



Helen Woodward and Hazel Kyrk

Economic radicalism, consumption symbolism and female contributions to marketing theory and advertising practice

Helen Woodward
and Hazel Kyrk

385

Mark Tadajewski

Durham Business School, Durham University, Stockton-on-Tees, UK

Abstract

Purpose – Women and marketing have had a complicated relationship for a considerable time. They have often been involved with marketing-type practices for longer than we have appreciated to date. Against considerable odds, some have carved out careers in academia and practice that have to be admired. The purpose of this paper is to explore the work of two pioneer contributors to marketing.

Design/methodology/approach – This paper engages in a close reading of the work of two female contributors. Their writing is placed in historical context which helps reveal the obstacles they had to overcome to succeed.

Findings – Female teachers, lecturers and practitioners had an important role to play in theorising consumer practice and helping people to successfully negotiate a complex marketplace replete with new challenges, difficulties and sometimes mendacious marketers seeking to profit from the limited knowledge consumers possessed.

Originality/value – This paper explores the writings of a practitioner and scholar respectively whose work has merited only limited attention previously. More than this, it links the arguments that are made to the papers that appear in the rest of the special issue.

Keywords Hazel Kyrk, Helen Woodward, Female contributors to marketing, Marketing theory, Advertising practice, Socialism, Critical reformism, Gender, Women, Marketing

Paper type Research paper

Introduction

Tadajewski and Maclaran (2013) started the development of this special issue with the premise that the history of marketing thought, theory and practice reflects inequalities of many kinds including and probably most prominently gender bias when it comes to the representation of women practitioners and academics in our intellectual genealogies (Błaszczuk, 1997, 2008; Graham, 1997, 2000; Maclaran *et al.*, 1997; Peiss, 1998; Scott, 2000, 2005; Stern, 1989, 1992, 1993; Tadajewski, 2012; Witkowski, 2004; Zuckerman and Carsky, 1990). When we look to the history of marketing theory and thought, it quickly becomes apparent that very little is known about the early female pioneers (Brown, 2000; Catterall *et al.*, 1997; Scanlon, 1995; Scott, 2000; Tadajewski, 2012). What little we did know suggested they were conceptually, theoretically and empirically sophisticated and therefore warranted much more scholarly attention (Mason, 2000; Zuckerman and Carsky, 1990). The present paper represents a response to this gap in our scholarly knowledge.

The author would like to thank Brian Jones for his extensive support and inspiration during the writing of this paper.



Journal of Historical Research in
Marketing

Vol. 5 No. 3, 2013
pp. 385-412

© Emerald Group Publishing Limited
1755-750X

DOI 10.1108/JHRM-04-2013-0022

The structure of the paper is as follows: we begin by dealing with the political and social environment and its influence on the mobility of women. From this macro-contextual perspective we explore the position of women in marketing, considering briefly some of the roles they have fulfilled and for which they are rarely credited. After this, analysis is ratcheted down to a micro-level by focusing on the work of two female contributors. Their writing is selected for analysis in this paper for a number of reasons. In the first instance, they offer practitioner and academic perspectives on the consumer and consumption respectively. Secondly, both were extremely sensitive to the socio-cultural and political structuring of consumption and human behaviour. This makes their work a contribution to the development of critical perspectives in marketing which have previously passed unnoticed (e.g. Tadajewski, 2010a).

One sought to influence marketplace practices for a considerable proportion of her career and was described as a very thoughtful, “prominent” practitioner – Helen Woodward (Fox, 1997, p. 110). The other, Hazel Kyrk, was an academic by profession whose work has received some attention previously (e.g. Mason, 2000), but which is worth discussing because it chimes with historically oriented research such as the explication of Veblen’s work by Patsiaouras and Fitchett (2012), Brown (2000) or Hamilton (1989). Kyrk’s contribution lies in the fact she sought to theorise and critique the structures that delimited consumer practice. Marketers and advertisers thus figure prominently in her analysis. Importantly, though, she offers a less negative interpretation of business practice than Veblen, the Frankfurt School and related thinkers which she accomplishes by pluralising the number of stakeholders seeking to influence human behaviour in an industrialising economy, thus offering what is arguably a more balanced account of the role of marketing in society.

In short, Woodward and Kyrk offer nuanced and affirmative accounts of the marketing system. At the same time, they appreciate the value of critique. In her later years, for example, Woodward was more critical of the marketing system and some of its concomitants, seeking to deconstruct its operations for a liberal readership. Taken together their writings thus further indicate that affirmative and critical accounts of the marketing system and exchange relations are not mutually exclusive (Tadajewski, 2010b). Each perspective offers a partial picture of marketing theory and practice which can and should be united in historical accounts when appropriate. The paper concludes by highlighting that not all contributions by women to the marketing system have been positive and suggests some directions for future research.

Structural limitations and preconditions for practice

Given the focus of this issue is on the limited recognition of “women in marketing”, we should first stress the structural reasons that have impeded the role of women in society. America in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was not an easy environment in which to transcend extant social structures (James, 1970; Stern, 1992). Women were, in effect, hemmed in on multiple fronts as a function of the generalised fear of women perpetuated in numerous ways (Scanlon, 1995). There were the widely circulating images of irresponsible, even “dangerous” female consumers in Zola’s *Ladies Paradise* who succumbed to the latest temptations at the *Bon Marche* by stealing the socially valorised objects of desire (Fullerton, 2007; Fullerton and Punj, 1998; Kroen, 2004). This was cemented by the equally problematic gendered conception of consumption found in Guy de Maupassant’s writings (Belisle, 2011) or referenced in

many newspaper reports documenting the profligate shopping habits of married women (Burton, 2007). While their irrational shopping behaviour was a cause for concern among social commentators, there was an equal fear of what women would do if they were not participating in the emergent consumer culture. The fear was that they might begin to reflect seriously on the dissatisfactions that pervaded their lives and call for political and social change to remedy any problems. All of these factors had ramifications for the ideological acceptability of women moving into the working world: would the transfer of the female body from private to public sphere wreak equal havoc comparable to its impact in the retail environment (Kroen, 2004, pp. 719, 724)?

Likewise, some of the educational opportunities offered after the 1880s to women appear more designed to assure the maintenance of the status-quo than anything else. Some were given limited training in subjects suitable for “young ladies whose business is to be charming and whose destiny is marriage” (Yudelson, 1905, p. 117; see also Hoffert, 2008, p. 36-37), a belief system that was buttressed by an atmosphere that stressed male superiority (Belisle, 2011) and an “ideology of domesticity” (Witkowski, 2004). These presuppositions were remarkably resilient and reaffirmed in the mass media until at least the 1950s (James, 1970; Stern, 1992). As Stern reminds us, even if the young ladies that Yudelson describes were independently minded, using their initiative to seek out educational options to open new career avenues, their worldview and behaviour was nonetheless patterned by cultural conditioning that men largely avoided (Stern, 1989, 1993).

Education for women thus had detractors and advocates. Those who offered arguments against female education were quick to assert spurious biologically and genetically based arguments that women were simply inferior, that they would never cope with the rigours of the modern educational system (May, 2006). It would be too demanding for their constitution; undermine their sense of self by underscoring their poor comparative status *vis-à-vis* men. It would “destroy their feminine charm, and dispose them to neglect home and offspring in a feverish pursuit of the mysteries of integral calculus or atomic energy” (Goodsell, 1929, p. 1).

Social norms slowly changed and those women wanting to work had a limited number of options if they were to maintain the veneer of respectability that was so important in the late nineteenth century:

Although it was possible for a middle-class woman to earn a living by religious work – as a nun, a Christian Science practitioner, a missionary, or a Y.W.C.A. worker – most women who needed an assured means of support or had ambitions for a structured career turned to the educational world. This was primarily the world of the single woman. A girl with a strong intellectual bent, after attending college, could continue with study toward an advanced degree. Most of the graduate schools of arts and sciences admitted women by 1900, though without enthusiasm; encouragement and fellowship aid came from the Association of College Alumnae (later the American Association of University Women) and some local women’s groups. A few of the early women Ph.D.’s found positions in universities, but generally they joined women’s colleges, where they put their energies into teaching and college life rather than into scholarly work, becoming intellectual aunts to generations of students (James, 1970, p. xxxviii).

This gesture to social norms, obviously, elides a great deal about the participation of women in the marketplace (Tadajewski and Maclaran, 2013; Tarbell, 1985). As production grew due to the mobilisation of mechanical and organisational skill, the

expansion of markets stimulated a rethinking of the subject status of women in industry (see Peiss, 1998, p. 237). Boosting their participation was important given that the production system demanded greater consumption. This was being encouraged by the emergent advertising industry which led some women (and men) to consume more products, often beyond their financial horizons, hence their willingness to supplement the household income.

Moving into work did not mean a reduction in home-based activities such as food preparation, shopping, cooking and child-care management for women. They also met with barriers imposed by businessmen who were concerned about the influence of the introduction of women to a previously all-male environment (Hoffert, 2008). In 1891, the *Ladies' Home Journal*, for example, discouraged women from entering business as it was felt that those who tried lost their most important asset, their femininity. More appropriate work-roles included "dressmaking, art, medicine, teaching. . . stenography" and nursing (Woodward, 1960, p. 81). By 1894, articles appearing in women's magazines like the *Delineator* proposed that women work in the technology industry, specifically the telegraphy trade (Woodward, 1960). Many women were involved in the placement of street advertising in the UK during the same period (Pope, 1983, p. 452). They peddled before the cusp of the twentieth century (Pope, 2004) and female travellers crossed the USA acting as mystery shoppers to determine the quality of the service offering of train companies. Their task was to identify areas where changes could be made, where customer service was lacking or non-existent, all with an eye to the improvement of the service offered to female customers who felt the train system was not necessarily their first choice of transportation. This was a form of gender predicated customer-centricity since competing train lines only sent men in similar roles (Burgess, 1938).

Then, of course, the first four decades of the twentieth century saw a massive growth in the numbers of women working in the service industries, including retail and chain stores (Benson, 1981), often at very low wages, for long hours (e.g. Bondfield, 1899; Brown, 2000). Notwithstanding the low pay and status that accompanied many of the jobs obtainable by women and girls (Benson, 1981, 1988), it was not all doom and gloom for those working in places like Wanamaker's Philadelphia or New York stores. John Wanamaker (1837-1922) was a long-time advocate of suffrage and willing to provide opportunities for women wanting to progress their careers (Leach, 1994). While they were still paid less than men, his shops offered lower level female staff various forms of academic and practical training including bookkeeping, business correspondence and stenography (Brewer, 1902; see also Leach, 1994, p. 119). His store had its own "university" (e.g. Appel, 1911, pp. 85, 103, 116, 228-232, 235), so there was a potential career path for aspiring workers. And some women were elevated to the rank of retail buyer, earning well over \$20,000 a year when their bonuses were factored into calculations (Appel, 1930/1970; Ershkowitz, 1999, pp. 121-125, 151).

More affluent groups and the college educated also entered the work world albeit their route and motives were different to the poorer classes. They considered their activities "the first steps in a social experiment" (Woodhouse, 1929, p. 330) and this community moved into teaching and public school administration (Scanlon, 2013). Some bypassed these more typical roles in preference for the opportunities available as editors and writers for the growing number of women's magazines at the end of the



nineteenth century. These positions offered the chance of career progression and good remuneration for the educated and motivated (e.g. Waller-Zuckerman, 1989).

For the relatively affluent it was easier to enter higher education than for those who were resource constrained. In spite of this, reading the accounts of pioneering female contributors to marketing, home economics or those who worked at the borderline between these such as Hazel Kyrk (1886-1957), one is struck by their ability to secure high-level qualifications, often while working multiple jobs. Kyrk, the author of the philosophically and ethically sophisticated, *A Theory of Consumption*, is an excellent case in point. She supported her mother, subsequently worked for a professor as a “domestic helper” (Lobdell, 2000, p. 251), and while studying for a postgraduate qualification undertook multiple teaching roles (Van Velzen, 2003).

While there were openings in women’s colleges where they were better but poorly recompensed compared to their male colleagues, women still had to work harder and perform better. In a large scale survey of higher education conducted in the late 1920s, the picture was far from rosy. Women constituted the majority of those working at the instructor level which came with a heavy teaching load (Goodsell, 1929). In more concrete and dispiriting terms, for those working outside the sphere of women’s colleges: “the status of women on the faculties is... markedly inferior... Of all grades of professorships, women hold only 7.9 per cent, while they hold 23.5 per cent of the instructorships – nearly one-fourth” (Goodsell, 1929, p. 12).

Their wage was on average 18 per cent less per annum, often far less than this. Goodsell (1929), for instance, says that some female faculty were paid 50 per cent of the salary of their male colleagues working at the same level (see Carsky *et al.*, 1990; Lapham, 1901; May, 2006). Regardless of these obstacles, three pioneering figures whose work touches on various facets of marketing theory and thought such as Elizabeth Hoyt, Hazel Kyrk and Margaret Reid (Parsons, 2013; Zuckerman and Carsky, 1990) all managed to negotiate the hierarchies of the education system gaining full chairs in the course of their careers (Yi, 1996).

Of course, there were other opportunities available. Becoming a secretary was a route to advancement in the advertising industry (Davies, 2013). Let us explore this issue via the case of Helen Woodward.

Helen Woodward: woman, Jew, radical and pacifist

Helen Rosen Woodward (1882-1960) is, in my opinion, one of the most fascinating and complex figures in the history of advertising and marketing thought. Her life-story illuminates the difficulties faced by those without the financial backing of a wealthy family, as well as the highs and lows that many face over the course of a career. She describes her career path in the following way:

I wanted to go to college badly and I got as far as taking the entrance examinations at Radcliffe, but there I had to stop. I tried to find work that would help me through, but I never could. There was nobody to tell me how to get such work, how to get a scholarship or how to borrow money to help pay expenses. I was eighteen years old and there wasn’t enough money to pay for carfare... I was just a child eager to learn but not knowing which way to go about it. Perhaps someone a little shrewder than I and less lost in books might have found a way... I couldn’t ask for help or for money – and if I had been able to, there was no one to ask (Woodward, 1935, pp. 182-183).

She continues:

I was always just about to have a plan, but never got to it. I was pushed into a certain type of education, pushed into working for a living, pushed into the advertising business. The twenty years of work seemed without a plan – a thing of accident – and in that no different from the lives of most other people. But I did have one fixed goal – security (Woodward, 1926, p. 377).

As Woodward admits, financial security was only one issue that structured her life choices; she also craved excitement and change, leisure and freedom. Born into a poor family, she was an extremely studious young woman, devouring any reading material she could obtain (e.g. Woodward, 1935, pp. 2, 207, 252-253, 257), including high-level scholarship from an early age until her death. As she appreciated, the odds of success were stacked against her from the start: “I am a woman, I am a Jew, and I am a radical” (Woodward, 1926, p. 222); the latter a leaning inculcated by her father (e.g. Woodward, 1935, pp. 148-149, 154-155-157). She was also a pacifist (Woodward, 1926, pp. 240-241).

Reading political economy tracts, displaying a knowledge of Marx (e.g. Woodward, 1935, pp. 109, 168), keeping abreast of international events, combined with consuming well-written fiction and learning new languages, she recalls retreating into a world of her own – a world she would subsequently call forth in her earliest advertising productions. Examining her biographical writings leaves the reader with the distinct impression that advertising was a natural profession for her: she had little difficulty conjuring up ideas and was an astute interpreter of the needs of client and customer (e.g. Woodward, 1926, p. 229). The issue that caused her the most problems, then, was not any lack of skill, even her radicalism and pacifism failed to dent the number of clients seeking her services (e.g. Woodward, 1926, pp. 241, 252-253; see Woodward, 1935, p. 24). Rather, it was the first element of what she called her “three wicked djinns”, the fact she was female that led to the most work related headaches. With a fighting spirit and a willingness to work hard, she managed to offset the gender bias that she confronted in various situations (i.e. patronising men who would remind her she was well paid for a woman). In a subtle and insightful refrain that sounds a little like the work of Charlotte Perkins Gilman (Dimand, 2000) she appreciates the nature of her situation, framing it as a systemic problem:

I was too often reminded that I was merely a woman. One thought kept me from becoming a feminist – the thought that the trouble did not come from any innate antagonism on the part of men, but from a basic economic situation. It was evident enough from what I saw that as soon as enough women was [sic] needed outside of the home the discrimination against them would disappear. It seemed foolish to feel resentment against men as men for the difficulties that came to me as a woman. It wasn't their fault or mine; we were both living in a changing civilization and were equally victims of a general condition. Nearly every job or account... was given me reluctantly because I was a woman. In each case the advertiser would have preferred a man with my training and turn of mind (Woodward, 1926, pp. 222-223; see also Woodward, 1926, p. 234, 1935, p. 155; see Davies, 2013; Scanlon, 2013).

Bored easily, and willing to take any opportunity that presented itself, Woodward started writing advertising in her own time, subsequently asking her boss at Merrill & Baker, a publisher of mail order books, if she could work on an advertising account. This tenacity makes her one of the avant-garde in her career choice. She positions Helen Resor – the subject of Scanlon's (2013) partly biographical account – as “one of the first” female copywriters in the US and herself as “the second, in 1912” (Woodward,



1960, p. 85). Provided with this chance, she grasped it with both hands (Woodward, 1926, p. 91) and her material was used to inform an advertising campaign.

Woodward, and this makes her work so compelling, is brutally honest about herself, her insecurities and the lack of logic that seems to underpin decision-making in the advertising industry. It is far removed from the normative accounts we see in our textbooks that depict the marketing or advertising manager as the master of their own business universe. By contrast, she stresses the relativism that underpins the commissioning of advertising. To take an example, referring to the “last circular” she produced that paid her one thousand dollars:

It is a mistake to suppose that business houses object to giving high prices for work. Most people have no real standards of judgment about anything, and they can only guess at value by price. If your work is expensive, they take it for granted that it is good. There is also a certain pride in paying a lot of money. We have all heard business men make remarks like this: “Oh sure! We hire so-and-so to do our advertising – the highest priced man in the business, but he’s worth it.” But none of this should be taken as a piece of advice (Woodward, 1926, p. 154).

Just like contemporary studies that highlight the politics of advertising agencies (e.g. Alvesson, 1998; Moeran, 2009; Windels and Lee, 2012), Woodward does not shy away from describing how accounts are distributed (usually on the golf-course) or the turbulent atmosphere that characterised the places where she worked. She refers to “battles” and her willingness to fight her corner:

“Battles!” You say in surprise – you who have never worked in a big office. You think perhaps that business houses are carefully organized, that everyone in them is working for the same objective – profits for the company – so that all work hand in hand, like “one big family.” The bigger the office the less likely is this to be. There are some which are run with sense and harmony. Later the *Woman’s Home Companion* became a more harmonious organization. But in 1908 how everyone seemed to hate everyone else! On many magazines the editorial department has a contempt for the business department which it considers inferior in intellect, but which makes more money. The business department usually accepts this assumption about the quality of its mind and this makes it cocky and irritable toward the editorial department. There was a little friction between the editors and myself because they resented. . . my advertisement, which appeared each month in the magazine as editorial matter (Woodward, 1926, p. 173).

In other places she calls attention to the “snobbishness” that infected elements of the publishing industry. At *Vogue*, she says, “it was simply grotesque” (Woodward, 1960, p. 111), with staff members adopting a stance of superiority to visitors, contributors and those outside of the incestuous social circle of the magazine.

Woodward probably shared a similar trajectory to other high-flying and deeply motivated people – rough comparisons might be Caroline Jones (Davies, 2013) or the women working at J. Walter Thompson under Helen Resor (Scanlon, 1995) – in the sense that she was quick to identify new opportunities that would pay better, provide her with the work conditions she desired, and offered the stimulation that she needed to keep her constantly refreshed (e.g. she worked for the Hampton Advertising Agency, J.A. Hill Company, *Review of Reviews*, *Woman’s Home Companion*; the Presbrey Advertising Agency); as she framed it, her “mind enjoyed acrobatics – the thinking up of new ideas” (Woodward, 1926, p. 162). Entering the advertising industry offered her the chance of a practically based education:

MOST young copywriters consider an advertising agency a sort of college for learning advertising. When you get to be a copywriter in one of them you feel that you have taken your Ph.D. degree. . . A copywriter in an agency has to write advertising for all kinds of products. The training is good. It is to the advertising writer what the clinic is to a physician. An advertising agency is a lively place. You pass so abruptly from non-skid tyres to safety pins, from silk stockings to glass doorknobs. You write one hour about a tree surgeon and the next about cogwheels. It is a place of swift movement – of constant shifts – of things finished at the last possible gasp – of seconds grabbed from eternity – of hurrying and joshing and smoking and swearing. Something happens every minute – some triumph or disaster. There are no middle tones, for all is colored by the fury of creation (Woodward, 1926, pp. 200-201; emphasis in original).

Granted, she demonstrates an ability to be reflexive, as the comments above reveal, but she was not immune to the influence of corporate culture on her own interpretive stance. Having been exposed to rather unethical marketing practices in the book selling trade (see Woodward, 1926, pp. 366-367), she describes cultivating “contempt for our customers” (Woodward, 1926, p. 84). Later in her reflections the consumer is viewed as intellectually malleable (e.g. Woodward, 1938, p. 82). She calls them “the very willing victim” of the art of marketing (Woodward, 1938, p. 6). The consumer, she continues, “is silly”, “easily fooled by appearances” and credulous, much to the “continual amazement” of the advertising community (Woodward, 1938, pp. 12-13, 266).

This credulity was functionally and opportunistically utilised by agencies. “There was no standard of honesty. If you were able to put a trick on the public, you did it. . . this business of advertising was a game. It was a contest with the public to see what you could put over. It is still like that today, although now it is more pompous and more cautious” (Woodward, 1938, pp. 22-23). As represented here, the consumer is not the active reader underpinning the advertising executions produced by Helen Resor and her team (Scanlon, 1995, 2013) or underwriting Pauline Arnold’s research endeavours (Jones, 2013). This said, Woodward’s audience does still retain a degree of agency given that she diagnoses a “growing consumer cynicism” which was likely to have implications for practice (Woodward, 1938, p. 13).

Connected to her conception of the consumer, she, like her colleagues, catered to the lowest common denominator in some of her advertising writing (e.g. Woodward, 1938, pp. 83-84). But, she was adept at modifying her communication style to suit the publication and audience (e.g. Woodward, 1926, pp. 160, 292-293; Woodward, 1960, p. 105) and this was reflected in her contributions to different mediums, some mass market (*Woman’s Home Companion*), some more high-brow and politically leftist (e.g. *The Nation*). Nonetheless, her language use leaves us in no doubt about her feeling of intellectual superiority. Thinking about the two decades spent in advertising circles producing material for clients and working freelance she writes, “I am glad of those twenty years. I would not give up their blazing complex life. The diplomacy, the pulling of wires, the manipulating of people” (Woodward, 1926, p. 386).

Throughout her autobiographies there are numerous statements affirming her enthusiasm for her work: “writing the advertising. . . I loved that” (Woodward, 1926, p. 115). She developed a range of methods to engage with and appeal to the public which Brock (1994) notes have stood the test of time (e.g. avoiding fear appeals, securing celebrity endorsement, tying products to a particular country of origin, encouraging commission agents via membership club prizes and competitions). What



she was most definite about though was that a copywriter should never visit the location where the product was made or even speak to the author of the book being marketed:

I used to say to copywriters when they were writing about books: Don't ever see the home of the author. Don't ever see the author himself. If it is a life of that author you are writing, a true life, a real one – by all means see all you can but for advertising purposes never see a writer. If you are advertising any product, never see the factory in which it is made. Don't know too much about it. Don't watch the people at work. Just know all you can about the finished article and the man who is going to buy it, and the conditions of selling in the business. Because, you see, when you know the truth about anything, the real, inner truth, it is very hard to write the surface fluff which sells it (Woodward, 1926, p. 298).

As mentioned earlier, her concept of the consumer was less affirmative than most, stressing cognitive limitations over agency. This perspective continues to underwrite her activities later in life after she had left the advertising business and was active in protecting the consumer against government and corporate malfeasance. This indicates the limits to the subjectifying power of what scholars have called “marketing ideology” (Fougère and Skålén, 2013), that is, the extent to which a marketing view of the world structures the behaviour of practitioners and consumers alike. Those working in this industry were perfectly willing to challenge vested interests if it served their purposes and this should come as no surprise when we consider her social philosophy. Both her autobiographical accounts recall familial engagements with socialism and radicalism. She talks about reading Edward Bellamy's socialist classic, *Looking Backward* (e.g. Woodward, 1935, pp. 14-16, 23, 29).

Bellamy (1888/1996) describes a world which has changed radically: women are no longer subjugated, income is distributed equally, marketing and sales activities are no longer needed to manipulate people to purchase and consume products that they may not want – the state provides what people want, it embodies what we might call a pure version of the marketing concept, that is, products and services are provided on the basis of what Marcuse would call “real” needs: those we decide on rather than having imposed on us. This, in turn, reduces waste and increases efficiency in the distribution system. Importantly, competitive individualism has been replaced by cooperative solidarity (Bellamy, 1888/1996, p. 119; see also pp. 137, 154).

Politically radical, attuned to the nuances of social commentary, Woodward is strikingly honest about the oscillation in her political axiology. From her early years this leaned towards the radical end of the spectrum. As she became more successful it shifted in a conservative direction (e.g. Woodward, 1935, p. 166), until once again she was incensed by the inequities and dark-side of industrial capitalism emphasised in Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* (1879) (see also Woodward, 1935, p. 23): “I always came back to Socialism. Socialism was heaven” (Woodward, 1935, p. 165). Although she does not actually explain what she means by socialism, it generally connotes the ideals of equality, especially sexual equality, co-operation rather than selfish, self-directed individualism and solidarity (Newman, 2005). In terms of her political orientation, Woodward was not a lone voice. The advertising community was riven with those who adopted less orthodox perspectives (e.g. Scanlon, 1995, p. 185). With a hint of irony, she states:

There has been a great deal of wailing on the part of advertising clients lately because so many copy writers seem to have interests which they consider subversive. The ad-writers, since they have to supply brains and imagination and seldom get the biggest money, are inclined to the left. They are such traitors as to like Roosevelt, and some of them are even for the American Labor Party. There are Communists among them, and Socialists, but these keep very quiet. Advertising clients try to fight these "vicious tendencies," but they creep out. If the copywriter is good, the agency will overlook his radical opinions and keep them a secret from the client (Woodward, 1938, pp. 28-29).

Despite her attempts to clarify her position, her politics remain complex. She was frequently critical of the feminist and suffrage movement for its inability to appreciate how to sell itself to the mass population (e.g. Woodward, 1960, p. 31). Reading the material she published in the journal, *The Nation*, reveals her inclination to deconstruct capitalism, advertising and elements of the magazine publishing industry that supported some of her own endeavours while praising others (see also Fox, 1997, p. 168). She underlined how certain campaigns only told the reader part of the story while they skirted over important details that might encourage product switching. She even turned her attention to the political campaign of Bruce Barton, illuminating how he applied his knowledge of advertising and marketing communications to secure political votes and a "state congressional seat in New York" (Brock, 1994, p. 351).

In equal measure she was affirmative about the activities of editors, writers and publishers of both sexes that had advanced the opportunities open to women in various ways, sometimes taking a historical perspective in doing so (e.g. Woodward, 1938, p. 316; see Woodward, 1938, p. 317). She praised the fact that producers aligned with publishers such as the Butterick Company, *Metropolitan Monthly* and *The Designer* provided women with patterns from which they could produce clothing at low cost (see Zuckerman, 2013). The benefit of this, she avers, was partly political, in that they modified the socio-historic class-based structure of consumption:

...these cheap and easy-to-follow paper patterns have had an incalculable influence in pushing forward equality among women. The patterns naturally made clothes more alike, greatly decreased the sharp difference between the clothes of different social circles. Paper patterns also gave them more leisure and that increased their power. All of this has been much further advanced by the manufacture of good women's clothes at low prices (Woodward, 1960, p. 62; see also Maclaran, 2012).

She was quick to promote and celebrate the contributions of radical, critical and challenging figures such as Sarah Josepha Hale (1788-1879), an editor and writer who mobilised her pen in support of female emancipation via education, saw her work as helping cultivate self-confidence among the female readership and Woodward describes her as a "fighting feminist" (e.g. Woodward, 1960, p. 23). Hale was notable for many reasons: she promoted opportunities for women to work on the magazines she edited (e.g. Woodward, 1960, p. 33); she was a hard-worker (e.g. Woodward, 1960, p. 35) and willing to critique the effects of the environment on people who were subject to poor conditions, campaigning for legislative change (an issue that Hazel Kyrk (e.g. 1923, pp. 67-68, 92) raises numerous times). Even so, Woodward refuses to shy away from the more uncomfortable and status-quo oriented aspects of Hale's biography:



There were many quirks in Sarah Hale's thinking. She believed that the solution to the Negro slave problem was to send all Negroes back to Africa. Although in the 1830's Congress was turbulent with fights, scandals, even duels. . .Mrs Hale ignored all of this. And, by doing so, here she once more made a pattern that women's magazine's still follow: a policy of deliberately ignoring matters of fundamental political and economic importance (Woodward, 1960, p. 39; see Scanlon, 1995, pp. 226-227; Woodward, 1960, p. 109).

Nor did Woodward restrict her critiques of the economic and marketing system solely to historical and contemporary reflections penned safe in her study. She put her radical socialist values into practice as a member of the Women's Trade Union League (Woodward, 1926, p. 137). She picketed with strikers, even became involved with a cooperative enterprise: "For a while we ran an excellent restaurant which was a gopsend to the clerks of the neighbourhood" (Woodward, 1926, p. 143).

To conclude this exploration of Woodward's work experience and writing, while there were ups and downs in her career, she did manage to achieve the objectives she set herself. Reflecting on a conversation with her future husband while still working as a secretary, she sketches the contours of their discussion, starting with his question:

"What do you want to do in life?" "I want to write advertising." "No other ambition?" "I'd really like to write a novel – but that's out of the question." "Why?" "Well, I've tried and I haven't anything to say" (Woodward, 1926, p. 106).

Helen Woodward did achieve these objectives, writing multiple novels (e.g. Boleslavski and Woodward, 1932, 1933; Woodward, 1945; Woodward and Amherst, 1940) and biographical studies (Woodward, 1959). Even though working as an advertising practitioner was something jettisoned early in her life, at age 42 (Brock, 1994), her work was heralded as important by social commentators at the time. As Chase and Schlink lauded: "Mrs. Woodward was, before she retired in 1925, perhaps the most successful advertising woman in America" (1927, p. 68). Having examined Woodward's life and work in some detail, the remainder of this paper will focus attention on a figure whose intellectual output speaks to many contemporary currents in marketing theory and consumer research, Hazel Kyrk.

Hazel Kyrk: consumption economics and social reformism

Hazel Kyrk (1886-1957) moved through a number of academic posts during her long career. First at Wellesley College where she was an instructor (1911-1912), subsequently heading to Chicago (where she had previously studied) to undertake her PhD research (1913-1914) while working through the ranks at Oberlin College (Lobdell, 2000). At Oberlin she was initially appointed as an instructor, then Assistant Professor of Economics, before taking a career break to assist in the war effort. After the armistice, she accepted a post at the Food Research Institute at Stanford before moving after a year to Iowa State College. Her final move was to the University of Chicago in 1925. As Lobdell (2000, p. 252) notes:

In the autumn of 1925 she accepted a joint appointment in the Department of Economics and Home Economics. . .She was promoted to Full Professor in 1941 and remained at Chicago until her retirement in 1952.

Her writing was extremely important for the discipline of home economics which was struggling to legitimate itself in the university system. As intellectual contributions,

her books, the seminal *A Theory of Consumption* (Kyrk, 1923) and the *Economic Problems of the Family* (Kyrk, 1933), were well respected and earned a place on the “consumption economics” curricula being promoted at different institutions in the USA (Yi, 1996). Unsurprisingly, her work on consumption touches on many key debates in marketing theory. She dealt with consumer behaviour in great detail, situating consumer practices firmly within their socio-historical context, utilising the resources of sociology, psychology and any other pertinent literature that she thought would illuminate the role of the consumer in industrial society (Kyrk, 1923).

For now, I want to engage with her most important arguments. I will not devote attention to her fairly nuanced criticism of marginal analysis as this has been explored elsewhere (e.g. Mason, 2000). Rather, I intend to engage with her work at a broad-brush level in the hope that the connections made via citation will encourage others to read Kyrk’s contributions. As she argues at various points in her oeuvre, the motivating force underpinning her scholarship was to introduce clarity and rigour into the field of consumption studies. She did not want to simply define the field, closing down the epistemological and conceptual boundaries of this domain. What is clear is that she conceived her work as helping others to think differently. She asks and poses questions of the literature, expecting others – whether students or scholars alike – to flesh out her ideas (e.g. Kyrk, 1923, 1933).

For Kyrk, the present economic and social system, as well as current familial relationships and sizes, were all a function of historical development. As the wider social environment changed, so would human relationships and consumption patterns. In an attempt to add structure to a topic that had previously been studied from many disparate directions, her 1923 book is fashioned around three questions (discussed below) all of which shade into each other as a reflection of the importance of human agency in decision-making. The consumer, she writes, is ultimately responsible for their choices, but they do not make these choices in isolation (see Askegaard and Linnet, 2011; Moisander *et al.*, 2009; Thompson *et al.*, 2013). This has implications for how we understand the consumer and consumption:

The term “consumption” comprehends in truth a large and varied number of activities and interests. The individual in his twenty-four hours a day and fifty-two weeks a year carries on a multitude of activities and realizes a variety of interests. . . The study of consumption is not the study of a narrow circumscribed field, but of almost all the desires and purposes which move men to action. On the objective side, the interests represented in consumption show themselves in concrete modes of living. . . But always behind these objective ways of living are the individuals whose tendencies, interests, and needs have taken these concrete forms. It is here that the attention will be centered in this inquiry, in this complex of native impulses and acquired interests, which are expressed to-day in choices upon the market (Kyrk, 1923, pp. 6-7).

She stresses the interplay between history, institutions, standards of living, social emulation and individual choice. As human beings we are social animals, influenced by our biology, the manner of our socialisation, the important institutions that shape and govern our behaviour through ethical enculturation and codes for life (e.g. the church, university, women’s magazines), and the people that surround us (e.g. Kyrk, 1923, p. 18, 20, 23, 43, 65). These assumptions inflect her research. To structure the interpretation that follows, the remainder of the paper is oriented around her three key questions.

Question one

Her first question is predicated on the issue of individual freedom: who determines the direction of the economy? Is the consumer and their consumption demands the axis of the economic system as per the arguments offered by Adam Smith? This, she points out, requires contextualisation and depends on various factors. The major influence is the level of income we possess. Without a requisite level of disposable income, combined with a substantial group of purchasers seeking similar items, it is unlikely that the industrial complex will produce in-line with consumption requests (e.g. Kyrk, 1923, p. 43).

In equal measure, it depends on where we live. Social influences, “pecuniary emulation”, and attachment to highly symbolic, meaning-rich products noticeable to those we interact with, are important props in social exchange (e.g. Veblen, 1899/1994; Lynd and Lynd, 1929; Levy, 1959; Ritson and Elliott, 1999; Wong *et al.*, 2013). People buy products that provide a means to cement social relations; they avoid items that might lead to their ostracism. The public nature of much consumption thus facilitates the structuring of behaviour by virtue of the affirmation and criticism that may emanate from influential others. Class structures and sociality, then, can mean people engage in acts of consumption that they rarely question in a substantive fashion. Such a process of critical reflection is made more difficult by the inter-subjective determination of living standards and the absence of the types of “objective” tests and purchase guidelines that ostensibly structure industrial and managerial decision-making (e.g. Kyrk, 1940).

What, in effect, Kyrk (1923, p. 45) posits, is that the consumer is subject to a variety of pressures, including “custom, convention, fashion, opinion” which structure their consumption behaviour in fairly predictable ways. This should not encourage us to think that prediction is an easy task, as the mass production of consumer goods presents individuals with a cornucopia of options (see Brown, 2005). As she continues, social influence and marketer actions have helped constitute choice and decision-making. It is not a simple unidirectional patterning however (see Hatch and Rubin, 2006; McCracken, 1986). The individual affects the collective in some respects and industry shapes community behaviour to a limited extent via salesmanship and advertising. For manufacturers, their ability to cater to the demands of the marketplace is conditioned by the availability of appropriate production technology and environmental resources, and their competitive success is dependent on the management of relations with retailers and cemented via the creation of powerful brands (e.g. Kyrk, 1923, p. 91).

Freedom of choice for the consumer, then, is delimited by Kyrk in her attempt to offer a realistic account of choice-making under the existing system of production and distribution in the USA. Her comments on the subject of the relationships between producers, intermediaries and the ultimate consumer thus indicate some distance from the powerful and sometimes negative role ascribed to the culture industries and marketing practice by Veblen or the Frankfurt School (Adorno, 1975; Fromm, 1956/2002; Tadjewski, 2010a). Let me explain. Veblen’s work, as a number of commentators have pointed out, is a complex read (Brown, 2000). Notwithstanding his sarcasm, he does not frequently condemn the consumption patterns that he describes (Heath, 2008). Kyrk, however, differs slightly in the sense that her attention is directed

not just to “why” people act as they do – which would keep her in alignment with Veblen – but goes further to articulate “how they should” act (Van Velzen, 2003, p. 48).

She thus had a normative agenda: like the Frankfurt School, Kyrk was critical of the thoughtlessness that underwrote the emulation of certain groups in society. In the case of Veblen, this was the leisure class, the wealthy and conservative who had little to do but spend their time dressing to impress, learning ancient languages, or building dramatic houses to compete with each other. For Kyrk, competition and differentiation in the market for status was wasteful for the reason that it leads those who are less affluent to mimic conspicuous consumption habits, misdirecting their income in the sense that it was used for purposes other than those likely to maximise the welfare of the household.

Encouraging such behaviour was not simply the fault of mendacious marketers. In her views she shares values similar to those we find articulated via the Wisconsin school, Richard Ely and John Commons (i.e. institutional theorists) as well as in remarks by Paul Converse (1959). The triumvirate of Ely, Commons and Converse all appreciated what the economic system could do; that it was effective in many respects, producing and distributing the types of goods and services that some people did demand. This is not to say that they were convinced it was wholly unproblematic. Despite the best of intentions by legislators, consumer activists and such like, the profit motive did skew business decision-making in extremely harmful ways on occasion. Yet, each was convinced, in their own respective ways, that the system could be improved in order to render appropriate service to society as a whole rather than to a very limited set of stakeholders.

Stated succinctly, Kyrk had a more tempered position to Veblen who was noticeably dismissive of some groups: for him, manufacturers controlled production to raise prices (Veblen, 1919/2005); they used salesmanship to move products that were otherwise less than desirable or a function of poor economic planning (Veblen, 1921/2006); even women came in for a degree of criticism (Brown, 2000; Goldstein, 2012). There is, we should appreciate, also commensurability between Kyrk’s writing and Erich Fromm’s in one respect. Both cite the power of the “herd instinct”, the fact that people sometimes follow the crowd in a conformist manner (she actually calls people “sheep” at one point).

... it is true, [that people] under certain conditions desire to be different, but under others they desire to be alike; they wish to wipe out differences; they show in some respects a marked tendency to imitation. The cheap products of the machine technique provided an unparalleled opportunity for this imitation. . . It cannot be said that the machine technique was responsible for the resulting uniformity and imposed it upon mankind. . . [and] those who argue that mass production limits the freedom of expression of individual choice are seeing only the uniformity of the product of a particular plant. They are ignoring the wide range of products of different plants. . . Take almost any detail of our life, and greater possibilities of expressing individuality have resulted as a consequence of the modern technique of production. The variety in foods, fabrics, garments, furniture, books, magazines, all examples of large scale production, is amazing (Kyrk, 1923, p. 80).

As this quotation indicates, just because people exhibit a willingness to conform to the types of consumption supported by their friends, co-workers and those in higher social classes, does not mean they demonstrate no degree of individuality. There are enough products on the market for people to craft a sense of self that aligned them with social



values, yet which still provide them with a means of social distinction (e.g. Kyrk, 1923, p. 222):

... there is both opportunity and need for the operation of a creative impulse and a desire for individual expression in the modes of activity involved in consumption. They may show themselves in originality or eccentricity of choice, in experimentation with new goods and new values. It is the direct application which makes our standards dynamic and which leads to change and progress (Kyrk, 1923, p. 202).

Helen Woodward
and Hazel Kyrk

399

Question two

Related to the profusion of products and the expansion of the industrial system is the second question. This coheres around the issue of choice and processes of value determination. In other words, how do we determine the value of an item and how does this influence decision-making? Again, her inter-disciplinary reading strategy is evident in her conceptual reflections on choice and the various conceptions of the consumer she reviews, problematises and rethinks. Taking a critical perspective on all material, including socialist and communist arguments, she recognised that not all people conceptualised the consumer in the same way. For more critically oriented writers and public policy makers, the consumer might be positioned as a “victim” of the economic system; they were someone who needed protection and the support of a powerful state. This concept was invoked by various schools of thought, from Marxist, Veblenite, institutional economics and critical sociology, through to the popular pronouncements of P.T. Barnum. It was a conception closely connected with the rise of the Robber Barons, the consciousness raising work of the muckrakers and the increased perception of the inequalities and dark-side of industrial capitalism. From this perspective, the consumer was weak, unable to cope with the barrage of advertising and sales advice that structured their consumption patterns along lines desired by and functionally useful to the business community. Other perspectives, by contrast, presented the consumer as powerful. As a function of first world war, the willingness of the consumer to control their consumption habits, limit their use of war related materials, and grow their own food and sustenance, they were hailed as a patriotic figure and the consumer was a hero for many.

Between these two positions – of extreme passivity and high levels of agency – Kyrk presents very close readings of currently circulating debates, offering the pros, cons and an alternative perspective. Her work calls for a realistic appraisal of the structure of economic arrangements. It reminds us of the historical contingency of the ordering of the economy, while appreciating the value and longevity of the status quo. Citing Veblen (institutional economics), Jung (psychoanalysis), Watson (behaviourism) and numerous others, she stresses a variety of factors that have had longstanding structural effects on consumption practices and valuation strategies. Within any given population, she reminds the reader, there is always the potential for social change due to differences in how we evaluate our current standard of living. She refers to those people who exhibit anti-conformist behavioural patterns (e.g. Kyrk, 1923, p. 232). Quickly, however, she appreciates that any attempt to parse biological and cultural influences is a largely fruitless task. After all, multiple authors offer their own accounts of the instincts that drive human behaviour, with very little overlap between them. Recognising the influence of biology, she expands the range of factors that influence

consumption practices. These include “social institutions”, “social inheritance” (i.e. history, “ready-made” social mores and law), brands, trade-marks, education, peer influence and a degree of individual reflection which is tempered by limitations to cognitive processing power (see Hatch and Rubin, 2006).

Registering the latter which was to some extent offset by “the benefit of group experience” (Kyrk, 1923, p. 245), her work speaks to the critical, social reformist stream of scholarship allied with home economics (Vincenti, 1987) and prominently associated with one of Kyrk’s close colleagues, Margaret Reid (Forget, 1996). By “critically reformist” is simply meant that Kyrk and Reid wanted to assist people in making their consumption decisions more rational and more reasoned (Tinkler and Warsh, 2008). In providing students with appropriate intellectual resources, it was hoped they would become skilled in “defensive shopping, to help them resist high-pressure sales tactics” (Bix, 2002, p. 746).

But this is not where the educational project of cultivating reflective and technically literate consumers ended. Graduates of home economics courses were exposed to critiques of the development of consumption patterns, standards of living and the operations of the economy. Kyrk and Reid inserted such an edge into their course materials because they found the wastes associated with poor decision-making and the activities of profit-seeking producers to be fundamentally problematic (e.g. Leach, 1994), contributing as they did to rising costs of living.

Indeed throughout her scholarship, Kyrk is attentive to the impact of the profit motive on producer decisions. Sometimes this encourages them to produce more products, lowering the cost, and expanding the potential market for their wares. At other times, it takes producer activities into an altogether darker realm: “Our economic arrangements make possible a subversion and baffling of the consumer’s interests through monopoly, fraud, adulteration, and other more subtle devices of the profit-seeking producers” (Kyrk, 1923, p. 21). Adding flesh to her argument, she takes inspiration from Deweyan pragmatism arguing that the “value” of a product is a function of instrumental utility (i.e. usefulness). The problem is that it is actually challenging to evaluate – in what she calls an “objective” fashion – the usefulness of products (see Hatch, 2012). This was made more difficult by the growing value accorded to aesthetics in product manufacture and marketing (McKellar, 2002) and the use of cultural arbiters such as popular designers like Dorothy Liebes (1899-1972) by DuPont to facilitate the diffusion of their synthetic product innovations (Blaszczyk, 2008).

We may lack the education to determine value effectively and our consumption patterns may be skewed by prominent actors. This is where home economics education and scientifically conducted research can make negotiating the marketplace more efficient. Utilising scientific knowledge, people were encouraged to be critical, self-reflective actors when engaged in provisioning for themselves and their families. They had to reflect on what goods they consider essential to their existence and what were luxuries. By the latter she means simply those items we do not need. In an argument that chimes with those articulated by Ozanne and Murray (1995), Kyrk asserts that more efficient consumption patterns will not be quickly forthcoming until critical reflection is actively embraced by all consumers, most of whom live beyond the reach of the intellectual offerings of the university (e.g. Kyrk, 1923, p. 248). Given this, as part of their course requirements, home economics students were expected to

communicate with the wider public through product demonstrations, seminars and written correspondence (Bix, 2002), all of which were intended to inculcate a self-critical stance among the wider populace.

Helen Woodward
and Hazel Kyrk

401

Question three

The final question she explores deals with “the problem of welfare as a function of wealth” (Kyrk, 1923, p. 7). Her response is most tentative. Our welfare is a complex bundle of factors and not just, she maintains, a result of the amount of money we possess. In spite of this, all too frequently we equate welfare with the consumption of expensive items or wasteful consumption. For Kyrk, spending money as a means of social distinction does not necessarily benefit individual welfare or wider society. The use of our financial resources for products which are unhealthy, pointless in nutritional terms or potentially dangerous (e.g. alcohol and drugs) may distract an individual from the pursuit of self-development that would have been ultimately more fulfilling; it can, moreover, lead producers to offer what appear to be highly valued items rather than truly socially beneficial goods.

Not only does she register the historically and socially constructed nature of our consumption patterns, that is, that our consumption habits, the products we consume and the way we shop, are cultural constructions (O’Donohoe, 2008), she goes further than this, asking that we examine how we came to structure our consumption choices in the way we presently do and whether it is efficient, wasteful, healthy, or useful to do so. She asks us, in short, to think about what we value and why: what is the good life we seek (see also Murphy, forthcoming; Sherry, 2013)?

On balance, while her writing is critical, it is also like Woodward’s affirmative as well. And what the above discussion should press home is that there is a richness to the writings of largely forgotten female thinkers that can be fruitfully read and connected to the genealogy of marketing theory, thought and practice.

Negotiating the market and work environment

Hard work and tenacity, combined with a degree of serendipity, appear to be a feature of the lives of many prominent female scholars and practitioners (see also Brown, 2005, 2008). For example, Elizabeth Arden (1884-1966), like the other female figures discussed in this issue, had a prodigious work ethic (see also Peiss, 1998). As her biographer described her life-story, “she never stopped working” (Martin, 1980a, p. 33). Elizabeth Hoyt (1893-1980), the subject of Parsons’ (2013) biographical account, has been called a “visionary”, “extraordinarily courageous” and “warm-hearted” (Thorne, 2000, p. 218) and offered insightful arguments in support of the greater use of anthropological insights in consumption studies (e.g. Hoyt, 1940, p. 118).

Hazel Kyrk was extremely supportive of doctoral students and faculty (Lobdell, 2000, p. 253). Margaret Reid (1898-1991) “was a tough professor: she routinely failed more than 10 per cent of students in her class”, had “high academic standards”, was unstintingly critical where necessary and extremely collegiate (Yi, 1996, p. 20; see also Forget, 1996, p. 8). Irna Phillips (1901-1973), radio producer extraordinaire had “vast energy” and “superb inventiveness” (Shakir, 1980, p. 543). Mildred Brady (1906-1965), a consumer advocate, possessed “intelligence and drive” (Warne, 1980, p. 102); Persia Campbell (1898-1974), another prominent consumer advocate, was “dedicated” to helping others optimise their marketplace purchases (Shainwald, 1980).



Christine Frederick (1883-1970), of *Selling Mrs. Consumer* fame, moved through multiple incarnations eventually becoming an interior decorator and designer – a career path that hints at impressive levels of energy (Shillaber, 1980). Helena Rubinstein (1870-1965), another amazing cosmetics marketer, started with her mother's face cream for inspiration, studied dermatology, appreciated the need for proper training of her staff, the crafting of a boutique look for her stores and was "Phenomenally energetic, she worked eighteen hours a day, setting a pattern for life" (Kenney, 1980, p. 607). Margaret Hockaday (1907-1992), an advertising pioneer who started her own agency, "was known to work a 16-hour day, with lunch at her desk" (Neuberger-Lucchesi, 1994a, p. 189). Others were quite forthright in describing their achievements and success. Helen Woodward is notable here. She refers to her "glittering intellect", "great mind" (Woodward, 1935, p. 46), "stupendous intellect" (Woodward, 1935, p. 207), her ambition, her risk taking (e.g. Woodward, 1926, p. 92) but equally she was insecure, sensitive and suffered from "sick nerves" at times (e.g. Woodward, 1926, p. 136). She is unswervingly honest in underscoring a behavioural trait that sometimes plagues the intelligent or talented:

We women are not so easy to work with as men. When you see a woman who is doing well in business, you nearly always see one who is neurotic or weary or tempestuous. Seldom do you see one who is calm and serene. It is this way. Women who are much abler than others are not normal, and men who are abler than others are not normal either. Both such men and women have some things in them which are stronger than in other people. They are not made up evenly of ingredients like a well-made bread, but have too much of one thing, like a soufflé, and have to be handled with care (Woodward, 1926, pp. 231-232).

Without doubt, we may not have a choice about whether to work or not and hunger helps direct our attention to earning a living. The women mentioned above worked hard because they had to (e.g. Woodward, 1935, p. 139); they needed jobs and sought the stimulation it could bring (Hoffert, 2008; Scanlon, 2013). Certainly what comes through the biographies available regarding prominent men and women in marketing is a drive for achievement (e.g. Jones, 2012, 2013). These were people who studied into the night to understand the mechanics of the production of great advertising (e.g. Davies, 2013), who juggled large family responsibilities with the need to craft a career as a speaker, writer, and consultant (e.g. Graham, 2013) or who were trying to build a prominent department in a major company that would outshine the others (e.g. Scanlon, 2013). No less impressive was the subject of Jones' (2013) study, Pauline Arnold. Starting her own consultancy, responsible for a number of "firsts" in the market research business including pioneering work on convergent radio interviewing, all helped lead to her union (in both senses) with one of the premier marketing theorists of the day, Percival White (see Jones, 2012; Jones and Tadjewski, 2012; Tadjewski and Jones, 2012).

But, there are a great many figures whose biographies do not appear here and which would benefit from further study. There were many female contributors active in advertising circles in the period between the Civil War (post 1865) and the early twentieth century. These include Mathilde Weil, Mary Compton, Alice Stoddard, Ellen Sage, Grace Webber, Grace Shaw, Kate Griswold, Meta Vockmann, Dorothy Ficken, and the Hoffman Sisters. As Fox notes, these "pioneers. . .enjoyed, for a time, a range of opportunities in advertising that women would then not recover until the latter decades

of the twentieth century” (Fox, 1997, p. 285). Beyond these very early contributors he refers to “Erma Perham Proetz, of Gardner Advertising in St Louis, [who] won three Harvard-Bok prizes for her Pet condensed milk campaigns and later became the first woman inducted into the AFA’s Hall of Fame” (Fox, 1997, p. 287), along with Herta Herzog (p. 268) – the latter being influential in terms of the contributions she made to the “uses and gratifications” approach in advertising theory (Douglas, 2006). Needless to say, further research on many of these figures would be highly desirable and represent important contributions to our discipline.

Work by Helen Canoyer certainly deserves attention (e.g. Canoyer and Vaile, 1951) as would material by Ruby Turner Norris (e.g. Norris, 1941). Further figures worth exploring can be found in Applegate’s (1994) biographical dictionary of advertising men and women. Of particular interest are the entries on Bernice Bowles Fitz-Gibbon (Nagel, 1994), Jo Foxworth (Hebert, 1994), Paula Green (De Bonis, 1994), Margaret Hockaday (Neuberger-Lucchesi, 1994a), Mary Wells (Morrison, 1994), Helen Resor (as a supplement to Scanlon’s (2013) excellent paper and (1995) book; Keding, 1994a), Phyllis Robinson (Neuberger-Lucchesi, 1994b) and Jane Trahay (Keding, 1994b). The Scottish advertising pioneer, Ruth Waldo (1885-1975), deserves much attention, having been extremely well regarded during her lifetime for her ability to adapt to social currents (e.g. Martin, 1980b; Scanlon, 1995, p. 186). Then there are those who worked in the retail education business itself, teaching saleswomen the appropriate behavioural practices desired by management such as Helen Rich Norton who was affiliated with Lucinda Wyman Prince’s correspondence type school (the latter was a central figure at the National Retail Dry Goods Association education programme for twenty years from 1915 onwards to name just one of her outreach activities) (Benson, 1981, 1988).

Finally, Ross and Richards’ (2008) *A Century of Advertising Education* contains an extensive listing of advertising educators who are singled out for applause for their contributions to the field. This refers to a number of female contributors who might be worth considering as a focal point for further research including Wilma Crumley, Camille Elebash, Elsie Hebert, Marilyn Mancini, and Patricia Rose. Scanlon (1995, chapter six) lists many of the Women’s Editorial Department at J.W.T. and Sheehan (2008) provides a number of additional figures who warrant attention including Shirley Polykoff (1908-1998) and Janet Wolff (1922 >) (among others), both of whom made substantial contributions to advertising practice.

The dark-side of marketing practice does not just include men

Just as some of the examples of female scholars and practitioners should make us feel proud of the contributions that our predecessors have made, we should recognise and research those whose contributions fall on the dark-side of the discipline, those who were female and grace the halls of infamy. While there is evidence of female involvement in product adulteration from at least the sixteenth century (Lapham, 1901), perhaps the most obvious source for some of the more dubious concoctions on the market come from the patent medicine industry; a gargantuan machine for the production of profit which was accountable for the deaths of thousands (at least) through its claims for efficacy. These led many people without the wherewithal to consult a doctor to rely on such medicines. The result in some cases was that minor ailments or treatable conditions became life-threatening.

Arguably the patent medicine industry could be viewed as a conduit for marketing knowledge during the nineteenth and twentieth century and some of the female advocates of these products were skilled marketers. Not in the sense of satisfying their customers in the long-term, although perhaps they offered relief or salve in the short-term: “The patent medicine business is full of murder, bribery, stealing, and swindling” (Woodward, 1938, p. 108fn1). For Brown (2000, p. 131), this industry sullied the name of marketing in the eyes of the general public, indeed marketing continues to be tarnished with associations to snake oil peddlers to the present day. So, just as we should highlight the contributions made by our pioneering marketing scholars and practitioners, there is historical merit in documenting the activities of dark-side practitioners whose activities may turn out – as Woodward gestures with respect to the case of Lydia Pinkham (1819-1883) – to be more complex than they appear on face value (e.g. Fox, 1997, pp. 16-18, 25, 31, 65).

But, as Hazel Kyrk (1923), critical marketers (Tadajewski, 2010a) and consumer researchers (Askegaard and Linnet, 2011; Moisander *et al.*, 2009) have repeatedly stressed, we need to explore the institutional support mechanisms for these industries (i.e. trade associations and lobbying groups), their connections to government and legislation, and ensure we connect their activities to the economic structure and profit motive as a whole (e.g. Woodward, 1960, p. 90). This adds balance to the historical development of marketing theory, thought and practice and such balance is an essential element of a scholarly project such as ours.

Conclusion

As a result of changes in the industrial landscape, the decline of slavery, and the need for accelerating production and consumption, women were able to enter the workforce thereby providing them – in some cases – with the income necessary to keep the industrial machine rolling. As has been documented directly in the career of Helen Woodward, and indirectly via citation to the many other female advertising practitioners, this industry was fairly open in terms of providing career opportunities to highly talented women. The field of education and scholarship offered an alternative outlet for the energies and talents of female pioneers. Some were very successful in this regard, producing seminal texts that repay a careful reading today. Hazel Kyrk was an exemplar in this domain.

As the reader will appreciate when they explore each of the papers in this special issue, women have been active participants in the public sphere and marketing system. They may not have overcome gender and racial stereotypes in all cases. They were treated with paternalism and some even felt they received more attention than was due (Davies, 2013). Nonetheless, they deserve their place in the pantheon of marketing pioneers. I hope that this special issue is only the start of our full and comprehensive recognition of the role that women have played in marketing theory, thought, practice and activism. There is much more work to be done.

References

- Adorno, T.W. (1975), “Culture industry reconsidered”, *New German Critique*, Vol. 6, pp. 12-19.
- Alvesson, M. (1998), “Gender relations and identity at work: a case study of masculinities and femininities in an advertising agency”, *Human Relations*, Vol. 51 No. 8, pp. 969-1005.



- Appel, J.H. (1911), *Golden Book of the Wanamaker Stores*, Vol. 1, John Wanamaker, Philadelphia, PA.
- Appel, J.H. (1930/1970), *The Business Biography of John Wanamaker: Founder and Builder*, AMS Press, New York, NY.
- Applegate, E. (Ed.) (1994), *The Ad Men and Women: A Biographical Dictionary of Advertising*, Greenwood, Westport, CT.
- Askegaard, S. and Linnet, J.T. (2011), "Towards an epistemology of consumer culture theory: phenomenology and the context of context", *Marketing Theory*, Vol. 11 No. 4, pp. 381-404.
- Bellamy, E. (1888/1996), *Looking Backward*, Dover Publications, New York, NY.
- Belisle, D. (2011), "Crazy for bargains: inventing the irrational female shopper in modernizing English Canada", *The Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 92 No. 4, pp. 581-606.
- Benson, S.P. (1981), "The Cinderella of occupations: managing the work of department store saleswomen, 1900-1940", *Business History Review*, Vol. LV No. 1, pp. 1-25.
- Benson, S.P. (1988), *Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores 1890-1940*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, IL.
- Bix, A.S. (2002), "Equipped for life: gendered technical training and consumerism in home economics, 1920-1980", *Technology and Culture*, Vol. 43 No. 4, pp. 728-754.
- Blaszczyk, R.L. (1997), "'Where Mrs. Homemaker is never forgotten': Lucy Maltby and home economics at Corning Glass Works, 1929-1965", in Stage, S. and Vincenti, V.B. (Eds), *Rethinking Home Economics: Women and the History of a Profession*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY, pp. 163-180.
- Blaszczyk, R. (2008), "Designing synthetics, promoting brands: Dorothy Liebes DuPont fibres and post-war American interiors", *Journal of Design History*, Vol. 21 No. 1, pp. 75-99.
- Boleslavski, R. and Woodward, H. (1932), *Way of the Lancer*, Garden City Publishing Co, New York, NY.
- Boleslavski, R. and Woodward, H. (1933), *Lances Down: Between the Fires in Moscow*, Grayson & Grayson, Mayfair.
- Bondfield, M.G. (1899), "Conditions under which shop assistants work", *The Economic Journal*, Vol. 9 No. 34, pp. 277-286.
- Brewer, F.N. (1902), "Child labor in the department store", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 20, pp. 165-177.
- Brock, S.S. (1994), "Helen Rosen Woodward", in Applegate, E. (Ed.), *The Ad Men and Women: A Biographical Dictionary of Advertising*, Greenwood Press, Westport, CT, pp. 344-353.
- Brown, S. (2000), "The laugh of the marketing Medusa: men are from Marx, women are from Veblen", in Catterall, M., Maclaran, P. and Stevens, L. (Eds), *Marketing and Feminism: Current Issues and Research*, Routledge, London, pp. 129-142.
- Brown, S. (2005), "Science, serendipity and the contemporary marketing condition", *European Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 39 Nos 11/12, pp. 1229-1234.
- Brown, S. (2008), *Fail Better! Stumbling to Success in Sales & Marketing – 25 Remarkable Renegades Show How*, Cyan, London.
- Burgess, G. (1938), "Is service overdone? Why ashes on sugar? – Asks Gelett Burgess", *The Rotarian*, April, pp. 64-66.
- Burton, D. (2007), *Credit and the Consumer Society*, Routledge, London.
- Canoyer, H.G. and Vaile, R.S. (1951), *Economics of Income and Consumption*, The Ronald Press Company, New York, NY.

- Carsky, M.L., Kennedy, E.J. and Waller-Zuckerman, M.E. (1990), "Women marketing educators: interests, productivity and satisfactions", *Journal of Marketing Education*, Vol. 12, Spring, pp. 1-10.
- Catterall, M., Maclaran, P. and Stevens, L. (1997), "Marketing and feminism: a bibliography and suggestions for future research", *Marketing Intelligence & Planning*, Vol. 15 No. 7, pp. 369-376.
- Converse, P.D. (1959), *The Beginning of Marketing Thought in the United States: With Reminiscences of Some of the Pioneer Marketing Scholars*, Bureau of Business Research: The University of Texas, Austin, TX.
- Davies, J.F. (2013), "Beyond 'caste-typing?': Caroline Robinson Jones, advertising pioneer and trailblazer", *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing*, Vol. 5 No. 3, pp. 308-333.
- De Bonis, J.N. (1994), "Paula Green", in Applegate, E. (Ed.), *The Ad Men and Women: A Biographical Dictionary of Advertising*, Greenwood Press, Westport, CT, pp. 165-173.
- Dimand, M.A. (2000), "Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1860-1935)", in Dimand, R.W., Dimand, M.A. and Forget, E.L. (Eds), *A Biographical Dictionary of Women Economists*, Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, pp. 174-183.
- Douglas, S.J. (2006), "Personal influence and the bracketing of women's history", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 608, pp. 41-50.
- Ershkowitz, H. (1999), *John Wanamaker: Philadelphia Merchant*, Combined Publishing, Conshohocken.
- Forget, E. (1996), "Margaret Gilpin Reid: a Manitoba home economist goes to Chicago", *Feminist Economics*, Vol. 2 No. 3, pp. 1-16.
- Fougère, M. and Skålén, P. (2013), "Extension in the subjectifying power of marketing ideology in organizations: a Foucauldian analysis of academic marketing", *Journal of Macromarketing*, Vol. 33 No. 1, pp. 13-28.
- Fox, S. (1997), *The Mirror Makers: A History of American Advertising & Its Creators*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, IL.
- Fullerton, R.A. (2007), "Psychoanalyzing kleptomania", *Marketing Theory*, Vol. 7 No. 4, pp. 335-342.
- Fullerton, R.A. and Punj, G. (1998), "The unintended consequences of the culture of consumption: an historical-theoretical analysis of consumer misbehaviour", *Consumption, Markets & Culture*, Vol. 1 No. 4, pp. 393-423.
- Fromm, E. (1956/2002), *The Sane Society*, Routledge, London.
- Goldstein, C.M. (2012), *Creating Consumers: Home Economists in Twentieth-Century America*, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, NC.
- Goodsell, W. (1929), "The educational opportunities of American women - theoretical and actual", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 143, pp. 1-13.
- Graham, L. (1997), "Beyond manipulation: Lillian Gilbreth's industrial psychology and the governmentality of women consumers", *The Sociological Quarterly*, Vol. 38 No. 4, pp. 539-565.
- Graham, L. (2000), "Lillian Gilbreth and the mental revolution at Macy's, 1925-1928", *Journal of Management History*, Vol. 6 No. 7, pp. 285-305.
- Graham, L. (2013), "Lillian Gilbreth's psychologically enriched scientific management of women consumers", *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing*, Vol. 5 No. 3, pp. 351-369.
- Hamilton, D. (1989), "Thorstein Veblen as the first professor of marketing science", *Journal of Economic Issues*, Vol. 23 No. 4, pp. 1097-1103.



- Hatch, M.J. (2012), "The pragmatics of branding: an application of Dewey's theory of aesthetic expression", *European Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 46 No. 7, pp. 885-899.
- Hatch, M.J. and Rubin, J. (2006), "The hermeneutics of branding", *Journal of Brand Management*, Vol. 14 Nos 1/2, pp. 40-59.
- Heath, J. (2008), "Thorstein Veblen and American social criticism", in Misak, C. (Ed.), *Oxford Handbook of American Philosophy*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 235-253.
- Hebert, E.S. (1994), "Jo Foxworth", in Applegate, E. (Ed.), *The Ad Men and Women: A Biographical Dictionary of Advertising*, Greenwood Press, Westport, CT, pp. 146-150.
- Hoffert, S.D. (2008), "Female self-making in mid-nineteenth century America", *Journal of Women's History*, Vol. 20 No. 3, pp. 34-59.
- Hoyt, E.E. (1940), "Discussion", *Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 4 No. 4, pp. 117-119.
- James, J.W. (1970), "Introduction", in James, E.T., James, J.W. and Boyer, P.S. (Eds), *Notable American Women 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary*, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, pp. xvii-xvii.
- Jones, D.G.B. (2012), *Pioneers in Marketing: A Collection of Biographical Essays*, Routledge, New York, NY.
- Jones, D.G.B. (2013), "Pauline Arnold (1894-1974): pioneer in market research", *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing*, Vol. 5 No. 3, pp. 291-307.
- Keding, A.M. (1994a), "Helen Lansdowne Resor", in Applegate, E. (Ed.), *The Ad Men and Women: A Biographical Dictionary of Advertising*, Greenwood Press, Westport, CT, pp. 262-272.
- Keding, A.M. (1994b), "Jane Trahay", in Applegate, E. (Ed.), *The Ad Men and Women: A Biographical Dictionary of Advertising*, Greenwood Press, Westport, CT, pp. 325-334.
- Kenney, A.L. (1980), "RUBINSTEIN, Helena", in Brobeck, S., Mayer, R.N. and Herrmann, R.O. (Eds), *Encyclopedia of the Consumer Movement*, ABC-CLIO, Santa Barbara, CA, pp. 607-608.
- Kroen, S. (2004), "A political history of the consumer", *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 47 No. 3, pp. 709-736.
- Kyrk, H. (1923), *A Theory of Consumption*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, MA.
- Kyrk, H. (1933), *Economic Problems of the Family*, Harper & Brothers, New York, NY.
- Kyrk, H. (1940), "'The consumer and the economic order' by Waite and Cassady 'Consumption in our society' by Hoyt", *Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 4 No. 4, pp. 111-117.
- Lapham, E.C. (1901), "The industrial status of women in Elizabethan England", *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 9 No. 4, pp. 562-599.
- Leach, W. (1994), *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture*, Vintage Books, New York, NY.
- Levy, S.J. (1959), "Symbols for sale", *Harvard Business Review*, Vol. 37 No. 4, pp. 117-124.
- Lobdell, R.A. (2000), "Hazel Kyrk", in Dimand, R.W., Dimand, M.A. and Forget, E.L. (Eds), *A Biographical Dictionary of Women Economists*, Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, pp. 251-253.
- Lynd, R.S. and Lynd, H.M. (1929), *Middletown: A Study in American Culture*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, London.
- McCracken, G. (1986), "Culture and consumption: a theoretical account of the structure and movement of the cultural meaning of consumer goods", *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 13 No. 1, pp. 71-84.

- McKellar, S. (2002), "Seals of approval': consumer representation in 1930s' America", *Journal of Design History*, Vol. 15 No. 1, pp. 1-13.
- Maclaran, P. (2012), "Marketing and feminism in historic perspective", *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing*, Vol. 4 No. 3, pp. 462-469.
- Maclaran, P., Miller, C., Parsons, E. and Surman, E. (2009), "Praxis or performance: does critical marketing have a gender blindspot?", *Journal of Marketing Management*, Vol. 25 Nos 7/8, pp. 713-728.
- Maclaran, P., Stevens, L. and Catterall, M. (1997), "The 'glasshouse effect': women in marketing management", *Marketing Intelligence & Planning*, Vol. 15 No. 7, pp. 309-317.
- Martin, A. (1980a), "ARDEN, Elizabeth", in Sicherman, B., Green, C.H., Kantrov, I. and Walker, H. (Eds), *Notable American Women: The Modern Period*, The Belknap Press of Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, pp. 32-33.
- Martin, A. (1980b), "Waldo, Ruth Fanshaw", in James, E.T., James, J.W. and Boyer, P.S. (Eds), *Notable American Women 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary*, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, pp. 715-716.
- Mason, R.S. (2000), "A pathfinding study of consumption", *Journal of Macromarketing*, Vol. 20 No. 2, pp. 174-177.
- May, A.M. (2006), "Sweeping the heavens for a comet': women, the language of political economy, and higher education in the US", *Feminist Economics*, Vol. 12 No. 4, pp. 625-640.
- Moeran, B. (2009), "The organization of creativity in Japanese advertising production", *Human Relations*, Vol. 62 No. 7, pp. 963-985.
- Moisander, J., Valtonen, A. and Hirsto, H. (2009), "Personal interviews in cultural consumer research – poststructuralist challenges", *Consumption, Markets & Culture*, Vol. 12 No. 4, pp. 329-348.
- Morrison, D.K. (1994), "Mary Georgene Berg Wells Lawrence", in Applegate, E. (Ed.), *The Ad Men and Women: A Biographical Dictionary of Advertising*, Greenwood Press, Westport, CT, pp. 214-220.
- Nagel, K.M. (1994), "Bernice Bowles Fitz-Gibbon", in Applegate, E. (Ed.), *The Ad Men and Women: A Biographical Dictionary of Advertising*, Greenwood Press, Westport, CT, pp. 127-131.
- Neuberger-Lucchesi, R.E. (1994a), "Margaret Hockaday", in Applegate, E. (Ed.), *The Ad Men and Women: A Biographical Dictionary of Advertising*, Greenwood Press, Westport, CT, pp. 186-194.
- Neuberger-Lucchesi, R.E. (1994b), "Phyllis K. Robinson", in Applegate, E. (Ed.), *The Ad Men and Women: A Biographical Dictionary of Advertising*, Greenwood Press, Westport, CT, pp. 273-278.
- Newman, M. (2005), *Socialism: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Norris, R.T. (1941), *The Theory of Consumer's Demand*, Yale University Press, New Haven, CT.
- O'Donohoe, M. (2008), "Flowers, diamonds, and gold: the destructive public health, human rights, and environmental consequences of symbols of love", *Human Rights Quarterly*, Vol. 30 No. 1, pp. 164-182.
- Ozanne, J.L. and Murray, J.B. (1995), "Uniting critical theory and public policy to create the reflexively defiant consumer", *American Behavioral Scientist*, Vol. 38, pp. 516-525.
- Parsons, E. (2013), "Pioneering consumer economist: Elizabeth Ellis Hoyt (1893-1980)", *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing*, Vol. 5 No. 3, pp. 334-350.



- Patsiaouras, G. and Fitchett, J.A. (2012), "The evolution of conspicuous consumption", *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing*, Vol. 4 No. 1, pp. 154-176.
- Peiss, K. (1998), "'Vital industry' and women's ventures: conceptualizing gender in twentieth century business history", *Business History Review*, Vol. 72 No. 2, pp. 218-241.
- Pope, D. (1983), "Advertising in Britain: a history; Dictionary of Trade Name Origins by Adrian Room", *Business History Review*, Vol. 57 No. 3, pp. 452-454.
- Pope, D. (2004), "Birth of a salesman: the transformation of selling in America by Walter A. Friedman", *Business History Review*, Vol. 78 No. 3, pp. 562-564.
- Ritson, M. and Elliott, R. (1999), "The social uses of advertising: an ethnographic study of adolescent advertising audiences", *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 26 No. 3, pp. 260-277.
- Ross, B.I. and Richards, J.I. (Eds) (2008), *A Century of Advertising Education*, American Academy of Advertising.
- Scanlon, J. (1995), *Inarticulate Longings: The Ladies' Home Journal, Gender, and the Promises of Consumer Culture*, Routledge, New York, NY.
- Scanlon, J. (2013), "'A dozen ideas to the minute': advertising women, advertising to women", *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing*, Vol. 5 No. 3, pp. 273-290.
- Scott, L.M. (2000), "Market feminism: the case for a paradigm shift", in Catterall, M., Maclaran, P. and Stevens, L. (Eds), *Marketing and Feminism: Current Issues and Research*, Routledge, London, pp. 16-38.
- Scott, L.M. (2005), *Fresh Lipstick: Redressing Fashion and Feminism*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, NY.
- Shainwald, S. (1980), "CAMPBELL, Persia Crawford", in Brobeck, S., Mayer, R.N. and Herrmann, R.O. (Eds), *Encyclopedia of the Consumer Movement*, ABC-CLIO, Santa Barbara, CA, pp. 625-627.
- Shakir, E.C. (1980), "PHILLIPS, Irna", in Brobeck, S., Mayer, R.N. and Herrmann, R.O. (Eds), *Encyclopedia of the Consumer Movement*, ABC-CLIO, Santa Barbara, CA, pp. 542-543.
- Sheehan, K. (2008), "Women faculty in advertising programs", in Ross, B.I. and Richards, J.I. (Eds), *A Century of Advertising Education*, American Academy of Advertising, pp. 53-60.
- Sherry, J.E. Jr (2013), "Can we get there from here? Charting the contours of the common good", in Murphy, P.E. and Sherry, J.F. Jr (Eds), *Marketing and the Common Good: Essays from Notre Dame on Societal Impact*, Routledge, London.
- Shillaber, C. (1980), "FREDERICK, Christine McGaffey", in Brobeck, S., Mayer, R.N. and Herrmann, R.O. (Eds), *Encyclopedia of the Consumer Movement*, ABC-CLIO, Santa Barbara, CA, pp. 249-250.
- Stern, B.B. (1989), "Literary criticism and consumer research: overview and illustrative analysis", *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 16 No. 3, pp. 322-334.
- Stern, B.B. (1992), "Feminist literary theory and advertising research: a new 'reading' of the text and the consumer", *Journal of Current Issues and Research in Advertising*, Vol. 14 No. 1, pp. 9-21.
- Stern, B.B. (1993), "Feminist literary criticism and the deconstruction of ads: a postmodern view of advertising and consumer responses", *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 19 No. 4, pp. 556-566.
- Tadajewski, M. (2010a), "Toward a history of critical marketing studies", *Journal of Marketing Management*, Vol. 26 Nos 9-10, pp. 773-824.

- Tadajewski, M. (2010b), "Critical marketing studies: logical empiricism 'critical performativity' and marketing practice", *Marketing Theory*, Vol. 10 No. 2, pp. 210-222.
- Tadajewski, M. (2012), "Character analysis and racism in marketing theory and practice", *Marketing Theory*, Vol. 12 No. 4, pp. 485-508.
- Tadajewski, M. and Jones, D.G.B. (2012), "Scientific marketing management and the emergence of the ethical marketing concept", *Journal of Marketing Management*, Vol. 28 Nos 1/2, pp. 37-61.
- Tadajewski, M. and Maclaran, P. (2013), "Remembering female contributors to marketing theory, thought and practice", *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing*, Vol. 5 No. 3, pp. 260-272.
- Tarbell, I.M. (1985), *All in the Day's Work: The Autobiography of the Foremost Muckraker of her Time*, G.K. Hall & Co, Boston, MA.
- Thompson, C.J., Arnould, E. and Giesler, M. (2013), "Discursivity, difference, and disruption: genealogical reflections on the consumer culture theory heteroglossia", *Marketing Theory*, Vol. 13 No. 2, pp. 149-174.
- Tilman, R. (1992), *Thorstein Veblen and His Critics*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.
- Tinkler, P. and Warsh, C.K. (2008), "Feminine modernity in interwar Britain and North America", *Journal of Women's History*, Vol. 20 No. 3, pp. 113-143.
- Thorne, A.C. (2000), "Elizabeth Ellis Hoyt", in Dimand, R.W., Dimand, M.A. and Forget, E.L. (Eds), *A Biographical Dictionary of Women Economists*, Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, pp. 215-219.
- Van Velzen, S. (2003), "Hazel Kyrk and the ethics of consumption", in Barker, D.K. and Kuiper, E. (Eds), *Toward a Feminist Philosophy of Economics*, Routledge, London, pp. 38-55.
- Veblen, T. (1898), "The beginnings of ownership", *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 4 No. 3, pp. 353-365.
- Veblen, T. (1899/1994), *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, Dover Publications, New York, NY.
- Veblen, T. (1919/2005), *The Vested Interests and the Common Man*, Cosimo Classics, New York, NY.
- Veblen, T. (1921/2006), *The Engineers and the Price System*, Cosimo Classics, New York, NY.
- Vincenti, V. (1987), "Science and sexism: the historical influence on home economics today", *Journal of Home Economics*, Vol. 79 No. 4, pp. 45-49.
- Waller-Zuckerman, M.E. (1989), "Old homes, in a city of perpetual change: Women's magazines, 1890-1916", *Business History Review*, Vol. 63 No. 4, pp. 715-756.
- Warne, C. (1980), "BRADY, Mildred Edie", in Brobeck, S., Mayer, R.N. and Herrmann, R.O. (Eds), *Encyclopedia of the Consumer Movement*, ABC-CLIO, Santa Barbara, CA, pp. 625-627.
- Windels, K. and Lee, W.-N. (2012), "The construction of gender and creativity in advertising creative departments", *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, Vol. 27 No. 8, pp. 502-519.
- Witkowski, T.H. (1999), "The early development of purchasing roles in the American household, 1750 to 1840", *Journal of Macromarketing*, Vol. 19 No. 2, pp. 104-114.
- Witkowski, T.H. (2004), "Re-gendering consumer agency in mid-nineteenth-century America: a visual understanding", *Consumption, Markets and Culture*, Vol. 7 No. 3, pp. 261-283.
- Wong, P., Hogg, M. and Vanharanta, M. (2013), "Consumption narratives of extended possessions and the extended self", *Journal of Marketing Management*, Vol. 28 Nos 7-8, pp. 936-954.
- Woodhouse, C.G. (1929), "Married college women in business and the professions", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 143 No. 1, pp. 325-338.



- Woodward, H. (1926), *Through Many Windows*, Harper & Brothers, New York, NY.
- Woodward, H. (1935), *Three Flights Up*, Dodd, Mead and Company, New York, NY.
- Woodward, H. (1938), *It's An Art*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, NY.
- Woodward, H. (1945), *Money to Burn*, David McKay Company, Philadelphia, PA.
- Woodward, H. (1959), *General Billy Mitchell: Pioneer of the Air*, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York, NY.
- Woodward, H. (1960), *The Lady Persuaders*, Ivan Obolensky, New York, NY.
- Woodward, H. and Amherst, F. (1940), *The Bowling Green Murders*, Random House, New York, NY.
- Yi, Y.-A. (1996), "Margaret G. Reid: life and achievements", *Feminist Economics*, Vol. 2 No. 3, pp. 17-36.
- Yudelson, S. (1905), "The education and professional activities of women", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 25 No. 1, pp. 117-123.
- Zuckerman, M.E. (2013), "Martha Van Rensselaer and the *Delineator's* homemaking department", *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing*, Vol. 5 No. 3.
- Zuckerman, M.E. and Carsky, M.L. (1990), "Contribution of women to U.S. marketing thought: the consumers' perspective, 1900-1940", *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, Vol. 18 No. 4, pp. 313-317.

Further reading

- Appel, J.H. (1913), *Golden Book of the Wanamaker Stores*, Vol. 2, John Wanamaker, Philadelphia, PA.
- Bartels, R. (1962), *The Development of Marketing Thought*, Richard D. Irwin, Homewood, IL.
- Bristor, J.M. and Fischer, E. (1994), "A feminist poststructuralist analysis of the rhetoric of marketing relationships", *International Journal of Research in Marketing*, Vol. 11 No. 4, pp. 317-331.
- Burton, D. (2009), "'Reading' whiteness in consumer research", *Consumption, Markets and Culture*, Vol. 12 No. 2, pp. 171-201.
- Catterall, M., Maclaran, P. and Stevens, L. (Eds) (2000), *Marketing and Feminism: Current Issues and Research*, Routledge, London.
- Catterall, M., Maclaran, P. and Stevens, L. (2005), "Postmodern paralysis: the critical impasse in feminist perspectives on consumers", *Journal of Marketing Management*, Vol. 21 Nos 5-6, pp. 489-504.
- Chase, S. and Schlink, F.J. (1925), *Your Money's Worth*, The Macmillan Company, New York, NY.
- Cochoy, F. (2009), "Driving a shopping cart from STS to business, and the other way round: on the introduction of shopping carts in American grocery stores (1936-1959)", *Organization*, Vol. 16 No. 1, pp. 31-55.
- Costa, J.A. and Bamossy, G.J. (2012), "Gender research as the ingenue of marketing and consumer behavior", in Otnes, C.C. and Zayer, L.T. (Eds), *Gender, Culture, and Consumer Behavior*, Routledge, New York, NY, pp. 411-432.
- Cowan, R.S. (1980), "GILBRETH, Lillian Evelyn Moller", in Brobeck, S., Mayer, R.N. and Herrmann, R.O. (Eds), *Encyclopedia of the Consumer Movement*, ABC-CLIO, Santa Barbara, CA, pp. 271-273.
- George, H. (1879), *Progress and Poverty: An Inquiry into the Cause of Industrial Depressions and of Increase of Wants with Increase of Wealth*, The Modern Library, New York, NY.

- Hawthorne, M.O. (1929), "Women as college teachers", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 143 No. 1, pp. 146-153.
- Heath, J. (1913), "Work of the Housewives League", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 48, pp. 121-126.
- Jones, D.G.B. and Tadajewski, M. (2011), "Percival White (1887-1970): marketing engineer", *Marketing Theory*, Vol. 11 No. 4, pp. 455-478.
- Lavin, M. (1995), "Creating consumers in the 1930s: Irna Phillips and the radio soap opera", *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 22 No. 1, pp. 75-89.
- McKeon, W. (1960), "Hugh Elmer Agnew", *Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 24 No. 3, pp. 75-77.
- Murphy, P.E. (2013), "The common good: the enduring effort to re-center marketing", in Murphy, P.E. and Sherry, J.F. Jr (Eds), *Marketing and the Common Good: Essays from Notre Dame on Societal Impact*, Routledge, London.
- Otnes, C.C. and Zayer, L.T. (Eds) (2012), *Gender, Culture and Consumer Behavior*, Routledge, New York, NY.
- Wolin, L.D. (2003), "Gender issues in advertising – an oversight synthesis of research: 1970-2002", *Journal of Advertising Research*, Vol. 43 No. 1, pp. 111-129.

About the author

Mark Tadajewski is Professor of Marketing at Durham University. He is the co-editor of the *Journal of Marketing Management*, an Associate Editor of the *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing*, the co-editor of the Routledge Studies in Critical Marketing monograph series and author of numerous books and many articles. Mark Tadajewski can be contacted at: Mark.tadajewski@durham.ac.uk



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.