But most Muslims in the United States are not Arabs or from the Middle East. In fact, Muslims are the most racially diverse and inclusive religion in the United States. A 2009 study by the Gallup Center for Muslim Studies revealed that 28% of U.S. Muslims classified themselves as White, 35% were African American, 18% considered themselves Asian, and 18% claimed other race or ethnicity. In comparison, most other religions were predominantly White: Jews, 93%; Mormons, 91%; Protestants, 88%; and Catholics, 76%.

The families profiled in *All-American Muslim* all originated in Lebanon, which conformed to the image of Muslims as being from the Middle East, a region in which the United States was engaged in conflicts when the series was broadcast.

The program’s approach of showing these Muslims as adapting to traditional aspects of American life was attacked by groups such as the Florida Family Association, which opposed what it called the “Islamization of America” and protested those “who are hostile toward Christianity and traditional American values.” The Florida Family Association’s website criticized the program for “attempting to manipulate Americans into ignoring the threat of jihad” and hiding “the Islamic agenda’s clear and present danger to American liberties and traditional values.” By focusing on American Muslims living lifestyles shared by many Americans, the show excluded “many Islamic believers whose agenda poses a clear and present danger to liberties and traditional values that the majority of Americans cherish,” the organization charged.

“Most Americans aren’t suspicious of Muslims who are trying to get married, open clubs, and play football. Americans are suspicious of Muslims who are trying to blow up American buildings, subvert American freedoms, and assert the primacy of Islamic law over American law,” wrote Robert Spencer, director of Jihad Watch, in an article reprinted on the Florida Family Association’s *All-American Muslim* webpage.

In protesting the show’s portrayal of Muslims, the organization targeted not the TLC network, the program’s producers, or the families featured in the series. Instead, the Florida Family Association launched a national campaign targeting companies whose advertising appeared next to *All-American Muslim* shows. The group sent six e-mail alerts encouraging those opposing the program to e-mail “the companies that advertised during the first six weeks that the program aired.” After receiving the protests and calls for a boycott of its home improvement stores, the giant retail chain Lowe’s pulled its advertisements from *All-American Muslim*. The Lowe’s decision triggered criticism of the chain by those who felt the company should not have pulled away from the program. In a statement explaining its decision, Lowe’s called the *All-American Muslim* reality series “a lightning rod” for many “individuals and groups [who] have strong political and societal views on this topic.”

In the late autumn of 2011, the Learning Channel (TLC) on cable television hoped to build multicultural understanding when it launched a new reality series *All-American Muslim*. The series promised to follow the daily lives of five American Muslim families in Dearborn, Michigan, and offer an “intimate look at customs and celebrations, as well as misconceptions, conflicts, and differences these families face outside and within their own community.” Rather than focus on how these families were different from other Americans, the network said the series would reveal “how these individuals negotiate universal family issues” such as marriage, juggling busy careers, and raising a family. In fact, the network said the series would show that, although the family members shared the same religion, “the families of *All-American Muslim* lead different lives.”

The lineup of real-life characters in the program reflected both reality and diversity. It included two sisters, one who wore the traditional headscarf and prayed daily and another decorated with piercings and tattoos who had married an Irish Catholic who was converting to Islam. Others in the program were the head football coach of a local high school team, a deputy chief sheriff, an automotive marketing coordinator, and the businesswoman owner of Dearborn’s premier wedding and banquet hall. All were involved with aspects of life common to all Americans and wanted to move into life in the United States without losing touch with their religion. The *Hollywood Reporter* review of the story called the series “a heartfelt story of immigration and assimilation that is as American as apple pie.”

Although Muslims are members of the Islam religion and are not a race or an ethnicity, the media’s portrayal of Muslims has been racialized by focusing on Muslims who are Arabs, Middle Easterners, and South Asians.
"As a result we did pull our advertising on this program. We believe it is best to respectfully defer to communities, individuals and groups to discuss and consider such issues," the North Carolina-based company continued. In reaction to the Lowe's decision, others accused the chain of endorsing hate by pulling its advertisements and organized a petition drive urging other advertisers to stay with the program.

Both the role of the TLC network to try to show Muslims as adapting to life in the United States and the role of the Florida Family Association targeting advertisers to influence media content are central to the themes of this book. The focus of this chapter is the key role and pervasive influence of advertisers in shaping what the media show or do not show about people who historically have not been fully or accurately covered or portrayed. Though coverage of Arabs, Muslims, Middle Easterners, and South Asians is relatively new to the media scene, the relationships between advertising, media content, and audience reaction are not new.

Advertising and Media in the Land of Plenty

In 1950, historian David Potter was invited by the Walgreen Foundation to prepare six lectures at Harvard University on the American character and the impact of economic abundance on shaping the character of people in the United States. In the lectures, later published in revised form in the 1954 book _People of Plenty_, Potter identified advertising as the "institution of abundance," a unique part of the society "brought into being by abundance, without previous existence in any form, and, moreover, an institution which is peculiarly identified with American abundance." He also noted that media scholars up to the middle of the 20th century had not recognized the central role advertising played in shaping and developing media in the United States. Advertising had been seen as a sideshow to the media's main content. But Potter saw advertising as the main message of the media, with the news and entertainment content being the sideshow.

As Potter and later scholars have noted, the development of advertising as a revenue source for print and, later, broadcast media required managers of media to develop news and entertainment content that would be bait to attract the largest possible number of people. This gave birth to the term _mass media_, which described the ability of the media to reach a large audience to which advertisers could direct their commercial messages through relatively few channels. _Class media_ targeted to special audiences such as women, people of color, or people with special interests attracted fewer people and often advertisers offering products or services targeting the distinctive tastes of their audiences, such as food, entertainment, or travel to the mother country. The audience circulation for print media and rating figures for broadcasters became the bread and butter of the media, since they translated to increased advertising insertions and higher advertising rates. The larger the audience, the more money the media could charge advertisers.

Potter emphasized that, far from being an appendage to the mass media, advertising is a force that dictates the editorial and entertainment content of media that depend on advertising dollars for their revenues. The mass media charge artificially low subscription fees to boost their circulation, which forces the media to depend on advertisers even more for their revenues. This, in turn, is accompanied by editorial or programming philosophies that placed a priority on attracting the largest possible audience. News and entertainment content are nothing more than the bait to attract the audience and hold its attention between the commercial messages.

What this means, in functional terms, it seems to me, is that the newspaper feature, the magazine article, the radio program, do not attain the dignity of being ends in themselves; They are rather means to an end; that end, of course, is to catch the reader's attention so that he [or she] will then read the advertisement or hear the commercial, and to hold his [or her] interest until these essential messages have been delivered. The program or the article becomes a kind of advertisement in itself—becomes the "pitch," in the telling language of the circus barker. Its function is to induce people to accept the commercial, just as the commercial's function is to induce them to accept the product.

As was shown by the experience of _All-American Muslim_ and the Lowe's advertising pullout in 2011, Potter's description of media content as bait for the mass audience means that the mass media include material that attracts the most people and, at the same time, delete material that could offend and alienate potential members of the audience. The portrayal of Muslims in the program offended some potential customers who Lowe's wanted in its stores. Potter described the limits this relationship puts on media that depend on advertising.

First, a message must not deal with subjects of special or out-of-the-way interest, since such subjects by definition have no appeal for the majority of the audience. Second, it must not deal with any subject at a high level of maturity, since many people are immature, chronologically or otherwise, and a mature level is one that, by definition, leaves such people out. Third, it must not deal with matters that are controversial or even unpleasant or distressing, since such matters may, by definition, antagonize or offend some members of the audience.

The _All-American Muslim_ series qualifies on all three counts described by Potter. First, it dealt with a subject of special interest that had not been well covered by the media. Second, it presented complex portrayals and roles of Muslims that were controversial and antagonized some members of the audience valued by at least one advertiser. The targeting of advertisers by those opposed to _All-American Muslim_ was a 21st-century example of the influence that some members of the
Race and Ethnicity in Advertising

For years, advertisers reflected the place of non-Whites in the social fabric of the nation by either ignoring them or, when including them in advertisements for the mass audience, presenting them as palatable salespersons for the products being advertised. These portrayals in the media largely sharpened the focus of the lens through which many in the White majority saw non-Whites. Advertisers used familiar racial images and symbols that triggered stereotypes in the minds of the readers, viewers, and listeners to manufacture images of people of color featured in advertising that paralleled and reinforced their entertainment and news images. Though there is some truth in every symbol and stereotype, the constant and consistent images and portrayals of people of color in advertising, entertainment, and news provided an out-of-focus view of the people portrayed.

The history of advertising in the United States is replete with characterizations that responded to and reinforced the preconceived image that many White Americans apparently had of Blacks, Arabs, Latinos, Asians, and Native Americans. Over the years, advertisers have employed Mexican bandits like the mustached Frito Bandito, Black mammy images like Aunt Jemima, Chinese laundry workers, and noble savages like the Santa Fe Railroad’s Chief to pitch products to a predominantly White mass audience of consumers.

In 1984, the Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies in Philadelphia sponsored an exhibit of more than 300 examples of racial and ethnic images used by corporations in magazines, posters, trading cards, and storyboards. In an interview with the advertising trade magazine Advertising Age, Balch Institute director Mark Stolarik quoted the exhibit catalog, which recalled the evolution of advertising images of people of color.

"Some of these advertisements were based on stereotypes of various ethnic groups. In the early years, they were usually crude and undescending images that appealed to largely Anglo-American audiences who found it difficult to reconcile their own visions of beauty, order and behavior with that of non-Anglo-Americans. Later, these images were softened because of complaints from the ethnic groups involved and the growing sophistication of the advertising industry,” Stolarik said. The advertising examples in the exhibit included positive White ethnic stereotypes, such as the wholesome and pure image of Quakers in an early Quaker Oats advertisement and the cleanliness of the Dutch in a 1900-era advertisement for Colgate soap. But other White ethnics were not treated as kindly. The exhibit featured a late-19th-century advertisement showing an Irish matron threatening to hit her husband over the head with a rolling pin because he didn’t smoke the right brand of tobacco. Some products, such as Rosarita Mexican food and Red Man chewing tobacco, went beyond advertising to incorporate racial or ethnic images in the product name or label.

“Lawd, Folks don’t whoops with joy over AUNT JEMIMA PANCAKES,” shouted a bandanna-wearing Black mammy in an advertisement for Aunt Jemima pancake mix. A plump Aunt Jemima was featured on the box. Marilyn Kne-Foxworth, who studied African American images in advertising, describes how Aunt Jemima has lost weight and her bandanna over the years. But although the image has changed, her legacy continues. A neatly coiffed Black woman wearing pearl earrings is still featured on every Aunt Jemima box. Similarly, boxes of Uncle Ben’s rice products still feature a well-groomed Black servant. Although "Aunt Jemima" and "Uncle Ben" represent Black slaves and servants who may have lived with the people they served, they were not really considered members of the families for whom the products and advertising were created.

Images of Blacks as friendly servants were for a long time pervasive in the national promotion of products. Early advertisements for Cream of Wheat featured Rastus, the Black servant whose picture is still on the box, in a series of magazine pictures with a group of cute, but ill-dressed, Black
children. Some of the advertising ridiculed Blacks, such as an ad in which a Black schoolteacher, standing behind a makeshift lectern made out of a boldly lettered Cream of Wheat box, asks the class, "How do you spell Cream of Wheat?" Others appeared to promote racial integration, such as an advertisement captioned "Putting it down in Black and White," which showed Rastus serving bowls of breakfast cereal to Black and White youngsters sitting at the same table. 

Earlier images of Blacks in servitude were not designed to promote racial equality, and, in some, Black slaves were the property and product being bought and sold in advertising in both Southern and Northern newspapers. An 1855 advertisement featuring a picture of a Black man on the move with his belongings on his back was placed by a slave trader offering to pay "$1200 TO $1500 DOLLARS FOR NEGROES!" Another newspaper advertised "CASH FOR 500 NEGROES" and, on September 7, 1835, a Washington, D.C., newspaper, the Washington Globe, offered "FIFTY DOLLARS REWARD" for the return of the "runaway Dennis," a slave.

Racial imagery also influenced the naming and advertising of passenger routes by the Santa Fe Railroad. It named its passenger lines the Chief, Super Chief, and El Capitan and featured highly detailed portraits of noble

In the 1950s advertisements for Aunt Jemima Pancake Mix featured romanticized images of relations between Black slaves and their White owners. Closer to reality were the first images of people of color in American advertising, such as these 1784 newspaper advertisements offering slaves for sale.

**Negroes For Sale.**

*In the 1950s advertisements for Aunt Jemima Pancake Mix featured romanticized images of relations between Black slaves and their White owners. Closer to reality were the first images of people of color in American advertising, such as these 1784 newspaper advertisements offering slaves for sale.*

**Thirty Seasoned Negroes.**

To be sold for Credit, at Private Sale.

A MORGAST which is a Carpenter, 100 yrs, to whom are known to be dissolute.

56 yrs to be sold for Cash, a regular field young Negro Man-Cook, born in this Country, who has served several Yrs under an exceedingly good French Cook aboard, and is not given to intemperance. ... Children, 2 boys, a young Man a Carpenter, ? 4 years in the Winter.

*Source: © CORBIS (right).*

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Chapter 7  Marketing and Advertising

In promoting its service through the Southwest. In other advertisements, the railroad featured cartoons of cute Native American children to show the service and sights passengers could expect when riding the Santa Fe line.

These and other portrayals catered to the mass audience mentality by either neutralizing or making fun of the negative perceptions that many Whites may have had of racial minorities. The advertising images, rather than showing people of color as they really were, portrayed them as filtered through Anglo eyes for the mass audience. This presented an out-of-focus image of racial minorities, but one that was acceptable, and even persuasive, to the White majority to which it was directed. These symbolic images of people of color in advertising were designed to trigger stereotypical thoughts in the minds of readers, viewers, and listeners that promoted purchase of the products being advertised.

**Looking Back: Advertising Images, Protests, and Prc**

In the mid-1960s, Black civil rights groups targeted the advertising industry for special attention, protesting both the lack of integrated advertisements including Blacks and the stereotyped images that the advertisers continued to use. The effort, accompanied by pressure from federal officials, resulted in the overnight inclusion of Blacks in nonstereotypical roles in television advertising during the 1967–1968 television season and a downplaying of the images many Blacks found objectionable. In 1968, the *New York Times* reported, "Black America is becoming visible in America's biggest national advertising medium. Not in a big way yet, but it is a beginning and men in high places give assurances that there will be a lot more visibility."

But the advertising industry did not apply the concerns of Blacks, or the changes made in response to them, to other people of color. Some Black issues were being addressed with integrated advertising in the late 1960s and early 1970s. But other groups were still ignored or experienced continued stereotyped treatment in commercials such as those featuring the Frito Bandito, a sneaky Mexican bandit who stole "cronchy" corn chips from unsuspecting homemakers. Although the Frito Bandito campaign was highly effective, it was withdrawn in the early 1970s after being targeted by Latinos and others who found the bandito image and behavior offensive.

Among the Latino advertising stereotypes cited in a 1969 article by scholar Tomás Martinez were commercials for Granny Goose potato chips featuring fat, gun-toting Mexicans; an advertisement for Arrid underarm deodorant showing a dusty Mexican bandito spraying his underarms as the announcer intoned, "If it works for him it will work for you"; and a magazine photo of a Mexican sleeping under his sombrero against a Philco television set. Especially offensive to Martinez was a Liggett & Myers
ino activists in the late 1960s protested Mexican bandit imagery of Frito-Lay's Bandito advertising campaign, illustrated by this 1968 wanted poster using both visual and language stereotypes. The campaign was withdrawn in the early 1970s after protests intensified.

Commercial for L&M cigarettes, which featured Paco, a lazy Latino who never "finishes" anything, even the revolution he is supposed to be fighting. In response to a letter complaining about the commercial, the director of public relations for the tobacco firm defended the commercial.

"Paco is a warm, sympathetic and likable character with whom most of us can identify because he has a little of all of us in him, that is, our tendency to procrastinate at times," wrote the Liggert & Myers executive. "He seeks to escape the violence of war and to enjoy the pleasure of the moment. In this case, the good flavor of an L&M cigarette."

Although the company spokesman claimed that the character had been tested without negative reactions from Latinos, Martinez roundly criticized the advertising images and contrasted them with nonstereotypical images of Blacks that were clear evidence of the breakthrough Blacks were making in advertising in the late 1960s.

"Today, no major advertiser would attempt to display a black man or woman over the media in a prejudiced, stereotyped fashion," Martinez wrote in 1969. "Complaints would be forthcoming from black associations and perhaps the FCC. Yet, these same advertisers, who dare not show 'step'n' fetch 'em' characters, uninhibitedly depict a Mexican counterpart, with additional traits of stinking and stealing. Perhaps the white hatred for blacks, which cannot find adequate expression in today's ads, is being transferred upon their brown brothers."

A 1971 Brown position paper prepared by Latino media activists Domingo Nick Reyes and Armando Rendón charged that the media had transferred the negative stereotypes they once reserved for Blacks to Latinos, who needed to fight their own battles to gain racial justice for Latinos in advertising portrayals.

The protests of Latinos soon made the nation's advertisers more conscious of the images that Latinos found offensive. It took protests on the part of offended members of the groups portrayed for advertisers to understand the potential harm embedded in the racial and ethnic advertising stereotypes others found so appealing. National advertisers had withdrawn much of the advertising that negatively stereotyped Blacks and Latinos by the end of the 1970s, but they sometimes replaced the ads with images of affluent, successful people of color that were as far away from reality as the negative portrayals of the past. The advances made by those groups were not extended to Asian Americans and Native Americans until they launched their own protests.

Native Americans have all but disappeared from broadcast commercials and print advertising. The major exceptions to this exclusion are the SUVs, pickup trucks, and motor homes that bear the names of indigenous people, such as Cherokee, Winnebago, Dakota, and Navajo, to evoke a rugged, outdoors, woody image. To show their toughness, some professional teams and schools still used Native American racial mascots in the 21st century. The Kansas City Chiefs, Washington Redskins, Florida State University Seminoles, University of North Dakota Fighting Sioux, Atlanta Braves, and Cleveland Indians are names that play on 19th-century stereotypes and images of the First Americans. Other 19th-century images include Land O'Lakes dairy products, which show the purity and wholesomeness of their goods by featuring an Indian maiden on the label.

After more than 40 years of protests, some schools have dropped the stereotypical images, although most professional teams have held onto their mascots. In the early 1970s, Stanford University dropped its Indians mascot after criticisms of its racist implications were raised. In 2002, the
Massachusetts College of Liberal Arts dropped the Mohawks mascot and stern warrior image after a Mohawk tribal officer told college officials the name given to his people by Europeans translates to "maneater" and did not honor them. San Diego State University retired the stereotypical Monty Montezuma and replaced him with Montezuma II, a more historically accurate figure who told schoolchildren about the achievements of Mexico's Aztec people. Native Americans and others have long protested the marketing of these racist team names and images, as well as the pseudo-pageantry and souvenirs that accompany many of them. The prospects for change improved early in the 21st century as governmental groups, such as the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and some state education agencies, took positions against the Indian mascots.

Advertisers have also used images of Asian Pacific Americans that cater to the fears and stereotypes of White America. As with Blacks and Latinos, it took organized action by Asian Americans for corporations and advertising agencies to get the message. Following protests in the mid-1970s, a Southern California supermarket chain agreed to remove a television campaign in which a young Asian karate-chopped his way down the store's aisles cutting prices.

Nationally, several firms hard hit by Japanese imports fought back in the 1980s through commercials, if not in the quality or prices of their products. One automobile company featured an Asian American family carefully looking over a new car and commenting on its attributes in heavily accented English. Only after they bought it did they learn that it was made in the United States, not Asia. Another automobile company, which markets cars with an English name that are manufactured in Japan, showed a parking lot attendant opening the doors of the car to find the car speaking to him in Japanese. Sylvania television ran a commercial in which the announcer boasted that its picture had repeatedly been selected over competing brands, while an off-screen voice with a Japanese accent repeatedly asked, "What about Sony?" When the announcer responded that the Sylvania picture had been selected over Sony's, the off-screen voice trailed off shouting what sounded like a string of Japanese expletives. In 1962, Newsweek reported that "attacking Japan has become something of a fashion in corporate ads" because of resentment over Japanese trade policies and sales of Japanese products in the United States. Motorola's advertising manager was quoted as saying, "We've been as careful as we can be" not to be racially offensive.

Many of the television and print advertisements in the 1980s with Asians featured themes that were racially insensitive, if not offensive. And these advertisements were for real. One commercial featured a Chinese family laundry that used an "ancient Chinese laundry secret" to get customer's clothes clean. Naturally, the secret turned out to be the packaged product paying for the advertisement. Companies pitching everything from pantyhose to air travel featured women coiffed and costumed as seductive China dolls or scantily clad Polynesian maidens to promote their products, some of them cast in exotic settings and others attentively caring for the needs of Whites. One airline boasted that those flying with them would be under the care of the Singapore Girl.

Asian Pacific women had an exotic, tropical Pacific Islands look, complete with flowers in their hair, a sarong or grass skirt, and a shell ornament. Asian Pacific men in advertising were often beefy and muscular, with an aptitude for surfing or martial arts. Asian women in commercials were often featured as China dolls—with small, darkened eyes; straight hair with bangs; and a narrow, slit skirt. Asian American women who hoped to become models sometimes found that they must conform to these stereotypes or lose assignments. Leslie Kawai, the first Asian American Tournament of Roses Queen, was told to cut her hair into a style with stereotypical bangs when she auditioned for a beer advertisement. When she refused, the beer company hired a model with bangs.

The lack of a sizable Asian Pacific American community, or market, in the United States was earlier cited as the reason that members of the group were still stereotyped in advertising and, except for children's advertising, rarely presented in integrated settings. However, their population and income growth rate in the United States from the 1980s into the 21st century made clear their potential to overcome such stereotyping and their lack of visibility in advertising. By the mid-1980s, there were signs that advertising was beginning to integrate Asian Pacific Americans into cross-over advertisements designed to have a broad appeal. In one commercial, actor Robert Ito said that he loved to call relatives in Japan because the calls made them think he was rich and successful in the United States. Of course, he added, it was because the rates of his long distance carrier were so low that he was able to call so often. 

Martial arts themes have long been used in some advertising featuring Asians and Asian Pacific Americans, such as this 21st-century "Got Milk?" advertisement showing actress Zhang Ziyi slicing through a milk bottle with her hand.
Chapter 7 Marketing and Advertising

By the end of the 1970s, mass audience advertising in the United States had become more racially integrated than it had been at any time in the nation's history. Blacks, and to a much lesser extent Latinos and Asians, could be seen in television commercials and major magazines. In fact, the advertisements on network television often were more integrated than the television programs they supported. Like television advertising, general circulation magazine advertising showed an increase in the appearance of Blacks, although studies of both media showed that most of the percentage increase had come by the early 1970s. At that time, the percentage of prime-time television commercials featuring Blacks had apparently leveled off at about 10%. Blacks were featured in only between 2% and 3% of magazine advertisements as late as 1978. That percentage, however small, was a sharp increase from the 0.06% of news magazine advertisements featuring Blacks reported in 1960.

The advertising breakthroughs were socially significant at the time, since they demonstrated that Blacks could be successfully integrated into advertisements. But some worried that Blacks in advertising might trigger a backlash among potential customers in the White majority. This spurred research to study the reaction among Blacks and Whites as the advertising breakthrough took place. Both sales figures and research conducted in the late 1960s and early 1970s showed that the integration of Black models into television and print advertising did not adversely affect sales or the image of the product. In fact, while integrated advertisements triggered no adverse effects among Whites, such ads helped draw Black consumers, who responded favorably to positive Black role models in print advertisements.23

Studies conducted in the early 1970s also showed that Whites did not respond negatively to advertising featuring Black models.24 However, one 1972 study examining White backlash did show that an advertisement prominently featuring darker-skinned Blacks was less acceptable to Whites than one featuring lighter-skinned Blacks as background models.25 Perhaps such findings help explain why later research revealed that, for the most part, Blacks appearing in magazine and television advertisements in the 1970s were often featured as part of an integrated group.26 In the 1970s and 1980s, people of color who appeared in general audience advertising often played token roles in upscale integrated settings, which the Balch Institute's Soloriak criticized as taking advertising "too far in another direction and creating stereotypes of 'successful' ethnic group members that are as unrealistic as those of the past."27

Having established that featuring African Americans would not offend potential White customers, corporations and advertising agencies turned their attention to ways to maximize their profits among all racial segments of society in the 1980s. But still unanswered at that time was how much and how often they would feature non-White models in their advertising. Once again, the answer would come down to dollars and cents.

"If it is believed that the presence of Black models in advertisements decreases the effectiveness of advertising messages, only token numbers of Black models will be used," wrote Lawrence Soley in 1983. "Given the consistency of the research findings, more Blacks should be portrayed in advertisements. If Blacks continue to be underrepresented in advertising portrayals, it can be said that this is an indication of prejudice on the part of the advertising industry, not consumers."28

Decades later, more Asian Pacific Americans, Blacks, and Latinos were featured in mass audience advertising. But their numbers were still below reflecting the growth of these groups in the nation's population. And it was this sharp growth that had captured the attention of advertisers.

Multicultural Marketing: Courting Consumers of Color

While Soley stopped short of accusing corporate executives of racial prejudice, he contends that a "counter pressure" to full integration of Blacks into portrayals in mainstream media was that "advertising professionals are businessmen first and moralists second."29 Thus it was the business sense of marketing executives that led to increasingly aggressive advertising and marketing campaigns to capture people of color as consumers—particularly Blacks and Latinos in the 1970s and 1980s and Asian Pacific Americans in the 1990s.

Long depicted as low-end consumers with little money to spend, Black and Latino customers became more important to those national and regional advertisers of mainstream goods who took a close look at the size, composition, and projected growth of the groups. Although Asian Pacific Americans experienced a sharp percentage growth in the 1970s and were generally more affluent than Blacks and Latinos, they were not targeted to the same extent as those groups, probably because of their relatively small
numbers and the differences in national languages in the group. And, except in regions in which they composed a sizable portion of the population, Native Americans were still ignored as consumers of mainstream products through the 20th century, and Muslims were not identified as a potential market until the 21st century. A 2003 American Demographics article on race, ethnicity, and marketing in the United States included data and charts on Blacks, Whites, Hispanics, and Asians but not on Native Americans or Muslims.

The first major breakthroughs in the advertising industry's courtship of Blacks and Latinos grew out of the civil rights movements of the 1950s and 1960s, in which consumer boycotts challenged racial segregation and helped unionize farmworkers. In the 1960s, Black ministers organized the Philadelphia Selective Patronage Program, in which Blacks did business with companies that supported their goal of more jobs for Blacks. In the same era, Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers of America effectively organized a nationwide boycott of California table grapes until growers recognized the rights of their largely Mexican and Filipino workers to form a labor union. After labor contracts were signed in 1970, the union asked supporters to buy table grapes. This philosophy of consumers using their purchase to patronize corporations that recognized the importance of minority communities and causes was replicated elsewhere. It was often accompanied by slick advertising campaigns directed at minority consumers. In 1984, the same line of thinking led to the Coors brewery attempting to end disputes with Blacks and Latinos by signing controversial agreements with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and five national Latino groups. The agreements committed the brewery to increase its financial support of the organizations as Blacks and Latinos drank more Coors beer.

The second, and perhaps more influential, element of the courtship was the hard selling job of advertising agencies and media targeting Blacks and Spanish-speaking Latinos. Spurred by Black advertising executive D. Parke Gibson's 1968 book The $30 Billion Negro and a steady stream of articles on Black and Latino consumers in media trade publications, national advertisers in the 1960s began to see these groups as potential purchasers of a wide range of products, not just ethnic foods and cosmetics. Advertisers were persuaded that the inattention Latinos and Blacks had previously received from mainstream products made them loyal to companies that courted them through neighborhood billboards and in their publications and broadcast stations. Once advertisers saw people of color as potential product purchasers, their negative images declined or disappeared from advertisements, and they were courted through more positive appeals.

The third, and most important, element in advertising's courtship of Latinos and Blacks was a fundamental change in the thinking of marketing and advertising executives. Witnessing the success they had in advertising on radio stations and in magazines targeted to specific audience segments following the advent of television as the dominant mass audience medium in the 1950s, advertising agencies advised clients to target potential customers classified by smaller market segments rather than the larger mass audience. Advertisers found that classifications of race, like differences in sex, residence, education, and age, were easy to use in targeted advertising appeals through segmented class media directed toward these audiences. As the advertisers moved from mass media to class media, Black and Latino media produced studies to show their effectiveness in reaching and delivering the desired segments of the mass audience. They also focused on the rapidly growing purchasing power of people of color.

In 2009, the combined buying power of African Americans, Asians, and Native Americans will be $1.5 trillion—65 percent more than its 2000 level of $898 billion—which amounts to a gain of $586 billion, the University of Georgia Selig Center for Economic Growth reported in 2009. Looking ahead, the Georgia center predicted that the three groups' combined purchases would total $1.9 trillion by 2014, nearly 15% of the country's buying power. In addition, the purchasing power of Hispanics, who can be of any race, increased from $489 billion in 2000 to $978 billion in 2009.
purchasing budgets of these groups of people of color also grew at a faster rate than those of Whites, whose increase was 46% from 2000 to 2009. In the same period, the buying power increased by 100% for Hispanics, by 89% for Asian Americans, by 65% for Native Americans, and by 54% for African Americans. Muslims, who can be of any race, were estimated to represent a $200 billion market in the United States in 2011, with the population expected to double by 2030. These figures set the scene for continued growth in corporations marketing and advertising their products and services to people of color and accelerated changes that had been in the works for decades.

THE BLACK MARKET

In a 1984 article in the advertising trade magazine Madison Avenue, Caroline Jones, executive vice president of Mingo-Jones Advertising, wrote,

It is a basic tenet of marketing that you go after markets with rifles, not shotguns. It is foolhardy—and idealistic in the worst way—to try to sell the same thing to everyone in the same way. Good marketing involves breaking down potential markets into homogeneous segments; targeting the most desirable segments; and developing creative programs, tailored for each segment, that make your messages look different from your competitors. All of that should be done with the guidance of thorough research on characteristics, beliefs and preferences of the people in the targeted markets.31

Jones, whose agency focused on reaching Black consumers, advised advertising professionals to target Black consumers because “there’s money in it.” Among the factors she cited in 1984 as making Blacks desirable customers was the group’s disposable income, a “high propensity for brand names and indulgence items,” a strong sense of “brand loyalty,” a young and growing population, improved education and income, population centers in the nation’s largest 25 cities, and “its own growing media network.”32

Although the population growth rate of Blacks since 1980 has not been as steep as that of Latinos and Asian Pacific Americans, Blacks have continued to grow as an important segment for marketers and advertisers through the early 21st century. With African Americans’ purchasing power projected to increase to $1.1 trillion and accounting for nearly 9 cents of every consumer dollar spent by 2014, they constitute a significant portion of the U.S. audience. Black-targeted advertising has certainly increased, but it still needs to be approached strategically and carefully through a wide variety of print, broadcast, and digital media. Some appeals to this market have backfired, such as two Toyota ads—one featuring an African American with an SUV etched in gold on one tooth and another in Black-targeted Jet magazine promising about the car that, “unlike your last boyfriend, it goes to work in the morning.” Both advertisements were reportedly pulled by Toyota after protests.33

SPANISH GOLD

The promise of untapped profits also motivated marketers to target advertising to Latinos, who by the 1960s had become a target too good to pass up. A 1969 article in the trade magazine Sponsor called Latinos “America’s Spanish Treasure,” a 1971 Sales Management article proclaimed that “Brown Is Richer Than Black,” and in 1972 Television/Radio Age told readers, “The Spanish Market: Its Size, Income and Loyalties Make It a Rich Marketing Mine.”34 Latinos were depicted as having the characteristics that made Blacks an attractive market and as being especially vulnerable because their use of Spanish allegedly cut them off from English-language advertising. Advertisers were advised to use the Spanish language, culture, and media most familiar to their target audience to give their messages the greatest delivery and impact.

“U.S. Hispanics are most receptive to media content in the Spanish language,” wrote Antonio Guernica in his 1982 book Reaching the Hispanic Market Effectively.35 Guernica and others counseled advertisers to package their commercial messages in settings that reflect Latino culture and traditions. These appeals link the product being advertised with the language, heritage, and social system that Latinos are most comfortable with, thus creating an illusion that the product belongs in the Latino home. The cultural and language preferences of Latinos were important to marketers and advertisers. But even more important was their sharp population purchasing power growth in the United States.

By 2014, one out of six persons living in the United States was projected to be of Hispanic origin, the University of Georgia study reported in 2009. Along with that growth came more Latino spending dollars. The study predicted the annual Latino purchasing power would reach $1.3 trillion by 2014, up from $212 billion in 1990 and more than double the 2000 figure of $878 billion. As the Latino population grew in numbers, it also became more diverse, including more people from a wider variety of nations, as well as generational, gender, and regional differences.36 Latinos, once a single market segment, were split into more subgroups, each with its own characteristics and vulnerabilities. One conference, titled “Marketing to U.S. Hispanic Youth,” featured panels on such topics as “Marketing to Hispanic Girls and Boys (Ages 2–12),” “Entertainment Tie-ins: Advertising and Promotional Opportunities to Reach Hispanic Youth,” and “Taking Cultural Differences Into Account: Regional Segmentation in Your Marketing Campaign.” Another conference featured sessions on “Marketing to the Hispanic Female Head of Household,” “Got Hispanics? Applying the
'Got Milk?' Campaign to Ethnic Marketing," and "How Miller Brewing Company Appeals to the Hispanic Market with Music."37

ASIAN AND PACIFIC TREASURES

Constituting about 5% of the U.S. population and just under 15 million people in the United States in 2009, Asian Americans represent the portion of the population that is growing at the fastest rate, up from 3% of the population in 1990. Marketing and advertising figures for this group often combine Native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders with people whose roots are on mainland Asia and use the term Asian Pacific Americans to designate the consumer group. On a percentage basis, this is the nation’s fastest growing racial group, but was long undervalued because of its relatively small size and different languages. However, in the 21st century, it grew in significance as a market with growth in both its overall numbers and the size of its various nationality groups, such as Koreans, Filipinos, and Asian Indians.

The combined purchasing power of Asian Pacific Americans posted an 89% gain from $269 billion in 2000 to $509 billion in 2009 and was projected to reach $697 billion in 2014 by the Selig Center in Georgia. Much of the Asian Pacific population growth is fueled by strong immigration, and the trend is expected to continue. Asian Pacific Americans became more attractive to marketers and advertisers as their share of the nation’s purchases grew, from 2.7% in 1990 to 4.7% in 2009, and they reached higher educational, employment, and income levels. As a result, the group spent nearly 22% more than average U.S. households on houses, furniture, clothing, footwear, vehicle purchases, education, and groceries. The Selig Center also reported that Asian Pacific Americans live in households with more people than national averages and have more wage earners per household, indicating that the purchases made are benefiting a larger number of people than average. Along with differences between themselves and other racial/ethnic groups in the United States, Asian Pacific Americans are also a very diverse group among themselves.

Noting the different national origins in this group, some marketers and advertisers have asked whether Vietnamese, Chinese, Koreans, Filipinos, Japanese, and other Asian Pacific Americans have anything in common “beyond race” and have been advised to be careful to avoid cultural conflicts. For instance, it was reported that for Filipinos white is the color of weddings and happiness, but for Japanese white with black is the color of mourning.38 The diversity within the group was further reflected in the Census Bureau’s combining people from more than 15 distinct ethnic groups and nations under the Asian and Pacific Islander label in 2000. Still, marketers noted that 88% of those so labeled were found in just 6 of the 15 groups. In order of size, these are Chinese, Filipino, Asian Indian, Vietnamese, Korean, and Japanese—many of them living “highly concentrated in tight ethnic communities.”39

This makes members of the group easily targeted through advertising in print and broadcast media reaching those communities. “The fact that Asian Americans predominantly speak their native languages yields incredibly high ratings and shares for Asian-language media,” wrote Jon Yasuda, president of Southern California Asian format television station KSCI in 2002. He advised marketers to “utilize Asian language media to best influence Asian Americans to make wise and educated purchasing decisions” and noted that “Asian media provides sophisticated marketing tools for advertisers.”40

Like many Hispanics, many Asian Pacific Americans are newcomers to the United States who prefer media in their home country language, which is what advertisers use to reach them. And, like Blacks, they also share physical characteristics that distinguish them from Whites in advertising appeals. Long-term effectiveness in reaching this increasingly important market segment will depend on advertisers becoming acquainted with Asian Pacific Americans on their own terms, not in the way they have long been seen by Whites or as offshoots of the Black or Hispanic market.

NATIVE AMERICAN GROWTH

Though smaller in number than the other groups already mentioned, Native Americans are growing at a fast rate. Their 17.2% growth rate from 2000 to 2009 outpaced the 10.2% gain for Blacks and the 7% gain for Whites, Georgia’s Selig Center reported. The group’s younger median age of 32.1 years, compared to 39.2 years for Whites, meant that more Native Americans would be available for work and raising families in the future.

However, the small population base of about 1% of the U.S. population means that Native Americans have much less purchasing power in the marketplace than the other groups. In 2009, they were estimated to account for 0.6% of all U.S. purchases, about $64.7 billion in disposable income. This was projected to grow to $82.7 billion by 2014. Though the percentage gains in Native American purchasing power, up 65% from 2000 to 2009, outpaced those of Whites (43%), the overall population (49%), and Blacks (34%), the lower number of dollars being spent in comparison to other groups made Native Americans less attractive to national advertisers.

The relatively low purchasing power and population numbers of Native Americans in comparison to those of other racial and ethnic groups that have become desirable targets for marketers and advertisers have made it more difficult for companies to look for cost-effective ways to reach Native American people. Perhaps another blocking to their vision and understanding of Native Americans is the persistence of stereotypical sports team mascots such as the Cleveland Indians, Atlanta Braves, and Washington Redskins. These warlike and comical images feature Native Americans as frozen in the 19th century and obscure the reality of what Native Americans were then and are today. They also come at a time when today’s Native Americans are exercising
increasing economic clout as business leaders and employers through casinos and investments made in other businesses from casino revenues.

**REACHING OUT TO THE "HALAL MARKET"**

Although Muslims can be of any race and Islam is the most racially diverse of any major religious group in the United States, Muslims' identity and image are often racialized by their portrayal as being primarily Arabs, South Asians, or from the Middle East. Marketers and advertisers have sometimes classified them as a potentially important ethnic market. The 2011–2012 Source Book of Multicultural Experts by Multicultural Marketing Resources lists Muslim American along with African American, Asian American, and Hispanic among its "key cultural and niche markets." The Muslim Ad Network in 2011 quoted articles from *The Economist*, *The New York Times*, *Entrepreneur*, and other media portraying American Muslims as a potentially rich market for advertisers.

"Muslim Americans spend about $170 billion on consumer products; JWT estimates this figure is expected to grow rapidly as the population expands and younger Muslims build careers," *The New York Times* reported in 2007. The story was based on a JWT study on the Muslim market in the United States and how companies could tap into it through advertising. Because the U.S. Census does not ask people to report their religion, marketers and advertisers do not have a hard number on the size of the potential market. However, the *New York Times* article reported some advertising executives felt that "ignoring this group—estimated to be about five million to eight million people, and growing fast—would be like missing the Hispanic market in the 1990s."

The Muslims surveyed by JWT said they felt left out of general audience advertising and wanted companies to recognize the holidays and customs associated with their religion. A young woman interviewed for the story reported turning away from media "after seeing too many negative stereotypes of Muslims." The negative view that some consumers have of Muslims was also identified as a possible factor keeping some companies away from including Muslims in their advertisements and in their marketing plans.

"United States companies don't want to risk alienating their domestic consumers," said Nasser Beydoun, who was working with IKEA, Walmart, and Comcast to find ways to reach Muslim customers, whose different races, national backgrounds, and languages sometimes make them difficult to reach. Some marketers have tried using religion as part of their strategies for reaching the $2.1 trillion worldwide "Halal Market," which refers to what is permitted under Islamic law. In 2010, Ogilvy Noor was launched as the first Islamic branding agency to help companies build brands appealing to Muslims around the world. The following year, Marketing Daily ran an article on the American Muslim market headlined "Reach Muslim Consumers During Ramadan" with tips on how to "court Muslims while the market is still mostly untapped."

**Mining Multicultural Markets**

With the United States growing more diverse by all measures, marketers and advertisers have intensified their search for ways to ride multicultural images and ethnic media into the hearts and minds of people of color. For both Blacks and Latinos, the slick advertising directed to them often has meant that advertisers were trying to sell high-priced, prestige products to people who do not fully share in the wealth of the country in which they live. Blacks and Latinos, who have median household incomes well below national averages, have nonetheless been targeted as consumers for premium brands in all product lines, particularly alcohol and tobacco. In response, Black and Latino community groups and health organizations have protested the aggressive targeting of alcohol and tobacco products to their communities and, in some cases, forced outdoor advertising companies to restrict the number of such billboards in their communities.

Alcohol and tobacco companies have long targeted Latinos and Blacks through ethnic media with the goal of increasing smoking and drinking in these groups as other segments of the population become more aware of the health hazards linked to these substances. A 1968 Philip Morris internal memo boasted of "a series of newspaper ads that will appear in the Negro press in an attempt to capture a larger share of the market for Benson & Hedges 100s Menthol in this sizable segment of the trade."

The influx of advertising dollars has also made some ethnic media financially dependent on alcohol and tobacco companies. "Tobacco and alcohol advertising revenues are substantial for Hispanic publications," Tino Duran, president of the National Association of Hispanic Publications, told a congressional subcommittee on hazardous materials in 1990. "For some Hispanic publishers, tobacco and alcohol advertising can sometimes make the difference between staying afloat or going under."

**Demographics and Psychographics**

Marketers and advertisers reach out to potential customers identified by Census Bureau demographic identifiers: race, ethnicity, age, gender, education, and other terms that define target audiences. But they often make their sales pitch based on psychographics, which is who consumers want to be or want others to think they are.
Through advertising, corporations making and marketing products from beer to diapers try to show people of color that consumption of their goods is part of the good life in America. It may not be a life that they know in the ghetto, the barrio, Chinatown, a reservation, or another country. It may not even be a life that they or their children will achieve in the United States, but it is a lifestyle they can share by purchasing the same products used by the rich and famous.

Psychographic prestige appeals are used in advertising to all audiences, not just to people of color. But they have a special impact on members of racial and ethnic groups looking for ways to show that they are advancing up the socioeconomic ladder. These consumers are especially hungry for anything that will add status or happiness to their lives and help them show others that they are "making it." They are more vulnerable than Whites to advertising that associates buying a product with a quick way to living the good life.

In 1984, advertising executive Caroline R. Jones wrote in Madison Avenue that, "in the light of life's uncertainties, Blacks also seek instant gratification more than do Whites, who can enjoy 'the good life' earlier and longer." These advertisements promote conspicuous consumption, rather than education, hard work, and saving money, as the key to the good life. She continued,

The Black consumer is not unlike other consumers when it comes to the basic necessities of life—food, clothing and shelter. There is a difference, nevertheless, in the priority the Black consumer adopts in the pursuit of happiness; in other words, in how he [or she] structures the quality of his [or her] life. Some differences are by choice. And some differences are because of lack of choice. The Black consumer must often react toward what he [or she] has not been able to enjoy or choose, or what he [or she] must choose from among products that have not overtly asked him [or her] to use them ... in general the Black consumer all too often has learned to live with his [or her] feelings of being ignored altogether or excluded psychologically. 65

Asian Pacific Americans and Latinos, particularly recent immigrants or those who have moved up from the economic level of their parents, share with Blacks the ambition of making it in American society. In addition, they also have language preferences that cut them away from appeals in English and make them more receptive to advertising in their own language and in the media directed toward their communities. For people of color, marketing and advertising campaigns targeted to them are corporate America's welcome mat, the Happy Face that lets them know that they are important and recognized. Some marketing and advertising campaigns provided long overdue recognition of Asian Pacific, Black, and Latino cultures and heritages as they also prominently displayed the corporate symbols of their sponsors during Black History Month, the Lunar New Year, and National Hispanic Heritage Month:

Increased advertising by local and national businesses targeting people in diverse racial and language groups has spurred a growth of ethnic television stations and networks, as in these commercials on stations directed to Asian American and Latino audiences.
and ethnic welcome mat did not open the door to good value for their dollars and will turn to products offering more than a cultural fix.

Marketer and Advertising Ethics

Since the goal of advertising is to promote the sales and consumption of products, advertising agencies serve no moral code other than to advocate products so that people will buy them. Print and broadcast media that reach the audiences advertisers wish to cultivate have benefited from increased advertising budgets for media targeting Blacks, Latinos, and, more recently, Asian Pacific Americans. Most surveys show that Blacks and Latinos depend on radio and television for information and entertainment more than they do print media, a fact probably related more to their lower median level of education and the wider availability of Black and Spanish-language broadcasting than to any innate racial preferences. Accordingly, most of the millions of dollars that national advertisers spend to reach these audiences are spent on broadcast media. Although their share of broadcasting has grown, Asian and Pacific Islanders in the United States have long been reached by print media that are local editions of mother-country media, such as the Korea Times, the Hong Kong-based Sing Tao newspaper chain, and the Taiwan-based World Journal.

But the people of color reached by some of these media are less valued than those reached by general audience media. The viewers, listeners, and readers reached by media targeting Blacks or Latinos yield fewer advertising dollars per audience member than the general audience media. In 2011, several Black and Latino organizations challenged the practice of advertising agencies paying broadcasters less for advertising on stations for Blacks and Hispanics than for their general audience counterparts reaching the same-sized audience. It was charged some advertisers had a “no urban/no Hispanic” policy in deciding which stations would get their advertising dollars and that urban was a code word for Blacks. A 1996 study of 3,745 radio stations for the Federal Communications Commission found that stations targeting listeners of color earned less money per listener than general audience stations and that stations owned by people of color earned less per listener than those owned by Whites.

Advertising is the lifeblood of print, broadcast, and some online media in the United States. But as website advertising, direct mail, telemarketing, and promotional events have become more important in targeting desired audiences, it is no longer necessary for corporations to put their messages on print pages or broadcast airwaves to pitch their products to the people they want to reach. They can reach people in target markets in other ways, and, if these new avenues prove to be profitable, the print and broadcast media reaching those audiences will suffer a revenue loss.

Ethnic publications and broadcasters and other class media have benefited from the increased emphasis on market segmentation by promoting to advertisers the purchasing patterns of the audiences they reach and their own effectiveness in delivering persuasive commercial messages to their readers, listeners, and viewers. But advertising is a double-edged sword: It expects to take more money out of a market segment than it invests in that segment. Thus media that focus on Blacks, Latinos, and Asian Pacific Americans will benefit from the advertising dollars of national corporations only as long as they are the most cost-effective way for advertisers to persuade their targeted audience to use the advertised products.

This situation places the racial and ethnic media in an exploitative relationship with the members of their audience, who because of language, educational, and economic differences sometimes are exposed to a narrower range of media than are Whites. Marketers will support delivery of their messages in places that deliver the audience with the best consumer profile at the lowest cost, not necessarily in the media that best meet the information and entertainment needs of their audience. And, given increased competition from digital, telemarketing, direct mail, and other advertising delivery systems, they may not put their messages into advertising-supported media at all.

The slick, upscale lifestyle portrayed by national advertisers is more dream than reality for most Blacks, Asian Pacific Americans, and Latinos. It is achieved through education, hard work, and equal opportunity for employment and housing. Rather than encouraging people to save money to meet long-term goals, advertisers promote their products as the shortcut to happiness and the good life, a quick fix for low-income consumers. The message to people of color is clear: You may not be able to live in the best neighborhoods, have the best educational opportunities, or work at the best job, but you can drink the same liquor, smoke the same cigarettes, and drive the same car as those who do. At the same time, advertising appeals that play on the cultural heritage of people of color make the products appear to be “at home” in those communities.

Recognizing the importance of national holidays and peoples’ history, advertisers have actually helped bring recognition to important dates, events, and people in the lives of people of color. But advertisers also make culture a commercial commodity by piggybacking their advertising on the recognition of such events, leaders, and heroes. People or actions that in their time represented protests against slavery, oppression, and discrimination are now used to sell products.

Advertising is an extractive industry. European and American companies went into Africa, Asia, the Middle East, the Pacific Islands, and Latin America to cut timber, mine minerals, drill oil wells, and exploit other natural resources to produce profits. Along the same lines, advertising's
Happy Face enters the ghetto, Chinatown, and the barrio to persuade people to transfer money from their pockets to the merchants selling advertised products and services. Advertisers' subsidizing of print, broadcast, and online media is only a by-product of their primary purpose of selling their products, and it is possibly decreasing in importance due to the recent proliferation of advertising delivery systems.

With the advent of social media and other digital forms of communication, the role of advertising in subsidizing the production of news and entertainment content to serve as bait to attract the audience to the advertising messages has lessened somewhat. Some digital sites carry no advertising, and many have content that is developed by the users themselves. Often the users share their demographic information and interests when registering to use a site for free. The companies then direct advertising other messages to people based on their demographic categories and interests. It is not clear how digital advertising will develop or whether the racial and ethnic experiences of the past will be applied in the new media.

An early study of race and ethnicity in digital advertising indicated that the lessons of the past may have been lost and not learned as media and advertisers moved into the multimedia/multicultural age.

"Ethnic Groups Don't See Themselves in Advertising, Digital Content." eMarketer headlined a 2011 story reporting a survey that showed "brands that want to reach ethnic minorities online are not doing a very good job... according to Hispanics, blacks and Asian-Americans digital advertising does not engage them." Seventy-two percent of the Asian Pacific Islanders and Blacks surveyed and 70% of the Hispanics said ads should show "a larger diversity of people." In contrast, 49% of the Whites agreed with that statement, showing a deep divide in the way that Whites and people of color perceive the importance and impact of advertising as marketing goes digital.

8. Ibid., 166.
9. Ibid., 181-182.
10. Ibid., 184-185.
12. Ibid.
16. Ibid., 11.
17. Ibid., 9-10.
29. Ibid.
30. For historical, current, and projected purchasing power of Whites, Blacks, Asian Americans, American Indians, and Hispanics see "The Multicultural
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Economy" periodic reports issued by The University of Georgia Selig Center for Economic Growth.
32. Ibid., 54.
44. This is from a statement made by Tino Duran, as president of the National Association of Hispanic Publications, before the Subcommittee on Transportation and Hazardous Materials, Committee on Energy and Commerce, U.S. House of Representatives, in Washington, DC, on March 2, 1990, p. 3.

Public Relations
An Opportunity to Influence the Media

In 1992, the Public Relations Society of America (PRSA) chose "At the Crossroads" as the theme for its annual conference. As public relations professionals and educators met in Kansas City in October of that year, it was noted that the conference theme could well be the theme of their discussions on multiculturalism in public relations as well. This is because 1992 and much of the 1990s were years of discussion, dialogue, and debate on issues of race, diversity, and multiculturalism. Both public relations educators and professionals found themselves "at the crossroads" as they met to discuss and map out their own diversity plan for the industry.

The case for the diversity agenda in public relations education involves more than social justice and demography. It involves more than urging others to "do the right thing"; as former Newspaper Association of America President Cathie Black said, it involves urging others to "do the thing right." And it should go beyond simply mimicking the efforts of the print, broadcast, and advertising industries to become racially and culturally inclusive. It is an initiative that could be driven by the very essence of this nation's revered democratic ideals: freedom of speech.

Print journalists and journalism educators are quick to package their work in the wrappings of the First Amendment and rightfully proclaim their right to a free press. Similarly, advertisers present arguments for the right of commercial free speech, and broadcasters warn against the threats to free press and free speech that they believe are posed by government regulation. The case for the sometimes competing First Amendment rights of print media, broadcasters, advertisers, and new media technologies is most often fashioned and focused by public relations professionals.

But where is the public relations profession in this turf battle for the First Amendment high ground? On many campuses, its place in the mass