



UNDERSTANDING ORDINARY WOMEN: ADVERTISING, CONSUMER RESEARCH AND MASS CONSUMPTION IN BRITAIN, 1948-67

CRESI WORKING PAPER NUMBER: 2009-03

Sean Nixon snixon@essex.ac.uk

Abstract:

This paper reflects on the ways market research in Britain helped produce understandings of and information about the 'mass housewife' in the 1950s and 60s. The paper does this through a case study of the market research used and generated by the London subsidiary office of J. Walter Thompson advertising and how it sought to understand the ordinary housewife and her consumption habits. In exploring JWT London's approach to the 'mass market' housewife, the paper draws on recent sociological arguments about advertising and market research that have conceptualized these commercial practices as technologies or socio-technical devices for 'making-up' the consumer; that is, devices for formatting and framing consumer dispositions. In particular I draw on the work of Michel Callon and Peter Miller and Nicholas Rose. In doing so, however, the paper also seeks to revise certain aspects of these sociological accounts. Firstly, the paper proposes a more differentiated sense of the various marketing and market research paradigms that were used by advertising agencies. Secondly, the paper seeks to bring a more international and specifically trans-Atlantic dimension to the understanding of post-war market research. One notable feature of post-war market research in Britain was the influence of commercial techniques first formulated in the United States, including applied psychological knowledge. Like many other aspects of advertising in the 1950s and 60s, market research moved in an eastward direction across the Atlantic. JWT London's parent company was an important player in this world and through its offices on both sides of the Atlantic it helped to disseminate research methods and techniques first pioneered in the USA to Britain. These US-derived techniques formed a visible presence within post-war British market research and constituted a key point of reference for British-based practitioners. Of course, this influence was neither totalizing nor did it go unchallenged. Staff at JWT's London office, like colleagues elsewhere in British advertising, selectively appropriated and reworked elements of US market research, frequently combining it with more indigenous traditions of social research. Nonetheless, even as they rejected elements of 'American' approaches to consumer they still had to reckon with their intellectual authority and commercial force in this period.

Keywords/tags:

market research, advertising, market devices, motivation research, mass consumption, post-war affluence

About CRESI:

Based in the UK's leading Sociology Department, the [Centre for Research in Economic Sociology and Innovation](#) (CRESI) is the first UK centre for research in economic sociology. With a clear focus on innovation, our research programmes highlight contemporary and historical processes of socio-economic transformation.

This work is published under the [Creative Commons Attribution-Non-Commercial-No-Derivative Works 2.0 UK: England & Wales License](#)

You are free:



to copy, distribute, display, and perform the work

Under the following conditions:



Attribution. You must give the original author credit.



Non-Commercial. You may not use this work for commercial purposes.



No Derivative Works. You may not alter, transform, or build upon this work.

- For any reuse or distribution, you must make clear to others the licence terms of this work.
- Any of these conditions can be waived if you get permission from the copyright holder.
- Nothing in this license impairs or restricts the author's moral rights.

**Your fair dealing and other rights are in no way affected by the above.
This is a human-readable summary of the [Legal Code \(the full licence\)](#).**

Table of Contents

1	Introduction.....	5
2	J. Walter Thompson and the Role of Market Research.....	6
3	Pin-up Home Perm	10
4	Brillo Pads.....	12
5	Oxo Cubes	15
6	Conclusion	17
7	Acknowledgments.....	18
8	Bibliography.....	18
8.1	Primary Sources	18
8.1.1	Archives.....	18
8.1.2	Other Primary Sources	18
8.2	Secondary Sources.....	18

1 INTRODUCTION

This paper reflects on the ways market research in Britain helped produce understandings of and information about the 'mass housewife' in the 1950s and 60s. It does this through a case study of the market research used and generated by the London subsidiary office of J. Walter Thompson advertising. JWT London was the largest advertising agency in Britain in the 1950s and 60s and was known as the 'mum' agency because of the amount of work it did for companies in the groceries sector who targeted the 'mass housewife'. The paper focuses on three key client accounts - those for the Pin-up home perm, Brillo soap pads and Oxo cubes - as a way of exploring how it sought to understand the ordinary housewife and her consumption habits.

In exploring JWT London's approach to the 'mass market' housewife, the paper draws on recent sociological arguments about advertising and market research that have conceptualized these commercial practices as technologies or socio-technical devices for 'making-up' the consumer; that is, devices for formatting and framing consumer dispositions. I draw, in particular, the arguments of Michel Callon and Nicholas Rose & Peter Miller (Callon, Meadal & Rabeharisoa, 2002; Callon & Muniesa, 2005, Callon, Muniesa & Millo, 2007; Miller & Rose, 1997). For Callon and his co-authors, market competition, particularly within what he calls the 'new economy' or the 'service economy', is dependent upon the 'qualification' and 'requalification' of products. These connected processes - involving designers, advertisers and marketing professionals more broadly - work to stabilise or temporarily fix the qualities or characteristics of goods. Qualification/requalification leads to the 'singularization' of goods; that is, their differentiation from other goods in the wider field of comparable goods (Callon, Meadal & Rabeharisoa 2002:201). Singularization, however, is not an end in itself, but is associated with the attempt to attach goods to those who might consume them. Callon and his co-authors proposes a distinctive dynamic of market competition at work here, as various 'professionals of qualification' seek to establish the characteristics of the goods they are promoting and to entangle these with the routines and habits of consumers. This process also involves the attempt to disentangle consumers from their entanglement with competitors' goods in order to free them for new attachments. Consumers play a key role for Callon in this process since they too are active in the evaluation and 'qualification' of goods. The evaluation of goods by consumers is not, however, the expression of an intrinsic capacity to choose, but rather depends upon the existence of 'socio-technical devices that support consumer evaluation' (Callon, Meadal & Rabeharisoa, 2002:204). These are devices and material forms like advertising, design, shelf-display and the ordering of retail spaces that endow consumers with consuming capacities. Such technologies help to make them up as subjects of consumption who can evaluate between different goods.¹

Miller & Rose develop similar formulations. In an influential essay, they foregrounded the role played by market research in shaping the relationships between consumers and the world of goods. In particular they documented the influence of ideas of the human personality and techniques of group discussion derived from the psychological sciences to argue that these research techniques worked to draw out and render instrumentalizable the inner motivations of consumers. In other words, they contended that market researchers sought to forge connections between consumer's desires and specific goods by forcing these feelings into the open in the research encounter. Miller & Rose described this process as 'mobilizing' the consumer': that is, 'affiliating ... needs with particular products' and 'simultaneously making up the commodity and assembling the little rituals of everyday life that give that commodity meaning and value' (Miller & Rose, 1997:4). Out of this process, they argued, comes 'an unprecedented and meticulous cartography' of everyday life and consumption' through the

¹ Callon also notes how consumers test products in their homes and how the social networks in which they are caught shape the process of evaluating goods. However, he asserts that these 'informal evaluations' are 'always based on material devices in which bodies are involved' (Callon & Muniesa, 2002:203). These arguments are central to Callon's claim that agency is not a capacity contained in human beings. Rather, agency is the product of hybrid collectivities comprising human beings and material and technical devices - what Callon calls 'agencements'. See Callon, Muniesa & Millo, 2007; Cochoy, 2007.

technology of market research (Miller & Rose, 1997:4).

Miller & Rose's conception of the capacity of market research to 'mobilize' the consumer and their vivid sense of the 'meticulous cartography' of consumption that it helps to generate are instructive ideas in making sense of the role played by consumer research in the promotional economy. In particular, they enable us to grasp the way research opens up the practical uses, symbolic dimensions and the emotional dynamics of everyday goods in the lives of consumers. In exploring the use made of market research by JWT London, however, this paper also seeks to revise certain aspects of Miller & Rose's essay, together with the approach developed by Callon, whilst continuing to draw on their broad insights. Firstly, the paper proposes a more differentiated sense of the various marketing and market research paradigms that were used by advertising agencies. Post-war market research in Britain was alive with controversies about the best way to measure markets, define consumers and understand consumption. This disputation and struggle for professional leadership amongst differently constituted practitioners disappears in Miller & Rose's essay and is not discussed by Callon in his general conception of the 'qualification' of goods. Moreover, Miller & Rose occlude these intellectual and practical debates by privileging the influence of the psychological sciences upon market research. In doing so, they come close to rehearsing an argument, evident in both contemporary post-war accounts of advertising and in more recent scholarship, that post-war market research was subject to growing sophistication under the influence of the psychological sciences. The evidence developed in this paper suggests that an agency like JWT London used different ways of measuring markets, apprehending the consumer and understanding the use of goods by consumers. This certainly included the application of forms of psychological knowledge, but the agency's overall approach to consumers and consumer markets reveals that these were neither the only nor necessarily the most important forms of research. In this regard, JWT London was broadly typical of British advertising and market research. This should prompt us to qualify those claims that see Freudian thought as triggering some kind of 'Copernican turn' in marketing in this period (Arvidsson, 1998:254; Packard, 1957).

Secondly, the paper seeks to bring a more international and specifically trans-Atlantic dimension to the understanding of post-war market research than is the case in either Miller & Rose's essay or in Callon's various articles. One notable feature of post-war market research in Britain was the influence of commercial techniques first formulated in the United States, including applied psychological knowledge. Like many other aspects of advertising in the 1950s and 60s, market research moved in an Eastward direction across the Atlantic. US advertising agencies and market research companies dominated this movement and their actions were underpinned by the investment of US manufacturing companies in Britain and by the initiatives of government departments on both sides of the Atlantic that sought to facilitate the transfer of commercial know-how from the US to Britain. JWT London's parent company was an important player in this world and through its offices on both sides of the Atlantic it helped to disseminate research methods and techniques first pioneered in the USA to Britain. These US-derived techniques formed a visible presence within post-war British market research and constituted a key point of reference for British-based practitioners. Of course, this influence was neither totalizing nor did it go unchallenged. Staff at JWT's London office, like colleagues elsewhere in British advertising, selectively appropriated and reworked elements of US market research, frequently combining it with more indigenous traditions of social research. Nonetheless, even as they rejected elements of 'American' approaches to consumer they still had to reckon with their intellectual authority and commercial force in this period.

2 J. WALTER THOMPSON AND THE ROLE OF MARKET RESEARCH

'An agency trained to watch consumer behaviour with this degree of concentration is probably as close to shifts of mood and attitudes among ordinary people as any group in Britain' (JWT London, 1967:3-4).

Published in a booklet for its new staff, JWT London's confident claim about its expertise in understanding consumer behaviour followed a reference to the £1.5M that it had spent on consumer research for its clients in the previous ten years. In fact, in introducing the agency to its new members, JWT London foregrounded its status as an exponent of well-researched advertising. This self-positioning echoed that of its parent company in the States where, from

the early part of the twentieth century, it had been known for its pioneering studies of consumer behaviour and for the weight it placed on 'scientific' studies of the consumer in the development of advertising. The JWT consumer purchasing panel was prominent amongst this commitment to consumer research and was introduced in 1927 to assist one of JWT's major clients, Ponds, the cosmetic manufacturer. The relationship with Ponds was also important in stimulating the agency to undertake its first 'depth interviews' with consumers in 1948. These sought to 'probe the motives underlying cosmetic usage and the attitudes attendant to this usage' by encouraging respondents to 'reach down' into their experiences and pull out the 'connective links which motivates her behaviour'.² The consumer purchasing panel and 'depth interviews' were part of an extensive range of approaches to the study of consumer behaviour used by the parent company. These included studies of basic economic and populations trends, media analysis of press and broadcast audiences, sales analysis of the client's own sales data and of total market and competitive sales trends and motivation surveys that attempted 'to develop the 'why' of consumer habits and attitudes.'³

The London office of JWT followed the lead of its parent and made extensive use of market research.⁴ Whilst some of this research was undertaken by JWT London's marketing department, the agency also used the services of a subsidiary company, the British Market Research Bureau (BMRB) to conduct market research for JWT London's clients, as well as for businesses that didn't advertise with the agency.⁵

By the 1950s, BMRB was one of the three largest research companies in the UK and employed 150 full-time staff. These included 25 university-trained research executives, most of whom were graduates in economics, statistics or psychology.⁶ The research conducted by the agency and by BMRB was broadly representative of the paradigms of consumer research being undertaken in Britain in the 1950s and 60s. This included the use of official statistics, together with surveys produced by the agency.⁷ The two of the most important were retail audit research and consumer purchasing panels. Retail audit research used a representative panel of shops drawn from the Census of Distribution and weekly figures on the sale and resale of a selected range of goods were collected. From this researchers could generate evidence on the current size of particular markets and track any trends in sales. Consumer purchasing panels, like the one used by JWT's parent company in the States, typically consisted of approximately 2,000 households who reported on a regular basis the various purchases they had made of selected branded goods. The CPP's produced data not only on the volume of purchases, but also on which households were buying the goods.⁸

Across this range of research, markets and consumers were rarely defined as a homogeneous

² 'To all offices, a summary of development of the company's research in consumer behaviour', Howard Henderson, 21/2/57, Edward G. Wilson papers, Box 6, JWT. See also 'Forecasting the demand for consumer durables', 1967; 'Market Research and the Retailer', 1967, Edward G. Wilson papers, Box 31, JWT

³ 'To all offices, a summary of development of the company's research in consumer behaviour', Howard Henderson, 21/2/57, Edward G. Wilson papers, Box 6, JWT.

⁴ In the inter-war years JWT London had been unusual amongst British advertising agencies in conducting market research surveys. One of its earliest was for Sun Maid raisins and consisted of interviews with 200 customers and 60 dealers (Abrams, 1951:55). JWT London also undertook work for Ponds and Kraft in the inter-war years and in 1936 worked on a readership survey of the Daily Herald.

⁵ Formed in 1933, BMRB was tied to JWT London by shared board membership and there was some movement of staff between the two companies. Of particular note was the role played by BMRB in supplying JWT London with two of its prominent post-war chief executives. These were Tom Sutton and John Treasure, influential CEO's who had worked for BMRB before climbing to the top management position within the parent company. This influence of BMRB men within the upper echelons of JWT London further helped to consolidate the importance of studies of consumer behaviour within the agency. See 'Early Days of BMRB', JWT London, 1964, Edward G. Wilson papers, Box 2, JWT; Downham, 1993; Nixon, 2008.

⁶ JWT & BMRB, Dec 1957, Edward G. Wilson papers, Box 2, JWT. Market research in Britain was dominated by practitioners with a background in economics and statistics. For example, many of the members of MRS had degrees in economics and allied studies from the London School of Economics. On the 'LSE factor' see Blythe, 2005:35.

⁷ The Census of Population, the Census of Distribution and the National Income Blue Book were used by market researchers to estimate the size of consumer markets. For example, the Registrar General's Census of Population was used to forecast the number of young married couples likely to be setting up home over a 10-20 year period and manufacturers of furniture, to take one instance, could be guided on how to plan their production.

⁸ There were two other important forms of research. These were media surveys of television audiences and newspaper and magazine readerships. Agencies also pre-tested ads on consumers, especially to help them select between different 'copy solutions'.

mass market, but rather demographic categories were used to classify consumers. The most important were the well-known demographic categories of class or occupational description. Market researchers drew these from the Registrar General's socio-economic classification of the head of households used in the Census of Population. This divided the population into four broad classes: A (upper middle class); B (middle class), C1 (lower middle class); C2 D E (working class) (Abrams, 1963:4). Occupational descriptions of the population were complimented by attention to the importance of age as a key indicator of purchasing behaviour and hence market description. Much of the impetus for this attention to age was driven by commercial interest in the growing youth market.⁹ Whilst JWT London was not heavily involved in selling to teenagers, its market research did engage with the idea of segmenting consumers by stages of the lifecycle and it used this technique, as we'll see later, in study the mass housewife.

Perhaps the most significant wider development in market research with which JWT and BMRB engaged in the 1950s and 60s was motivation research. This had its immediate roots in American commerce, though it was the product of European émigrés to the States. Its most celebrated exponent was the Austrian-born Ernest Dichter. Dichter's central ambition was to explain not what consumers bought, but why they bought and his approach offered a radically different paradigm for understanding and segmenting consumers. Dichter deployed in-depth interviews with consumers in order to understand the symbolic meaning of goods and the deeper psychological needs they might serve. His Freudian approach not only introduced a thicker idea of human subjectivity into market research. It also worked to segment consumers less by social class or sex or age (though these categories were often still part of his consumer research), than by psychological disposition. Thus, in early research conducted in the late 1940s into the consumption of home appliances, Dichter developed a three-fold classification of women: the 'career women' who disliked domesticity and hated housework; the 'pure housewife' who identified so strongly with her role as guardian of the home that she was anxious about the role played by home appliances and expressed hostility towards them because they undermined her role; and the 'balanced women' who was the most fulfilled emotionally because she knew she was capable of both housework and career (Horowitz, 2004:57). Later Dichter recast his conception of the 'balanced women' as the kind of women who could be encouraged to see housework as an arena of creativity in which she could 'use at home all the faculties she would display in an outside career' (Horowitz, 2004:57).

Dichter's conception of these psychological categories was informed by his own highly positive view of consumer society. As Daniel Horowitz has suggested, Dichter saw the whole process of market research as therapeutic for the consumer and not only useful for the selling of goods. In fact, Dichter was driven by a wholly positive conception of the private pleasures of consumption and saw his work as contributing to the unblocking of feelings of guilt about consumption within the population that derived from the puritan culture of self-restraint (Horowitz, 2003:56). Dichter's book, 'The Strategy of Desire', offered his most elaborated analysis of the world of goods and was a riposte to two influential critiques of post-war consumerism that he saw as puritanical: Galbraith's *The Affluent Society* and Packard's *The Hidden Persuaders*. As Dichter himself explained in a letter to Packard, his (Dichter's) aim was to couterpose the promotion of hedonism to Packard's Puritanism. Elsewhere Dichter argued that the central aim of advertising was to give the customer the permission to 'enjoy his life freely' and 'to demonstrate that he is right in surrounding himself with products that enrich his life and give him pleasure' (*Advertiser's Weekly*, 8/11/57:22 & 24).

It was the attention to the psychological segmentation of consumer types, rather than his therapeutic model of consumption, that gave Dichter's work much of its appeal. In Britain, however, his approach was by no means uncontroversial. Dichter established an office in

⁹ Mark Abrams' study of the teenager consumer, published in 1959, was the best known example of this approach, though other researchers sought to survey the youth market and drew attention less to the teenager as the 'young married' or 'young homemakers' (See *Advertiser's Weekly*, 20/4/62; 12/2/60:31 & 32; 21/2/58:23 & 26; 23/1/59:31 & 32). Abrams' arguments focused on the way age was becoming a more reliable social category than class for explaining consumer behaviour and he supplemented the use of age segmentations of consumers with the idea of stages of the lifecycle. As he put it, 'under conditions of increasing general prosperity, the social study of society in class terms is less and less illuminating. And its place is taken by differences related to age and stages in the family lifecycle' (Abrams, *Advertiser's Weekly*, 3/7/64:21).

London in 1957, though the business was slow to grow.¹⁰ By the early 1960s, Dichter's UK operation was only contributing between 3-5% of the parent company's international turnover (Pearson & Turner, 1962: 175). Dichter complained to journalists that Britain remained the 'most puritanical country in the world' and that British consumers were resistant to expressing themselves through goods despite growing affluence (Pearson & Turner, 1962: 176). British market researchers and advertising agencies were also publically critical of motivation research. The Institute of Practitioners in Advertising (IPA), in a publication for its members on the subject, cautioned against a doctrinal application of motivation research, suggesting that 'motivation research ...is part of a co-operative enterprise, not a separate entity governed by laws peculiar to itself and proceeding to its own esoteric and isolated conclusions' (IPA, 1960:5) Mark Abrams, Director of Research Services Ltd, was more critical, suggesting that market researchers had 'no future as 'engineers of consent' assembling and reshuffling a known spectrum of unconscious desires'.¹¹ BMRB established a group under one of its senior researchers, Norman Philip, in 1957 to look into the use of the technique. This group included the 4 psychologists employed by the company, amongst them Pamela Vince who had recently worked on the study of the child viewer and television led by Hilde Himmeleweit for the Nuffield Foundation.¹² BMRB insiders claimed that JWT's approach to psychological motivations was distanced from the more 'flamboyant Freudian versions' (Downham, 1995:95).¹³ Moreover, senior figures within BMRB and JWT London were critical of the universal claims of motivation research. John Treasure, former head of BMRB and JWT London's chief executive, claimed that continuing cultural differences militated against the exclusive use of motivation research. As he put it, 'it may well be that basic motivations are the same in all countries. However, national habits, traditions and attitudes still differ widely and are a vital factor in ...marketing' (Treasure, 1961:41). The pull of motivation research within JWT London was evident, however, when, three years after Treasure's article, another senior staffer within the company circulated a memo that voiced the concern that the agency needed to develop more research of this sort. As the memo noted, JWT London was 'fantastically deficient about the basic information about consumers, about attitudes and motivations particularly'.¹⁴ This led to a recommendation that the London office should develop 'new methods of defining the population in terms of personality groups and more refined user groups'.¹⁵ Dichter himself visited JWT London in 1965 and met with four account teams, including those for Brillo and Persil, to see what assistance he could offer.¹⁶ During his visit, Dichter found an agency, as we've seen, with a number of trained psychologists and those interested in consumer motivations, but also an agency that was committed to other kinds of qualitative consumer research as well as quantitative surveys. The pragmatic mixture of approaches to the problem of consumer behaviour ran right back through much of JWT London post-war consumer studies and campaign planning and was strongly present in their research on ordinary women. It was notably evident in their work in the late 1940s and early 1950s for the Pin-Up home perm account. It is to this account that I want to now turn and to look in more detail at some of JWT's consumer research.

¹⁰ The office was in Victoria Street, London. See *Advertiser's Weekly*, 13/9/57:11; 'Pioneer of Motive Research', *Times*, 14/4/59:7.

¹¹ For the debate on motivation research in Britain see: *Advertiser's Weekly*, 'Motivation Research today', 25/3/60:22 & 24; 'The bases for creative advertising research', 19/8/60:20 & 22; 'The sins of motivation research', 10/7/64:22 & 24; 'Motivation Research Today 3', 9/9/60:48-52; *Times* 17/4/59:15; 22/4/59:5; *Commentary* 'Contribution from some personality theories to market research', no 3 1960:1-15; *Commentary* no 4, 1961:4-5. Harry Henry, head of research at the US owned agency McCann-Erickson developed a version of motivation research that was distinct from Dichter's techniques. See Henry, 1958 & 1959. For evidence of some of the studies Dichter produced for British clients see Schwarzkopf, 2007.

¹² See, Himmelweit, 1958.

¹³ BMRB built a psychological laboratory in the 1960s that used experimental (behavioural) psychology approaches (BMRB, 1968).

¹⁴ 'A JWT Programme for Advertising Research', JWT London, 1964, JWT/HAT Box 579.

¹⁵ 'A JWT Programme for Advertising Research', JWT London, 1964, JWT/HAT Box 579

¹⁶ Memo from Noel Bews to Brillo account team, 1/2/1965, Box 113, JWT/HAT.

3 PIN-UP HOME PERM

Pin-up home perm was launched by the American company Pepsodent in 1946, though it was not promoted nationally in Britain until 1948. At the time of the first promotion, JWT London estimated, with data drawn from retail audits and consumer purchasing panels, that 73% of British women were potential buyers of home perms. This excluded those with naturally curly hair and those who preferred to leave their hair as it was. This gave a potential market of 11 million women for Pepsodent's product. However, there was an immediate problem for JWT in that 9 million of these women were already users of shop perms. JWT's principle aim, then, was to convert as many shop permers to home permers as possible.¹⁷

In January 1950, the British Market Research Bureau undertook research to ascertain the characteristics of existing home perm users. It expressed the results in demographic terms, identifying the particular age and class grouping most likely to use a home perm. The research revealed the preponderance of young and youngish working class women amongst the consumers of the product. Thus, 30% of home permers were aged under 24 years old and 50% were aged between 25-39. 60% of all home perm users were from social class D, 35% from class C, with only 5% being from social class A or B. This research complimented earlier studies by BMRB which had sought to investigate women's hair doing and shampooing habits. For example, an extensive set of qualitative interviews were undertaken in August and October 1948 in which 4,144 women were spoken too about their hair care habits.¹⁸

This interest in hair care habits was central to a further qualitative study undertaken in 1950. This research was conducted not by the BMRB but by the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations (TIHR).¹⁹ Pepsodent approached TIHR to assist it in understanding more about the users of home perms. The timing was propitious as the Institute was looking for new sources of funding to supplement its grant from the Rockefeller Foundation (Miller & Rose, 1997:4). Thus, in January 1950 the Institute begin a ten month study on the Pin-up perm. The report produced by the Tavistock Institute was a pioneering study in that it offered a psychodynamically orientated approach to consumer behaviour at a time when psychology had a limited presence in market research in Britain. The scope and ambition of the report was evident in its methods and title. It used group discussion and non-directive interviews to explore the 'attitudes of women towards their hair'.²⁰

The report started from the observation that attaining a good appearance was central to fulfilling the adult feminine role. This required the acquisition of the skills and social judgements necessary for making and maintaining a good appearance. The report noted that the contemporary ideal of good appearance included the valorization of wavy or curly hair – waviness that was associated with softness, naturalness, smoothness and shininess. Straight hair, by contrast, was seen as masculine or childish (TIHR:1) Moreover, the authors of the report argued that curly or wavy hair was recognised as a way of expressing female sexual maturity (TIHR:2). Alongside the detailing of this cultural ideal, the TIHR sought to reflect on women's psychological relationship to their hair and hair doing. They argued that hair doing satisfied the obsessional needs of women and that hair doing stemmed from a wish to control untidy hair – to put hair in order. At the same time, hair doing involved destructive and reparative tendencies. Washing hair was seen as a destructive act in which hair lost its shape and so was a process that was often postponed (TIHR:7). However, the restoration of the hair style could, conversely, offer women pleasures – the pleasures of making good the shape. Other anxieties could also surface around hair care. These included aggressive feelings about the routine of hair drying that the author saw as a legacy of the child's dependency on her mother in the early years of hair care. As they put it, 'unconscious difficulties in the daughter-mother relationship persist in adult attitudes towards hair doing' (TIHR:7).

¹⁷ JWT Comprehensive Review, 1948-54:5, Box 650, JWT/HAT; Pin Up Research Summary, 1954, Box 650, JWT/HAT.

¹⁸ JWT Comprehensive Review, 1948-54:5, Box 650, JWT/HAT.

¹⁹ TIHR had been formed in 1947 and sought to apply psychoanalytical concepts to the study of groups and organizational life.

²⁰ TIHR 'An Appraisal of the attitudes of women towards their hair', 11/11/50, doc no 262, Box 650, JWT/HAT.

HONOR BLACKMAN, soon to be seen in *GREEN GROW THE RUSHES*, wears her blonde hair curled close to the head. She says, "With a Pin-Up it's as though I had been born with naturally wavy hair. What a splendid Christmas gift Pin-Up would make!"

"Just like having naturally wavy hair"

SAY THE YOUNG STARS OF THIS HOME PERM

— and you can have the same, at a fraction of the usual price of a perm

THIS CHRISTMASTIME, you can have the loveliest permanent wave you've ever had in your life! What's more, it will cost you not guineas, but merely shillings. And you won't have to find several hours to spare on a busy weekday in the year's busiest season.

You can give yourself a Pin-Up perm at home—whenever it's most convenient. Don't imagine it requires professional skill. Anyone who can put her hair up in curlers can do it. If you like, ask a friend to help wind the back curls—you'll find it's fun doing it together. The Pin-Up instructions are easy to follow.

You'll be overjoyed with the results! From the start Pin-Up gives you a soft wave that looks like naturally wavy hair—and lasts for ages. After all, why do all the loveliest young stars have Pin-Up perms? Simply because Pin-Up gives them the loveliest permanent possible.

LANA MORRIS, whom you can see in *THE WOMAN IN QUESTION*, says, "A Pin-Up gives soft waves that are easy to set and manage. Never any frizz!"

JOAN RICE, shortly to be seen in *BLACKMAILED*, says, "My Pin-Up perm has lasted for months. It's no trouble at all to set."

What nicer Christmas gift than a Pin-Up?

What more acceptable Christmas present could there be than Pin-Up? Look out for it in its Christmas party dress!

Junior Size, complete with curlers, for the short cut or end curls ...	3/8
Refill, everything except the curlers, for a whole-head perm ...	5/6
Popular, with flexible curlers, for a whole-head perm ...	7/4
Salon-Type, with plastic curlers, for a whole-head perm ...	11/-

Pin-Up HOME PERMANENT

Softer, more natural waves with Pin-Up

PIN 49-428-32

PIN 49-468-25 K&C Pin-Up Daily Express 4 Dec. 1950 11X31 Final Proof D8832

Figure 1: Pin Up', JWT London, 1950.

Complementing their exploration of the psychology of hair, the author of the report detailed some of the sociological aspects of home-perming. In so doing they delved into the habits of use already associated with home perms. The most notable observation concerned the distinction between 3 kinds of home-perming culture that the researchers drew. The first of these revolved around what the report called 'gatekeeper groups'. These centred upon women who had certain hairdressing skills and who assisted others in doing their hair. As the report noted, the 'gatekeeper' role satisfied social as well as creative needs for these women through

hairdressing. The second home perming culture involved 'solos', women who had the same skills as 'gatekeepers', but who had not collected a group around them. Finally, there was the 'two-person relationship', in which friends or relations offered each other mutual support in the problem of home perming and who again lacked the desire to control expressed by 'gatekeepers' (TIHR:5-6).

Cutting across these different ways of doing home perms, the Tavistock Institute found recurring problems with the product amongst its various users which were working to limit their use of it. Amongst these was guilt that came from asking shop hairdressers to cut their hair in preparation for the home perm (the hair had to be tapered for the perm to work properly), concerns about the unpleasant smell of the lotion and the length of time taken to process the perm – including the preparation of curling the hair and waiting for the lotion to work. In addition, women expressed disappointment about the fact that home perms did not last as long as shop one and required more upkeep in the form of weekly washing and overnight curling to keep the hair in good shape (TIHR:8-9).

The TIHR's report was discussed by JWT staff, the client and Miss Hurstfield of TIHR at a meeting held at Park Royal, Pepsodent's UK head office, on 15th November 1950. It was later circulated amongst the relevant staff within the advertising agency. Their response revealed some resistance to the approach adopted by the Tavistock. Michael Stern, JWT representative on the account, for example, confessed that he couldn't find a 'single new contribution' in the research, insisting that it said nothing that they had not already thought of or discovered 'in a quantitative way using normal consumer research'.²¹ The small sample – and its psychological focus – concerned Stern. As he put it, 'by its very nature an enquiry of this sort can do no more than throw up ideas for further investigation and discussion, since, however deep the probing of the psychologists, the statistical inadequacy of a sample of 80 still prevents us from drawing any definite conclusions'.²² Rather instrumentally, Stern proposed that the research should be used to support some of 'our views previously rejected by the client', notably the disadvantages of promoting overnight processing, and other than that 'we should encourage the client to forget it the best he can'.²³ A more positive response was offered by Mr Silvester, Stern's colleague. While he too began by confirming that the report 'brings us nothing new – but does confirm our thinking on a number of points', Silvester went on to suggest that the Tavistock's finding about the way women experienced the time home perming took as a deterrent to its use a helpful observation and he proposed that Pepsodent should try and speed up the process.²⁴ What was also notable about Silvester's comments was that he was drawn, like the Tavistock researchers, into the world of women's hair care and all its paraphernalia and rituals. Thus, he proposed that the company should offer post-home perm instructions on how to achieve the best results after the perm. This meant advising women not only on 'shampooing, but also how to set their hair at night, the use of hairnets and the importance of general regular brushing etc'.²⁵ Despite intellectuals' reservations about the research methods of the Tavistock Institute, then, at least one key member of the JWT team was drawn onto the terrain of the intimate rituals of hair doing documented by the report, even as he downplayed the psychological understandings that it had privileged.

4 BRILLO PADS

An interest in domestic routine and the role of commodities in the performance of the role of an adult women was also evident in JWT's work for the US soap pad manufacturer, Brillo. In the research produced for the company, JWT London again used a range of ways of understanding the consumer. In this case, however, the agency was notably more open to psychological approaches. Work began on the account in 1958 and JWT were tasked with

²¹ Pin Up, Tavistock Institute Final Report, Memorandum to Mr Silvester from Michael Stern, 26/1/1951, Box 650, JWT/HAT.

²² Pin Up, Tavistock Institute Final Report, Memorandum to Mr Silvester from Michael Stern, 26/1/1951, Box 650, JWT/HAT.

²³ Pin Up, Tavistock Institute Final Report, Memorandum to Mr Silvester from Michael Stern, 26/1/1951, Box 650, JWT/HAT.

²⁴ Tavistock Institute Report, From R. Silvester to Mr Mitchell-Innes cc Mr Stern, 26/2/51, Box 650, JWT/HAT.

²⁵ Tavistock Institute Report, From R. Silvester to Mr Mitchell-Innes cc Mr Stern, 26/2/51, Box 650, JWT/HAT.

researching the appeal of Brillo's 'unique' steel wool cleaning pads impregnated with detergent. In a booklet produced by the agency for Brillo sales staff, JWT emphasized its interest in what it called 'Mrs Brillo Consumer'. Mrs Brillo Consumer was part of the 15M households in Britain who had shaped a 'consumer revolution'. This was a revolution in domestic consumption expressed through the purchasing of electric and gas cookers, furniture, washing machines, fridges and television sets.²⁶ Alongside this increased purchasing power came more leisure, including travel abroad. The result was 'easier, more comfortable lives'. It was into this world of what the booklet called the 'new British home' that Brillo entered and offered the housewife the possibility of new levels of hygiene and greater speed in the performance of domestic tasks. The report was notable for how it represented Mrs Brillo Consumer. Using caricature, she was counterposed to the old housewife, round and prematurely aged and weighed down by a heavy, iron pan. Next to her, Mrs Brillo Consumer was an embodiment of the new, modern housewife: taller, slimmer and neater and replete with a contemporary perm and benefitting from having bright, shiny pans. [see Figure 2].

JWT's research for the account built on this positioning of Mrs Brillo Consumer and focused on the routines of domestic life that the pads were designed to alleviate. This led JWT to reflect on the problem of washing up and how it could understand the satisfactions, as well as the drudgery, of washing up for housewives. JWT captured the fundamental problem of washing up in a 1965 memo: 'washing up, when it comes to utensils, is a nasty chore and the primary need is for something which will get it done easier and faster and in the less objectionable way'. The agency realized that in promoting Brillo to meet this function it had to insert itself into domestic routine and care was needed not to over promote the use of Brillo. As they put it, 'once a week, on Sunday after the main meal, is the time for a real blast at the pots and pans. Ask them to do it everyday and, regardless of the miraculous qualities of the product, you are asking them to take on extra work'.²⁷

With these reservations in mind, JWT sought to link the product with certain social and psychological aspects of washing the pots. This meant picking up on the pride women felt in having done the washing up and in achieving clean pots. Whilst evidence from research suggested that 'pots and pans are not objects of admiration and many housewives don't expect them to be shining', nevertheless it was felt that housewives did reveal pleasures, as well as practical satisfaction, from getting the pots washed. As they noted, 'there is something in Dichter's observation that washing up can be a source of some perverted enjoyment in anticipation of meals to come or whatever'.²⁸

²⁶ On the 'revolution' in domestic technologies see Bowden & Offer, 1996.

²⁷ Brillo: components of the advertising, from John O'Keefe to Daniel Curling and Sir John Rogers, 3/12/1965, Box 443, JWT/HAT.

²⁸ Brillo: components of the advertising, from John O'Keefe to Daniel Curling and Sir John Rogers, 3/12/1965, Box 443, JWT/HAT.



Figure 2: 'Mrs Brillo Consumer', JWT London, 1959.

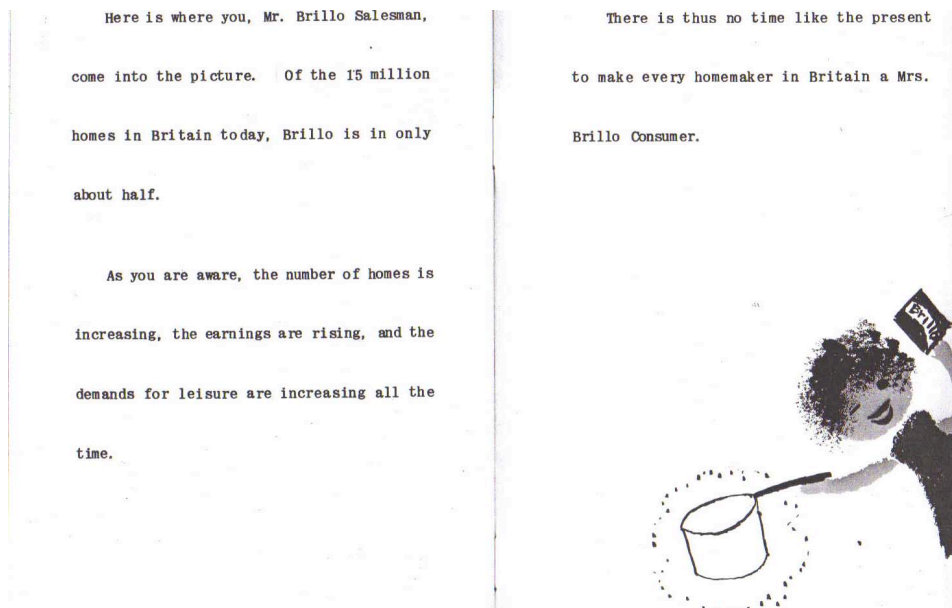


Figure 3: 'Mrs Brillo Consumer', JWT London, 1959.

The symbolism of 'shine' also surfaced in JWT's deliberations, despite the view that most women did not expect their pots to glisten. Shine, JWT argued, was evidence of better cleaning and could be linked with hygiene to reinforce its value as a sought after property that Brillo could deliver. The copy strategy for 1965 certainly picked up on this thinking. Playing on consumer anxieties, JWT proposed to suggest that dull pans could be dangerous. As the memo noted, '[dull pans] are a threat to health. Only a pan so clean it shines can give the housewife the assurance that every particle of food has been removed'. The strategy, then, was to 'sell the shine that only Brillo can deliver'.²⁹ In a meeting with Dichter just prior to this strategy being formulated, the account team reflected in a 'brainstorming' session on 'surfaces'. Hand

²⁹ Copy Strategy, 1965, Box 113, JWT/HAT.

written notes made by the team reveal some of the themes they were considering. Thus, there is the observation that certain surfaces 'need nourishing and feeding'; 'stainless steel gives you away, but aluminium doesn't'; 'some surfaces I can neglect, others betray me'; 'the pleasure in polishing, the caress of material things'; 'wipe on, wipe off satisfaction'.³⁰

These impromptu attempts to map the psychological and symbolic dimensions stimulated by surfaces, including the surface of pans, offered ways for the agency to connect Brillo to the values and desires of its potential consumers – and added something to the documenting of the routines of washing up that other research conducted by the agency had also revealed. This preoccupation with the social and psychological dimension of goods was also evident in the research undertaken for Oxo cubes. For this account, the agency used research that described the consumer in demographic and psychological terms, as well as bringing to bear a sociological analysis to the problem of selling Oxo cubes.

5 OXO CUBES

Oxo, the processed beef supplement, was one of JWT's more celebrated advertising accounts. Its long-running television campaign for the product, which ran from 1958, created one of the best loved advertising characters of the 1960s – Katie, the Oxo housewife. The 'Katie and the Cube' campaign had been developed to counter Oxo's falling sales and perceptions that the product was bought by poor people and poor cooks. To this end, JWT sought to give the product a new, youthful image and upgrade the product socially (Pearson & Turner, 1964: 73). As a memo from 1962 spelt out, the early television advertising had sought to show that 'modern, capable, nice people used Oxo – people like Katie and her husband Philip'.³¹ The advertising also emphasized the role Oxo could play in good meat cooking (notably, pies and casseroles) and that the product was not a substitute food, but rather a supplement to beef in particular. To this end, JWT promoted the idea, as the 1962 memo reminded the account team, that 'Oxo is the mark of a good housewife'.³² Being a good housewife meant providing tasty food for your husband in the first instance and the early advertising captured this with the slogan, 'Oxo gives a meal man appeal'.

As JWT continued to work on the advertising of Oxo through the 1960s, various kinds of market research was undertaken to track consumer sales and shifts within the target market. In the summer of 1963, the agency reviewed the account and looked ahead. It recognised that five successful years of advertising had helped to make 'Oxo respectable to use'. Phase two, it argued, had to supply housewives with more justification for its continued use.³³ The 'new thought' focused on gravy and was expressed in the following way: 'It's the gravy that gives the flavour to the meat, it's the Oxo that gives the flavour to the gravy'.³⁴ This formulation stemmed from a BMRB survey produced in 1963 called 'The Gravymakers'. The report offered detailed information on the type of women who bought Oxo. Firstly, it claimed that, as an established brand, Oxo had been tried by 90% of all households, with the majority (74%) currently using it.³⁵ Expressing these figures for use in class terms, the research suggested that usage 'tends to be strongest amongst CDE class housewives and weakest in the AB classes' (ibid). Glossing this evidence, the account team noted that 'we recommend that Oxo promotion should have, broadly speaking, an appeal to the mass housewife market (94% of UK housewives fall into the CDE class)'.³⁶

Alongside the class-based descriptions of the market, 'The Gravymakers' study identified consumers by the frequency of use – what it called the 'light users', 'the heavy users' and 'the non-users'. 'Heavy users' were consumers buying at the rate of three or more cubes per week.³⁷ The aim of the advertising, then, was to convert as many as possible of the 'light

³⁰ Box 113, 1965, JWT/HAT.

³¹ Oxo cubes, 1962/3 Summary, Box 323, JWT/HAT.

³² Oxo cubes, 1962/3 Summary, Box 323, JWT/HAT.

³³ Oxo overall plan, 4/7/1963, Box 323, JWT/HAT.

³⁴ Oxo overall plan, 4/7/1963, Box 323, JWT/HAT

³⁵ Oxo cubes – promotions Recommendations, February 1964, Box 323, JWT/HAT.

³⁶ Oxo cubes – promotions Recommendations, February 1964, Box 323, JWT/HAT.

³⁷ Oxo cubes – promotions Recommendations, February 1964, Box 323, JWT/HAT.

users' into 'heavy users'. It was the reflections on gravy itself, however, that were perhaps the most interesting aspect of the report. Here 'The Gravymakers' sought to draw out the attitudes housewives had towards gravy and the symbolic importance of the preparation of gravy to the successful fulfilment of the housewife role. It noted that 93% of women claimed to use meat juices at least sometimes in their gravy (across all classes). This use of meat juices stemmed from the perception that juices were the essence of the meat and highly regarded by housewives as a nutritious gravy constituent'.³⁸ 74% of all housewives also emphasized that they liked their gravy to be 'beefy-flavoured' and there was also a general emphasis on the use of vegetable water when making gravy because it was seen as a further source of 'goodness' and taste. Glossing these findings, the report suggested that 'housewives believe that gravy plays a key role in meat cooking. Gravy to the British is not unlike tea; its making is an important function that the whole family influences'.³⁹

The agency recognized, however, that family life, women's expectations and domestic routine were not static. JWT's researching of the Oxo account was preoccupied in the early 1960s with the transformations that were taking place in social life and eating habits. The nature of these transformations and what they might mean for the promotion of Oxo prompted the agency onto the terrain of sociological analysis. As a memo from July 1963 noted, whilst 'Katie' might have been ahead of most of Oxo's consumers in 1958, now there was a danger that she was being left behind. It conceded, 'She is no longer setting a pattern of living that is envied. All the exciting new things that have happened to young women in society – holidays abroad, theatre outings, mad new clothes, promotion for husband, a new car etc somehow have passed her by, while she has been preparing cosy meals at the stove for Philip'.⁴⁰

These concerns encouraged JWT to propose that Oxo develop a new range of flavours so that the product 'is more in line with future trends in people's needs and desires in flavouring products'.⁴¹ These included more 'subtle' or 'spicy' flavours and the creation of variants of Oxo to be used with light or dark meats. Thought was also put into the style of the pack. The report prepared by the account team asked if the pack design needed 'greater sophistication? More sensual pleasure? Nearer to cooking in feeling? More modern typography?'.⁴² Further market research was undertaken to test this range of propositions. The research was notable for way it sought to differentiate between housewives in terms of their attitudes to cooking, highlighting a key group of women it called 'experimentalist cooks' whose needs were not being met by existing Oxo products. These 'experimentalist cooks', whom it loosely defined as those who used recipes to make their own dishes, felt that existing mass market products, including Oxo, were unsubtle in their flavours, being synthetic, and did not come in a wide enough range of flavours to match the variety of their cooking and they lacked body.⁴³

The classification of an attitude group of housewives, the 'experimentalist cooks', had developed out of conversations between Oxo and JWT over the perceived limitations of demographic breakdowns within market research. As L. W Hore, Oxo's general brand manager noted in 1966 in a letter to JWT's marketing department, 'As you know we have discussed the inconsistency of existing demographic breakdowns ...and in various ad hoc surveys endeavoured to discriminate between 'experimental/sophisticated housewives and other'.⁴⁴ Both Oxo and JWT were interested in the 'psychological groupings' produced by the research company Attwoods, which had segmented housewives into 5 groups. These consisted of 'conscientiousness', 'economy conscious', 'conservatism in brand choice', 'traditionalism in housework' and 'willingness to experiment in shopping'.⁴⁵ J.R Stonehewer, of Attwoods, helpfully suggested that three of these categories – 'conscientiousness', 'economy conscious', 'conservatism in brand choice' – might be most appropriate for understanding Oxo consumers.⁴⁶ Such an understanding, however, ran counter to the ambition of JWT London to

³⁸ Oxo overall plan, 4/7/1963, Box 323, JWT/HAT

³⁹ Oxo overall plan, 4/7/1963, Box 323, JWT/HAT.

⁴⁰ Oxo overall plan, 4/7/1963, Box 323, JWT/HAT

⁴¹ Oxo Ltd development work on gravy products, suggested programme, 1967, Box 323, JWT/HAT.

⁴² Oxo Ltd development work on gravy products, suggested programme, 1967, Box 323, JWT/HAT.

⁴³ Oxo Ltd development work on gravy products, suggested programme, 1967, Box 323, JWT/HAT.

⁴⁴ Letter L.W Hore, General Brand Manager, Oxo Ltd to Andrew Wilson, 22/4/1966, Box 323, JWT/HAT.

⁴⁵ Letter from J.R Stonehewer (Attwoods Statistics) to L.W Hore, 18/4/1966, Box 323, JWT/HAT.

⁴⁶ Letter from J.R Stonehewer (Attwoods Statistics) to L.W Hore, 18/4/1966, Box 323, JWT/HAT

promote the association of Oxo with socially progressive housewives. And it was to the 'experimental cooks' that JWT looked in its market research for 1967.⁴⁷

6 CONCLUSION

Like much contemporary sociology, post-war market researchers were riveted by aspects of social and cultural change and principally interested in established patterns of life only in as much as they inhibited this change and formed blockages to new consumption. Certainly in its studies of the mass market housewife, JWT London and BMRB were concerned to attend to the points where commodity use met social change. Clearly the pace of post-war social change, especially in relation to the transformation in class-cultural patterns of consumption, encouraged market researchers to look to the innovations in the social use of goods. Advertising agencies and their clients sought to understand these innovations in order to promote the consumption of their products. In the case of JWT London this was particularly true in relation to a whole range of groceries and domestic products that centred upon ordinary womanhood and contemporary ideals of femininity. Products like those the paper has discussed – home perms, processed food and cleaning aids – offered women new kinds of convenience, comfort and cleanliness that were integral to the 'revolution' in domestic consumption associated with the new post-war household. They also generated new work for women. The market research registered this aspect of women's lives. It most often did so in neutral language and emphasized the pleasures as well as the pains of housework, cooking and the maintenance of a good appearance. The recognition within market research of some of the social and psychological dilemmas thrown up by the world of domestic goods for women was part of its more general attempts to understand the world of mass consumption. This amounted to an analysis, often quite sophisticated, designed to capture the banal domestic routines and habits of consumers. It led market researchers into an immersion in the lives of ordinary women and threw up at times startling juxtapositions. In the case of JWT London, this meant scenarios in which advertising men working for an urbane, West End London agency (which JWT London was) grappled with the intimate details of ordinary women's hair care, cooking and pot washing.

This endeavour involved the deployment of a range of different ways of measuring consumer markets and apprehending consumers. Psychological models of the human personality and psychologically-derived techniques of research undoubtedly offered researchers some of the most imaginative and insightful ways of exploring how consumers experienced the world of goods. Researchers at BMRB and staff at JWT became more open to these approaches as the 1960s progressed. These were not the only ways these practitioners understood the consumer and consumer markets. As we have seen, sociological analysis, together with forms of economic measurement, were equally important and were all deployed in order to assist in the entanglement of consumers with specific goods. In fact, by exploring the pragmatic deployment of these divergent kinds of research practice it is possible to see how market research sought to facilitate the stitching of consumers into particular kinds of consumption practices. It did so, as we've seen, by seeking to understand the connections that existed between commodities and the habits, routines and inner motivations of consumers. This was a process that involved both technical and representational practices in the attempt to manage the commercial relations between advertisers and consumers.

The market research that the paper has explored undoubtedly sought to 'make-up' its target groups as certain kinds of consumers; indeed, as certain kinds of women. The 'mobilizing' of these consumer dispositions and attributes, however, was an act of forging connections between consumer practices and desires and specific commodities and not a constitution of these dispositions *ex nihilo*. If, as Miller & Rose suggest, consumers emerged as a highly problematic entity in post-war market research, this was at least partly because they brought to the moment of exchange and the use of goods sedimented dispositions and values, together with a deeper range of subjective attributes. Market researchers were strongly drawn to these

⁴⁷ Oxo Ltd Development work on gravy products, marketing plan, 1967/8, Box 323, JWT/HAT. On 'progressive cooks' see *Times*, 18/1062:vii.

aspects of consumers' subjectivities and it was often the emotions and feelings of the consumer that advertising agencies themselves sought to arouse and stimulate. Whilst we might question some of the detail of the analysis, particularly the versions of psychoanalysis used by researchers, such an endeavour is one from which sociologists and historians of consumer society might learn from. Certainly, the attention by sociologists to the socio-technical devices of consumption, productive though it is, does work with a deliberately 'thin' conception of the human material upon which the devices of the market work. Finding ways of researching the subjectivity of consumers - their conscious and unconscious feelings, the human relationships in which they are set - would enrich our understanding of the world of goods and the human attributes, capacities and relationships shaped in and through them.⁴⁸

On a different tack, attending to the subjectivity of consumers reminds us that market research is only one part of a larger set of practice and devices through which consumers are linked to goods. The attempts to draw out certain responses from consumers by advertising agencies increasingly depended through the 1950s and 60s on the technology of TV and the cultural form of the TV ad. The arts of modern living promoted by television commercials, including those aimed at the mass housewife, required the use of not just market research, but of the communicative idioms of television itself. How these idioms were invented and developed and why 'ads' on the 'telly' became so popular amongst the viewing public and amongst advertiser's, however, is another story.

7 ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

An earlier version of this paper was given at the Centre for Economic Sociology and Innovation, Department of Sociology, University of Essex. I am grateful to the comments of participants at that event and to Mark Harvey, Angela Mc Robbie and Mike Roper for their comments and support.

8 BIBLIOGRAPHY

8.1 Primary Sources

8.1.1 Archives

J. Walter Thompson collection, History of Advertising Trust (JWT/HAT)

J. Walter Thompson Company Archives, John W Hartmann Centre for Sales, Advertising and Marketing History, Duke University (JWT)

8.1.2 Other Primary Sources

Advertiser's Weekly, 1947-67

British Market Research Bureau 1967 *The New Housewife*, London.

Commentary, the journal of the Market Research Society, 1950-67

Downham, J.S, Shankleman, E & Treasure, J.A.P, 1956 *A Survey of Market Research in Great Britain*, BMRB, London.

Institute of Practitioners in Advertising 1960 *Motivation Research*, London.

J. Walter Thompson 1962 *Shopping in Suburbia*, JWT, London.

J. Walter Thompson 1967 40 Berkeley Square, JWT, London

Times, 1948-67

Treasure, J 1961 'American Marketing in Britain', *The Grocer*, July 8, p40-1.

8.2 Secondary Sources

Abrams, M 1951 *Social Surveys and Social Action*, Heinemann, London.

Abrams, M 1959 'The Home-centred Society', in *The Listener*, November 26, p914-5.

⁴⁸ For a discussion of what the study of 'subjectivity' might entail, see L. Roper, 1994 & M. Roper, 2005.

- Abrams, M 1959 The Teenage Consumer, London Press Exchange, London.
- Abrams, M 1963 Education, Social Class and Newspaper Reading, Institute of Practitioners in Advertising, London.
- Arvidsson, A 2000 'The Therapy of Consumption, Motivation Research and the New Italian Housewife 1958-62', in The Journal of Material Culture Volume 5 (3): 251-274.
- Blythe, I 2005 The Making of an Industry, the Market Research Society 1946-86, Market Research Society, London.
- Bingham, A 2004 Gender, Modernity and the Popular Press in Inter-war Britain, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Bowden, S & Offer, A 1996 'The Technological Revolution that Never Was, Gender, Class and the Diffusion of Household Appliances in Interwar England', in de Grazia, V & Furlough, E (eds) The Sex of Things, Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective, University of California Press.
- Callon, M, Muniesa, F & Y. Millo, 2007 Market Devices, Blackwell, Oxford.
- Callon, M & Muniesa, F 2005 'Economic Markets as Collective Calculative Devices', in Organization Studies, 26(8):1229-1250.
- Callon, M, Meadal, C & Rabeharisoa 2002 'The Economy of Qualities', in Economy & Society, volume 31, number 2:194-217
- Davidoff, L 1995 Worlds Between, Historical Perspectives on Gender and Class, Polity, Cambridge.
- De Grazia, V 2005 Irresistible Empire, America's Advance Through Twentieth Century Europe, The Belnap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA.
- Dichter, E 1961 The Strategy of Desire, Doubleday and Company, New York.
- Downham, J 1993 BMRB International, the First Sixty Years, BMRB International, London.
- Du Gay, P 2004 'Self-Service: Retail, Shopping and Personhood', in Consumption, Markets and Culture, Volume 7 (2):149-163
- Fox, S 1984 The Mirror Makers, a History of American Advertising and its Creators, Morrow, New York, USA.
- Glucksmann, M 1990 Women Assemble, Women Workers and the New Industries in Inter-war Britain, Routledge, London.
- Henry, H 1958 Motivation research, its Practice and Uses for Advertising, Crosby Lockwood & Son, London.
- Henry, H 1959 Motivation Research and the TV Commercial, ATV Series, London.
- Higgins, D 1965 The Art of Writing Advertising, NTC Business Books, Illinois.
- Horowitz, D 2003 Anxieties of Affluence, Critiques of American Consumer Culture, 1939-1979, University of Massachusetts Press, Massachusetts, USA.
- Miller, P & Rose, N 1997 'Mobilizing the Consumer, Assembling the Subject of Consumption', in Theory, Culture & Society, Volume 14 (1):1-36.
- Nixon, S 2008 'Apostles of Americanization? J. Walter Thompson Company Ltd, Advertising and Anglo-American Relations 1945-67', in Contemporary British History, Volume 22, No. 4:477-499.
- Packard, V 1957 The Hidden Persuaders, Penguin Books, London.
- Pearson, J & Turner, G 1965 The Persuasion Industry, Eyre & Spottiswoode, London.
- Roper, L 1994 Oedipus and the Devil: Witchcraft, Sexuality and Religion in Early Modern Europe, Routledge, London.
- Roper, M 2005 'Slipping out of View: Subjectivity and Emotion in Gender History', in History Workshop Journal, 59(1):57-72.
- Ross, K 1995 Fast Cars, Clean Bodies, Decolonization and the Reordering of French Culture, MIT Press, Cambridge, USA.
- Schwarzkopf, S 2007 'Culture' and the Limits of Innovations in Marketing: Ernest Dichter, Motivation Studies and Psychological Consumer Research in Great Britain, 1950s-70s', in Management & Organizational History, Volume 2 (3):219-236.

- Strasser, S 1982 Never done, A History of American Housework, Pantheon Books, New York.
- Todd, S 2005 Young Women, Work and Family in England 1918-1950, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- West 1987 'From T-plan to T-square: The London office of J. Walter Thompson Advertising Agency 1919-1970', in Business History, Volume 29(2):199-217.