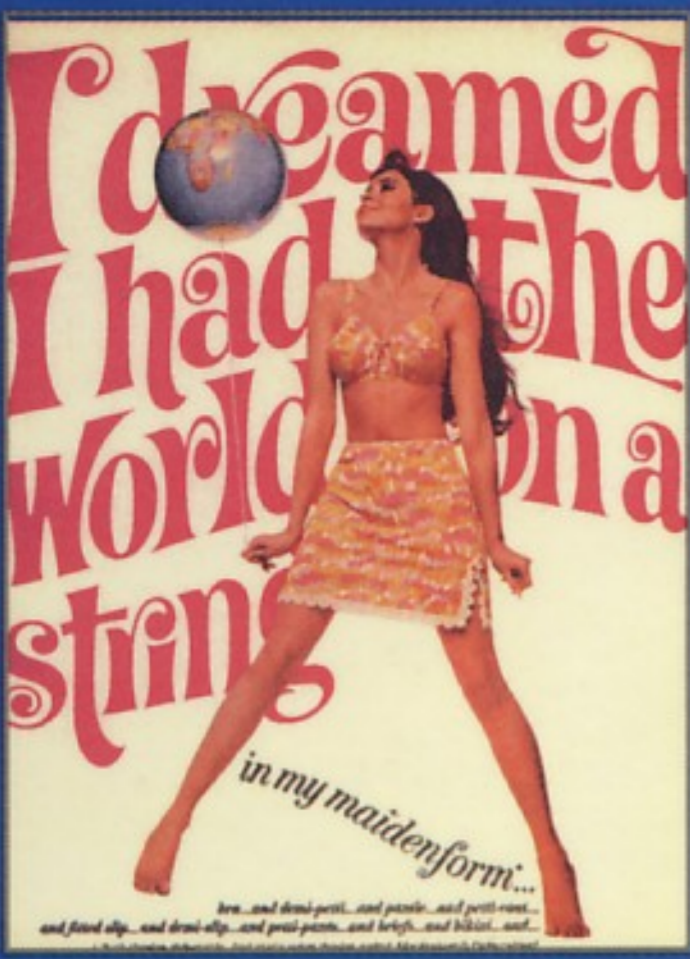


THE Advertising Age

Encyclopedia of Advertising

VOLUME 2 F-O



EDITED BY John McDonough and the Museum of Broadcast Communications
Karen Egolf, Advertising Age

ILLUSTRATION EDITOR, Jacqueline V. Reid, Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising and Marketing History, Duke University

gard was the winning name.) And that same year, the Pepsi-Cola Company offered \$203,725 in prizes in a contest that so confused the public that the company switched agencies from Newell Emmett to Biow.

By the end of the decade, advertising was developing enough of a sense of its own that the Advertising Federation of America and the New York Ad Club created the Advertising Hall of Fame. Among the ten first inductees in 1949: retail pioneer John Wanamaker, *Printers' Ink* Editor John Irving Romer, and legendary copywriter Theodore MacManus. The decade included many smaller milestones as well: vitamins and vitamin content became a strong selling point early in the decade, as Standard Brands launched Stamms and Lever Brothers came out with Vimms. For the first ten months of 1941, the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers (ASCAP) refused to license its music catalog, which included virtually every popular song written for theater, movies, or tin pan alley since 1914, to the radio networks. It was a move that triggered the formation of an alternative licensing organization by the networks, Broadcast Music Inc. (BMI). Newsman Elmer Davis left CBS to head the Office of War Information (OWI), and CBS's WJSV in Washington, D.C., became WTOP. The networks canceled vast amounts of commercial programming and advertising to accommodate breaking news of the invasion of Europe in June 1944, a practice that would be repeated as the war came to an end in 1945. In Chicago in 1947, Marshall Field bought the *Chicago Times* and merged it with his own *Sun* to form the *Sun-Times*.

Throughout the decade, advertising continued to see the first generation of its great pioneers pass from the scene. MacManus, who came out of retirement briefly in 1940, died that same year. So did Walter Chrysler, founder of the Chrysler Corporation; O.B. Winters, noted copywriter at Erwin Wasey & Company; agency founder J. Stirling Getchell; R.C. Desirens, creator of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway's mascot "Chessie," the cartoon kitten that became a symbol of the company's freight service; and Leon Douglass, who put Nipper the dog into Victor Talking Machine advertising.

Others who died during the decade included: Ruthrauff & Ryan founder Wilber Ruthrauff and H.J. Heinz Company executive Howard Heinz (1941); Kenyon & Eckhardt founder Henry Eckhardt, publishers Moses Annenberg and Condé Nast, mail order pioneer E.T. Gundlach (1942); agency founder Arthur Kuder, BBDO Chairman William Johns (1944); *New York Daily News* Publisher Joseph Medill Paterson and American Tobacco Company boss George Washington Hill (1946); General Motors founder William C. Durant and type designer Frederic Goudy (1947); McGraw-Hill founder James H. McGraw and Burrige Butler, owner of the *Prairie Farmer* and Chicago's WLS radio (1948); and Buchanan & Company founder Thomas Buchanan, Lever Brothers chief Viscount Leverhulme, Kenyon & Eckhardt founder Otis A. Kenyon, and F. Wallis Armstrong, who hired Raymond Rubicam in 1919 and whose agency later became the Ward Wheelock Company (1949).

JOHN McDONOUGH

See also color plate in this volume

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History: 1950s

Tempered by the Great Depression and a world war, Americans greeted the relative peace and prosperity of the 1950s with an unbridled passion to consume. A new medium, television, promoted lifestyles and needs, and the economic shift from wartime manufacturing to consumer manufacturing increased employee salaries and disposable income. Globally, nations hardest hit by the war's devastation were rebuilt through the Marshall Plan and other outside funding. Advertising in these countries not only sold products but also shaped culture and national identity.

In the United States far-reaching advertising trends first became established in the cultural and economic environment of the 1950s. Traditional media such as radio, newspapers, and magazines remained vital conduits for advertising during the early years of the decade, but television quickly replaced radio and magazines as the cornerstone in many advertisers' national media plans. Throughout the decade, advertising expenditures increased to unprecedented numbers. The J. Walter Thompson Company saw its billings increase from \$78 million in 1945 to \$172 million

in 1955 and \$250 million by 1960. Overall, the decade saw gross annual advertising industry expenditures quadruple, going from \$1.3 billion in 1950 to \$6 billion in 1960.

Advertising and consumerism in the 1950s can be divided into two distinct periods. The first period, lasting approximately until 1953, was a time of "catching up." Products such as clothing, refrigerators, automobiles, and appliances—unavailable or in short supply during the war—were again plentiful. Pent-up demand for consumer products fueled a steady growth in manufacturing.

Conversely, the middle to end of the decade was, for consumers, a period of acute "consumption anxiety." Marketers analyzed variations in the economic landscape and continued to offer "new and improved" products to maintain high consumer demand. This focused selling technique used newly popular methods such as motivational research, demographic targeting, and generational marketing.

The postwar years saw a huge increase in population. From 1945 to 1964 a global "baby boom" occurred. Reunited families made up for lost time, and the birthrate—which had fallen in the mid-1930s—soared by 25 percent following the end of the war and remained elevated throughout the decade.

The baby boom's significance became evident in new housing starts. During the economic depression of the 1930s, new-home construction virtually ceased. Homes built in the suburbs during this period were primarily for the wealthy. Average Americans lived either in urban apartments near their employment and near convenient transportation, or shared housing with parents or in-laws.

As family size grew, so did the need for affordable housing. Contractor William Levitt took his inspiration from automobile manufacturer Henry Ford and built inexpensive, attractive single-family houses for ordinary citizens. It was Levitt and his New York community, Levittown, that made the American dream possible for people who had never thought of themselves as middle class before, according to David Halberstam, author of *The Fifties*.

Catering to Suburbanites

Levitt, a shrewd businessman, enticed returning veterans to buy his homes with little or no money down. As incentives, he included a television set and a washing machine with every home purchase. Ads, such as the following from the *New York Times*, promoted the new houses:

This is Levittown! All yours for \$58. You're a lucky fellow, Mr. Veteran. Uncle Sam and the world's largest builder have made it possible for you to live in a charming house in a delightful community without having to pay for them with your eye teeth

By the mid-1950s Levitt-style subdivisions were being built nationwide and represented 75 percent of new housing starts. Critics denounced these subdivisions as symbols of conformity and materialism. Yet, the shift from urban to suburban living had

begun. Suburbs grew by 46 percent. By the close of the decade, one-third of the population lived in suburban areas surrounding metropolitan centers.

Suburbanites realized the need for appliances and other necessities to fill their homes, and marketers rushed to introduce a vast array of products while manufacturers churned out new appliances, automobiles, and consumer electronics. Many advertised products promoted labor-saving automation for increased productivity and leisure time. Heating and cooling products, kitchen and laundry appliances, furniture and decorating accessories, and frozen and prepared foods all promoted time-saving benefits.

Typifying this trend was a 1950 Hotpoint ad headline that pleaded, "Please . . . let your wife come into the living room!" As her husband and children watch television, the wife struggles in the kitchen over a stack of dirty dishes. The ad claims that by taking advantage of Hotpoint's new automatic dishwasher the wife gains an extra hour a day—seven hours a week. The accompanying copy reads:

Don't let dirty dishes make your wife a kitchen exile! She loses the most precious hours of her life shut off from pleasures of the family circle by the never-ending chore of old-fashioned dishwashing! It's easy to banish the dishpan drudgery and let her join the family fun—the modern, work-saving, Hotpoint automatic way!

Capitalism claimed the technical innovations of wartime and transformed them into labor-saving convenience products. The aerosol spray can was a by-product of the war's South Pacific "bug bomb." Adding a spray top transformed the "bug bomb" into a dispenser for everything from processed cheese, whipped cream, shaving cream, hairspray, and deodorant to furniture polish. Nylon, initially developed for parachutes, replaced expensive silk in stockings. Plastics and Styrofoam found new applications in everything from furniture to insulation.


Advertising reflected a conscious return to traditional family values. In a single generation, lingering memories of Depression and war were replaced by positive futuristic portrayals of the idealized modern family—mother, father, son, and daughter enjoying the comforts of their new home, the convenience of their automobile, and the added leisure time together. Children became targeted consumers for the first time as advertising tapped their newfound affluence. Phonographs, records, radios, magazines, clothing, and soft drinks, among other products, found a receptive teen audience.

Advertising reflected society's upward mobility and prosperity, its technological superiority in products and manufacturers, and its renewed optimism of a rebounding from war. Expanded highways and expressways connected suburbs to downtown workplaces. As automobile ownership became commonplace, suburban workers could conveniently commute to their jobs, and housewives could enjoy shopping centers and supermarkets located in the new communities.

The necessity of becoming a two-car family was heavily promoted throughout the 1950s—a decade that began with a mere

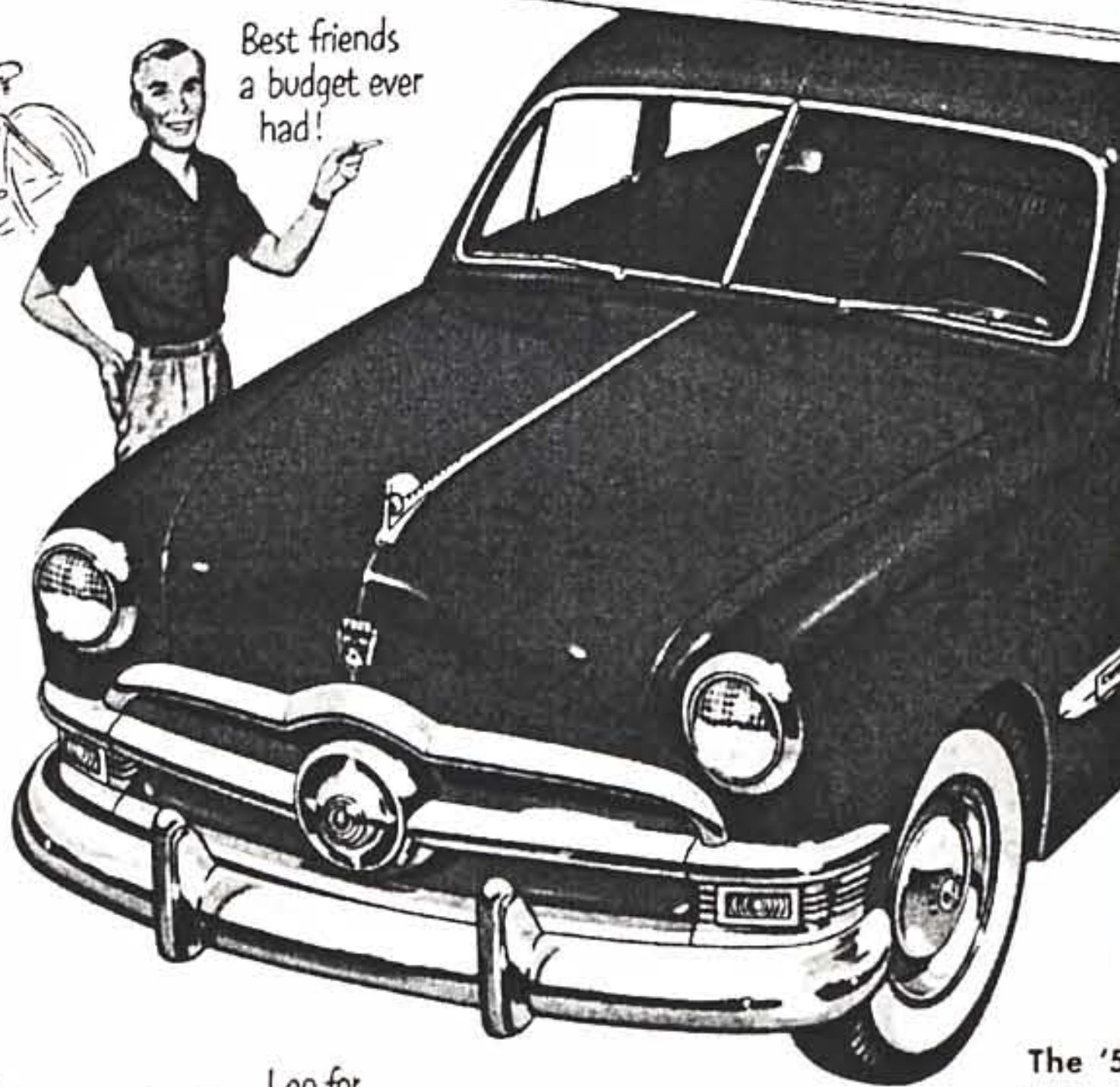


How did we ever get along without them?

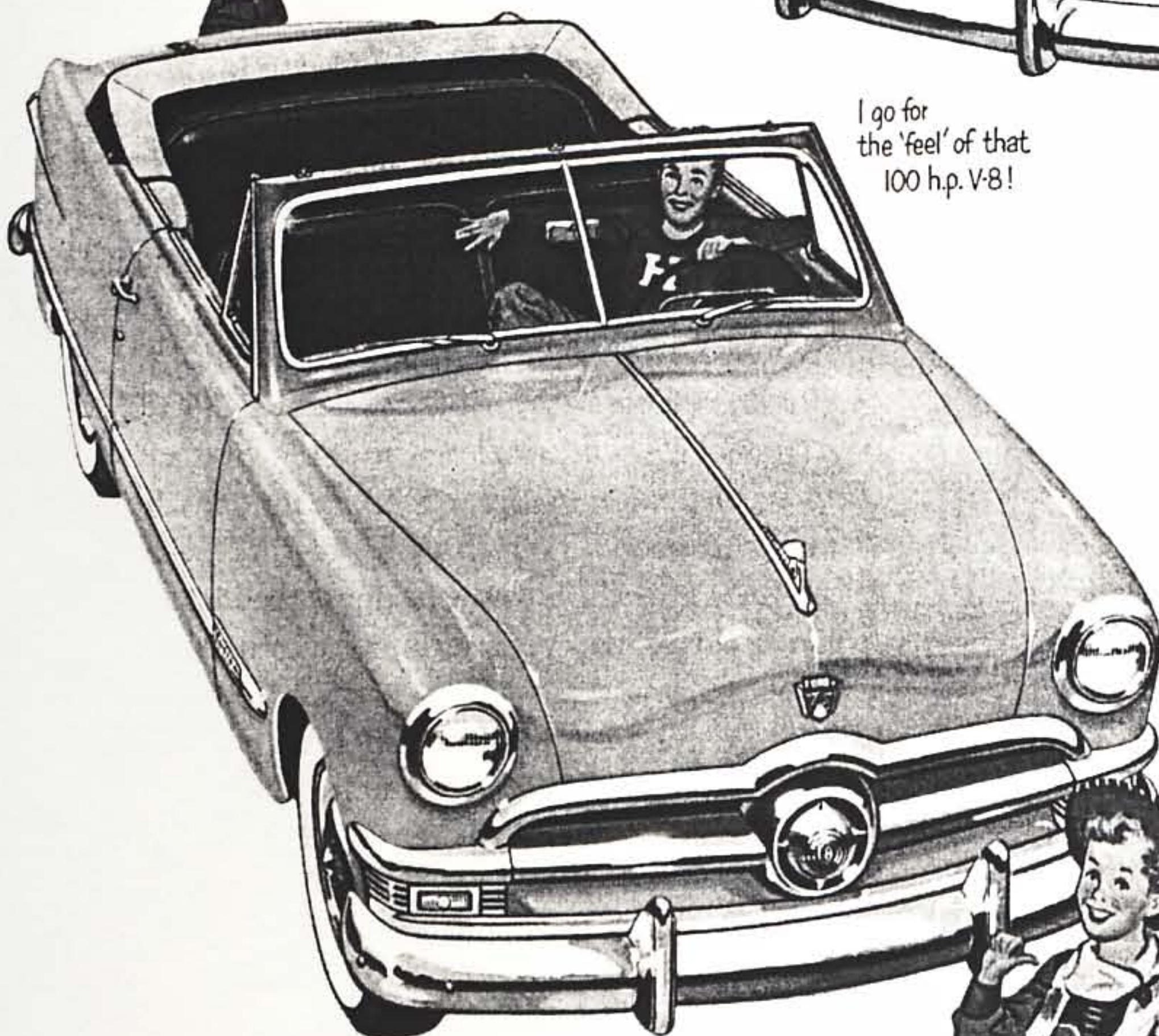
There's a  in your future...with a future built in

Best friends a budget ever had!

So easy on the eyes...so easy to drive and park!



The '50 Ford Tudor Sedan. Beauty that's recognized as "Fashion" throughout the country! The comfort of Ford's famous "Mid Ship" Ride in an all-steel "Lifeguard" Body — your choice of power-famous 100 h.p. V-8 or 95 h.p. Six!



I go for the 'feel' of that 100 h.p. V-8!

"Two Fords are even better than one!" say 250,000 U.S. families

Yes, 250,000 U. S. families are now enjoying the convenience that only two cars can give . . . and the economy that only two Fords can give! They've found that two Fords cost little more to own than one higher-priced car! Fords are economical to buy, economical to run, and there's less dollar depreciation at "trade-in" time!

"Test Drive" these Ford running mates at your Ford Dealer's today. You'll SEE, HEAR and FEEL the difference! And the car you now own may well provide the down payment on two '50 Fords.

The '50 Ford Convertible. Partner in fun for all the family. Your choice of fabric-and-leather or all-leather upholstery and 11 different body colors. Top goes up and down in seconds automatically.
White sidewall tires, wheel trim rings, optional at extra cost.

I like them both best!



In the 1950s ads from American automakers reflected the rise of the two-car family and the growing importance of the automobile in family life.
Courtesy of Ford Motor Company.

59 percent of American families owning a car. A 1950 Ford advertisement, for example, touted the convenience of owning two cars and the added economy of owning a Ford. Its headline read, "Now thousands own two fine cars!" Within a few years, nearly every family owned at least one car while many owned several.

By the mid-1950s, automobiles surpassed packaged goods and cigarettes as the most heavily advertised products. In *The Mirror Makers*, historian Stephen Fox cites Chevrolet (at \$30.4 million) and Ford (at \$25 million) as having the largest individual advertising budgets in 1956. Other automobile manufacturers—Buick, Dodge, Plymouth, Mercury, Chrysler, Pontiac, and Oldsmobile—followed. Only stalwart advertiser Coca-Cola Company broke through the mix of Detroit, Michigan-based standouts.

Car owners of the mid-1950s began to see their vehicles as extensions of themselves. As chairman of General Motors Corporation (GM), Alfred P. Sloan had implemented the strategy of planned obsolescence, stressing marketing segmentation among GM products. As early as the 1920s, Sloan dreamed of annual model changes to hasten consumers' desire to purchase new and more expensive cars. Under the leadership of GM chief designer Harley Earl, Sloan's planned obsolescence strategy was rediscovered and became the "dynamic obsolescence" of the 1950s. Earl's ever-changing designs pushed consumers to replace their cars yearly—not for lack of performance, but for lack of style. It was Earl who gave Cadillac and other 1950s GM cars their distinctive tail fins. Automobile design and advertising reflected the nation's infatuation with new technology, jet planes, and the atomic age. Soon other manufacturers introduced cars with large panoramic windshields, shiny chrome trim, and menacing "gun turrets" on the hood.

Consumers rejected excessive style changes, however. The Ford Edsel, introduced in September 1957 and named after Henry Ford's son, remains one of the automobile industry's most infamous marketing failures. Even with a \$30 million consumer advertising campaign, Edsel's unique styling and push-button performance failed to connect with consumers. Fairfax Cone, of Foote, Cone & Belding, said, "The trouble with Edsel was almost everything." Trade publications promptly reported Edsel's demise and speculated that consumers had tired of artificial design obsolescence and instead sought tangible product improvements.

TV's Coming of Age

Perhaps the most important factor influencing advertising in the 1950s was the growth of television and its maturation into a viable ad medium. Advancements in television technology, suspended during the war, quickly regained momentum at war's end. By 1951 regular live network service reached the West Coast via microwave transmitters, establishing coast-to-coast national coverage. As with radio, early television programming was advertiser sponsored and dominated. Advertising agencies produced TV shows, with networks providing little more than facilities, airtime, and occasional guidance. Sponsors benefited from dictating the environment and how and when their messages were inserted. Programming typically promoted the name of the sponsor and not

the star: *Hallmark Hall of Fame*, *Texaco Star Theater*, *Colgate Comedy Hour*, *Goodyear TV Playhouse*, and *Kraft Television Theater*.

Large U.S. agencies such as the J. Walter Thompson Company, Young & Rubicam, Inc., Batten Barton Durstine & Osborn (BBDO), and McCann-Erickson benefited by handling major packaged and durable goods advertisers such as Procter & Gamble, Bristol-Meyers, Westinghouse Electric, and Colgate-Palmolive. As the advertisers' business grew, so did their agencies' potential for growth. In 1949 Ben Duffy of BBDO spent 80 percent of his media time on television and only 20 percent on radio. By 1950 the BBDO television department had grown from 12 employees to 150, and the agency was billing \$4 million in the new medium.

Likewise, Madison Avenue continued to profit from spiraling TV spending. In 1949 the advertising industry's television spending was \$12.3 million. Within two years it had grown to \$128 million. By 1954 television had become the leading medium for advertising. It was, as author Martin Mayer described it, a world "in which everyone watched one of three networks and [an advertiser] could reach 60 percent of the country with a budget that was affordable." Meanwhile, network radio suffered losses as major stars and their audiences moved to television. Although network radio lost national prominence, individual stations remained outlets for local advertising and niche marketing throughout the decade.

While television was busy siphoning media dollars away from radio, newspapers and magazines were profiting by selling a new product category—television sets. New sets cost between \$200 for small models and \$2,500 for large consoles. Purchasing a television set was a major family event as well as a significant status symbol. By 1957 Americans owned 37 million television sets, and 450 TV stations were in operation. By 1960 television had approached 90 percent household penetration.

Advertisements featuring television reflected family togetherness and new technologies. Unlike radio, television demanded complete attention by the viewer. Families gathered to watch television, and products such as Swanson TV dinners were introduced to keep them in front of the set at mealtime.

Since videotaped programming was not widely available until after 1956, most early broadcasts and advertisements were performed live or on film. Spokespeople became readily identified with the product as product demonstrations gained significance in this visual medium. Betty Furness, a B-movie actress of the 1930s, became spokeswoman for Westinghouse appliances in 1949 on *Studio One*. For 11 years her popularity soared, as did the popularity of Westinghouse refrigerators, stoves, and other household appliances. Furness understood the new medium from her days as an actress. Most television spokespeople came directly from radio, and their presentations were often stiff and boring. Furness's film training helped her memorize lines and deliver them in a comfortable, believable manner. As a bright, confident, modern housewife, she epitomized the American dream. In the process, as the presenter of the all-American kitchen, she became one of television advertising's first celebrities.

Demonstrations also helped differentiate similar packaged goods. Notable televised product demonstrations included Band-Aid brand's "Super-Stick" bandages clinging to an egg in boiling water, Remington shaver's peach test in which a razor was used to shave peach fuzz, and the series of shock tests inflicted on Timex watches.

Other memorable television commercials include the stop-motion antics of Speedy Alka-Seltzer; Old Gold's dancing cigarette boxes; Dinah Shore's singing "See the USA in Your Chevrolet"; newsman John Cameron Swayze's matter-of-fact delivery of "It takes a licking and keeps on ticking" for Timex; and animated depictions of the Ajax Pixies, Tony the Tiger, Hamm's beer bear, and beer mavens Bert and Harry Piel.

Picked as one of the best advertisements of the decade by *Advertising Age*, Anacin pain reliever showed how beneficial and intrusive television advertising could be. Through slogans, demonstrations, mnemonics, and repetition, Anacin positioned itself as the "tension headache" remedy by repeating the phrase "Fast, fast, fast relief" and diagramming an imaginary headache with lightning bolts and hammers. The ad's tactic of repetition, created by agency Ted Bates & Company, drew harsh criticism, yet it increased Anacin's sales and stature. Motivated by Anacin's success, similar hard-hitting and repetitive ads followed.

The system of advertiser control over program content and scheduling that evolved in the heyday of radio was not a practice the networks were eager to see continue in television. As the stakes mounted and the competition between the networks intensified, broadcasters felt that they needed the authority to remove weak programs and strategically schedule strong ones to maintain viewer numbers during the valuable evening hours.

William Boddy, whose book *Fifties Television: The Industry and Its Critics* (1990) offers the most complete description of the advertiser-network struggle, cites this example of a growing network aggressiveness. *The Voice of Firestone* came to television from radio in 1949 at a time when networks still permitted advertisers to select and hold a time period of their choice as long as they were willing to pay for it. Under this practice, called sponsor time franchise, Firestone had held onto the same Monday night time-period (8:30 to 9:00 P.M.) for season after season. But the stodgy classical music format created a huge drop in NBC's ratings in the middle of its Monday prime-time schedule. Executives pleaded with the sponsor and its longtime agency, Sweeney & James Company, to yield the position, but it refused. Finally, in 1954 NBC took the then-unprecedented action of removing the show. Despite anger and threats of lawsuits, NBC effectively ended the time franchise.

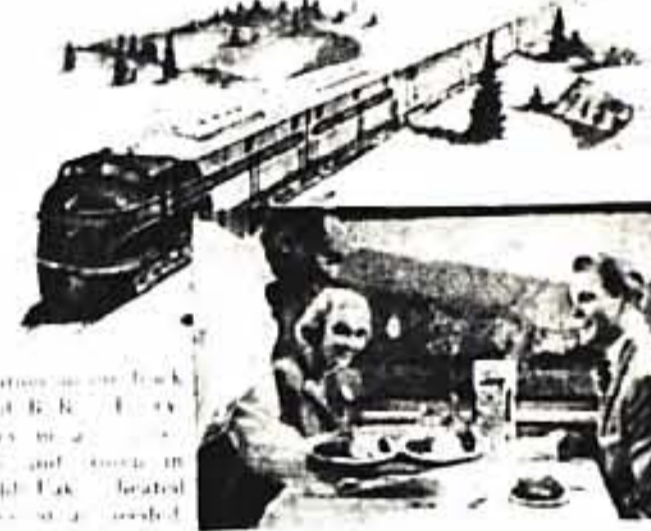
The president of NBC at that time was Sylvester L. ("Pat") Weaver. He had seen the problem of advertiser control from all sides—agency, marketer, and network. Weaver started at Young & Rubicam in 1935, then moved to the American Tobacco Company, and finally went to NBC. Like many television executives, he believed that networks, not advertisers and agencies, should control programming. To this end Weaver decided that NBC not only should produce an inventory of shows but also should sell them to a variety of "participating" sponsors rather than a single



Meal-time Revolution...in Aluminum!



Meal-time revolution! Complete frozen dinners in Reynolds Aluminum are ready to eat and served with Reynolds Aluminum foil.



Mr. Peepers' returns September 13th on NBC-TV.

It's a great and happy revolution...the whole idea of complete meals prepared by master chefs, brought to you ready to heat-'n-eat in Reynolds Aluminum. No work, no waste, no dishes to wash!

Choose from your dealer's big selection of frozen meals...beef, turkey and chicken pot pies...pot roast, turkey and swiss steak dinners...pastries...Chinese delicacies. Or buy fresh-cooked "Take-Home" dishes in food shops of famous restaurants!

If you have anything to do with institutional or in-plant feeding, make way for the revolution there. Saves time, saves work, saves money!

Reynolds, pioneers in aluminum packaging, leads the way in this joyful trend to no-work meals...meals that are also sensational food bargains. Aluminum makes it all possible...low-cost aluminum, the metal that's priced no higher today than in 1936-39.

For dinner tonight, for business tomorrow...follow the gleam of aluminum to better value! For more information contact your nearest Reynolds Sales Office or write Reynolds Metals Company, General Sales Office, Louisville 1, Kentucky.

"Drive Carefully...Your life is in YOUR hands."

YOUR COINAGE IS STILL WORTH 100 CENTS IN ALUMINUM!



This 1953 print ad shows Reynolds Aluminum products at the forefront of the 1950s culinary revolution: time-saving "heat-'n-eat" meals made possible by aluminum containers and wraps. Courtesy of Reynolds Consumer Products.

advertiser. This was the real strategy that lay behind such NBC programs of the 1950s as *Today*, *The Tonight Show*, *Your Show of Shows*, and *The Comedy Hour*. By selling one-minute commercial windows in network-produced programs, instead of 30- or 60-minute time blocks in which advertisers could dictate content, Weaver hoped to draw creative authority to the network as well as expand the access of smaller advertisers to network television. He was not always successful; Colgate ended up taking over *The Comedy Hour* and turning it into *The Colgate Comedy Hour*.

But the networks had an ally in economics. As the 1950s progressed, production costs rose dramatically to the point where many advertisers began to feel the strain. Increasingly programs that had started the decade with a single sponsor retreated to "alternate sponsorships" in which one advertiser would have the program one week, and another the alternate week. By 1957 Lucky Strike and Richard Hudnut shared *The Hit Parade*, and Stopette deodorant and Remington Rand alternated on *What's My Line*. Ad agencies remained an important part of the process, however. An agency might produce a program and offer it to two different clients on an alternate basis or it might switch sponsors.

The Kudner Agency produced *The Texaco Star Theater* with Milton Berle for its client, Texaco, for example, but when Texaco decided to withdraw in 1953, Kudner sold the program to another of its clients, General Motors, and it became *The Buick-Berle Show*.

Control over content finally shifted from advertiser to network in the wake of the quiz show scandal of the late 1950s. Long a staple on radio and television, quiz shows were among the most popular programs. Revlon sponsored *The \$64,000 Question* and controlled program content so tightly that corporate heads chose the game's winners and losers. Revelations about a similar game show, *Twenty-One*, shocked the nation when it was reported that contestant Charles Van Doren had been given the answers to the questions in advance. Congressional hearings ensued, and the networks established control over the content of their broadcasts by 1959.

Advertising Age columnist Bob Garfield said of the change from program sponsorship to the modern U.S. system of TV advertising, "Whatever else can be debated about the legacy of 50 years of TV advertising, this is undeniable: it underwrote the revolution."

Selling of the Presidency

Further revolutionizing the medium of television was the 1952 presidential campaign between Republican Dwight D. Eisenhower and Democrat Adlai E. Stevenson. Rosser Reeves of Ted Bates & Company, creator of the Anacin campaign, developed the strategy for Eisenhower's TV ads. A firm believer in the television spot, Reeves is remembered for hard-hitting, straight to the point, repetitive television advertising, and for his promotion of the "unique selling proposition," or USP, to break through the ad clutter in the mass media.

He positioned Eisenhower as "The man from Abilene" and a "Man of peace." Through a series of brief television spots entitled "Eisenhower Answers America," Reeves prerecorded Eisenhower as if he were speaking directly to the American people. Reeves then intercepted a tour bus at Radio City Music Hall in New York City and filmed average Americans asking the candidate questions such as, "Mr. Eisenhower, are we going to have to fight another war?" Careful editing showed the citizen's questions matched with Eisenhower's prerecorded answers. Eisenhower was reluctant to participate, but acquiesced to Reeves's persuasive arguments. At the close of filming, Eisenhower was said to have remarked, "To think that an old soldier should come to this."

Eisenhower won the election, but critics charged that Reeves had denigrated the office of presidency by selling it like toothpaste. Stevenson voiced his concern over merchandising the presidency and refused to recognize the medium. Stevenson's objections were too late as television and politics now formed an inextricable union.

Era of the Hidden Persuader

Mid-century advertising was a fertile ground for critics. As the Cold War raged, critics claimed that new mind-control methods

were used to manipulate unsuspecting consumers. Motivational research (MR) tapped into hidden desires and influenced consumers to purchase goods through their need for security, sex, social acceptance, style, luxury, and success. The leading proponent of motivational research was consultant Ernest Dichter. Dichter and his associates claimed to use psychological tools to analyze consumer buying habits and attitudes toward products, brands, packages, colors, and other motivations. Dichter proposed that one of the main dichotomies advertisers should resolve was what he called "the conflict between pleasure and guilt" among adults more affluent than their Depression-era parents.

Many ad agencies formed MR departments, and new brand personalities were born. The Marlboro man, Maidenform woman, and Hathaway man brought parity products (those with no easily discernible differences from others in the same category) to life and offered such attachments as emotional security, reassurance, creativity, and power. Vance Packard introduced MR to a Cold War-weary public in his best-selling book, *The Hidden Persuaders*. Revealing little about advertising technique, its ostensible subject, the book instead fueled Americans' fear of manipulation and mind control and became one of the most widely read exposés on advertising since the 1930s.

Though the 1950s seemed to be a serene decade of family values, suburban expansion, and increased prosperity, it also laid the groundwork for the turbulent decade to follow. While highways and supermarkets were expanding, so too were the communications needs and challenges of a new generation. For this expansion, historians claim that advertising served as handmaiden, cheerleader, and publicist. Critics claim that 1950s advertisements were not only bland and unimaginative but also reflected the conformity of the decade. Soon the compulsively obedient "organization man" of William Whyte's 1956 study by the same name would give way to the "creative revolutionary" of the 1960s.

KEN OHLEMEYER, JR.

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History: 1960s

The 1960s were advertising's "coming of age," when the industry reached its full potential as a communications tool. It mastered the language of television, appropriated the medium of photography, and produced work of unprecedented creativity. Influenced by the cultural and social changes of the decade, advertising reflected a trend toward innovation, sophistication, and a growing youth culture. In the United States the postwar abundance of the 1950s continued into the early 1960s, providing a profusion of mass-produced goods to eager consumers who enjoyed more leisure time and greater disposable income than any previous generation.

Advertising provided the information and incentive to keep consumption at an all-time high, but it was perhaps best known during this decade for its "creative revolution"—in which traditional styles and formats were discarded in favor of the "new advertising" characterized as irreverent, humorous, self-deprecating, ironic, and resonant. Advertising was also beset during the decade by criticism and regulatory concerns as consumer advocates sought new rights and protections for buyers.

Political and Social Upheaval

The 1960s in America were a time of enormous social and political change. Long hair became a symbol of revolution, hard hats an icon of reaction. The war in Vietnam was played out alongside prosperity at home, while freedom for white Americans existed alongside segregation for blacks. The contrasts conveyed disparate messages about the United States, which many young people interpreted as hypocrisy. Old attitudes toward war, race, gender, age, tradition, and authority were challenged. Idealistic young people protested against the materialism, consumerism, capitalism, and conformism of their parents' generation. This counterculture movement found expression in, among other places, the art schools of London, England; the music of the Beatles; and the images of the so-called pop artists.

The anti-establishment mood grew to be a sort of *cause célèbre* as rebellion spread across college campuses and became fashionable with the middle class. A revolution of tastes, technology, production, art, fashion, and music invigorated a new youth-oriented culture rebelling against the ways of its elders. The postwar baby boom generation came of age in the 1960s, with almost 50 percent of the U.S. population being under the age of 25 by the mid-

dle of the decade. A youthful sense of freedom and irreverence and a drive to break down old barriers was felt globally as young people around the world took to the streets to protest against authority of all kinds.

In this context of change and upheaval, advertising faced a number of challenges. Probably more than at any time in its history, advertising was subject to unprecedented criticism, not necessarily because of its practices but because the climate of upheaval and the challenge to the establishment brought advertising practices under closer scrutiny than ever before. The consumer movement gained force in the 1960s, fueled in part by a number of social critiques of advertising ethics. Advertising was castigated for its tendency to promote materialism and for exaggerated and often deceitful practices such as presenting doctors (played by actors) who made claims about the healthful aspects of cigarettes. Portrayed as "waste makers" and "subliminal charlatans" by their critics, advertisers were threatened with increased government regulation and, in some countries, taxation. Advertising entered the decade at the low end of public opinion polls and was perceived as "untrustworthy" by the antimaterialistic and skeptical youth culture.

One of advertising's major challenge during the decade was to improve its image. It needed not only to appease and disarm its critics, but also to capture the lucrative new youth market. With innovative campaigns such as Pepsi Cola's "Think Young" and "Pepsi Generation" from Batten Barton Durstine & Osborn (BBDO), advertisers made an effort to tone down their claims and establish a relationship with their audiences. Whereas it had previously treated the counterculture as deviant, undesirable, and marginalized, advertising now embraced it and attempted to connect with the youth market as well as with consumers fascinated with the counterculture phenomenon. No brand made this connection better than Coca-Cola, which embraced peace and love at the end of the decade in a commercial featuring a multiethnic chorus of young people singing "I'd Like to Teach the World to Sing" (from ad agency McCann-Erickson).

The "Creative Revolution"

Relying less on research than in previous decades, advertising turned to its creative instinct. Eschewing portrayals of elitism,

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