“Soft, Glossy Tresses”: Shampoo Advertisements, White Women’s Hair, and the Late- and Post-World War II Domestic Ideal

By

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"SOFT GLOSSY TRESSES": SHAMPOO ADVERTISEMENTS, WHITE WOMEN'S HAIR,

AND THE LATE- AND POST- WORLD WAR II DOMESTIC IDEAL

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Abstract

This dissertation explores how shampoo advertisements inserted white women's hair in a late- and post-World War II conceptualization of ideal American domesticity. Rather than merely advertising mid-century hygiene products, I argue that shampoo ads characterized a racialized standard of beauty that naturalized whiteness in the representation of ideal late- and post-war domesticity. Using three prevalent brands as case studies, I situate this analysis between the years 1944 and 1952, a time period I refer to as the Shampoo Revolution. Concurrent with this period during which America transitioned from a wartime to postwar economy was the rapid expansion of the shampoo industry which had profound consequences on popular discourse, elevating a narrow representation of hair as a requisite component of American domesticity. The chapters of this dissertation provide an analysis of the emerging hair culture that was by the mid-1940s, a prominent aspect of popular media and beauty industry interests. Additionally, chapters provide a critical analysis of three leading shampoo brands – Drene, Breck, and Lustre-Crème, their respective advertisements, and ads' placement in two popular magazines. Ultimately, this study contributes to an understanding of the growing national consciousness, and emphasis on the American home front, as the nation transitioned from war to peacetime.

Acknowledgments

Writing a dissertation is not something I ever wanted to do. At most, so I thought, it was a means to an end. Even more disappointing to me than this supposed reality was that I did not believe I could actually even do it. Believing in myself has never come easily and although with age, I have learned to grab adventure by the reigns and see where it takes me, completing my Ph.D. seemed to be, up until the very end, out of reach. Fortunately, I have been blessed with such a wonderful family whose undying support and encouragement carried me to the finish line. My dear, sweet husband, Dana, is my "harbor in a tempest", to borrow from a line in "our" song by U2. Along life's course of ups and downs, not the least of which have been those experienced during researching and writing my dissertation, Dana has been my safe place, my best friend, my unwavering support. I look forward to a lifetime of never again having to put off plans to spend time together to instead work on my dissertation. Thank you, Dana, for understanding and for sacrificing without complaint those times that I did. And thank you for supporting my decision to wear a long red jersey housecoat and white fuzzy winter hat with ear flaps while working from home. I owe the completion of this dissertation in great part to their enveloping me along the way.

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To my dear mom and dad, I can never express how much your love and support means to me. I remember someone asking me one time how I knew that my parents love me. It was both easy and difficult to answer their question. The simple answer was that from my earliest memories I recall your many ways of showing affection – hugs, kisses, caresses, and constant verbal reminders that you love me. But more complex are the other ways I know you love me. Through your expression of genuine interest and concern, and working to lift me up at any cost, I constantly feel your love. Thank you for that.

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This dissertation is dedicated to my mother, Zandra, who grew up among a generation of women undoubtedly influenced by the Shampoo Revolution, from whom I have learned some heartbreaking lessons about womanhood, and whose hair becomes more and more beautiful with each passing season of our lives.

Table of Contents

Introduction 1

Shampoo and Women's Hair as a Category of Analysis 7

How Shampoo Ads Participate in Constructing the Late- and Postwar Domestic Ideal 17

Advertisements Link to Our Lives 24

Chapter One: Women's Lives: Ideology and Reality 1944-1952 30

The Feminine Ideal: Work, Family, and the Consumer Economy 34

Advertising 57

Public Nature of Women's Hair 60

Chapter Two: The Shampoo Revolution and Procter & Gamble 65

The History of Washing Hair and the Shampoo Revolution, 1944-1952 68

Hairy Business 74

Procter and Gamble Embody Home and Hair 84

Chapter Three: "The First Thing a Man Usually Notices about Your Looks is Lovely, Shining Hair": Drene Ads and the Domestic Ideal …………………………………….. 90

Advertising the P&G Way 92

"Becoming Hair is More Important than Ever": Drene's Representation of the Feminine Ideal 98

Racialized Beauty and Social Class Bias 117

Chapter Four: Hair Girls: Breck, Lustre-Crème, and the Domestic Ideal 120

"Beautiful Hair Breck" 121

"He Used to Call Me 'Scatter-Locks'": Lustre-Crème and the Domestic Ideal 134

Chapter Five: “The Love of Home is Not Necessarily Connected with a House”: Women’s Magazines, the Domestic Ideal, and White Women’s Hair …………………………............. 145

Characteristics of Mid-Century Women’s Magazines.. 146

Shampooing Women’s Magazines 151

Domesticity, and Women’s Hair in *Vogue* 154

Hair’s Role in *Housekeeping* 164

Conclusion: Late- and Postwar Domesticity and “Soft, Glossy Tresses” 174

References.. 178

Introduction

A shampoo advertisement from 1948 hails "'Career Girl' finds a new career . . . after becoming a lovely '*Lustre-Crème'* Girl". Its content reads like an autobiographical novel, presented as a full-color illustration of five scenes that being with a woman sitting alongside her male supervisor in an office setting. The first-person narrative unfolds as the female character ultimately details how her new role as a "Lustre-Crème Girl" rescues her from the despair she felt about her unsightly hair in the workplace. The ad copy reads:

> I WAS PROUD of my success as an executive in a large business firm. But I couldn't help feeling unhappy about my straggly, lifeless-looking hair. I yearned to be complimented at least once in a while about my looks, instead of my ability. I didn't want to be a failure as a woman.
>
> ONE NIGHT, I frankly asked Paula, our office "Glamour Girl" the secret of her smooth, gleaming locks. "Why, Lustre-Crème Shampoo" she confided . . .
>
> THAT WAS FOR ME! I tried Lustre-Crème Shampoo that night; it brought out my true hair beauty like magic . . .
>
> THEN THINGS HAPPENED. Next morning, my secretly adored boss, the firm's handsome and unmarried General Manager, stared adoringly at my soft, glossy tresses. "Say!" he blurted. "You're looking lovely!" – and his eyes followed me all day. As I was leaving that night, he held my coat and tenderly fingered a silken gleaming curl behind my ear. "How about dinner tonight, dream girl? I've got a new job to offer you . . . a lifetime one!"
>
> A MONTH LATER it was "middle-aisle" for me and my ex-boss. And Paula says a bridal veil never framed lovelier hair. (Lustre-Crème, 1948f)

The character's pride in her professional accomplishments is compromised by her fear of failing as a woman because of her "lifeless" hair. As implied, true happiness lies in the acknowledgement from (and subsequent relationship with) a man, as well as attaining an ideal feminine appearance – in this case, conceived as a white woman with long, smooth, lustrous hair. In addition to the textual content, the images accompanying the text affirm this ideology. In the first frame, the woman is noticeably self-conscious about her hair while seated next to (but positioned lower than) her male boss. She only first displays a smile in the frame in which she is pictured washing her hair. This is also the first and only frame in which she looks directly at the viewer. In the final two images in this fictional sequence, the woman is smiling, and looking adoringly at her new husband. In both, he is positioned above her, and in the largest, is grasping her arm and gazing downward at her, postures which signal an important gendered power dynamic. We can assume that she ultimately decides wifehood is a more important course for her than is a career; she refers to her new husband as her ex-boss, suggesting that she is no longer working for him nor presumably, working for wages outside the home at all.

A reader might assume that the female character in this sequence attained an executive position due to earlier wartime mobilization of men, even though World War II is not an explicit topic in this ad.[1] Romanticizing unwed women in the workforce, particularly in white-collar

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[1] Her employment as an executive did not reflect workforce reality for most women in the 1940s. As I will more fully describe in chapter one, while many women moved into the labor force in both defense and non-defense industry positions alike, they were still largely occupying lower-skill and less lucrative positions than were their male counterparts. The majority of women in the U.S., however, were not engaged in any kind of paid labor during the war. As Tuttle (1993) described "in 1941, about 30,000,000 women were homemakers, with no paid employment; in 1944, about seven out of eight of these women were still engaged entirely in homemaking" (p. 71).

positions as described in the Lustre-Crème ad, was a pop-cultural convention that was well established by the 1930s. As labor historian Elaine Tyler May (1994) suggested in her research, "Hollywood encouraged the independence of women and the equality of the sexes [in the 1930s]. But it failed to portray families that included independent women. Rather, these tough and rugged heroines were admired as *women* (emphasis hers), not as wives" (p. 19). Heroines in movies and magazines were celebrated as strong career women in the thirties and early forties alike, but their success in the workplace was depicted as having nearly always jeopardized their success in relationships, as many of the characters remained single. What is different about the advertising conventions used in shampoo ads during the transitionary period of late- to post-WWII (which I will more fully describe in subsequent chapters) is that for the single women in the vignettes, attracting a male was nearly always the goal, and outcome, of having good hair. This reflects the material reality that in the late- and immediate postwar period, single women became the focus of campaigns that would encourage women out of industry and back into the home. Popular rhetoric supporting women's exodus from the workplace was loud and clear. The War Manpower Commission, for example, lauded that "the separation of women from industry should flow in an orderly plan", and the leader of the National Association of Manufacturers agreed that "too many women should not stay in the labor force; the home is the basic American institution" (May, p. 37). The Lustre-Crème ad described earlier was a fictional representation of American womanhood that exaggerated these cultural anxieties about who and what ideal domesticity embodied.

If they worked in white-collar jobs, such as the firm mentioned in the vignette above, it is most likely that they were employed in secretarial or sales positions, not executive ones (May, 1994).

Portraying domesticity in a particular way, this ad and others like it align with popular late- and post-WWII rhetoric about ideal femininity and expectations for women's life priorities. Most interestingly is that the subject of shampooing one's hair is suggested as a necessary step toward reaching the domestic ideal. These advertising conventions evidence the cultural weight placed on the subject of women's hair and its role in measuring up to social expectations of ideal womanhood. As we learn from ads like the one described above, hair, it seems, is not really just about hair after all. It is as much a public concern as it is a personal one.

Shampoo advertisements from the 1940s and 1950s help tell an important story about mid-century American popular discourse.[2] In this dissertation, I argue that shampoo ads introduced white women's bodies as integral to the construction of ideal domesticity in late- and post- World War II America.[3] Popular narratives in media such as magazines, television, and radio programs emphasized ideal domesticity, which I argue was a broad concept that included prescriptions about white women's hair, necessarily naturalizing whiteness in the construction of the ideal. My understanding of mid-century domesticity is informed by scholar Nancy Walker (2000), who in her study of popular American women's magazines from 1940 to 1960,

[2] My use of discourse follows from that which Michel Foucault (1972) described as ideas, attitudes, values, and practices that collectively contribute to systems of thought. By the phrase "American popular discourse", I mean to suggest that there were prevailing "systems of thoughts" – forms of representation, codes, and conventions – that produced cultural and historical meanings specific to the time period under consideration. I will explore certain "popular" discourses in late- to post-World War II throughout this dissertation.

[3] While I believe these shampoo ads inserted white women's bodies in the representation of ideal domesticity, I do not intend to suggest that there was a single, homogenized ideal that influenced all women during the time period under consideration. To do so would be to ignore the complexity and diversity of women's lives, and ignore the construction and experience of other varied ideals.

conceptualized it as including not only housekeeping duties and the physical structure of the home, but also familial obligations, social relationships, purchasing habits, personal well-being, and appearance management (viii).[4] The shift to an industrial economy in the nineteenth century had already helped distinguish the notion of gendered "public" versus "private" spheres, concepts that would become even more distinct by the mid-twentieth century. The "private sphere" was linked to notions about domestic activities that women should undertake for the maintenance of their homes and families. While it was far more common for men to enter wage work outside the home, that women were more frequently "keepers" of the home should not be mistaken to mean that housekeeping is all that factored in the portrayal and idealization of domesticity. As I will explain, late- and postwar popular media emphasized that a broad array of activities characterized ideal domesticity, contributing to an understanding of it in much the way that Walker described in her analysis. Some portrayals of the ideal include not simply housework, but also women's social interactions, participation in civic affairs, engagement in beauty regimens, and pursuit of upward mobility. Late- and postwar artifacts such as product

[4] In the past thirty years, scholars have been increasingly attentive to the concept of domesticity, arguing that at various periods in American history it has broader connotations than merely activities performed to sustain the home. See Michael McKeon's (2006) The secret history of domesticity: Public, private, and the division of knowledge. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press; Glenna Matthew's (1989) "Just a housewife": The rise and fall of domesticity in America. New York, NY: Oxford University Press; Amy Bentley's (1998) Eating for victory: Food rationing and the politics of domesticity. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press; Elaine Tyler May's (1988) Homeward bound: American families in the Cold War era. New York: Basic Books; Joanne Meyerowitz's (1994) Not June Cleaver: Women and gender in postwar America, 1945-1960, Philadelphia: Temple University Press; Susan Lynn's (1992) Progressive women in conservative times: Racial justice, peace, and feminism, 1945-1960s, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

advertisements emphasized domesticity in this way, by marrying femininity with notions about family, social relationships, and personal appearance. And while readers might expect house-related goods to include an emphasis on ideal domesticity in their ads, appearance management advertisements likewise relied on similar conventions. They, too, referenced women's roles in family life, civic duties, and restoring the American home front in their endorsement of products such as lipstick, color cosmetics, and cold creams marketed to white female consumers.

This broad understanding of domesticity was reflected in various kinds of ads. But uniquely, shampoo advertisements not only referenced the type of domesticity Walker defined, they further include women's bodies*, specifically hair,* in the construction of the domestic ideal. Shampoo ads emphasized hair as the single-most attribute of women's bodies that, if shiny, lustrous, and smooth, would help women achieve domestic bliss. Other feminine cosmetic and hygiene product advertisements discussed the role of the product in helping beautify or improve a woman's look, but the shampoo ads emphasized that (white) women's hair was naturally and inherently beautiful, beauty that if lost, could be reclaimed by buying and using specific shampoo. Thus, while other products were supplemental to women's looks with the intent to enhance them in some way, shampoo brands' messages were conversely subtractive, enticing women to restore "natural" luster, smoothness, and straightness that had otherwise been sacrificed by women's neglectful hair maintenance. Shampoo ads described ideal hair as that which was naturally shiny and smooth, racially-biased language that had long been used to distinguish blackness from whiteness in beauty advertisements beginning in the late-nineteenth century. As Noliwe Rooks (1996) found in her study, "African American women were bombarded . . . with products that promised to lighten the skin and straighten the hair", and sometimes single products that promised to do both (p. 26). Early strategies relied on

juxtaposing before and after images depicting what black women could expect by using hair straighteners. Women in the "after" pictures were always represented and described as lighter-skinned, with long, straight, and smooth-textured hair, features that were privileged over the natural "African" style which was referred to as "kinky, snarly, ugly, and curly" (pp. 27-35). That women were represented as lighter-skinned after using the products ideologically linked idealized hair with fairer skin tones. Shampoo ads under consideration in my analysis embodied this racial bias in the characterization of feminine beauty and hair; women were represented as fair-skinned Caucasians, most often with long, lustrous, straight or only slightly wavy hair. In fact, shampoo itself was an inherently racially-biased product, formulated for use on straight hair with washing instructions that ran counter to traditions of grooming ethnic hair, which I will more fully describe later in this introduction. As such, white women's bodies, and their supposed inherent hair beauty, were elevated as the ideal in the domestic construct.

Shampoo and Women's Hair as a Category of Analysis

Women's hair matters. And the way it is represented and negotiated in popular media matters, too. In this dissertation, I will examine how shampoo advertisements from the late- to post-World War II era factored white women's hair in the construction of ideal domesticity. Many scholars have regarded this period as one during which there was a heightened sense of American nationalism and shifting American values championing domesticity.[5] Maria Buszek

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[5] See Lizbeth Cohen's (2003) A consumers' republic: The politics of mass consumption in postwar America. New York, NY: Vintage Books; Marilyn Hegarty's (2008) Victory girls, khaki-wackies, and patriotutes: The regulation of female sexuality during World War II. New York, NY: New York University Press; May, E. T. (1999). Homeward bound: American families in the Cold War era. New York, NY: Basic Books; Elaine Tyler May's (2008) Nonmothers as bad mothers: Infertility and the "maternal instinct". In V. Ruiz (Ed.), *Unequal Sisters:*

(2006) pointed to this ideological shift in her work on pin-up girls, femininity, and sexuality. As she explained, toward the end of World War II, "the homefront [*sic*] climate changed dramatically in terms of national ideas of female identity that had been so thoroughly transformed during wartime" (p. 235). Nancy Cott's (2002) work on marriage and the nation also underscores this concept. The public rhetoric of war cemented the disparity between women and men in profound ways, and signaled a shift in popular understanding of coupledom and gender roles. My research situates itself among such conversations, amidst this era during which women's commitment to the home and family was, according to prevailing social sentiment, ever more important. I argue that shampoo ads emphasized a particular construction of domesticity to support different social circumstances during this transition period from late- to postwar America. Whether in ads that directly addressed the war effort and women's involvement in it, or those in the years succeeding the war that emphasized the return of women to the home, I argue that shampoo ads upheld a narrowly defined notion of American womanhood. My position is both informed by and an extension of what other scholars have suggested. Scholars have acknowledged that wartime and postwar advertisements and magazine content represented womanhood and domesticity in particular ways; some regarded the portrayal as emphasizing a conservative homemaker ideology while other analyses were more revisionist

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An Inclusive Reader in U.S. Women's History (4th Ed.). New York, NY: Routledge; Alice Kessler-Harris' (2002) Out to work: A history of wage-earning women in the United States (20th ed.). New York, NY: Oxford University Press, and (2006) Gendering labor history. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press; Donna Penn's (2001) The sexualized woman: The lesbian, the prostitute, and the containment of female sexuality in postwar America, in E. Reiss (Ed.), *American Sexual Histories* (pp. 311-326). Malden, MA: Blackwell; Susan Hartmann's (1982) The homefront and beyond: American women in the 1940s. Boston, MA: Twayne.

to suggest that a broader concept than the stereotypical housewife ideal was represented, or that content contained altogether contradictory messages about womanhood (Friedan, 1963; May, 1988; Douglas, 1995; Lears, 1995; Peiss, 1998; Walker, 2000). Regardless of the specifics of their argument, most analyses acknowledged a definitive distinction between wartime and postwar advertising conventions, noting that postwar ads (of course) no longer needed to urge women's involvement in the war effort and instead began to emphasize idealized notions about the American home front and appeals to consumers' fear of failing in some important social measure. Juliann Sivulka (2001) suggested that this was particularly the case in marketing tactics used in women's beauty products. The persuasion of ads would necessarily change as the war came to an end, but I argue that situated in this transitionary period was a distinct conceptualization of idealized domesticity that was unique to and equally important in late- as well as postwar ideology. Whereas other scholars tend to ideologically separate postwar advertising messages from wartime ones, I argue that there was a continuity from the mid-forties to early 1950s as America transitioned to a postwar economy. And I believe that women's hair was an important symbolic tool used to communicate the domestic ideal. Ultimately, the representation of idealized domesticity shampoo ads conveyed was narrow and evidence racial bias.

As perhaps the most mundane of hair maintenance practices, I intentionally limit my analysis to shampoo exclusively, as opposed to hair care products in general. First, it is shampoo ads that I argue uniquely engaged white women's bodies in the construction of ideal domesticity. Further, shampoo ads are distinct artifacts of interest to me because I contend that achieving a preferred hair aesthetic starts with cleaning it, a practice that we would assume to be less socially informed than other grooming activities would be. For example, changing hair volume or color

through the use of non-shampoo hair care regimens would presumably be more about fitting fashionable and social ideals than would washing hair. But what I have found, and what ultimatetly served as the impetus for this dissertation, is that shampoo ads *are* heavily informed by prevailing late- and postwar rhetoric. An otherwise mundane ritual in personal grooming participates in powerful discourses about the feminine body.

And as I stated earlier, it is not just any feminine body on display in these ads. The feminine body under scrutiny is a very specific one – a stereotypically attractive Caucasian one. All of the ads as well as the magazines in which they circulated, are exclusive of any racially-diverse identity. In her analysis of the beauty industry in America, Peiss (1988) explained, “the cosmetic industry had practiced market segmentation by dividing its customers into class, mass, and African-American markets”, and such segmentation only intensified in the 1940s as a more concerted effort to further define consumer groups took place (p. 246). As ads and publications were already racially-segregated entities, I argue that the topic of shampoo itself is inherently racialized as well. While the hair care industry (and subsequent products it promoted) was by the 1940s a booming business, products and processes were racially-informed and in most cases, racially-specific. Take hair relaxers and oils, for example. Such products were produced for and marketed toward a specifically African American demographic, as opposed to a mass audience. And although moisturizers and some shampoos were used among the black community, differences between blacks’ and whites’ hair maintenance practices necessarily segregated hair care products. The work of Madame C.J. Walker, Annie Turnbo Malone, and Sara Spencer Washington, pioneers in the African American hair care industry, represents some of the first concerted efforts to produce and market hair products specifically for the African American community. As early as the 1900s, hair relaxers, straighteners, moisturizing oils, and dry

shampoos were manufactured for a specifically black demographic and hair salon culture became ever more important for the black community in the decades that followed (Peiss, 1988; Byrd & Tharps, 2001; Rooks, 1996; Willett, 2000; Gill, 2010). Between the Depression and the late 1970s a variety of factors only intensified the exclusion of blacks in the mass hair care industry, including the death of the pioneering hair care company leaders and the subsequent demise of their businesses, as well as the acquisition of smaller African-American beauty product manufacturers by larger white-owned corporate giants (Gill, 2010). Thus, shampoo was, during the period under examination, a white concept, and so the demographic that the ads in my study referenced excluded all but white women. Even still, as I will show in my later discussion of specific shampoo brands, these ads still *implied* a universal appeal, even though by nature of the products themselves, they could not have been more racially-restrictive thus making white normative.[6] To say that shampoo as a product was already inherently racially-specific and thus necessarily excluded non-whites, is not to naturalize or normalize the racial exclusivity. In other words, this is not to say that racial bias had no role in the advertising of these goods. The ubiquity of the racially-exclusive ads that circulated under the guise of "mass appeal" evidences that racial prejudice abounded in the hair care industry.

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[6] Many scholars have provided rich studies about the African American hair care industry, as well as the politics of hair in personal and national identity. Their works inform my understanding of the racially-segregated industry. For more information, see Craig's (2002) Ain't I a beauty queen? Black women, beauty, and the politics of race; Gill's (2010) Beauty shop politics: African American women's activism in the beauty industry, Peiss' (1988) Hope in a jar: The making of America's beauty culture, Willett's (2000) Permanent Waves: The making of the American beauty shop, and Rooks' (1998) Hair raising: Beauty, culture, and African American women.

The ads I have studied are from the eight year period, 1944 through 1952, which collectively serves as a snapshot of an otherwise fluid shift in popular rhetoric. I have selected this time frame for both practical and ideological reasons. When examining ideological shifts, such as I am in this dissertation, we cannot always locate exact "moments" that can serve as definitive ideological turning points. But we can loosely define a transformational period by acknowledging the various factors that contributed to the shift. Practically speaking, one reason for selecting 1944 as the starting point of my analysis is that it was in this year that the GI Bill of Rights, which had profound material consequences for veterans and their families, was enacted. The bill provided a weekly salary to unemployed veterans, funded enrollment at colleges and trade schools, and extended more than two million mortgage loans in the years between 1944 and 1952 (Veterans Administration, n.d.). Perhaps even more so, however, this bill had ideological implications as well, in that it benefitted men disproportionately more than women (as men accounted for 98% of all military personnel) (Cott, 2002, p. 190). Ideologically, it cemented men's roles as "heads of households, property-owners, job-holders, and providers" (p. 191). Another reason for focusing on this time frame is that it is during these eight years that three leading brands were at the height of their competitive popularity. The precursor to modern shampoo as we know it today, Drene shampoo was introduced in the mid-1930s but did not became a household name until the mid-1940s when it was the major sponsor, and namesake, of a popular radio show that aired from 1946 to 1951 ("National Museum of American History: Drene", n.d.). Other major brands appeared during this time, including Lustre-Crème in 1944, followed by Breck in 1946, both of which also enjoyed a familiarity among American consumers through their advertisements in magazines, on radio, and eventually, on television as well. These three brands collectively accounted for the highest market share among other competitors during

this time (Sherrow, 2006).[7] There was an accelerated rate of shampoos introduced to the market throughout these eight years, and therefore, the subject of hair was a growing topic of commercial and personal interest in the maintenance of feminine beauty. This changing market led to an increase and diversification in the shampoo and hair product offerings by the early fifties. Therefore, I chose to limit my research to include advertisements only through the year 1952. In this particular year, many brands including Lustre-Crème began to diversify their products, adding different formulae of shampoos altogether. An abundance of new products came on the market in the early- to mid- 1950s, including shampoos aimed at controlling dandruff, the first commercial hair conditioners, and, due to the popularity of updo's and voluminous hairstyles, hairspray (Sherrow, 2006; Peiss, 1998). The landscape of the hair care industry necessarily changed as a result after about 1952, and the three shampoo brands began to compete with other products in an even broader market.

The brands I consider were among the leading mass-market hair cleansing products during this period which I refer to as "the shampoo revolution". Beginning with Drene, the brand which set the standard as the first synthetic shampoo, other brands simultaneously prospered and competition among this product category gained momentum. While the conclusions I draw can be broadened to a more fluid discussion of the transitionary period beyond 1944 and 1952, it was during these years that we see an explosion of shampoo brands all competing for a similar market, using similar conventions to construct a very particular

[7] Prell and Halo were two other brands that were among the top selling brands in the early 1950s, but both are products from the same parent companies as two other brands in my study. Prell was manufactured by Procter and Gamble (who also produced Drene shampoo) and Halo was introduced by Colgate-Palmolive (who also produced Lustre-Crème) (Sherrow, 2006). As such, I have excluded Prell and Halo from my study.

American feminine ideal. Popular media was a conduit through which particular values were communicated during these years of transition, initially supporting women in war industries, while simultaneously reinforcing their duties as wives, mothers, and citizens to support the war effort, and ultimately emphasizing their need to protect and uphold the commitment to the home/front. So while during the war years, encouraging women into industry was a goal, and of course after the war it was not, the rhetoric of women's responsibilities to the home/front remained consistent. A similar version of femininity was employed to meet different social ends.

Having serendipitously found shampoo ads like the one referenced above for another project I was working on during my doctoral coursework, I was intrigued by the power of hair in the not-so-subtle idealization of womanhood implied in these cultural artifacts. It was clear to me that hair was a medium through which rhetoric about domesticity was symbolically emphasized during the years America transitioned from combat to restoring a sense of (idealized) normalcy in a postwar economy. I knew I had to learn more about these ads and underscore their importance as cultural artifacts from such an important ideological turning point in American history.

Although ads are not simply symbolic but also part of commercial culture, they are material expressions of popular rhetoric about women and the home front and as such, these ads warrant investigation. But my assertion that hair is a medium through which dominant discourses are conveyed is not unique. Many scholars have critiqued hair as a site where discourses converge.[8] Along with other forms of dress, hair maintenance has been part of the

[8] Some have examined its religious connotations (Lawless, 1986; Levine, 1995), some its ethnic traditions (Rushing, 1988; Kelley, 1997; Rooks, 1996), some its sociopolitical implications (Weitz, 2001; Kelley, 1997; Synnott, 1987), and others its role in historical contexts (Rosenthal, 2004; Powell & Roach, 2004; Zdatny, 1999).

human experience since evidence of some of the earliest civilizations.[9] Weitz (2005) attributed human hair's enormous symbolic meaning to the not only "uniquely personal but also public" nature of it (p. xiv). Unlike many other physical characteristics, hair is open to public commentary, compliments, and scrutiny. As Weitz noted, "Even in communities where women must cover their hair in public, hair retains great symbolic power. That requirement [of covering] itself testifies to the erotic and moral significance vested in hair" (p. xv). The erotic and moral connotations of hair cannot be understated; since ancient civilizations hair has been regarded as a supposed "natural" sexual allure of women's appearance. This dissertation relies on the assumption that hair is an erotic feature of women's bodies.[10]

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[9] To explore this hair culture, I advance the definition of dress proposed by Roach-Higgins and Eicher (1992), wherein they defined dress as "an assemblage of modifications of the body and/or supplements to the body" (p. 1). As such, dress practices include much more than just the garments we wear; alterations to the body in color, shape, or texture as in the activity of tanning, lifting weights to obtain more a more sculpted musculature, or obtaining a chemical peel to exfoliate and smooth the skin's surface, are all dressing activities. It is the broad conceptualization that permits a range of human activity to be classified as dressing behavior. This is important because it inserts human intentionality and creativity into the process of bodily presentation, and also allows for the analysis of cultural influence on the dressed body. Regarding dress as all the ways we intentionally modify or add to our bodies, we can come to understand it as a carrier of meaning, informed by larger socio-cultural interactions.

[10] To say this is not to imply that a universal standard of what can be considered "erotic" exists. Certainly, ideals of beauty and eroticism vary from culture to culture, and across historical time periods, as well. But a body of literature supports that hair is a feature of women's bodies that is invested with erotic meaning. Selected works include: McCracken, G. (1995), Big hair: A journey into the transformation of self; Lawless, E. (1986), Your hair is your glory: Public and private symbology of long hair for Pentecostal women; Hinsz, V.B., Matz, D.C., & Patience, R.A. (2001), Does women's hair signal reproductive potential?; Weitz, R. (2005), Rapunzel's daughters: What

The work dress studies scholars and historians have contributed on the subject of hair informs my analysis of shampoo ads. But even though hair has long maintained a presence in this cultural, sociological, and anthropological scholarship, little attention has been paid to how the subject of hair functioned in the medium of advertisements. My research enters this conversation to uniquely suggest that we can learn about mid-century American values and ideal domesticity from shampoo advertisements of this redefining cultural moment in American history. As ads are a medium that represent prevailing discourses by way of shampoo ads in consumer-interest publications, my research compliments, among other scholarship, Biddle-Perry and Cheang's (2009) study of hair and social identity across cultural mediums such as art and performance, Walker's (2000) analysis of the representation of women in mid-century magazines' articles, editorials, and advice columns, and Banks' (2000) ethnographic work on hair and racial politics. I analyze three shampoo brands, their parent companies, advertisements, and ultimately their placement in two leading publications against the backdrop of a growing national consciousness as a result of the war. I argue that as hair is part of a person's physicality, distinct from the materials of fashion with which we dress our bodies, it is a character in the construction of domesticity differently than dress external to the body itself. As such, I believe it can be even more strongly suggestive of the dominant discourses on femininity and domesticity. Because hair is a feature of a woman's body itself, it necessarily factors into social discourse differently, more intimately, than other features of dress.

As attributes of femininity, hair has been symbolic of particular narratives about (for example) race and idealized femininity, and can represent more than just an individual's

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women's hair tells us about women's lives; Cheang, S. & Biddle Perry, G. (2009), Hair: Styling, culture, and fashion.

aesthetic preference. Joanne Entwistle (2000) suggested that hair can be seen as a means through which "bodies are made and given meaning and identity" (p. 7). Other scholars likewise support the idea that as an integral part of the social and cultural body, hair is a means through which the self becomes fashioned (Hollander 1994; Barnard 1996; Wilson 2005). Examining the meanings and messages about women's hair in the mid-1940s and early fifties, I argue that as a dressing activity, hair maintenance and the popular cultural representations of it participate in the construction of idealized domesticity in late- and postwar America.

How Shampoo Ads Participate in Constructing the Late- and Postwar Domestic Ideal

This project explores how hair was part of an intense discourse about ideal domesticity, an ideology that gained momentum in the late- and immediate postwar years. Specifically, I argue that shampoo ads brought white women's bodies into the conversation about the domestic ideal. I researched leading brands Drene, Breck, and Lustre-Crème, their parent companies, and their placement in two popular women's magazines – one fashion-oriented, the other a homemaking publication – to contextualize their role in mid-century American popular discourse. These brands were marketed to white women through mass and "class" publications alike. The brands' racial (and arguably class) exclusivity has implications for all women, as the advertising content naturalized whiteness in the construction of the domestic ideal thus setting a standard against which all women would be measured.

Discourse analysis. My dissertation research contributes to cultural, media, and dress studies by showing how popular concepts of idealized American femininity and domesticity were supported through the ubiquity of leading shampoo advertisements, emphasizing the import placed not only on feminine appearance in general, but on hair in particular, in the domestic

construct.[11] Traditionally, methods used to analyze advertisements have included content analysis and semiotics. Content analysis is primarily a quantitative method which is executed via several steps – defining one's sample of images (articulating your research question), counting the frequency of images, coding the images based on a set of descriptive labels, and analyzing one's findings (Rose, 2007, p. 61-68). Such a method is too restrictive to address my research questions. Semiotics is a more qualitative approach than content analysis, addressing the underlying messages as well as the relationship between the elements contained within the medium. Prominent scholars such as Roland Barthes (1973), Judith Williamson (1978), and Erving Goffman (1979) all used semiotic analysis in their survey of advertisements.

As ads are not merely a combination of semiotic elements but rather a medium of communication that involves many contextual aspects, I chose to instead employ discourse analysis, which examines discursive formation through visual images and verbal texts. As such, I will use this method to identify the ways shampoo helped shape the meanings and understanding of ideal domesticity. As Foucault (1972) proposed, discourse is culturally constructed representations of the social world, shaping and creating meanings, and ultimately informing social thought. As a method, discourse analysis seeks to recognize "patterned ways of thinking which can be identified in textual and verbal communications . . . and in wider social structures" (Lupton, 1992, p. 145). Foucault stressed the importance of "power' in the analysis

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[11] In this dissertation, I will at times intentionally conflate the concepts femininity and domesticity, as I see them as inseparable (though not identical) constructs during the time period under consideration. I set out to explore them as related yet distinct constructs, but as I became more deeply entrenched in my research, it was apparent to me that they were so thoroughly intertwined in popular discourse that I chose to use them interchangeably at times to stress their mutually-constitutive relationship.

of discourse, which he articulated as a network of multidirectional influences that create tensions for individuals and groups, and ultimately produce knowledge. Importantly, power "is not necessarily viewed as a strategy consciously used by some people over other people"; rather, power (and hence, knowledge) results through the practices of institutions and social interactions (Powers, p. 11, 2007). Ultimately, it is important to recognize the concepts of power and knowledge when studying discourses because there are multiple converging factors that contribute to a phenomenon, yet there may be no explicit explanation for why the phenomenon exists as it does. Discourse analysis allows us to look at prevailing systems of knowledge to understand the varying power dynamics involved in the phenomenon's production. I use discourse analysis to understand the influences leading shampoo advertisements to portray certain interpretations of our social world. As advertisements are products of the advertising agency, the brand, and commercial and social culture, discourse analysis is most fitting for my research as it allows me to examine how the views of our social world come into being, and how they are naturalized through, as Gillian Rose (2007) stated, "particular regimes of truth" (p. 146-7). As ads combine pictures, symbols, and text, and necessarily function within particular sociocultural contexts, discourse analysis is a best method for my analysis of how shampoo ads helped naturalize specific views of late- and post- World War II American domesticity.

My dissertation also draws on Stuart Hall's (1973) concept of the "dominant reading" – the way the producer intended the text to be received. He referred to popular media as an example of how culturally-specific interpretations of phenomena (stereotypes, racial identity, etc.) become commonsensical through their repetition. The shampoo ads replicate particular understandings of late- and post-war American domestic ideology, indicating that a dominant reading was intended for those who would view the ads.

Archival research. I also employed archival research to situate the ads in the time period under consideration, to better understand the three brands, and to analyze their life among the pages of American women's magazines. I reviewed specific databases containing records of the War Manpower Commission, U.S. Office of Education, and U.S. Department of Labor, all contained in the U.S. Government's National Archives and Records Administration. The online compilation of materials provides "access to data, digitized records, selected series from Access to Archival Databases, [and] over one million electronic records from the Electronic Records Archives" (U.S. National Archives, n.d., para. 1). In particular, I perused records from the following collections: America on the Homefront (*sic*), Powers of Persuasion: Poster Art from World War II, A Guide to World War II Materials, Military Resources: Women in the Military, and Records of the Women's Bureau. I could determine from the collections' descriptions which records could inform my project, and subsequently, ordered copies of documents that were otherwise unavailable electronically. I was able to confidently determine which materials were useful from those that were otherwise unrelated to my project. For example, there was a series of "Special Bulletins" published by the U.S. Department of Labor, which contained advice on considerations about women workers in defense industries during the war. This was clearly, by its description, relevant to my topic. These archives include wartime propaganda such as pamphlets issued to employers of women war industry workers, instructional films describing how traditional women's roles translated into war work, and workplace policies outlining gendered expectations. Such materials helped me contextualize this moment in American history, collectively contributing to the wartime and postwar landscape particularly with regard to women's employment, dynamics and expectations of war work, and other sociocultural and demographic aspects of late- and postwar America. Much is learned about the time period under

consideration from the way these artifacts describe women and the American home front, which will be more fully explored in chapter two. But the archives, while seemingly vast and thorough, are themselves politicized collections. Some collections are partial at best, interrupted in date, or devoid of some records within the same series. While I cannot know why some artifacts are omitted, and a further critique of their collections is beyond the scope of this project, I approach their records as sources of knowledge production, contributing to popular wartime and postwar discourse, and in so doing, realize their limitations.

Through additional archival research, I obtained information relating to the shampoo brands. The Procter and Gamble Heritage Center houses corporate and product artifacts. To my surprise, though, most of the archived material is not available for public research. The archival project is made available only to their current employees, stakeholders, and business partners ("Procter & Gamble Heritage", 2013). I corresponded with P&G archivist Diane Wagner on several occasions about my project and although she eventually agreed to send me some documents pertaining to Drene, she ultimately would not disclose much company material, apologizing that "I'm sorry we don't have more to offer" (personal communication, November 14, 2013).[12] I also used documents from the Breck Girls Collection of the National Museum of American History. In personal correspondences with NMAH archivists, Christine Windheuser and Kay Peterson, I learned that the collection was housed in a temporary location off-site and just this spring 2015 returned to its home at the Smithsonian. Fortunately, it is catalogued

[12] Fortunately, some of Procter and Gamble's artifacts are housed at the National Museum of American History and so I was able to peruse some print ads from this period. But the archive contains no documents subfolder specific to Drene, and much of their collection – shampoo packaging materials, shampoo bottles, and product signage, is not useful for my project.

online, so in discussing the collection with the archivists who know it more intimately, I was able to order copies of relevant documents. They include advertisements, correspondences from Breck Girl models, fan mail sent to the models, and materials relating to Breck's artist. Two other digital archives I consulted are full-text issues of *Vogue* magazine in the Vogue Archive online database, and *Good Housekeeping* magazines contained within Cornell University's Home Economics Archive database. I used these two magazines to explore how the topic of hair, and the shampoo ads in particular, factored in the representation of a domestic ideal. For each magazine, I reviewed six issues per calendar year, alternating months each year. So for some years I reviewed January, March, May, July, September, and November issues; and alternating years, I reviewed February, April, June, August, October, and December issues. In total, I reviewed 108 magazines, 54 each of *Vogue* and *Good Housekeeping*. For each, I first read the table of contents which allowed me to select articles and editorials dealing with factors bound in the domestic ideal, a concept I defined earlier in this introduction. I read all material whose title and/or description contained the themes of home, domesticity, home front, war, beauty, hair, family, relationships, and recreation. Additionally, I reviewed all Drene, Breck, and Lustre-Crème ads within the issues.

Other primary sources. There is no specially-designated Lustre-Crème repository, so researching this brand was a bit more challenging even than it was the other two. Through database searches, however, I found a great assortment of historic documents including newspapers and magazines referencing the brand and their parent company, Colgate-Palmolive-Peet. Likewise, though Procter and Gamble's archives themselves were largely unavailable to me, the company was by mid-century a corporate giant, and so much was written about them in newspapers and magazines during the time period under consideration. As a leader in hair care

technologies, many news sources and trade publications frequently documented P&G news, not the least of which was the role of Drene in helping establish what I have I called the "shampoo revolution". Breck, too, was featured in many mid-century publications. Collectively, the news stories about these brands help tell the story of their prominence in mid-century consumer culture.

In addition to the aforementioned use of archival materials and historic documents, central to my study was the analysis of Drene, Breck, and Lustre-Crème advertisements. Some were contained within the archives and magazines mentioned above, but I also found a broad collection via Duke University's Hartmann Center for Sales, Advertising, and Marketing History online database Ad*Access, as well as private digital collections. In all, I reviewed 37 Drene ads, 17 Breck ads, and 19 Lustre-Crème ads. Granted, the same ad was often repeated in the collections and magazines, so these totals reference on the number of distinct ads from each brand. Taken together, the archival materials, newspaper and magazine articles, and advertisements provided a wealth of information about the competing shampoo brands.

Developed by Procter and Gamble, Drene is the first synthetic shampoo ever marketed in the States, and grew out of the company's success with the first synthetic laundry detergent, Dreft. Some of the same ideological underpinnings that drove this corporate giant to capture a sizable portion of the home goods market helped them attain monumental success in the beauty market by way, initially, of Drene shampoo. Brands from other companies had an equally impressive market share during this period. Lustre-Crème, manufactured by Colgate-Palmolive, was a major competitor and eventually garnered even greater popularity among consumers by inking endorsement deals with Hollywood actresses. Breck, another market favorite available in 1946, favored "real" American women as opposed to the celebrity appeal on which Lustre-

Crème relied. Taking all three brands together, we can more fully understand the ideological underpinnings of the brands and what they reveal about mid-century social discourse. My dissertation reveals the values driving these brands, evidences the class and race politics bound in the creation and marketing of these products, and explains how hair was a medium through which wartime and postwar ideals about the American home front manifested. By reviewing archival material and corporate histories, I came to understand the concepts behind these brands and the companies that owned them; from the company leadership to the competitive marketplace dynamics, these brands were necessarily invested with a great deal of ideological weight. I also examined each brand's advertisements, and analyzed not only their stylistic conventions and content, but also the constituencies involved in their production, and the factors that determined the circulation of the ads.

Advertisements Link to Our Lives

Ads are uniquely situated as cultural storytellers that evidence much more about their social world than one might first assume. Scholars have for the last four decades hypothesized about their role in popular discourse. Goffman (1979) recognized the role of advertising in our social world, and his early scholarship explored the social themes and gendered power dynamics embedded in ads. He importantly acknowledged that ads functioned less to depict how people really interact than to serve the social purpose of conveying gender ideals and maintaining gender hierarchy. Another poignant assertions on this topic is by Judith Williamson (1978) who described that the ubiquity of advertisements necessarily *links them to our lives* (emphasis mine). The shampoo ads in my study link to peoples' lives, as I consider them to be "social tableaus", what Roland Marchand (1985) described as a category of ads that portray social relationships and environments so the viewers can position themselves, imaginatively, in the advertising story.

Many of the shampoo ads in my analysis employ this convention by situating the characters in realistic settings either in the home or in social arrangements that emphasize domesticity in some way. These ads communicate prevailing discourses by way of these tableaus depicting situational life experiences intended to resonate with the viewer, and in so doing, have been instrumental in shaping our social world.

Fashion-related advertisements like the shampoo ads I analyze reflect larger socio-cultural ideologies. In the latter years of World War II, such advertisements communicated the changing ideals of womanhood, ideals that were consistent with other postwar rhetoric about domesticity and the American home. In the early to mid-1940s, women's workforce participation increased as they assumed positions in war industries and other previously male-dominated occupations. While such was necessary to meet the production demands and job voids imposed by the war, women's roles in this capacity posed a threat to ideal traditional femininity. In response to this threat, many product advertisements began to underscore the concept of ideal femininity as intimately bound with domesticity, particularly if we broaden the concept to include personal, familial, and consumer responsibilities.

My work joins, but ultimately extends beyond, other scholarship that has acknowledged this kind of domestication of imagery and messages in World War II era ads. Wartime propaganda including magazine advertisements communicated that taking over the jobs men left behind was women's patriotic obligation. This was not a new phenomenon, of course. Women were similarly solicited to fulfill their patriotic duty during the first World War (Greenwald, 1980). But during WWII, the War Manpower Commission ushered in a plethora of new legislation encouraging women into defense industries, suggesting that women's employment was an obligation not a choice. Alice Kessler-Harris (2006) described patriotic recruiting

strategies that made personal a woman's investment in the war effort. This type of appeal by the government was echoed by the popular media through movies, magazines, popular fashions, and other cultural outlets. Sherna Berger Gluck (1988) argued that a common media strategy was to link war industry work with popular conceptions about what women valued. Her research demonstrates that popular media appealed to women's domestic and nurturing roles, including housekeeping, mothering, and appearance maintenance (p. 11-12). All throughout the war, magazines (as well as other popular media) also reinforced the idea that women should contribute to the war effort, but only as a temporary disruption from their natural predisposition to work within their homes. Walker (2000) suggested that magazines emphasized the temporary nature of war work and underscored the importance of women's commitment to home and family life. Such messages certainly persisted at the war's end, and intensified in the years following.

By mid-century, the ideology that bound femininity in the concept of domesticity, was strengthened. Shampoo ads were particularly insistent on bridging the connection between womanhood and domesticity, especially insofar as domesticity was understood as including personal relationships and attention to personal appearance. This emphasis on domesticity abounded in ads between 1944 and 1952. During the war years, advertisements encouraged women to participate in war work, all the while maintaining that women could remain true to their appropriate gender roles while working in masculine occupations. The Office of War Information (OWI) reported having been contacted by various general interest magazines asking for advice on how to change their advertising approaches to ensure a smooth transition into the postwar period (Walker, 2000). Many magazines and the advertisements within them began

sending a new message to America's women: the war was over, and so they should resume their "natural" roles as wives and mothers.

In the chapters that follow, I will discuss how shampoo advertisements insert women's bodies into the conversation of this idealized conceptualization of mid-century American domesticity. In chapter one, "Women's Lives: Ideology and Reality 1944-1952", I describe the context of the time period under consideration, with regard to role of women's hair in popular discourse, late- and postwar employment of women in the workforce, rhetoric on marriage and family, and women's relationship to consumerism. Discussing the prevalent discourses of femininity and domesticity provides a backdrop against which I will explore the shampoo brands central to this study.

In chapters two through four, I explore the brands themselves. In chapter two, I describe the characteristics of Procter and Gamble's corporate culture and marketing strategies that positioned Drene as a beauty product tightly bound in the rhetoric of the home. In chapter three, I analyze Drene's advertisements as texts informed by dominant wartime discourses about femininity and the home front. I position the shampoo brand in the context of the emerging hair culture that was by the mid-to-late forties, a prominent aspect of popular media and beauty industry interests. In chapter four, I evaluate Breck and Lustre-Crème shampoos. Although they achieved it in different ways, both equally contributed to a rhetoric that bound white women's hair in the domestic ideal. They both emphasized prevailing late- and postwar sentiment about the American home(front) that contributed to a particular version of idealized domesticity. In chapter five, I compare *Vogue* and *Good Housekeeping* archives to explore the aforementioned brands' ads in the context of these two prominent disparate women's magazines. As a case study, this research supports how the concepts of "hair" and "domesticity" were negotiated in

these leading magazines. Positioning the shampoo ads in the context of these publications yields a greater understanding of how the ads functioned amid the ideologies each magazine espoused. *Vogue* was the most popular fashion magazine of its time and targeted an upper-class and aspirational readership, but it was uniquely influenced by wartime conditions that shaped the magazines content, content which came to reflect prevailing notions about women's roles in familial upkeep, and protecting American values. As such, it was about much more than elite culture and the latest fashions. Likewise, the subject of hair and the shampoo brands themselves maintained a consistent presence among the pages of *Good Housekeeping*, which otherwise served as a women's interest magazine including fiction and poetry, articles about cooking and maintaining the home, and advice columns on how to best tend to familial needs. When considered in relationship to the content of the two seemingly dissimilar magazines, we see how the shampoo ads functioned to further a discourse that white women's hair was bound in the domestic ideal.

Women's magazines and the ads contained within them, have been studied since the publication of Betty Friedan's *Feminine Mystique* in 1963, with analyses ranging from the representation of women, to the articulation of gender roles, to their influence on consumerism. For example, Ellen McCracken (1993) studied the representation of women in early 1980s women's magazines, Jennifer Scanlon (1995) reviewed *Ladies Home Journal's* role in encouraging women's consumerism, and Nancy Walker (2000) examined the construction of idealized womanhood in mid-century homemaking magazines. While the methodology employed and the subsequent findings of these works are varied, they inarguably have sustained a conversation about the importance of magazines and advertisements as artifacts of American consumer culture that help us understand historical discourses. In the chapters that follow, I will

contribute to the conversation on the importance of magazine advertisements by arguing that shampoo ads played a key role in factoring (white) women's hair in the construction of late- and post-World War II idealized domesticity.

Chapter One: Women's Lives: Ideology and Reality 1944-1952

Hair has always been invested with deep-seated social meaning, and was a particularly politicized attribute of feminine appearance in mid-century America. I argue that an idealized representation of white women's hair factored prominently in the late- and postwar domestic ideal, as emphasized by popular representations of women in mass media. For example, in the 1940s, actress Veronica Lake's hair became iconic. The peek-a-boo style which fell softly over one eye was widely popular and adopted by throngs of World War II era white women. Long, shiny, and blonde with gentle waves, versions of this style were imitated in advertisements, pin-up art, and by real women alike. But the style was a necessarily exclusionary one, representing an ideal of white feminine beauty that itself was not a "natural" style white women could obtain without the use of hair care aids. Maintaining the style demanded a considerable investment of time, requiring the use of hair care products and implements, including moisturizing shampoos and conditioners, luster-inducing pomades, permanent wave processing, and / or curling irons. Not only was this style an unnatural representation of Caucasian hair, implicit in this popular portrayal of beauty is that it was a representation which most non-white women could neither attain nor envision. The proliferation of such imagery in mass media framed beauty in a particularly racialized way. As such, mid-century fashionable representations of and rhetoric about hair presupposed a normative whiteness in the construction of feminine beauty ideals, which were themselves bound in the construction of wartime and postwar domesticity.

Simultaneous with the fashionable hair trends, growing numbers of women entered defense and civilian industries, often working in factories (May, 1994; Baxandall & Gordon, 1995). Although American media outlets celebrated the Veronica Lake hairstyle, long hair posed a safety hazard to women working with machinery and assembly-line production. In

1943, the Office of War Information produced a 15-minute video about the war industries, which included a tutorial for women on maintaining hair safety in the workplace (U.S. News Review, Issue #5). This video featured Veronica Lake herself encouraging women to adopt a more appropriate, contained, wartime style. The Department of Defense eventually asked the actress to cut her hair, hoping that war workers would follow her lead. While some speculate that doing so led to the eventual demise of Lake's career, many American women also cut their hair and therefore the Defense Department's goal was achieved (Weitz, 2005, p. 69). For safety reasons, women doing industrial work often wore their hair in snoods or turbans, or wore shorter cuts, but popular magazines advocated that women combine such styles with more feminine looks, such as allowing curls to emerge from under the wraps they donned on their heads (Mulvey & Richards, 1998, p. 108). *Vogue* frequently featured stories suggesting that women's investment in the presentation of their hair need not be compromised by factory dress regulations. An article in the March 1943 issue assured that "that little girl who used to spend hours on her hair every day has not changed as much as you might think she has. Even though she has a hair-net [*sic*] covering her hair, she usually has a bow or two tucked in it" (Ramsey, p. 110). The Department of Defense was likewise careful not to compromise women's femininity by suggesting women wear alternative "simple, yet becoming, fashion[able]" hairstyles (Office of War Information, 1942). These anecdotes suggest that the emphasis placed on maintaining feminine hairstyles in the workplace was at least as important as women's wellbeing; to be sure, long hair compromised women's safety around factory machinery, but workplace directives and popular sentiment stressed that women remain *feminine* in their newfound roles in industry. The commentary on hairstyles was heavily informed by what was considered culturally appropriate and necessary to an ideal feminine appearance. As these examples demonstrate, hair was a

particularly contested and politicized attribute of feminine appearance in the World War II era. And implicit in these examples, Caucasian hair was rendered normative in the popular commentary on and representation of feminine beauty. Such representations reflect the late- and postwar domestic ideal that included a particular version of Caucasian hair in its construction. As described in the introduction, ideal domesticity during this period was a broad concept including notions about women's responsibility not only to family, housekeeping, and restoring the American home front, but also to managing their appearance according to cultural prescriptions of idealized beauty.

Despite a changing material reality during the war years, the domestic and feminine ideal for white women persisted and was reinforced by propaganda produced by the Office of War Information, the postwar transition from war production to a consumer economy, the development of markets for personal care products, and the expansion of the advertising industry. Historians have told much of this story. But missing from their analyses is the representation of white women's bodies, specifically hair, which I argue was critical to this dominant late- and postwar domestic ideal. I argue that shampoo advertisements symbolize a particular version of idealized domesticity – including notions about family, social relationships, civic responsibilities, and aspirations of upward mobility, a construction in which white women's hair was intimately bound. This model of domesticity was shaped by employment circumstances, popular rhetoric about marriage and family life, and women's relationship to consumerism.

Contextual factors such as work, marriage and the family ideal, and the consumer economy had ideological, as well as material, implications for women's lives during the war and postwar period, conditions which I will explore more fully in the next section. Women had long

been employed in factory work, particularly in the textile industry as early as the mid-nineteenth century. But World War II offered the unique opportunity for women to work (temporarily) in war-related factories manufacturing steel, automotives, and munitions. As I will describe, women were heavily recruited to work in such industries but after the war ended, there was an expectation that they would return to the home. This was an ideal, of course, and not necessarily a reality for many women. Many working class women continued employment after the war in less lucrative, lower-skilled positions than the ones they were afforded during the war. Nonetheless, the ideal that women should end their employment after the war informed a particular construction of domesticity in the late- and postwar economy as I will describe. Like employment circumstances, marriage and family ideals also informed popular representations of domesticity. Marriage and motherhood were romanticized during the period of cultural reconstruction as the war came to an end. Some women had been afforded the opportunity to work in jobs previously held only by men, but their continuing to do so would challenge the traditional male-as-breadwinner model of ideal marriage. While the reality is that many couples did not experience marriage in this way (either before or after the war) it was nonetheless an ideology emphasized by war's end and institutionalized through various measures that preserved males as heads of households. Along with working conditions and idealized marriage, the implication of white women in the new consumer economy likewise informed the late- and postwar domestic ideal. Unique to this period is that white women, in particular, played a pivotal role in responding to advertising, and creating demand for household and personal care products, as well as new items that signaled modernity.

The three topics – work, family, and consumerism – will provide a context for the later sections of this chapter in which I will discuss the mid-century advertising landscape, and the

public nature of white women's hair. Because shampoo advertisements from this period are a material representation of the ideological importance of white women's hair, I will discuss prominent advertising conventions before turning to a discussion of the advertising by specific shampoo brands in chapters two and three. In the final section of this chapter, I will provide an overview of the scholarship on hair, which ultimately supports my interest in it as a critical feature that factored prominently in the late- and postwar domestic ideal.

The Feminine Ideal: Work, Family, and the Consumer Economy

Joan Scott's (1986) perception of gender, in which she theorized its relationship to systems of social power, is useful in framing ideal femininity in the time period under consideration. She conceptualized gender by surveying: 1. the symbols produced and used pervasively throughout Western culture to represent femininity and masculinity, 2. the prevailing ideologies that give meaning to said symbols, 3. the various institutional systems such as kinship, politics, and education that employ the symbols, and 4. the autonomy of individuals as subjects to interact in gender processes. Collectively, these four elements contribute to the processes of gendering. Scott saw gender as the interplay between various social elements, processes which create gender experience.[13] Judith Butler (1990) extended what Scott proposed to explain gender

[13] The fourth element, that of individual subjectivity, is important in that she recognized individuals as agents in this process, agents she referred to as "actors" (p. 1074). She stated that "to pursue meaning, we need to deal with the individual subject as well as social organizations and to articulate the nature of their interrelationships, for both are crucial to understanding how gender works, how change occurs" (p. 1067). Importantly, then, her formulation places individual "real men and women" (p. 1068) in the process of gender construction. While I recognize that individuals are themselves engaged in the production of gender, I am more interested in exploring the sites where gender is created and contested rather than how individuals themselves are engaged in gender construction.

as an act inscribed on the subject; in other words, that gender is a performance. For her, the subject herself is a performative construct in that gender is an act or a sequence of acts that are inevitably occurring (p. 44).[14] Butler's formulation allows us to more easily problematize gender experience by recognizing it as something we *do* not something we *possess*. We must complicate the environments and relationships women assume – the later discussion of the workplace, the family, and consumerism – by viewing them as unstable and complex sets of interactions that necessitate the feminine to come into being.

The theories of both Scott and Butler inform my discussion of the model of femininity that predominated popular culture in the mid-forties and early fifties. Understanding that gender results from a set of symbols and interactions invested with social meaning and employed in various cultural institutions, as well as the idea that gender is a performance, sets the foundation from which to examine the historical conditions that supported a particular version of femininity, and ultimately, domesticity.[15] As they relate to my project, these theories help frame how the white feminine ideal materialized as a result of social interactions and symbols that were

[14] In establishing this, Butler located the subject after her act; the "actor" is constructed in and through her act (p. 181). This is different than Scott's conceptualization because Scott was clear to locate the subject in the production itself. While Scott's formulation is in that way a bit more approachable – after all, people *exist* prior to the acts in which they engage and therefore it seems more useful to talk about their role as individuals in the formation of gender – Butler's concept is important because in surveying women's history, or individuals at all, we too easily presuppose the person as subject priorly in place before acting out in the world. As I already established, however, my analysis is not concerned with how individuals are themselves responsible for gender creation.

[15] As I outlined in the introduction, I believe that ideal femininity is inextricably part of the domestic ideal and as such, will intentionally use the terms femininity and domesticity interchangeably.

employed in cultural institutions of the workplace, marriage and the family, and the consumer economy.

Women, work, and war. Shampoo advertisements aimed at white American women mimicked prevailing rhetoric about women's relationship to work, the home, and marriage, and also reflected the growing emphasis on feminine consumerism in the late- and post-war period. In later chapters, I will analyze the shampoo brands and their ads, but before doing so, in this chapter I will conceptualize how certain cultural conditions contributed to a particularly narrow version of ideal femininity and American domesticity during this transition from war to peacetime, ideals that were exalted in popular media. To begin, I argue that popular rhetoric about work informed their construction. In particular, the following conditions helped to maintain a certain version of ideal femininity: 1) women's work within the home was socially undervalued and not seen as "real" work; the recruitment of women to fill employment voids was made acceptable by likening the work to household duties, 2) social hierarchies were maintained even as women entered the public workforce, and 3) women's return to the home at war's end was framed as an inevitable consequence of their temporary entry into the labor force, even though the reality is that some women remain employed by taking lower waged jobs than ones they occupied during the war.

A billboard in 1943 read:

> "What Job is mine on the Victory Line?" If you've sewed on buttons, or made buttonholes, on a machine, you can learn to do spot welding on airplane parts. If you've used an electric mixer in your kitchen, you can learn to run a drill press. If you've followed recipes exactly in making cakes, you can learn to load shell. (War Manpower Commission, 1943)

During World War II, emphasizing specific household skills that could be transferred to skills in production and industry was a common tactic to encourage women into defense industry employment.[16] This is an example of a work-related condition I identify as facilitating a particular version of femininity. Embedded in this approach to recruiting women into war work are assumptions about women's domestic predispositions, and what was valued as "real" work. Underlying these otherwise comparable skills – following a cake recipe likened to loading gunpowder into bullet shells – is the notion that household duties were not valued as labor. Messages like the one above suggest that women's menial household skills are taken more seriously and are more productive if executed in industry toward the war effort. While on the surface these messages may seem uplifting – supporting that women have what it takes to work in industry – they presuppose that what they were doing in their homes was not really work. What's more, the idealized model of women as housewives and mothers privileges a white, middle-class understanding of women's lives and masks the reality that working class and minority women's domestic labor was far more laborious and unglamorous than implied by "making cakes". This supports a version of femininity in which housework – *women's* work – is considered trivial compared to public employment. Tasks including duties that are used to sustain family life, such as socializing children, providing care, purchasing household goods, and preparing and serving food are ones Evelyn Nakano Glenn (2004) and others referred to as

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[16] Relating women's supposed "natural" abilities to wage labor was not a new phenomenon. Such tactics were common even earlier when labor demands during the Industrial Revolution and World War I favored women for jobs that they were supposedly predisposed to do, particularly those that required nimbleness, included tedium, or necessitated caregiving.

reproductive labor. Though these household chores have been important to the family and economy, they have been undervalued in the public realm.

Wartime propaganda urged women into war work by likening domestic duties to industrial tasks, yet also reflected the ambivalence of having women in the workplace; while some propaganda compared women's domestic activities to production industry work, others emphasized that women were not "naturally" predisposed to working in heavy industry and thus required special supervision. In a 1944 video tutorial entitled "Problems in Supervision: Supervising Women Workers" the U.S. Office of Education explained to (male) management how best to oversee female employees. The short film is fraught with stereotypes, not the least of which is about women's "natural" proclivities. A conversation between a male supervisor and male floor foreman expressed the following:

> I'm scared of women . . . especially in a factory. You see, women aren't naturally familiar with mechanical principles nor machines. Even the language applying to common processes and tools are new to them. When breaking in a new worker, of course especially a woman, you got to explain every angle of the process, down to the last detail. (U.S. Office of Education, 1944)

After offering these assumptions, the supervisor provided guidelines for dealing with women in the workplace. He urged that a male supervisor need remember "to never mix pleasure with business, women can be awfully jealous of each other . . . and women are far more sensitive than men" (U.S. Office of Education). For example, in one scene the narrator explained that women become overly-sensitive about the topic of hair. As one male supervisor approached a female machinery worker about the need for her to wear her hair in a safety cap, she reportedly became defensive and unreasonable about his request.

Other government publications reinforced popular stereotypes about women in the workplace. In 1944, the Women's Bureau division of the U.S. Department of Labor published a manual entitled "When You Hire Women" that was distributed to wartime production facilities.[17] The publication provides a ten-step plan for production companies who hire women to ensure a successful transition into a male-dominated workforce. Among the steps include the precautions to "sell the idea of women workers to present [male] employees", "make adaptations of jobs to fit smaller frames and lesser muscular strength" and "select women carefully and for specific jobs" (U.S. Dept. of Labor, Special Bulletin 14). Other bulletins published by the Women's Bureau during World War II include "Protective Caps for Women in War Factories" (Special Bulletin 9, 1942), "Washing and Toilet Facilities for Women in Industry" (Special Bulletin 4, 1942) and "Standards for Maternity Care and Employment of Mothers" (Special Bulletin, n.d.). These publications illuminate the government's role in articulating prescriptions for female behavior and self-presentation in the workplace, further linking the importance of domestic-related concerns in the feminine ideal.

The second condition that contributed to a particular construction of femininity is that household divisions of labor were reproduced in the workplace. As historians have described, during the war years, an increasing number of women assumed wage work, and were encouraged

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[17] Judith Sealander (1991) reminded us that the Women's Bureau's advice was "uniformly conservative", and obviously did not support radical social change such as altering the workplace by employing female workers in mass. Their reports "often repeated stereotypical notions about women's strengths and weaknesses" (p. x). I acknowledge that these documents are of a conservative persuasion, but I argue that as such, they are representative of prevailing sentiment and stereotypes. These kinds of media themselves give life to gender ideals.

to do so by national media and government propaganda.[18] Women who were not already working outside the home found that social hierarchies were maintained in their newfound roles on the job. Gender and racial divisions existed in that all women usually held positions subordinate to men, whether in blue- or white-collar jobs, and women of color were disproportionately hired into unskilled, lower-paying positions (May, 1994; Baxandall & Gordon, 1995). As Glenn (1992) remarked:

> The division of labor in public settings mirrors the division of labor in the household. Racial-ethnic women are employed to do the heavy, dirty, "back-room" chores . . . [while] in these same settings white women are disproportionately employed . . . [to] carry out more skilled and supervisory tasks. (p. 20)[19]

Wartime mobilization provided opportunities in higher-skill and better paid positions for white women. Higher paid opportunities in factory and clerical work were also realized by African American and Latino women, who had been otherwise confined largely to agricultural and domestic work before the war. For minority women, "war work was a challenge and an opportunity", because in the years preceding the war the combination of racial and sex discrimination resulted in hiring patterns that relegated them to the "dirtiest, meanest, and lowest

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[18] It is necessary to remember that the number of women who entered the workforce during World War II was disproportionately small compared to those who did not seek employment. As William Tuttle, Jr. (1993) described, "it is important to keep in mind that even at the height of the war in 1944, while 2,690,000 mothers worked in vital defense industries, a much larger number stayed at home" (p. 71). Of those women who had entered defense work in 1941, well over half of them quit their jobs and returned home in 1944 (p. 71).

[19] Glenn's argument is broad to suggest that this is the typical composition of the workplace in the second half of the 20th century, but cites the changing conditions of WWII as the impetus for this arrangement of women as wage workers.

paying jobs, whether in the service sector or in factory work" (Davenport, 2005, para. 6). Even still, patterns of racial discrimination were sustained due to systemic racial prejudice exercised through seniority practices and hiring procedures during the war, and after (Sitkoff, 2007, pp. 95-97). Some white and minority women, many of whom were largely still responsible for the financial well-being of their families even after wars' end, remained employed but were demoted into feminized sectors of the economy mimicking the household division of labor (Davenport, para. 9; Glenn, 2004; Field, "Life and Times of Rosie", 1980).

Historians have critiqued that the social hierarchy of the workplace was likewise maintained by the ideological underpinnings about the kinds of jobs women "should" be doing. As Alice Kessler-Harris (2003) argued, mid-century American industry was heavily influenced by changes brought about by advances in technology. The abundance of production technologies used during World War II complicated attitudes toward "women's" work. For example, the highly technical aircraft and shipbuilding industries alone required a massive labor force, employing women and men in large cities and rural areas alike throughout the country. Military production in general demanded technological precision, thus requiring a workforce with unique, craft-like skills in trades that had before the war been exclusively male occupations (Lichtenstein, 2007, p. 89). There is no doubt that the abundance of such technology-heavy industries provided new opportunities for women, but these new opportunities were often confronted with negative perceptions of female wage earners. "The ideology that exalted home roles condemned the lives of those forced to undertake wage work. Sympathetic perceptions of women wage earners sacrificing for the sake of their families gave way to charges of selfishness and family neglect" especially as the war came to an end (Kessler-Harris, p. 53). The pace of industrial and factory output, and the subsequent needs of a large labor force to keep up with

production demands, presented a dilemma for women wage earners. Though working outside the home was often for the betterment of their families, women were caught in an ideological bind; new economic needs and demands for a labor force to equal necessary output during the war required that more women work but women who did were met with traditional expectations, which perpetuated the gendered division of labor within the workplace, and disproportionately relegated women to lower-paying, lower-skilled positions than those of their male counterparts.[20]

A third condition of women in the workforce that I have identified as contributing to a particular version of ideal femininity is that their continued work outside the home upon war's end threatened the patriarchal ideal, even if economic conditions necessitated that women work. A more virtuous endeavor would be in their household pursuits, exercising efficiency and frugality in daily household operations. The ideology that working in war industries was a woman's patriotic duty was pervasive throughout society, promoted through government-initiated propaganda as well as various media outlets. While the majority of women employed during the war worked in civilian industries or remained unemployed, by war's end, women represented over one third of war-industry workers (Sealander, 1991, pp. vi-vii). A sizable percentage of this female labor force was married and middle-aged which is unlike the workplace composition in previous periods in American history. Even still, gendered ideals influenced workplace dynamics, and the popular perception was that women should not work after marriage, particularly if her husband was employed (Blackwelder, 1997, p. 41). Women's employability was competition for male workers, the majority of whom supported governmental

[20] This is not to say that all wage-earning women were relegated to lower paying jobs during the war. In fact, some shifted to higher-paying positions than the jobs the previously held due to the mobilization of men out of work into the military (Kessler Harris, 2003; Baxandall & Gordon, 1995).

policies that would restrict women's workforce participation. Some measures of legislation such as the GI Bill of Rights even served to "sustain the patriarchal family – to reconfigure what we came to call the 'gender order' in the interests of maintaining male power" (Kessler-Harris, 2006, p. 9). As a result, many women left or otherwise lost their jobs at war's end. According to a 1944 survey issued by the Department of Labor Women's Bureau, an estimated seventy-five percent of working women intended to remain in their jobs in the postwar period, yet the reality is that the number of working women dropped by half immediately after the war which was not only a function of declining production needs and males returning to the workforce, but also a function of the ideology that women's proper place was in the home (Department of Labor, 1946; Kessler-Harris, 2003). Some industries such as textile and apparel production experienced a relatively small decrease in female employment between 1944 and 1950, while others such as iron, steel, and automotive experienced a dramatic decline by as much as 78 percent (United States Women's Bureau, 1954). As previously mentioned, minority women were hired into manufacturing jobs and other occupations due to wartime voids, but their experience at war's end did not mirror that of white women. For example, while many white women who entered the workforce during the war likely remained in comfortable proximity to their prewar hometowns, many African Americans migrated from the South to northern and western regions to secure higher paying jobs. As the war came to an end, many were dismissed from their jobs, and faced long-term unemployment and subsequent poverty in the new cities to which they had relocated. Black women who did secure employment at war's end found opportunities similar to those they had before the war in low-paid service work; by 1950, more than half of the African American female population was employed in domestic service, an employment sector they and

other minority women had long since occupied disproportionately more than did their white counterparts (Digital History, 2012; Baxandall & Gordon, 1995; Kessler-Harris, 2003).

Women who filled employment voids during the war years, especially those who worked in war industries, experienced job segregation and unequal pay, and it was generally assumed that they would eagerly leave the workforce to return home, even though Women's Bureau surveys revealed otherwise (Sealander, 1991). Wartime media worked to assuage cultural anxieties about women in nontraditional jobs by promoting the idea that women thought of themselves primarily as domestically-inclined. As an example, the film *Glamour Girls of 1943* produced by the U.S. Office of War information proclaimed:

> Instead of cutting the lines of a dress, this woman cuts the pattern of aircraft parts. They are taking to welding as if the rod were a needle and the metal a length of cloth to be sewn. After a short apprenticeship, the woman can operate a drill press just as easily as a juice extractor in her own kitchen. (U.S. Office of War Information, 1943)

This vignette illustrates one prevalent theme I have identified as contributing to a feminine ideal, an ideal that includes that a woman's "natural" predisposition was as a homemaker. This was reinforced by the gendered divisions of labor that existed in the workplace, and the recruitment approach that likened domestic duties with industry tasks.

The marriage and family ideal. The meaning of marriage during the time period under consideration has a profound impact on the feminine ideal. As an institution regulated by the state, and invested with social, religious, and moral ideology, it is a site where gender is created and negotiated. Marriage has garnered substantial interest among historians, and as scholars have acknowledged, marital relationships presented different obstacles for women depending on their social locations. The reality of marriage for most couples, of course, did not necessarily

reflect prevailing ideologies about it, but discourses about the topic nonetheless determined how marriage was portrayed in media, discussed in popular commentary, and ultimately experienced in society.

In 1927, social reformer Judge Benjamin Lindsey popularized the controversial concept of companionate marriage, which had until that time been promoted only among fringe progressive movements (Lindsey & Evans, 1927; Thompson, 1944). This relationship model was one in which couples, theoretically, shared romantic love and companionship, enjoyed sex for pleasure instead of strictly for procreation, and mutually engaged in family planning (Lindsey & Evans). Historian Christina Simmons (2009) importantly acknowledged that this concept morphed into nuanced models for specific social groups. For example, some African American revisionists preferred a model less intent on sexual liberation, and instead committed to a more balanced distribution of household responsibilities between the sexes (pp. 138-140, 150). Regardless of its variations, proponents of companionate marriage suggested that it would be more equitable for both partners involved than had been the traditional Victorian hierarchical model.[21] As Simmons acknowledged, the 1920s was a decade ripe for considering a more radical marital ideology; various factors including women's suffrage, increased female employment, and transformed patterns of social life as a result of industrialization encouraged progressive thinkers to reconsider social relationships, particularly matrimony. Author Judge Lindsey defined companionate marriage as "a program which proposes to legalize, stabilize, and

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[21] Simmons (2009) acknowledged that the popular understanding of Victorian culture as entirely repressive, is a myth. Yet she was clear to point out that the prevailing Western model of marriage prior to the 1920s was informed by repressive elements of Victorian ideologies, such as moral policing, illegality of contraception, and "constraints on women, based on the double standard of moral judgment" (p. 7).

direct certain of the customs, privileges, and practices of modern marriage, practices which are already in widespread use, but which have no legal status or direction" (Lindsey & Wainwright, p. xiii). Lindsey included among these practices birth control, divorce by mutual consent, and equitable alimony in the event of separation. This "program" is something Lindsey advocated be formalized by the state, suggesting that the aforementioned practices such as divorce be granted only after a thorough consideration by "experts such as psychiatrists and specialists" (p. xiv). He likewise advocated that the state formalize measures to educate "youth and married couples in the art of love, the laws of sex and life" (p. xiv). While in theory this model afforded couples more individual and marital autonomy, it preserved a specific understanding of coupledom, and emphasized the strength of heterosexual marriage as an institution. It also naturalized the role of external authorities such as "experts" and the government in managing marital unions.

Interest in the companionate marriage model and its subsequent nuanced variations peaked among social revisionists in the 1920s, but to be sure, its principles informed marriage ideologies in subsequent decades. Attributes of this model persisted alongside other forms that materialized as a result of different social and political circumstances brought about by the Depression, World War II, and the immediate post-war cultural reconstruction. Unlike the companionate ideal, mid-century marriage was more about the interests of the nation than the benefits and rights marriage affored individuals, particularly women. Nancy Cott (2000) examined the institution of marriage as bound in the power struggle of the nation-state, and argued that by the 1930s, marriage was understood and experienced as a primarily economic arrangement, in which husbands' roles were preserved as the primary earners (p. 155). No longer was the state as concerned about the moral underpinnings of a marital union; rather, the government had a stake in a marriage in which there were clearly defined heads-of-households

and their subsequent dependents. Cott referred to this as the provider / dependent model, and suggested that it predetermined economic responsibilities of those involved (p. 157). By the mid-1930s women had the right to own property, engage in contractual arrangements, and retain custody of children in the event of divorce (p. 168). But the legal provider title ensured men's ownership of women's domestic labor and the monies she would receive if earning a wage for domestic work, which was particularly relevant for minority women who comprised a majority of the domestic services labor force. It was an arrangement in which women would receive obligatory support from her husband in exchange for her tending to his children and household matters – the archetype of a provider / dependent relationship. This structure that Cott explored intimately bound the concept of marriage in the economic framework of the nation, and reflects Scott's (1986) suggestion that cultural practices, such as marriage, help define, create, and maintain gender and its subsequent inequalities.

Cott (2000) critiqued this prevailing model of marriage in which men were recognized as the primary providers in the stereotypical American family by the 1930s. Though this structure remained the same and the state continued to rely on the provider / dependent model for maintaining citizens' relationships to the government, the economic crisis of the Depression era spun the family unit itself into a new direction, as it was no longer the case that most families could operate under the same division of labor they had before the hardships the Depression imposed. Elaine Tyler May (1999) suggested a new type of family dynamic emerged in the 1930s, one in which breadwinning was a shared responsibility. At the same time, though, it created a longing for a mythic coupledom which consisted of a happy homemaker, and a male breadwinner to shoulder the burden of attending to his family's well-being (p. 31). May explained that throughout the years of the Depression, this nostalgic longing may have been

suppressed by some but maintained enough steam amidst the conservative climate that by decade's end two distinct family types dominated familial structures. One was the dual-earner households which developed out of economic necessity, and one was an archetype of the nostalgic mother/father dichotomy in which the mother was the primary caregiver, and the father, the breadwinner. Although reality sometimes dictated that the female work outside the home to supplement her husband's income, the model arrangement, emblematic of the middle class and aspirational for the working class, was one in which traditional roles were maintained, and expected duties of husbands and wives remained distinct. This arrangement was possible at least in theory, as although the working woman was exalted in pop culture, the majority of women in the United States remained homemakers (Tuttle, 1993; Sealander, 1991; May, 1999). Regardless, the opportunity to "choose" one's family type – as dual-earner or traditional male breadwinner households – was not always available, or even a choice at all, for that matter. For minority women and women living below the poverty line, getting by was a product of doing whatever it took to sustain their families from day to day.

These two family types speak to family units already in place, consisting of a heterosexual couple and perhaps their dependent children. May's (1999) analysis does not neglect the unmarried woman and the ideology that informed singleness; rather it points to the prevailing ideologies that would come to define mainstream ideologies about the "American family". For single people, the climate of the thirties encouraged many would-be couples to postpone marriage or dismiss it altogether due to economic restraints. The marriage rate thus plummeted during the thirties (p. 32). And while postponed marriage turned out to be liberating for some individuals, it countered prevailing ideology about the proper course of relatively short courtship followed by (usually young) marriage. As a result of this unstable condition when

popular practice did not align with prevailing sentiment, public rhetoric was to encourage "early marriage as an anecdote to illicit sex" (p. 33).

Cott (2000) explored a marital-role shift as a result of World War II. The entitlements granted via the GI Bill more firmly classified white men as heads-of-household because they awarded him benefits such as higher education, job training, and mortgage funds that supported his status as privileged, employable, and property owner (pp. 190-1). Granted, women did enjoy the benefits of what the GI Bill had to offer; but since women made up only 2% of all military personnel, they enjoyed them more likely as a result of their husbands' veteran status (p. 190). Women were given the responsibility of building morale in the post-war era and discouraged from letting the independent mindset they adopted during their wartime public employment compromise the dynamic of the traditional, male-head-of-household family. Cott's (2000) analysis draws on the nostalgic family that May (1999) described in the dichotomous 1930s family structure. That romanticized version of familial structure that developed in the 1930s was even more concretely realized as a result of WWII during the years of cultural reconstruction.

May (1999) complicated her analysis of the mid-century family by extending beyond considerations of coupledom to understand how decisions to have children influenced women's experiences within the family. Motherhood was strongly encouraged through various mediums, and a childless wife was considered flawed or even suspect. The prevailing rhetoric about women and mothering is evidenced in medical anecdotes. For example, in the case of infertility, it was not uncommon that physicians blame a woman believing either that her body was defective or that on a subconscious level, she must not be trying hard enough to become pregnant (p. 521). Even if a legitimate medical condition was thought to be the cause of a couple's inability to have children, medical jargon itself ("degenerate eggs", "passive", "weak") served to

blame the woman for the condition, casting her body as incompetent to complete the process of conceiving (Martin, 1991, pp. 485-501).[22] May described that the forties and fifties as years during which women were particularly harshly implicated in their inability to have children. The popularity of psychoanalysis led medical practitioners to explain away infertility as a woman's unconscious desire to avoid pregnancy (p. 523). Efforts were made to "fix" afflicted women, and psychoanalytic rhetoric informed mainstream thought about a woman's natural inclination to mother and her pathology if she remained childless (p. 527). Especially in an era in which growing one's family was overtly encouraged, a woman who did not become pregnant faced much criticism, and her status as a non-mother was not a neutral status to assume; rather, she was stigmatized as being either defective or neglectful of her duty to mother. So even for those women who exercised choice in becoming mothers, their decisions were no doubt informed by the broader messages circulating in dominant American culture.

With the changing conceptualization of marriage and the shift in psychoanalytic explanations for women's (non)mothering, pregnancy was less a private and personal issue than it was a public one. Vilifying the childless woman was but one measure of mid-century social control. Rickie Solinger and May (2000) reminded us that coexistent with the social ostracization of childless women was the treatment of unwed mothers as even more deeply morally corrupt. And the degree of social response to illegitimate pregnancy was largely determined by the woman's race (p. 42). The typical white unwed mother in the 1950s was often seen as a victim while her black counterpart was instead vilified, seen as either oversexed or

[22] Emily Martin's (1991) essay "The Egg and the Sperm" is a critique of the gender-biased medical representations of reproduction. Although her analysis is not specific to mid-century, the body of medical texts she consulted to frame her argument included those that date back to the 1940s.

lacking proper cultural restraints. As the authors suggested, "white unwed mothers were portrayed as a threat to the moral integrity of the family," but more dangerous was black single-parenthood, as "black unwed mothers were often construed as an economic threat to that same white family" (p. 42). This formulation is a prime example of how messages about blackness and womanhood figured differently than prevailing rhetoric on idealized motherhood that otherwise assumed a white woman in its construction. Motherhood within marriage was revered, out of wedlock it was deplored, but the degree to which it was maligned depended greatly on the woman's racial identity.

The above discussion of marriage and ideals of motherhood well captures prevailing sentiment that contributed to the ideal of femininity. Governmental propaganda echoed some of these ideas. The War Manpower Commission issued a document entitled "The Policy on Employment of Married Women with Young Children". This policy warns that "the first responsibility of women in war as in peace is to provide suitable care for their young children" (War Manpower Commission, 1942). Further outlined in the policy is that "whenever it becomes necessary to recruit or employ women with young children for work in essential activities" women's work should not compromise her role as a mother to her children, and that she should work shifts that allow her to balance her responsibilities at home. Interestingly, the policy required that "adequate facilities be provided to care for the children of such women during work hours", but this is a reality that was not met (Cohen, 1996; Tuttle, 1993; Riley, 1994; Sealander, 1991). Federal funds were not originally allocated intently for the purpose of childcare, and no official legislation specifically authorizing child care was ever passed (Riley, 1994, p. 660). The most extensive federally-initiated childcare program was active from 1942 to 1945 yet drastically failed to maintain services that would meet the needs of working mothers.

For example, this program never served any more than 130,000 children, when the population of working mothers had an estimated 1.5 million children under the age of six (p. 659). For some working mothers, options for childcare other than public facilities included leaving children at home alone, or relying on the assistance of extended family members or neighbors to watch children in the mother's absence (Tuttle, 1993).

The prewar ideology that women should shoulder the burden of rearing their own children fed the wartime ambivalence toward the issue of public childcare. Though wartime conditions necessarily shifted responsibilities of women, the norms governing sex role expectations did not change. Eventually the case for attentive daytime childcare supervision gained momentum, and Congress extended funding for child care centers. As a result of the war, a national appreciation for the demands of childcare was realized, but ultimately mothers were still held primarily responsible for the upbringing of their children and public and governmental support for child care centers did not materialize in any great measure (Tuttle, 1993). In her analysis of wartime childcare policies, Susan Riley (1994) captured the conditions of public childcare in the ideological context permeating World War II:

> With the threat of severe recession looming and the demobilization of millions of G.I.s imminent, it was simply unacceptable in this patriarchal, free market system for women to remain as competitors, or perceived competitors, for scarce jobs. A public program such as child care, which would have aided employed women, could only suffer in such circumstances, especially given the historical association of child care with charity. Long-held stereotypes of child care as a relief measure for somehow deficient families continued to hold sway, and what Americans so fervently desired in the latter 1940s was

> "normal" family life with the husband/father engaged in gainful employment and the wife/mother at home with the children. (Riley, p. 665)

Underlying these concerns were powerful assumptions about gender, and a pervasive yearning to reestablish and reinforce traditional sex roles that had been disrupted during the war. The cultural anxieties about appropriate femininity materialized in attitudes toward marriage, family life, and mothering. Ultimately, these attitudes shaped shampoo ads' portrayal of ideal domesticity. These ads represented (white) womanhood in a particular way that reinforced assumptions about relationships, the family, and domesticity in general, which will be further discussed in chapters three and four.

Women and the consumer economy. In addition to marriage and family ideologies, another dominant theme that contributes to the model of ideal femininity in the 1940s and early fifties is consumerism. The transition from a wartime to postwar economy amplified and complicated white women's role as consumer, as they were the target audience for a plethora of new convenience items, appliances, and household goods all of which promised to better the American household and propel the family into the modern era. Elaine Tyler May (1999) importantly described that while many 1930s and 40s families exercised frugality, middle class 1950s families replace personal ingenuity with technologies and consumer goods that were eventually considered household necessities (p. 149). As she argued, though, these convenience goods "were not intended to enable housewives to have more free time to pursue their own interests, but rather to achieve higher standards of cleanliness and efficiency, and allowing more time for child care" (p. 153). These conditions are reminiscent of what Gayle Rubin (1975) suggested is the commodification of women. Primacy was placed not on easing women's

domestic responsibilities, but instead on turning consumer goods into sustenance for the legitimized (male) worker.

Historian Susan Porter Benson (1998) identified two models of consumption, one that includes activities that are involved in providing for the family, or any activities involved in the acquisition of goods that are obtained by choice (goods that are purchased with discretionary income). She described the pre-WWII era as one largely rooted in this first type of consumption, but that after WWII there was a heightened sense of acquiring goods to enhance material comfort and demonstrate class status. Consumerism garnered heightened importance as crucial to maintaining a viable economy in postwar America. This linkage between consumption and the health of the state essentially masculinized the activity of consuming. As Lizabeth Cohen (2003) explained:

> The gendering of the 'consumer' shifted from women to couples, and at times to men alone. The female citizen consumer evolved into the male purchaser as citizen who, with the help of state policies, also dominated as head of household, breadwinner, home-owner, and chief taxpayer. . . . [A]uthoritative male voice-overs taught incompetent housewives the merits of everything from kitchen floorwax to headache medication on the myriad of commercials that filled every crevice of time within and between TV programs. (pp. 147, 150)

Thus consumer products increasingly came under the purview and authority of men. Benson (1998) described that while a woman may have been the primary purchaser of household goods – both necessities and luxuries – she was not necessarily the principle user, the primary decision-maker on which good to purchase, or equipped with choice in making purchases because for many women, spending was a complicated balance between meeting financial

obligations and having resources leftover (p. 277). This uniquely positioned women in consumer culture, implicating them as primary targets for commercial marketing yet strapping them with greater pressure to obtain purchasing approval from their husbands, and the responsibility to foremost consider the needs of their families.

This consumer ideal was ubiquitous by the 1950s. Cohen (2003) described the mid-century's shift to a "consumers' republic" in which national economic, political, and cultural interests centered on the belief that mass consumption of goods was necessary for upward mobility and as an equalizing force between classes and the sexes. Government policies began to reflect this, particularly in the late- and post- World War II era. As an example, the GI Bill was established in 1944 to assist war veterans in their pursuit of homeownership and higher education. Importantly, this endeavor was more mythical than reality. Social equality was not achieved by the burgeoning consumer culture; rather, it created more barriers between minorities such as African Americans and women in general and their ability to consume. Veteran women and black women and men, for example, were often denied loans and educational assistance (Cohen; May, 1994; Turner & Bound, 2003). Mass consumption was thus experienced disproportionately based on both race and gender due to systemic arrangements that favored white males.

White women were the target of many commercial products in late- and postwar America, and their consumption had material and ideological ties to the home and domestic ideal. They were intricately bound in the consumption ethic that predominated late- and postwar America, and charged with responsibilities of consuming goods in order to meet social standards against which she (and subsequently her family) would be measured. As we will see in later chapters, shampoo advertisements encouraged white women to consume their products in order

to obtain the domestic ideal, emphasizing that doing so was not simply important for healthy hair maintenance, but critical for successful relationships, a happy home life, attainment of social acceptance, and the pursuit of upward mobility.

The feminine ideal. Popular sentiment about working women, marriage and family life, and consumerism informed the American feminine ideal during and immediately following World War II, an ideal that perpetuated whiteness as normative. The ideal woman was envisioned as one who engaged in wartime work out of a duty to her country and family, yet left her job at war's end; took a subordinate role to her husband and pursued dutiful motherhood; and actively engaged in commercial consumption for the betterment of herself and especially her family. Whiteness was inherent in this construction; idealized depictions of female wartime workers, wives, mothers, and consumers resonated with a particular white experience, neglecting racial and ethnic diversity in women's roles in work, family life, and consumer culture. As I earlier described, non-white women necessarily had prohibitive opportunities for wartime work, varying familial dynamics, and different relationships to consumerism when compared with Caucasian women. The prevailing model of ideal femininity I have described was thus not representative of all women's experiences in late- and postwar America, and as such it evidences mid-century racialized values about womanhood and the home front.

The ideologies about women's work, familial relationships, and consumer responsibilities collectively construct a particular understanding of idealized domesticity, which as I have argued, was inseparable from ideal femininity. That is, domesticity was central to the construction of ideal (white) womanhood. Collectively, these discourses converged in mid-century advertisements, furthering a narrow depiction of what the ideal embodied. Cultural historian Kathy Peiss (1999) explained that in the 1940s, the images of beauty that dominated

mass media were predominately white, youthful, and increasingly overtly sexualized, and that domesticity was simultaneously emphasized (p. 238). Her analysis revealed that to achieve the "ideal" as expressed on their pages, women needed to be consumers. Nancy Walker (1998) described mid-century media in much the same way. "If the magazines envisioned one of woman's postwar jobs to be that of nurturer, restoring or creating family life after years of disruption, her other job was as a consumer, purchasing not only those products that had been unavailable during the war but also the many new or improved goods marketed after the war" (p. 99). Efforts to encourage white women's participation in the economy as consumers were strengthened as the war came to an end. In the section that follows, I will outline some of the advertising conventions that were employed during this emerging consumer culture.

Advertising

The period 1944-1952 is ripe for exploring hair and its role in the construction of the domestic ideal. Hair was a ubiquitous topic in popular culture, and as we have seen a regulated attribute of female appearance in the workplace, and garnered significant industry attention with the acceleration of the shampoo market. As I described, hair has been a contested feature of women's appearances over time and across cultures; it has long been invested with social meaning dependent on various cultural norms. But what is different about this specific period is that the subject of hair gained momentum in wartime discourse for several reasons. The government directly manipulated beauty standards in their wartime propaganda created by the Office of War Information, and the transition from war to peacetime informed popular discourse about what was considered "ideally" feminine. Concurrent with this shift in American ideology is the rapid pace at which shampoo, and hence women's hair, accounted for a sizable portion of beauty industry advertising investments.

In the years preceding World War II, hygiene product advertising was greatly influenced by Americans' awareness of germ theory and by aspirations of modernism. While germ theory was introduced in the nineteenth century and inspired a culture of fear surrounding filth and disease, it was not until the 1890s and early twentieth century that we see its principles infiltrating mainstream advertising (Smith, 2009, pp. 298-300). During this period, advertising played on the growing anxieties about the danger of dirt and germs particularly with regard to personal hygiene, and relied heavily on the "hard sell" approach in which the ad presented explicit reasons why consumers *needed* the product (Sivulka, 2009, p. 87; Smith, 2008, p. 313). In the twenties and thirties, for example, ads emphasized that a product could be "easily cleaned" (such as household furnishings like linoleum flooring), or that it contained cleansing properties critical to personal health and well-being (Smith, p. 314). In addition to the influence of germ theory, American advertising during the interwar years also functioned to advance the concept of modernism. Roland Marchand (1985) argued that during this period, advertising more overtly began to emphasize the opportunity for life and social improvement by appealing to consumers' desires. He used the phrase "social tableau" to describe a category of ads that portray social relationships and environments that invited viewers to position themselves, imaginatively, in the advertising story (p. 165). Because of these social tableaus, Marchand credited advertising with mobilizing American culture to a new set of consumer values; ads, he argued, increasingly reinforced the notion that products were the solution to problems people experienced (p. 234). Through their parables of social life, advertising fueled consumers' aspirations for modern goods and conveniences.

With the onset of World War II, advertising relied heavily on defense-related themes. An analysis of general interest magazines during the war years reveals that more than half of the

advertisements contained patriotic motifs in 1944 and 1945 ("Matters of Choice", n.d., p. 7). This was a result of the Office of War Information's partnership with the Ad Council to form a special division called the War Advertising Council, which operated from 1942-1945. As partners, the OWI and Ad Council distributed factsheets to advertising agencies that described wartime circumstances and shortages, in hopes that agencies could persuade their clients to use their ads to inspire patriotism and mobilize citizens to support the war effort ("Matters of Choice", pp. 5-8).

Besides the frequent inclusion of war-related themes, ads in the 1940s began to change in other ways. The conventions used to connect with consumers were more sophisticated than previous motivations that were based on the fear of germs and aspirations for modernity. A 1949 article in *Time Magazine* reported a growing trend among advertisers to consider the psychological dimension of attracting consumers by appealing more extensively to their emotions and perceived needs. "Admen . . . appealed to fear . . . to snobbery . . . to romance" ("Billion Dollar Baby", p. 89). Writing some sixty years later, Juliann Sivulka (2009) identified mid-century American advertising formulas that relied heavily on the approach described in the 1949 article. She described one category as "melodrama", which relied on a fear-based appeal emphasizing that acquiring the product is necessary to avoid social embarrassment or inadequacy (p. 136-7). This approach was similar to the fear-based approach used in the early 1900s, but by the forties there was less of a need to evoke fear of germs and ill-health; the cultural obsession with cleanliness was firmly rooted in American values and consumers needed no reminder of the threat that germs imposed (Smith, p. 341). The difference in this newer model was that it invoked fear of failure and inadequacy in some important social measure, such as beauty or social class. This approach was especially common among women's grooming products. "By

using the product, so goes the melodrama formula, one could not only change her look but also remake herself and her life chances", and ultimately enhance her desirability (Sivulka, p. 137). Ads that used this formula exploited the presumed anxieties of its viewer, and emphasized the need to compare oneself to others who were better or superior in whatever way as implied in the ad. As such, this approach was a broadened version of the prewar model, and the outcome was similar; convincing women they needed the products to improve their "life chances" suggests that upward mobility was an important social aspiration, a theme we will see realized among shampoo ads in the discussions to follow in later chapters.

Public Nature of Women's Hair

As I have discussed, mid-century idealized domesticity was a racialized construct informed by ideologies about working women, marriage and family, and women's role in the consumer economy. Ultimately, advertising conventions emphasized domesticity, and women's need to acquire goods for social acceptance and betterment of self and family. In this dissertation, I argue that a particular version of idealized domesticity was emphasized in shampoo advertisements, vehicles that ultimately inserted white women's bodies, specifically hair, in the domestic ideal. In this section, I will discuss the importance of hair as a feature of women's bodies that has significant social implications. A host of cultural meanings are bound in the representation of hair, making it a politicized attribute of the feminine body. Before moving to an analysis of shampoo advertisements in later chapters, I want to first emphasize the importance of women's hair as worthy of scholarly inquiry.

Anthropologist Grant McCracken (1996) remarked, "The study of hair, I found out, does *not* take you to the superficial edge of our society, the place where everything silly and insubstantial must dwell. It takes you, instead, to the centre of things" (p. 4). McCracken's

comment acknowledged the importance of hair as integral, not peripheral, to human social experience. His research was one of the first concerted efforts to understand the role of hair in women's lives and society. An anthropologist by discipline, McCracken interviewed numerous hairdressers and their clients, as well as women on the streets in various cities across America in the early 1990s. What he neglected, though, was any clear articulation that women's experiences with hair, and the subsequent meanings associated with it, are so heavily racially informed. His analysis, though one of the first of its kind, reflected only white women's experiences in white-operated salons, and the popular representation of white women's hairstyles and colors in mass media. He entirely ignored the racial politics of hair, failing to recognize the importance of whiteness as an element of his study. In so doing, his analysis rendered race invisible. Nonetheless, his analysis represents one of two categories of scholarly inquiry about hair – its *personal* significance to women. At the time of McCracken's research, popular cultural studies had been well established, but the subject of hair remained a relatively neglected topic among the scholarship. Increasingly, researchers began to take the subject more seriously and followed a model similar to McCracken's, but extended his critique to include more thorough considerations of women's internalization of race, ethnicity, and social class in their analyses (Rooks, 1996; Weitz, 2001; Gimlin, 2002). While these analyses convincingly demonstrated that hair is more significant to an individual's identity than a mere superficial representation of personal aesthetic preference, what I find even more interesting is that hair textures, styles, lengths, and colors are not solely individuals' concerns, but also acquire *social* meaning. This represents the second category of research I have identified – an investigation beyond why hair is *personally* meaningful to a broader understanding of how hair has social meaning that reinforces the status quo and ideologies of racialized femininity.

Many scholars have acknowledged the importance of social context in studying the dressed body (Polhemus, 1988; Crossley, 1995; Bourdieu 1984, 1989, 1994; Goffman, 1971; Entwistle & Wilson, 1998; Entwistle, 2000, 2001; Davis, 1992; Tseëlon 1997). Efrat Tseëlon (1997) suggested that since context-specific situations influence how we dress, it warrants study as a situated bodily practice. Likewise, Joanne Entwistle (2001) explained, "social pressure encourages us to stay within the bounds of what is defined in a situation as a 'normal' body and 'appropriate' dress" (para. 34). Dress can undoubtedly represent one's aesthetic preference or otherwise creative expression, but scholarly attention must be given to the reality that dressing has strong social and moral dimensions. Entwistle's (2001) work illuminates the role of dress in preparing the body for interaction in the social world.

> Conventions of dress transform flesh into something recognizable and meaningful to a culture and are also the means by which bodies are made 'decent', appropriate and acceptable within specific contexts. Dress does not simply merely serve to protect our modesty and does not simply reflect a natural body or, for that matter, a given identity; it embellishes the body, the materials commonly used adding a whole array of meanings to the body that would otherwise not be there. (Entwistle, 2001, para. 1)

Entwistle's assertion that dress has transformative social power when combined with the body means that the ways we dress our bodies have social consequences; the meanings our bodies assume in the social world are transformed by how we dress. Mary Ellen Roach-Higgins and Joanne Eicher (1992) defined dress as any intentional addition to or manipulation of the body for purposes of self-presentation. Advancing this definition in my own research, we can regard the maintenance and presentation of hair as a form of dress. Thus, the dressing activity of shampooing hair to achieve the ideals espoused in shampoo advertisements adds "a whole array

of meanings to the body that would otherwise not be there” (Entwistle, 2001, para. 1). What is an otherwise “natural” feature of our bodies assumes an important role in social contexts. This both personal yet social role that hair assumes is reminiscent of what anthropologist Mary Douglas (1973) described as two bodies: the individual, physical body and the social body (p. 93).[23] For my own project, viewing hair in this way recognizes the not only individual claims to the body, but the social implications of it as well. In particular, the mid twentieth century American racialized body that materializes in shampoo advertisements to support a particular version of domesticity is constructed by the political reality of wartime conditions and the economic reality of a consumer society.

Entwistle (2001) posited that “like so much bodily behaviour, codes of dress come to be taken for granted and are routinely and unreflexively employed” (para. 31). Codes of dress are informed by and essentially inseparable from gendered and racial ideals, and as Entwistle argued are regularly and uncritically exercised. The representation of hair in shampoo ads employs routine codes of feminine dress (as hair presentation is part of the dressed body), a concept which will be more fully explored in later chapters. These codes of femininity arise from a culmination of contextual factors dependent on the circumstances in which they proliferate.

In this chapter, I have outlined contextual factors of women’s lives that have contributed to a domestic ideology that ultimately, as we will see, was employed in shampoo advertisements. Rather than attempting to create a monolithic understanding of what women experienced in the late- and post-World War II years, we can analyze via the themes of work, marriage and family,

[23] Michel Foucault (1975) also referred to the “social body”, but he used it as a figure of speech for society. Sociologist John O’Neill (1985) is also associated with the duality of the individual and the social body, in which his use of this concept is similar to Douglas’.

and consumerism, as well as prevalent mid-century advertising conventions, discourses that contributed to the construction of a racialized domestic ideal. Examining the historical context, as well as the scholarship emphasizing hair as a feature of the social body, provides a lens through which we can better understand the role of shampoo advertisements as artifacts of consumer culture. The ads were informed by prevailing sentiment about an idealized representation of the American woman. I argue that they insert white women's bodies – particularly hair – in the construction of the ideal. In the following chapters, I will explore three leading shampoo brands – Drene, Breck, and Lustre-Crème, that situated hair as a prominent feature of white women's bodies in the domestic ideal. Before doing so, in the next chapter I will discuss the history of shampooing and the subsequent development of the shampoo industry, followed by a corporate history of Drene's parent company as the context in which Drene was developed as the first synthetic-based shampoo that ignited the shampoo revolution. I will then provide an analysis of Drene ads from 1944 through 1952, and identify the domesticity-related themes they represent.

Chapter Two: The Shampoo Revolution and Procter & Gamble

Drene, Breck, and Lustre-Crème were leading shampoo brands in the late- and post-WWII years, and each is a salient character in the shampoo revolution which gained momentum in the years 1944 through 1952. These brands also powerfully contributed to constructing and maintaining the popular and racialized model of American womanhood that I described in chapter one. In this chapter, I will focus specifically on Drene, the first synthetic shampoo and forerunner in what would become a nearly 100 million dollar industry by 1951 ("Shampoos: Evolving", 1995). Detergent-based Drene is the antecedent to modern-day shampoos as we know them. American industry had been using detergents in the decade preceding World War II; they were said to have better wetting properties than soaps, and also rinsed cleaner without leaving behind a film (Self, 1942; 1944; 1947; Powers, 1959). They were a promising technology that caught the attention of many manufacturers, and were touted as "one of the newest and best discoveries" of the time (Self, 1944, p. 1). However, as journalist Sydney Self reported in 1944, "soap makers were just beginning to introduce these new materials to the housewife when the war came" (p. 1). Thus, most industries would not realize the benefits of detergents until war's end because the government restricted the use of many of the chemical compounds detergents required, allocating those available to armed forces' efforts (Self 1942; 1944). Corporate giant Procter and Gamble (P&G) was an exception. They first used detergents when they introduced Drene in 1934, and were able to continue modest production of Drene shampoo throughout the war years by using their patented Gardinol detergent because it was not used in any other war-necessary goods (Self, 1946). This gave them leverage over their competition in the hair care industry; they offered a product unlike any other on the market and as such, were positioned to grow and diversify their business in the years following the war when

materials were more widely available. Subsequently, P&G pioneered the shampoo industry as we know it today, and it all began with Drene. As the first of its kind, Drene provided an archetype for subsequent brands to model.

Given the corporate giant's success with not only Drene but a plethora of consumer goods throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, I was surprised that researching Procter and Gamble turned out to be especially difficult. The primary reason for this is that their company archives are not open to the public. Periodically, the company hosts opportunities for community members to attend a one-hour guided tour of the P&G Heritage Center in Cincinnati, Ohio at which archival materials are stored, but aside from these infrequent events, the archive project which began in 1957 is shared "only with P&G employees and their families, P&G's business partners, and other key company stakeholders" ("Procter & Gamble Heritage", 2013). From the outset, I faced what seemed like insurmountable obstacles to successfully researching Drene shampoo and the company that developed it. But as I immersed myself in this project, I came to learn that the restricted availability of primary source artifacts reflects the company's tradition of working to maintain relative confidentiality. They have a history of guardedly releasing information to the press, and have taken measures to manipulate their public image. For example, while working on her P&G corporate biography, Alecia Swasy (1993), journalism professor and former reporter for the *Wall Street Journal*, found that obtaining authentic information about the inner-workings of their company is difficult.[24] For example, Swasy learned that the company-authorized biography, *Eyes on Tomorrow* (1981), was actually

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[24] I acknowledge that the notion of "authenticity" is problematic; information that informants provide in interviews are likely biased and arguably, never purely objective. But my point here is to demonstrate that P&G controlled the flow of information to the public by reworking interviews and other published material.

rewritten by their own public relations department, as were several other published upper management interviews (Swasy, p. 200). Interestingly, in my own correspondences with a P&G archivist to obtain information about the company, ad agencies they used, and Drene shampoo, the archivist quoted at length *Eyes on Tomorrow*. The archivist shared with me corporate documents related to Drene and market research endeavors, but otherwise suggested that much of the information is considered private; after I asked for copies of a host of corporate documents, the archivist ultimately replied that “unfortunately we don’t have a lot of information [that will be helpful in your research]” (D. Wagner, personal communication, November 12, 2013). Luckily, other resources house P&G historic materials that have been crucial in helping me learn about the corporation and Drene. The National Museum of American History (NMAH) online collection includes P&G advertisements. Likewise, several independent researchers have also made available online their personal collections, particularly advertisements. Collectively, using the materials I received from the P&G archivist, artifacts from NMAH and independent collections, and other primary source documents such as industry relevant historical newspaper and magazine articles, I came to understand Procter and Gamble’s role as a forerunner in the shampoo industry and in this chapter, I will tell that story.

To more fully understand Drene, and its role as a shampoo that promoted hair as integral to the racialized domestic ideal, I will describe the evolution of historic hair-cleansing methods, and the transition to shampooing as we know it today. Understanding both the development of shampooing as a culturally-informed regimen as well as the rise of the shampoo industry is important before turning to a more specific discussion of shampoo brands themselves. After providing a general progression of hair-washing and industry developments, I will provide a corporate history of Procter and Gamble, Drene’s parent company. In the next chapter, we will

see how their philosophy and operations greatly influenced how the brand was positioned in consumer culture.

The History of Washing Hair and the Shampoo Revolution, 1944-1952

Thanks to early recorded histories, we know that humans have washed and groomed their hair for thousands of years. Some of the earliest evidence dates cleansing hair to ancient Roman and Indian civilizations, but the practices were different than modern-day washings, as only essential oils or plain water were used. In fact, in ancient India, the term "shampooing" meant oil massaging the scalp (Smith, 2008, p. 70). Aside from the use of oils, certain Asian cultures have historically cleaned hair by applying fermented rice water or the ash of particular plants. In ancient Egypt, men and women mostly kept hair shorn or shaved for hygiene purposes, and cleaned their tresses by applying oils or wearing perfumed wax cones atop their heads that would melt from the sun's heat and ultimately scent the wearer (Bromberger, 2008). These traditions endured for thousands of years and influenced modern Western practices. More familiar methods of washing hair emerged in the eighteenth century, and were modifications of these ancient practices (Smith, 2008). Indian entrepreneur Dean Mahomet revolutionized English bathing customs by expanding on the ancient concept of Indian oil "shampooing". In prestigious bathhouses, he employed a range of hair treatments that became popular among royalty, earning him the moniker "shampooing surgeon" (Fisher, 1997). This practice of applying specific products to cleanse hair eventually gained widespread use among a variety of classes in Europe, and by the late 1800s, it was increasingly common (albeit still infrequent) that white Westerners would wash their hair with soap boiled in soda water (Smith, 2008). This was inconvenient and cumbersome, though, so frequent washing would not become commonplace until processes were streamlined several decades later.

Routine washing. In the twentieth century, emphasis on frequent hair washing intensified, and increasingly, hair care companies introduced a variety of shampoos. Personal hygiene concerns gained momentum in the first few decades of the century as a result of the widespread cultural interest in germ theory (Ashenburg, 2008, p. 240). But while germ theory may have been the impetus for more frequent hair washing, cultural messages soon emphasized not only the health benefits of clean hair, but also its role in enhancing feminine beauty. This idea is evidenced in a 1908 *New York Times* article in which the author provided guidelines for shampooing hair. Targeting a specifically female reader, the author suggested that "the care of the hair is, of course, a very important subject" and that "every woman likes to have her hair not only daintily and becomingly arranged, but soft and glossy in appearance and texture" ("How to Shampoo", p. x7). The recommended steps in proper shampooing were burdensome as they had been in previous decades; women were advised to comb *and* brush the hair while dry, separate it into parts, apply the shampoo with lukewarm water, rinse four times with hot water, and follow with equally stringent after-washing guidelines (p. x7). "Specialists" in the teens and twenties suggested that washing every four to six weeks would be sufficient to achieve healthy, beautiful hair (p. x7). In fact, prior to the 1940s, it was standard for Caucasian women to wash their hair relatively infrequently even though full-emersion baths became increasingly popular during this time in America (Ashenburg, p. 296). Ethnic women traditionally washed theirs even less frequently, and instead used oils and other emulsions in their hair maintenance practices. Lanita Jacobs-Huey (2006) suggested that hair maintenance among black women often required a great investment of time, and therefore has historically been considered a socializing event in which women would work together to provide and receive assistance in washing, braiding, or straightening hair (p. 18). Salon culture in the twentieth century eventually assumed a similar

function for African American women, as sites where women could socialize while having their hair washed or otherwise tended to (Jacobs-Huey; Gill, 2010; Blackwelder, 2003). Thus, the mid-twentieth century insistence on more frequent washing had different implications for black women due to the ethnically-specific traditions of hair maintenance activities and time investment considerations.

Health reformers' and popular media's espousal of routine washing therefore influenced white women, in particular. By the 1940s, popular messages grew more insistent that regular cleansing was critical not only for one's wellbeing, but also for *beauty* considerations as well. A 1944 *New York Times* article entitled "Waveless Coiffures of Wartime Fashion Depend upon a Proper Weekly Shampoo" demonstrates this. It at once claimed that "a good shampoo preparation is anything that will safely and effectively cleanse the hair and scalp – and should not be expected to do anything else", yet in another paragraph emphasized that "the simple, almost waveless coiffures that are becoming a wartime fashion depend for their beauty upon the clean and glossy appearance of the hair itself" (Parker, p. 16). Messages like this conflated the purpose of shampoo as both a cleaner and a beautifying product and seem to have influenced white women's hair washing patterns. A survey published in *The American Perfumer* (1945) revealed that respondents who washed their hair at least once a week rose from 70% in 1944 to 75% in 1945 ("Reader Forum on Hair", 1945, p. 46). Further, a 1945 report on "Cosmetic Trends in the Middle West" suggested that with the return of their husbands and boyfriends from military duty, "the American woman [devoted] additional time and attention to the care of her hair" (Mowat, 1945, p. 45). The same report shows that shampoo accounted for nearly 60% of all hair care expenditures in 1945, up significantly from the previous year. In 1946 a "Survey of Beauty" by *Modern Screen* reported that 85% of women used shampoo, significantly higher than

their reported use of any other hair product (Urbano, 1995, p. 85).[25] White women's attention to having clean hair not only for its supposed health benefits but also for its heterosexual allure was greater than ever.

The shampoo revolution. Simultaneous to the trend in frequent hair washing was an acceleration in shampoo development, which I refer to as the "shampoo revolution". As I will discuss more thoroughly later in this chapter, synthetic detergents gained popularity among shampoo manufacturers like Procter and Gamble. These so-called "soapless soaps", which had only minimally been experimented with in the hair care industry prior to the war, were said to clean better and produce generous amounts of lather without leaving behind a waxy residue (Self, 1946). Shampoo production increased significantly in the mid-forties and especially so in the years immediately following the war, after manufacturers could resume use of synthetics that had otherwise been used for war industries (Self). The availability of synthetic shampoos ultimately ignited women's interest in home hair preparations. "Womenfolk are now spending a quarter billion dollars less per year in the beauty parlors than in 1946", claimed a 1948 industry analysis in *Wall Street Journal* (Wise, 1948). Officials of the Beauty and Barber Supply institute reported that both the white- and "colored" beauty parlors experienced a decline in business due to the increased availability of hair care products – shampoos, dyes, and wave kits – at drug and beauty supply stores. Purchasing shampoo for use within the home was becoming increasingly

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[25] To be sure, these statistics are likely reflective of a narrow demographic. I was unable to find exact statistics on the magazines' readership from this time period, but *The American Perfumer* did not even include articles on ethnic hair care until the early 2000s. With that in mind, we can assume that the readership and hence those who responded to the survey, were white. Per my argument in this dissertation's introduction, shampoo was an inherently racialized concept, so those who participated in its consumption were most likely Caucasian.

popular among Caucasian American women. The elevated attention to shampooing hair is particularly interesting in light of the fact that the grooming industry was otherwise experiencing a decline in sales volume. A 1948 *Wall Street Journal* article claimed that "housewives and their husbands are spending fewer dollars this year on toothpaste, hair tonic, perfume, [and] shave cream, [but] there is a boom in shampoos" (Self, 1948). Shampoo, it seems, took precedence among many female consumers' expenditures, beating out other cosmetic and beauty items in the years immediately following the war. The same article reported that women were buying less of the toiletries they "showered on husbands, brothers, and uncles during the war", and instead spent more on shampoos for themselves. In 1949, U.S. expenditures on shampoos totaled $74 million dollars, and an estimated $95 million by 1951 ("Shampoos: Evolving", 1995).

The hair care industry changed rapidly beginning in 1953. The early fifties ushered in a host of technological changes that dramatically affected the landscape of the shampoo market. Cream shampoos (including two brands under consideration in this dissertation – both Drene and Lustre-Crème) represented about 25% of the market share in 1947, and 37% in 1951, but began to decline by 1953 due to the introduction of new brands and technologies such as clear formulas (Powers, 1956). The widespread postwar switch among hair care companies to producing detergent-based soaps propelled the industry to seek out new formulas and led to a diversity of goods including dandruff-ridding varieties, shampoos containing conditioners, foamless shampoos, no-rinse shampoos, aerosol shampoos, and even moistened shampoo pads to fit over combs ("Shampoos: Evolving"). Technologies influenced not only shampoos, but led to the creation of entirely new hair care products altogether. For example, the aerosol technology, developed to dispense insecticide during the war, was used extensively in hairstyling products after the first aerosol hairspray was introduced in 1949 (Walls & Krummel, 1993). In fact,

hairspray became so popular among female consumers that by 1953, they garnered nearly four times as much of the market share in toiletries as did shampoos ("Aerosols' Market Share", 1953, p. 236). The use of this technology in the hair care industry single-handedly revolutionized the industry. As one industry leader remarked, "it would be hard to overemphasize the impact of the aerosol package on the hair care market [by 1953] . . . Development of the aerosol hair spray gave consumers a far greater freedom to develop their own styles and have confidence in their ability to keep their hair styled and presentable" (Urbano, 1995, p. 86). While shampoos continued to be important to the female consumer, the host of newly-available styling products would vie for her attention and dollars.

The influx of shampoo varieties, as well as the diversity of hairdressing products like hairspray, meant increased competition between product categories for market share, and increased competition among shampoo brands. It was an exciting time for the industry that had until the mid-forties been dedicated to formulating basic soap-based and eventually detergent-based shampoos. In her study of the major developments within the hair care industry for *Cosmetics and Toiletries* magazine, Cynthia Urbano reported that in the years immediately following World War II, "the developments of the hair-care sector alone epitomize the spirit and energy of the time" (p. 85). This energy is perhaps nowhere more evident than in the research projects of Procter and Gamble. Between 1944 and 1952, they were leaders in the shampoo industry, exemplifying the "spirit" and fervor with which companies sought out new technologies that would ultimately transform the industry. They implemented several operational techniques previously unused in business, and were persistent in their quest to produce the most innovative in hair care products.

Hairy Business

A *Women's Wear Daily* beauty editor remarked that "If Procter and Gamble Co. were to sponsor a musical, it would have to be *Hair*" (Weil, 2012). Her comment references the long-established history of the company in the area of women's hair care, which today accounts for the largest share of all beauty and grooming products within the company ("P&G 2012 Annual Report", 2012, p. 77). The enduring success of their hair care division can be attributed to the efforts established by the company in the mid-forties; women's hair was already such an important aspect of P&G's business in the 1940s and early fifties that the company undertook extensive market research to better understand (white) women's hair by including women in product simulations and hiring them to distribute haircare products. In what follows, I will further describe their haircare research and sales initiatives, and explore what I see as key reasons for their mid-century corporate success. Ultimately, P&G's success in the shampoo industry is due to their hiring strategies, extensive product testing, and general attributes of their corporation that readied them for success in an increasingly competitive shampoo environment.

Field girls and hair research. Prior to the 1940s, Procter and Gamble already had a history of hiring women to work on sales teams that would travel from door to door nationwide, providing samples to and generating sales among women.[26] Beginning in 1911, P&G hired

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[26] The occupation of traveling sales gained momentum by the second half of the nineteenth century with the increased availability of mass produced goods. It was at first a male-dominated enterprise in which women were only seldom hired to sell small items such as books or provide demonstrations on household equipment like sewing machines (Friedman, 2005, pp. 4-11, 203; Laird, 1998, pp. 34, 84-85, 196). But by the beginning of the twentieth century, women increasingly assumed roles as door-to-door agents selling feminine goods such as perfume and skin care products, a practice beauty-product entrepreneurs including Bertha Benz and Madam C.J. Walker revolutionized (Feitz, 2005, pp. 18-19; Peiss, 1998, pp. 72-73).

women to assist in their marketing efforts for Crisco shortening. A small group of demonstrators would travel across the country to conduct cooking classes, incorporating Crisco into recipes developed by the corporation itself (Goldstein, 1997, p. 291). Diane Wagner, archivist at the P&G Corporate Archives, explained that "we called the women who did market research door-to-door 'field girls'" (Personal communication, December 22, 2014). These all-female research teams were described in a 1946 issue of the company magazine, *Moonbeams*, as consisting of "highly qualified and specially trained girls" (p. 2). By the 1940s, "field girls"' responsibilities were varied, but their ultimate goal was to determine how their product was received "in comparison with a successful, proven brand and why it measure[d] up, lag[ged] behind, or excel[led] in the housewife's opinion" (p. 4). As an example of the market research these women conducted, Jack Henry, director of P&G market research in the fifties, explained that these "field girls" would join consumers in their bathrooms to "watch women wash their hair and ask a lot of questions" (Swasy, p. 77).

In 1950, then-president Neil McElroy commented on their continued importance of keeping women at the center of their marketing efforts. He stated that "it's the housewife who buys our product. We'll play it any way she wants to play it" ("As You Like It", 1950). Testing efforts had already intensified in the mid-1940s as P&G purchased hair samples from brokers to put through a battery of tests, including observing its behavior after being twisted through a tangling machine, steamed by a humidity machine, and bounced while on a walking machine that simulated a body in stride ("Proved Facts About Drene", 1953; "Secretaries Get Waves", 1960). The company invited female visitors to their test labs allowing them to try new shampoo formulas, and on occasion asked women for a lock of their own hair to use in further testing (Swasy, 1993, p. 87). In their labs, they maintained a beauty shop where female employees

would have half of their head shampooed with a P&G product, and the other half with a competitor's brand, an exercise they coined the "half-head" test ("Proved Facts About Drene"; "The Cleanup Man", 1953, p. 100).

To be sure, the company's competitors likewise operated research labs and testing facilities, but not as extensively for their haircare products as for household cleaners. For example, Colgate-Palmolive-Peet, Lustre-Crème's parent company, cites their extensive research in the area of detergents throughout the forties, but their annual reports focus on the acquisition of production equipment for their labs and experiments that only tested the cleansing properties in comparison with those of soap-based cleaners; their testing evidences no specific simulations with women's hair, as did P&G's (Colgate-Palmolive Peet Annual Report, 1945; 1946; 1948; 1950; 1951; 1952). A section of Colgate's 1948 annual report is dedicated to their synthetics business, and among the product testing they include that their "synthetic detergent base [was] tested exhaustively under exact, controlled conditions in the laboratories and under normal home conditions in the field", yet they include no mention of similar types of testing that P&G implemented by having a beauty shop on premises, or sophisticated machinery to simulate the effects of environmental factors on women's hair (Colgate-Palmolive-Peet Annual Report, 1948, p. 28).

Gender, class, and racial bias at P&G. Procter and Gamble's extensive and systematic model of test marketing was revolutionary, and evidences their commitment to consider the women who buy and use their shampoo. But a closer examination uncovers the company's gender and racial bias in doing so. In her interviews with former employees, Swasy found that aside from the female members hired for brand sales teams, the company was largely dominated by white males until well into the 1970s (p. 12). This is not an unlikely reality among

corporations in mid-century America; white men have traditionally dominated corporate positions. But it does evidence a method contrary to their implicit goal of keeping women at the center of their efforts. Women were useful in the testing and selling of the shampoos, but management and corporate decision-making, it seems, was better left in the hands of white males. As historian Carolyn Goldstein (1997) argued, working in test facilities at the corporate headquarters and interacting with consumers undoubtedly offered professional opportunities for women, but such activities "relegated the women to marginal positions within the firm. [Their] relative invisibility inside the firm contrasted with their extreme public visibility in the community" (p. 293). As such, these women's contributions, though necessary for product development and brand awareness, were ultimately under the direction and purview of male management, and received less recognition when compared with the more "serious" tasks of working in production, science labs, and executive positions that men assumed within the firm.

Upper management's prejudiced treatment of women is revealed not only in rank discrimination, but also in their hiring policies. In a 1953 feature article on Neil McElroy, the reporter explained McElroy's staffing method: The "P&G girls [are] not too pretty, lest they attract too many marriage proposals; not too homely, lest they jump at the first offer" ("The Cleanup Man", p. 101). This statement reflects the prevailing stereotype that marriage was a foremost priority among women, and privileges women's appearance in their marriageability. To ensure they modeled a standard of behavior P&G would find fitting for the "girls" they hired, saleswomen in the forties and fifties were required to read and abide by the principles outlined in a book called *How to Travel Alone and Remain a Lady* (Swasy, p. 77). While I was unable to review this publication (the only copy I can locate is restricted in the P&G corporate archives),

its title's inclusion of the phrase "remain a lady" suggests that it provided advice and proscriptions of behavior that likely mirrored popular sentiment about proper femininity.

The company's bias is further evident in the fact that both the women who worked for P&G as well as the "housewives" interviewed were predominately middle class. This is apparent from the company's hire of strictly college-educated women. In the early twentieth century, they began this practice in their marketing initiatives for Crisco, hiring graduates from various fields but especially those who earned a home economics degree and were considered leaders among the profession (Goldstein, p. 291). For example, in 1924 they hired their first director of home economics, University of Chicago graduate Eleanor Ahern, who oversaw product demonstration facilities at P&G until her retirement in 1958 (p. 291-292). By the late forties, their 3000-member sales team consisted mainly of female college graduates who presumably possessed the "maturity to travel alone", so remarked a P&G executive ("P&G Stands for Post-Graduate", 1958, as cited in Swasy; McCraw, 2000). These hiring statistics implicitly evidence class bias when considering the educational statistics of American women during this period. For instance, a mere 100,000 women received bachelor's degrees in 1950, which represents only 25% of the total degrees conferred in that year (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1951; Hobbs & Stoop, 2002, p. 54). While the number of women who earned degrees rose steadily during the war and immediate-post war years, those who did represented only about 5% of the total female population over the age of 25 ("Women in the Workforce", 2011). Obtaining a college degree represented one's class status, as there were many socio-political barriers to attending higher education for much of the population. Only 34% of the total population by 1950 had completed high school and for those who did, financial barriers,

obligations to family farms for those living in rural areas, and young marriage prohibited many (young women, especially) from entering college (Hobbs & Stoop, p. 158).

Hiring practices at P&G indicate not only class bias, but racial discrimination as well. Census data reveals that in 1952, only 2% of non-whites had completed four or more years of college ("Current Population Reports", 1953). Because the vast majority of non-whites did not earn college degrees, we can assume that the predominately college-educated women P&G hired for its sales team were white. For non-whites that P&G did hire, though, racial discrimination was a reality of the workplace environment. For example, a former employee recalls that 1950s CEO Howard Morgens systematically discriminated against black male employees; while his practice was to assign mentors to men in whom he saw potential in climbing the ranks at P&G, black males did not earn mentorship, and hence, were not recruited into higher positions (Swasy, p. 15). If black men were methodically discriminated against because of such barriers to earning rank, women most certainly would have also been overlooked for promotions or, presumably, not hired at all.

Procter and Gamble was also racially prejudiced in soliciting market feedback. Some company anecdotes imply that sales teams traveled to predominately white neighborhoods. When selecting test market cities, P&G admittedly often neglected southern states, which ultimately, then, excluded non-white communities from their market research efforts. The population of the South contained the highest percentage of racial minorities in every census between the years 1900 and 1980 compared to other parts of the U.S. (Hobbs & Stoop, p. 70). Over half of the black population in 1940 resided in southern states and though by 1950 there was a national trend of migration toward northern cities, the black population remained heavily concentrated in the South throughout the decade (p. 80). Though Morgens, as an advertising

executive in the 1930s through early fifties (before becoming CEO), took measures to figure out why the "company was losing money in the south", he was convinced that their products couldn't sell in those areas and ordered the sales teams to not "bother with the rural [southern] areas" (pp. 76-77). That P&G dismissed southern households signals the company's interest in only obtaining feedback from a white population. For a company so intent on interrogating consumers and winning brand allegiance, ultimately gaining them a larger share of the market, the decision to exclude much of the south seems like a calculated prejudiced decision.

Their prejudice endured. The current president of global retail hair care and color, Colleen Jay, explains that "[our] broad vision is really centered around making hair dreams come true. We want to give women and men around the world the hair they've dreamed of, no matter what their income, their social status, their geography" (Weil, 2012). This "inclusive" corporate mission took over 70 years to formulate, as the company did not even enter the ethnic hair care market until 2003 when they introduced a "Relaxed and Natural" version of their leading international brand, Pantene ("Ethnic Hair Care", 2003). In fact, the ethnic variety of the brand was somewhat of an afterthought. For their original 1990 launch of Pantene, P&G conducted market research to determine how best to promote the brand's key benefit (adding shine to hair) to markets abroad. While they concocted advertising strategies that would best tap international users' interest, they still had not given consideration to formulate a brand specifically for ethnically diverse hair. Importantly, the company's market research in 2003 revealed that African American women still preferred to buy products made by smaller, African American-owned companies as opposed to corporate giants, like P&G, whom they claimed to distrust (Advertising Education Foundation, 2005). Additionally, over half of their African American survey respondents indicated they would rather purchase hair products at salons or beauty supply

stores as was the case in the forties and fifties, as opposed to mass-market drug stores that carry proportionately more Caucasian-oriented haircare (Advertising Education Foundation; Peiss, 1998). Regardless of the respondents' preferences for independently-owned products and purchasing goods through specialty merchants, for more than seventy years, Procter and Gamble made little effort to include the ethnic market. If their exclusion of racial minorities endured until 2003, we can be sure that their practices in the forties and fifties were biased toward a white market. I have already argued that shampoo itself is an inherently racialized product, but the mid-century corporate hiring decisions and longstanding exclusion of ethnic hair products suggest that not only the product but one of its leading producer's was likewise prejudiced.

Poised for success. Despite their gender, class, and racial biases, Procter and Gamble was a hugely successful corporation in the 1940s and early fifties specifically because of their ingenuity in developing women's shampoos. In their initiative to create innovative products, P&G devoted a significant portion of their resources to cutting-edge research laboratories, some of which I described in the previous section. A 1949 *New York Times* article heralded the announcement of plans to build a new facility that would cost the company $1.5 million ("New Research Center", 1949). Completed in 1952, the primary purpose of this research center was to develop new formulas for key selling items, particularly soaps and shampoos ("Sudless Soap, Rabbits, Radioactive Dirt", 1952). P&G president Neil McElroy saw this as a "doorway to the future", and remarked that this new facility was "in great part a tribute to the American woman because she is who is continually looking for new and better products, and it is she who has been quickest to adopt the improvements in our standard of living" (p. 4). In the same interview, he commented that P&G was met with significant research problems, including "the quantity of shampoo left in your hair after washing", which had direct implications for their female

consumers (p. 4). This comment exemplifies P&G's pledge to be ever mindful of the "American woman" in their research and product development considerations. They were committed to researching shampoo properties, and provide new and diversified products that would address hair cleansing dilemmas.

While their research ingenuity undoubtedly factored in their monumental success in the haircare market, other general company characteristics likewise positioned them as a leader among their competition. The corporation pioneered several business practices that, although indirectly, necessarily factored in their success with Drene shampoo. First, they developed the concept of profit sharing in the late 1800s as an effort to build a loyal and trustworthy workforce (Schisgall, 1981). This would become particularly important in their later decisions to build a network of P&G distributors (instead of relying on outside wholesalers), implement shorter work weeks, and guarantee 48 weeks of work in a calendar for employees after a probationary period of working for P&G for two years (Deupree, 1946, p. 53). A 1953 article in *Time Magazine* reported that these conditions cut annual turnover from 133.7% in the 1920s to 1% by that year ("The Cleanup Man", 1953, p. 98). Fostering employee buy-in was a strategy to establish a loyal, impressionable workforce. As previously mentioned, several of P&G's policies and operational practices were necessarily gender- and racially-discriminatory, but the company's profit sharing, restructured staffing, and limited work hours were likely attractive opportunities for a mid-century workforce.

Another attribute of their monumental successes in the forties and fifties is the corporation's implementation of the brand management model, a model that laid the foundation for brand-building today (McCraw, 2000). The brand management idea was drafted by Neil McElroy in 1931 (seventeen years before he assumed the presidency). In it, he outlined the

responsibilities of a network of brand managers, each of whom would be responsible for the advertising decisions of one single brand ("Succeeds to Presidency", 1948; McElroy, 1931, as cited in Armbruster, 2006). He also advocated for each manager to have assistants, a model which helped propel P&G brands, including their shampoos, to capture a sizable portion of their respective markets. As a result of the intensive brand management method, P&G spent the most on advertising among their competition consistently throughout the forties and early fifties, and among all major corporations was second only to General Motors in 1951 ("Procter and Gamble was Biggest", 1943; "Advertising News", 1944; "Advertising News", 1945; "Procter and Gamble Tops", 1947; "The Big Twenty", 1951). Another unique aspect of P&G's business model was their manufacture of competing products. The company felt they could obtain a larger market share by doing so, a strategy in which they succeeded. By 1951 the company had a 40% share of the soap market, and a nearly 70% share of the detergent market, both categories which contained shampoo ("The Cleanup Man", 1953). There is no doubt that their ingenuity in all of these operational areas helped propel them as the leading shampoo company, particularly with the brand Drene, in the late- and post-World War II years.

Lastly, a final condition critical to Procter and Gamble's monumental success in the mid-1940s through early fifties is the extensive local and national presence they maintained beyond the walls of the corporation itself.[27] By mid-century, they had taken decisive measures to position themselves as an unyielding force in Cincinnati, home of their corporate headquarters, particularly when it came to matters of government policy, organized labor, and the media. In the forties, when competition among synthetics became intense, they were accused of stealing

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[27] Procter and Gamble already had an international presence by World War II. Their influence abroad, however, is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

competitors' confidential materials, and publicly defaming other companies ("Procter & Gamble Indicted", 1942; Procter & Gamble Denies Data Theft", 1943; "Dentifrice Claims", 1943). In many cases, the company was acquitted, or allegations were dropped before cases went to trial, allegedly because of payoffs, or intimidating and pressuring witnesses (Swasy, 1997). While specific accusations and indictments against P&G are beyond the scope of this dissertation, the allegations say much about their ruthless competitive drive.

The company was involved in national affairs, evidencing the clout of the company and its chief officers. They were approached by the federal government to produce munitions for the war effort, and CEO Richard Deupree was appointed by the president to serve as chief of the War Production Board, and Agricultural and Forest Production Board (Schisgall, 1981, p. 163). The relationship between P&G and the federal government deepended when the administration hired Neil McElroy, P&G president, as Secretary of Defense in 1957 ("Lines of Decision", 1957, p. 27). However directly or indirectly, Procter and Gamble enjoyed a massive presence not only throughout the homes of American consumers, but in their home city, among their competition, and within the nation's capital as well.

Procter and Gamble Embody Home and Hair

No matter their place of influence, the company and their dealings epitomized a discourse that binds the idea of home in the construction of ideal femininity. Aspects of Procter and Gamble's corporate history root the company in a discourse of wartime ideals, and especially romanticized notions about womanhood and domesticity. Several factors precipitated this. First, by the 1940s, P&G had almost a century of experience in partnering with the U.S. government to fulfill military needs. During the Civil War, they were already a forerunner in the soap industry, and won war contracts to supply the Union army with soap and candles. Soldiers' use of soap is

what really propelled the company into their mass market appeal; by the 1890s the P&G brand of soap had become so popular that the company offered more than thirty variations (Dyer, Dalzell, & Olegario, 2004; "P&G: Heritage", 2013). Their role in the war was re-established during the World War II effort. Though details were withheld by the war department, a 1940 report confirmed that Procter and Gamble was commissioned to manufacture armaments and munitions. The report assured that the company would receive "no material profit" or have any "financial interest" in the operations ("Procter and Gamble Forms Firm", 1940). The hire of a company chiefly known for making household goods instead of weaponry, signals the industry clout and respect that P&G had garnered by WWII. At the time, the other major producers of wartime ammunition were long-time chemical and munitions factories such as Hercules, DuPont, and Atlas, not soap makers ("Powder, Shot, and Shell", 1941, p. 40). P&G's role in the war intimately links them to wartime rhetoric of patriotism, and protection of the American home front. They were not a company peripheral to the war experience, but rather directly engaged in it. This reinforced, at least symbolically, the company's loyalty to the nation and the protection of its values. As I argued in chapter one, there was great interest in promoting a narrowly defined feminine ideal and preserving the sacrosanctity of the American home.

The narrow composition of the company's brand product portfolio in the 1940s and early fifties further entangles the concepts of domesticity and womanhood. It was not until the late fifties that the company expanded to manufacture a much greater lot of consumer goods such as snack foods, disposable diapers, and toilet paper (Dyer, Dalzell, & Olegario, 2004, p. 87-88). In the 1940s, the category of goods they manufactured remained relatively small, including only shortening, household cleaners, laundry detergent, soaps, select toiletries, and shampoo (p. 92). These items, when combined, represent the aspects that factor in the construction of the ideal

woman herself – as keeper of the house, cook for her family, and attentive to maintaining her beauty and hygiene. Further signaling the correlation among P&G's products in the forties and early fifties is their cross-brand agility; they repeatedly and successfully borrowed technologies from one product category to create another. The company's first venture into the hair market in 1934 is one such example; the company used ingredients from the detergent Dreft to develop the Drene shampoo (Silva, 2012). In a *Women's Wear Daily* interview about the company's tradition of innovation, P&G beauty archivist Lisa Mulvany remarked that "because [Drene] was positioned as a synthetic it [promised] no soap scum, which was a problem at the time with existing shampoos. This was a major point in our beauty history" (Silva, p. 4b). From this moment onward, the rhetoric tying home and beauty, specifically hair, was solidified in Procter and Gamble's business model. The biggest U.S. soap maker in mid-century America quickly became the leading shampoo manufacturer, too ("As You Like It", 1950). Variations of household and personal cleaners, and shampoos, were the bread and butter of this corporate giant.

Procter and Gamble's conservative perspective on gender roles is yet another way they exemplify the rhetoric linking domesticity and the idealization of the American woman. Among P&G executives, there was an assumption that women's time spent on beauty considerations were linked to their role in housekeeping. In response to women's supposed enthrallment with soap and grooming advertisements which ran during soap operas, A *Time* reporter declared that "no soapmaker is more aware . . . than Procter & Gambles' President Neil Hosier McElroy . . . of [the] theory . . . that housewives can absorb [advertisements] for hours on end while she goes about her household chores" ("The Cleanup Man", 1953, p. 94). While there is no doubt that soap operas, both those on radio and television, were lucrative outlets through which companies

could market their goods, the postulation that women completed household chores while mentally "shopping" for cosmetic and household goods is a narrow assumption about how women experienced their lives, even those who were "housewives". Neil McElroy directed the advertising campaign for Drene shampoo, and his intimate involvement in the brand's marketing suggests that his values influenced his work. In several interviews throughout his tenure with P&G, McElroy commented on the American housewife, generalizing about what she valued and how that influenced her behavior as a consumer. As the largest advertiser in the U.S. by 1953, they allocated one third of their advertising budget to newspapers and magazines, and the rest to radio and television, with particular attention to placing ads for shampoos and household products during the broadcast of soap operas ("The Cleanup Man", 1953). When asked his opinion of the female viewers who comprised the majority of the soap opera audience, he remarked: "the people who listen to our programs aren't intellectuals – they're ordinary people, good people . . . they use a lot of [detergents – both soaps and shampoos]" (p. 94). In this same interview, the writer noted that everyone at P&G "constantly bear in mind that a woman is fickle and her memory is short. She must be constantly reminded of the product she loves" (p. 97). These comments devalue women's intellect, representing them as frivolous and forgetful.

A final way Procter and Gamble produced a discourse of idealized femininity and domesticity is in their direct reference to preserving the idealized dynamic of husband as breadwinner, and wife as homemaker in postwar America. Unemployment peaked in 1949 to nearly 6%, and although this is relatively low when compared with prewar rates, it was disconcerting at a time when restoring the country's morale was a high priority on the national agenda (Hauser & Pearl, 1950). Providing jobs for veterans was a foremost concern among industry leaders. In a speech delivered before the American Management Association, then

Procter and Gamble president Richard Deupree expounded on the need for stabilizing employment of males in the post-war economy (Deupree, 1946). As he explained, “steady employment [of men] is socially important, particularly so in these times” (p. 205). He published a piece in *Nation’s Business* in 1946, in which he expounded on the crisis of employing males and P&G’s commitment to guarantee employment for as many as were interested in it.

> A man without a job is potentially a bad citizen; man with a job is potentially a good citizen; he can plan his own life, buy his own home, buy the things he wants for that home, plan the schooling of his children. (p. 53)

In his final months as P&G president in 1948, Deupree acknowledged the continued social pressure for steady employment of males who had returned from the war (Lenzi & Caroll, 1948). But his drive to employ men seems less about decreasing the national unemployment rate and more about preserving the traditional role of men within their households. In his speech, there was great attention paid to characterize an unemployed male as harmful to the American ideal. Employing a man would restore him as the rightful patriarch within the family economy, a role that was diminished during the war years and threatened by women’s expanded workforce participation in the 1940s.

Procter and Gamble’s innovations were cutting-edge among leaders in the haircare industry, and undoubtedly contributed to what I call the shampoo revolution of the mid-forties through the early 1950s. In particular, their first-ever synthetic shampoo, Drene, was a leading brand during this period. As a product of Procter and Gamble, Drene is reflective of the aforementioned philosophies they espoused. White women’s hair was intimately configured in the feminine ideal, and a vehicle through which the advertisements represented late- and postwar

American domesticity. Drene ads were not only a material reflection of the racialized feminine ideal the corporation espoused, but also represented the broader cultural discourses about idealized white femininity that I discussed in chapter one. In chapter three, I will provide an analysis of Drene ads, and discuss how hair is bound in the representation of a racialized idealization of femininity and the home front.

Chapter Three: "The First Thing a Man Usually Notices about Your Looks is Lovely, Shining Hair": Drene Ads and the Domestic Ideal

Shampoo advertisements are important cultural artifacts that represented white women's bodies as essential in the construction of a particular version of ideal domesticity. Three brands, in particular, are prime case studies for evidencing this – Drene, Breck, and Lustre-Crème. Each uniquely represents an idealized version of American domesticity, and although their portrayals are nuanced, they similarly elevate lustrous, smooth hair as a requisite to achieve a particular domestic ideal.

Drene shampoo was among Procter and Gamble's top selling brands in mid-century America. By the 1940s, Procter and Gamble had achieved great consumer success through sales of Drene as well as many of their home and personal care items. The company produced goods intended to improve the quality and standard of Americans' home- and personal lives, communicating these aspirations to a predominately white female consumer. The advertising messages communicated by cooking, cleaning, and personal hygiene products in P&G's portfolio collectively communicated an ideal feminine domestic experience.[28] Ads promised women they could make better cakes, achieve "faster, brighter, and safer cleaning", and "have lovelier hands in just twelve days" by using their products ("Dreft", 1945; "Ivory Soap", 1942). These products' messages mimicked popular sentiment about what women's relationship to

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[28] Procter & Gamble's major competitors at the time were Colgate-Palmolive-Peet and Lever Brothers, both companies which also sold an array of home and personal goods. Colgate's Lustre-Crème is the topic of the following chapter in which I will discuss how their brand is representative of the domestic and feminine ideal. Lever Brothers' products are not considered in my analysis because they were a British company operating a U.S. branch, and their shampoos at the time accounted for a much smaller market share.

work, the home, and family – aspects of women's lives I have argued contribute to a particular version of mid-century domesticity – should be. Drene ads likewise accentuated women's role in the domestic ideal, but importantly and distinctively inserted women's bodies in its representation, a factor that distinguishes shampoo ads from other mid-century advertisements. As I explained in the introduction, shampoo advertisements uniquely include women's bodies, *specifically hair,* in the construction of the domestic ideal by emphasizing hair as the single-most attribute of women's bodies that played a crucial role in "doing" femininity, and hence domesticity, well. Other product advertisements from this period incorporated women's bodies in advertisements and, if relevant, discussed the role of the product in improving women's looks, but shampoo ads further emphasized that (white) women's hair was naturally and inherently beautiful, an attribute that should be maintained or restored in order to perform domesticity successfully. Other products' ads did not presuppose *natural* beauty of a particular body part as a necessary requisite to ideal domesticity in the way that these shampoo ads did. By essentializing beauty as a property of white women's hair, and emphasizing the importance of having "attractive" hair, Drene ads bound white women's bodies in the construction of domesticity in a way that other products' advertisements did not. To adequately meet, or exceed, standards of ideal domesticity women must attain an idealized white standard of clean, straight, and lustrous hair. By achieving (or restoring) Drene's version of "beautiful" hair, women would realize social and personal rewards.

Procter and Gamble pioneered the revolution in Caucasian-marketed shampoo between the years 1944 and 1952. In this period, white women's hair was thus critical to the success of P&G, during which time it was also a particularly politicized attribute of feminine appearance in the broader wartime and postwar cultural discourse. As I described in chapters one and two, hair

was a particularly contested feature of the 1940s and early 1950s white feminine body, and symbolized late- and postwar social anxieties. By the mid-forties, celebrity culture and the "shampoo revolution" cemented the subject of white women's hair in considerations about idealized feminine beauty. In this emerging hair culture, Drene ads represented late- and post-war rhetoric about a (racialized) standard of beauty and the importance of domesticity in women's lives. As advertising was a crucial aspect of their operational philosophy and critical to their success in the consumer products market, I will first describe factors influencing Procter and Gamble's advertising in general before turning to an analysis of Drene ads, in particular. P&G's broad approach to advertising helps advance my argument that Drene ads, specifically, are sites in which white women's hair was used to champion romanticized notions about domesticity, and uniquely inserted the body in the construction of the ideal.

Advertising the P&G Way

In a 1941 interview, Procter and Gamble president and Chairman Richard Deupree remarked that "if there is an industry that lends itself readily to advertising and yet does not advertise, I think that is a crime. But perhaps a worse criminal in my estimation is the man who advertises his business badly" ("Richard Redwood Deupree", para. 2). Deupree's statement reflects the import P&G placed on advertising their brands, which seemed principal among P&G's operational concerns. They spent the most on advertising among their competitors and other non-related national advertisers consistently in the years from 1942 through 1950, and by 1951 was only out-spent by General Motors ("Procter and Gamble was Biggest", 1943; "Advertising News", 1944; "Advertising News", 1945; "Procter and Gamble Tops", 1947; "The Big Twenty", 1951). As pioneers in various forms of advertising media, they were the first company to adopt a trademark symbol in the 1850s, sponsored some of the first-aired radio

shows, and are credited with producing the first-ever television commercial (Armbruster, 2006; "The Cleanup Man", 1953). As an advertising powerhouse, industry competition generally acknowledged P&G's advertising ability to completely dominate a market (Mayo & Nohria, 2005).

The company's marketing prowess can be attributed to key executives' thorough involvement with ad development, a practice established early in the company's history. In the late nineteenth century, Percy Procter, son of P&G's namesake William Procter, cofounded Procter and Collier Company which provided supplementary advertising support to P&G's in-house advertising department (Applegate, 2012, p. 115; Cooper, C., 1987, pp. 70-71).[29] With the help of this agency and the persistence of William Procter's son Harley who oversaw marketing efforts for Ivory soap, in 1900 P&G pioneered the use of preprinted color magazine inserts that were illustrated by popular artists (Applegate, p. 115). P&G collaborated with this sister agency for many of their advertising needs, enjoying a special cost reduction until the 1930s because of the familial connection (Dyer, Dalzell, & Olegario, 2004; Gale, 1992). Then-president Richard Deupree felt that receiving a discount by using Procter and Collier was advantageous from a cost standpoint, but doing so could actually be to the detriment of their advertising endeavors. He argued that the agency was not marketing P&G products as successfully as he would like because the agency was understaffed and employees were underpaid. To entice Procter and Collier to invest more time and consideration in developing P&G ads, Deupree initially implemented a more equitable compensation agreement, but ultimately, Deupree insisted on outside agencies for their advertising needs ("Richard Redwood Deupree", n.d.).

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[29] Procter and Collier Company provided advertising, merchandising, and printing services not only for Procter and Gamble products, but for other clients as well (Reed, Griswold, Kirk, French, & Fairman, 1921, p. 25).

Senior P&G executives like Richard Deupree established their role in advertising decision-making at P&G earlier in their careers there. For example, president Deupree and his successors, Neil McElroy and Howard Morgens, all worked in P&G's advertising department early in their careers before assuming executive positions, and all remained integrally involved in the advertising process throughout their tenure with the company (Dyer, Dalzell, & Olegario; "The Cleanup Man"; "As You Like It", 1950). McElroy was even a member of the War Advertising Council's board of directors at the same time he was head of P&G's advertising division ("Matters of Choice", n.d., p. 5). As such, he was involved not only in matters of marketing for P&G themselves, but in decision-making about wartime advertising propaganda, and helping negotiate advertising messages in the transition to peacetime.

As I described in chapter two, Procter and Gamble functioned within a framework of conventional attitudes of the times, and fostered a discourse of idealized femininity and domesticity as evidenced in their product portfolio and corporate culture. Racialized and romanticized ideals of femininity and domesticity shaped their advertising strategies as well. As I mentioned, they first relied heavily on their sister agency, Procter and Collier, and advertising decisions were influenced by the "old boys club" of executives like Deupree, McElroy, and Morgens. But the company did begin to outsource their advertising as their marketing needs and interests outgrew what Procter and Collier could provide. Two agencies they used to market Drene in the period under consideration are Kastor, Farrell, Chesley, & Clifford, and Compton Advertising ("New Agency Set Up", 1945; "Advertising News", 1947; Mayo & Nohria, 2005). These agencies' representatives claimed that the P&G advertising department was notoriously difficult to please and tightly controlled advertising content. Recalled one ad agency executive with whom P&G worked, "we were pretty well trapped", unable to persuade P&G executives of

any advertising strategies that challenged their own ideas (Swasy, 1993). They developed quite the reputation of being uncooperative and staunchly traditional in their values. Another copywriter noted that she felt that in the 1950s and 1960s, the company was "at least 20 years behind the American woman. The problem is throughout the company . . . . [they] got this fix that a woman's chief delight is a clean dish, clean floor, and clean shirt" ("Wells, Rich, Greene", 2003, p. 106). Her accusation suggests that P&G emphasized an outmoded perspective that women "delighted" in homemaking, a perspective she argued was ingrained in the corporation's philosophy and ultimately influenced their operations. Reflecting on her portfolio of corporate clients, she remembered that the P&G executives were particularly insistent on controlling the advertising process, often challenging the advice and work of the ad agencies they hired (p. 106).

It was not until the 1970s that P&G biases were openly and collectively challenged by female employees, which is consistent with larger social and political movements of the era. Noting this backlash which occurred more than twenty years after the time period under consideration in my study helps contextualize P&G advertising practices within a broader understanding of mid-century gender politics. In the seventies, some P&G female employees criticized the narrow version of femininity espoused in the company's ads, seeing them as reflections of the discriminatory corporate culture P&G had fostered for years, which was itself a microcosm of the broader social prejudices plaguing American culture. These women enjoyed a forum in which to challenge company executives in a way that would probably not have been possible some twenty years earlier. Having organized a support group called the Women's Interest Group, advocates challenged upper management to diversify their labor force by promoting more women and minorities into higher positions, and pleaded with the company to depict women in a broader variety of roles beyond that of homemaker, mothers, and objects of

male desire (p. 114). Through this platform, women had the opportunity to address long-standing biases that had become such an integral part of the operations and advertising content of Procter and Gamble. While we would hope these women's efforts would have realized substantial operational changes throughout the company, there is little evidence to suggest that any broad-sweeping anti-discriminatory policies were enacted until much later. On record, P&G seems to have formally addressed diversity concerns as early as 1968, even before the formation of the women's group. At that time, then-president Howard Morgens distributed a letter on Affirmative Action to his senior managers, calling them to actively recruit non-whites. "Our continuing objective is that a significant proportion of our new employees will be members of the Negro race and other minority groups" ("Diversity Programming", 1968, as cited in Swasy). Unfortunately, it appears that although this change in policy might have been realized, it failed to remedy systematic discriminatory practices. A former P&G employee, who served as public relations manager for P&G in the seventies, recalled that "white men [were] strategically placed so they could learn what they need[ed] to learn to become [executives]", but the same was not true for black males or other minorities who received less training and whose careers peaked, at best, at midlevel positions (Swasy, 1993, p. 15). P&G's discriminatory practices endured. At their annual meeting in 1975, Procter and Gamble management argued that "showing women as homemakers is natural", and refused to address the Women's Interest Group concerns regarding racial diversity and biased advertising in any concerted effort ("Proxy Statement", 1975, p. 12, as cited in Swasy). To be sure, P&G likely was not the only company challenged about their racial and gender prejudice during this time; there was of course a growing national consciousness about social inequalities as a result of the Civil Rights and Women's Movements. The ideas expressed in Procter & Gamble ads, which reflected a corporate culture that continued to

function within a framework of conservative traditionalist attitudes, were in tension with the broader fast-changing social attitudes of society at large. Executives' unwillingness to reconsider the biased nature of their advertising practices indicates that they valued the conservative ideology which underpinned their company. This glimpse into P&G's future, from the standpoint of the 1940s and early fifties (the time frame under consideration in this dissertation) helps contextualize the conventional philosophy that motivated P&G in the late- and post-war years. This is not to suggest that P&G employees, female or male, were uncritical of company culture or advertising in the forties and fifties; that employee discontent prior to the 1970s is undocumented does not mean employees were satisfied with the status quo. However, we can better understand what P&G was like in the forties and fifties through the lens of women's activism and corporate policies in the seventies. These examples shed light on the longstanding discriminatory practices that would necessarily have informed the corporate culture and advertising decisions made in the decades preceding them.

Procter & Gamble was a corporate powerhouse enjoying massive sales of many product categories despite their allegedly discriminatory ads. That the products were profitable in the forties and fifties, and continued to be in the seventies when their advertising strategies came under attack, suggests that the ads were successful tools in selling products and their accompanying ideals that white American women presumably readily consumed.[30]

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[30] In saying this, I am not suggesting that consumers uncritically, nor uniformly, absorb messages espoused by media. I acknowledge that audiences receive messages in various ways, often, perhaps, differently than the advertiser intended. Stuart Hall's (1973) work informs this perspective. He argued that culturally-specific interpretations of phenomena (stereotypes, racial identity, etc.) become commonsensical through their repetition in the communicative process of popular media, such as advertisements. He further posited that consumers can receive

“Becoming Hair is More Important than Ever”: Drene’s Representation of the Feminine Ideal

Drene advertisements represent the rhetoric tying home and idealized femininity which undergirded Procter & Gamble’s business model. P&G reinforced a broader cultural discourse that supported the traditional role of women as homemakers, and emphasized that a woman’s hair was a chief consideration in the construction of ideal domesticity. They operated a beauty parlor at the corporate headquarters, conducted rigorous tests on real hair to ensure their shampoo would result in shiny locks, and joined consumers in their bathrooms to watch them wash and groom their hair (“Secretaries Get Waves”, 1960; “The Cleanup Man”, 1953, p. 100; Swasy, 1993, p. 77). The ideal customer was, in P&G’s estimation, white, middle class, and attentive to home and family. Shampoo ads featured women that embody these characterizations and though, as we will see, women were not necessarily depicted in homemaking roles, the concept of domesticity is a strong theme among them, insofar as domesticity is understood as

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media in one of three ways: through a dominant reading (the way the producer intended the text to be received), an “oppositional reading” in which the dominant meaning is acknowledged but rejected, or through a “negotiated reading” whereby the reader recognizes the message(s) and decides what she does or does not agree with (pp. 515-517). While considering consumers’ perspectives and reception of advertisements is important in understanding the cultural work that advertisements do, as well as their role in a product’s profitability, such an analysis is beyond the scope of this dissertation. I want to be clear, then, that although P&G ads received criticism from some female employees, they nevertheless must have been successful product marketing tools, as evidenced by sales volume of many product categories when compared to their competitors (“The Cleanup Man”, 1953). However, that the ads were undoubtedly successful despite their alleged biases is beyond the scope of my research, as I am not, in this project, particularly concerned with how viewers received the ads, and how ads ultimately persuaded or dissuaded women from buying shampoo.

including the theoretical “home”, relationships, and attention to personal appearance. Nancy Walker (2000) introduced this conceptualization of late- and postwar domesticity, which she described as including not only housekeeping duties and the physical structure of the home, but also familial obligations, social relationships, purchasing habits, personal well-being, recreation, and appearance management (p. viii). The concept of “domesticity” in the late- and postwar years came to represent pursuits that contributed to the upkeep of one’s personal, familial, and social well-being. By the mid-forties, mass media emphasized that wives should foremost consider their husbands and family’s needs before their own, and that women’s self-maintenance and beautification practices were crucial activities in adequately performing femininity.[31] Drene shampoo ads emphasized domesticity in this way, by marrying femininity with notions of heterosexual romantic relationships, socialization, recreation, and appearance management.

Drene ads stressed the centrality of domesticity in white women’s lives during the transition from late-war to peacetime, and as we will see, hair was an important feature in this formulation. During the war years, many Drene ads represented women in wartime occupations, but insisted that women could remain ideally feminine while working in more masculinized roles. Ads showing images of women in war industry occupations or represented in military attire emphasized that they should maintain appropriately feminine hairstyles and hair grooming routines. I have identified the transition period from war to peacetime as beginning in 1944 lasting through 1952.[32] It was during this time that ads strongly emphasized the importance of domesticity in women’s lives. Nearing war’s end, there was no longer a need to recruit women

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[31] See Blackwelder (1997) p. 134.

[32] A more thorough discussion of the reasoning for this specific time period is contained included in the Introduction and Chapter One.

into war work, so advertisements instead began to intensify representations of an ideal American home. The Office of War Information (OWI) reported having been contacted by various general interest magazines asking for advice on how to change their advertising approaches to ensure a smooth transition into the post-war period. Advertisements began to change noticeably by 1944. Consumer goods advertisements emphasized the importance of women as wives and mothers, and some ads implied that it would be harmful to the family unit if women continued to work.[33]

Drene ads echoed this theme, although as we will see, motherhood itself was not a predominant theme among these shampoo ads. Only the earliest of Drene ads during this period allude to women working, which is consistent with the shift in advertising as a whole during this transitionary period. What is unique about these ads, though, is the characterization of hair as necessary in attaining and maintaining ideal domesticity. Granted, one would expect a shampoo ad to be about, well, hair cleanliness. But hair is elevated as the single-most attribute of feminine appearance responsible for a woman's successful performance of her femininity. As ads collectively suggested, "beau-baiting" one's hair by washing with Drene was a sure way to attract and sustain male attention, perform better in recreational activities, be more socially-engaged, and improve one's overall physical well-being (Drene, 1946a). The advertising stories implied that Drene-clean hair was an important criterion in the attainment of an all-around successful domestic experience. These ads visually represent the broader cultural significance of women's hair in the late- and postwar period that I discussed in chapters one and two. In the remainder of this section, I will discuss the ads I analyzed, most of which are available through Duke University's Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising, and Marketing History digital collection. In researching this brand, I found that a sizable collection of ads exists among private

[33] See Maureen Honey (1984), pp. 119-124.

digital collections, as well. I used some of these private collections to have an even greater assortment of ads to evaluate. Further, I analyzed all Drene advertisements from the 108 issues of *Vogue* and *Good Housekeeping* magazines from this period.

Drene ads from the period 1944 through 1952 resonate with the ideals brought about by the transition from war- to peacetime. In the remainder of this chapter, I will discuss the conventions in style and layout that typify Drene ads during this period, then will describe the specific themes they represent. Finally, I will describe how the messages in these ads collectively use hair in the construction of ideal femininity and domesticity.

Visual characteristics of Drene ads. A particular version of femininity is constructed in Drene ads from 1944-1952. Women are represented as passive, coy, conventionally attractive, and white, characteristics which can be noticed quickly and without much discernment. And although the particular conventions used to advertise Drene in these years shift, the visual, gendered cues present in all of these ads are consistent in their representation of a narrow image of womanhood. Women of color are excluded entirely, a practice that endured until 1958, when Procter and Gamble first used an African American female in a Drene ad (Procter & Gamble, 2014, p. 44).[34] That ad appears to be the *only* Drene ad representing a woman of color for the life of the product, which was not discontinued until the 1970s ("Royal Drene Shampoo", n.d.).

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[34] It is unclear in which publications this advertisement appeared. Procter and Gamble cites this advertisement in their "Diversity and Inclusion Annual Report, 2013-2014", and refers to it only as part of their national advertising campaign with no reference to specific magazines. We can assume, however, that this ad ran in magazines targeting African American women, as ethnic women were still excluded among mainstream magazines and were not even used among advertisements in magazines like *Ebony* until the late 1950s and early 1960s (Filling, 2008, p. 108).

These ads are also class-exclusive, as women are portrayed as predominantly middle or upper-middle class. I will discuss this racial and social class exclusivity in greater detail in the final section of this chapter.

Visual cues in the Drene ads from this period suggest feminine passivity and subordination, and include motifs associated with clichéd femininity. For example, the headline in an April 1944 Drene ad reads: "It's Spring . . . and she has shining hair! No wonder love is in the air" (Drene, 1944a). A small inset illustration of a man and woman accompanies this line. He is positioned above the woman, and looks possessively down on her. Visual qualities such as the color, size, and texture evoke stereotypical gendered associations of masculinity and femininity.[35] The most prominent image in the ad is of the woman by herself, holding a small bouquet of pink flowers in her glove-covered hands. The woman is dressed characteristically feminine. Her makeup is soft, and delicate ruffles peek from between the jacket lapels and out from under the cuffs. She is posed with her gaze turned from the angle of the camera, a commonly-used strategy to convey passivity (Goffman, 1979). The written content implies the primacy of maintaining a "feminine" appearance, and the importance of hair in this construction. "Springtime . . .time for you to be lovelier than ever with radiant, glamorous hair that invites romance!" Fashion advice in this ad suggests that wearing hats that expose hair are "among the smartest this Spring" and that "becoming hairdos are *more important than ever*" (emphasis mine). This communicates that among women's priorities, maintaining ideal hair is of utmost importance.

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[35] The idea that certain stylistic cues evoke gendered associations has been extensively argued by many scholars. For examples, see Welch, Huston-Stein, Wright, & Plehal (1979), Goffman (1979), and Leiss, Kline, Jhally, & Botterill (2005).

Other Drene ads from this period represent women in the same general way – women are most often positioned with their heads turned to the side or downward, rarely in a forward-facing gaze. In the ads that do include a forward-facing female character, other conventions in posturing, facial expression, or contextual elements convey passivity. Feminine cues such as flowers and hearts, as well as soft colors, are used. Visual cues like these are not surprising, even to the most novice observer. More compelling are the broader conventions used over the course of the eight-year period, as well as the themes implicit in the narratives of women engaging in various domestic activities. Women are shown preparing for a date, wearing bridal attire, shopping for a "love nest", enjoying honeymoon adventures, and engaging in various recreational activities, while attention to hair management remains paramount to a woman's successful involvement in each. Implicit in all of the ads is the assumption that hair is an inherent feature of feminine beauty. Shampooing with Drene, so the ads argued, reveal the "natural" beauty of women's hair. Otherwise, a woman's attractiveness is compromised if her hair is not shiny and smooth. Copy includes the assurances that "you are happy in the knowledge that your hair is sparkling and alive with all its *natural* [emphasis added] highlights revealed [after shampooing with Drene]", and "[Drene] always leaves [hair] naturally soft and shining" (Drene, 1946b; 1951a). An ad from 1952 declared "the glean, the natural shine, the silken shimmer *that's yours* [emphasis added] when you shampoo your hair with gentle Drene" (Drene, 1952a). As domestic pursuits are naturalized in femininity, so, too, beauty is considered an inherent property of feminine hair.

Drene advertising conventions. In the early forties, Drene ads modeled other popular consumer ads by incorporating overt patriotic messages. Ads represented women in military uniforms, encouraged viewers' support by asking them to buy war bonds, or in some other way

alluded to women's patriotic sensibilities. Usually, these messages had no other direct connection to the product itself, but instead simply reinforced the importance of American pride and service to the country (which is not unlike other ads from this period). One ad in 1942, for example, depicted a college-aged woman with an on-looking soldier admirer; she was the "darling of the campus" who wore a red, white, and blue "Bundles for America" scarf, indicating her affiliation with the women's organization that sewed textile goods for troops' use and helped raise money for the war effort (Drene, 1942). Drene ads from 1943 continued to reference women involved in the war effort, but among the ads I have reviewed, the last date an ad depicted a woman's direct involvement in the war was in January 1944. The Drene advertising formula had already begun to change in 1943 depicting more subtle patriotic references, and by 1944 advertisements were fairly distinct from those in the early forties in which the war was a predominant theme. Traces of wartime motifs and messages remained, but the vignettes changed; women were no longer represented as military personnel nor overtly encouraged to do their part for the war effort. Instead, they were shown as the love interests of military servicemen, and a common message was that a woman need maintain lovely hair for her military sweetheart. Captions for the woman and her enamored serviceman include: "The memory of your shining hair goes with your sweetheart everywhere", "his heart will hold a brighter picture of you if your hair is always lovely, shining", and "bright shining hair is your headstart [*sic*] toward captivating that man's heart" (Drene, 1944b; 1944c). The only military motifs that remained in the 1944 ads were like these, with uniformed men looking amorously at their female counterpart.

Soon, any reference to the war was omitted, since the war officially ended in September of 1945. Otherwise, Drene ads followed a similar model in 1945 that typified those in 1944; a

male love interest was frequently the impetus for a woman to shampoo her hair. Other ads released in this year were a different layout, arrangements that depicted the female lead in several different situations, all requiring well-groomed hair. Narratives were lengthy, describing women engaging in various social and recreational activities. The importance of hair in the domestic ideal was implicit in all of the stories. Comments like "[You'll be] lucky at [playing] cards, but luckier in love if you do right by your hair", and "exciting things happen if your hair shines like silk" provided the promise of contentment in one's social and love life all because of using Drene (Drene 1946c; 1952b).

Ads maintained the same general format until 1947 when a new Drene formula was introduced. As I mentioned in the introduction, two leading competitors Lustre-Crème and Breck entered the market in 1945 and 1946, respectively. As competition intensified and more products became available, shampoo makers like Drene looked for new opportunities to garner as large a market share as possible and adding this new formula was one way to spark consumers' interest. The formula boasted a new ingredient referred to as "soft-as-rainwater action" ("P&G Shampoo Unveils", n.d.). This formula purportedly generated more lather than the original, allowing busy women the opportunity to wash their hair more quickly if needed, and bottles were packaged in a more vibrant blue and green box intended to stand out among competitor brands on store shelves ("P&G Shampoo Unveils"). However, it's somewhat difficult to discern what difference this new formula would make for women's hair compared to the old recipe. Promising even more luster and softer hair, the shampoo was still described as gentle, soap-free, and successful at restoring *natural* shine and softness. As for their advertisements, there were some changes after the introduction of this formula in 1947. Ads came to rely more on celebrity testimonials than lengthy anecdotes depicting women in various

activities throughout the course of their day. The emphasis on celebrity appeal did not compromise the underlying messages; hair was necessary in the construction of ideal femininity and domesticity in these ads. As I will discuss in a later section, celebrity endorsements factored in as heavily in the emphasis placed on domesticity as did Drene's other advertising conventions.

Ads were fairly consistent in content and style until the early fifties, at which time they began to evidence the growing competition from the influx of other varieties of shampoos and hair care products coming on the market. Ads referred to Drene as "a complete beauty routine", denouncing the need for other hair care products like lotions, creams, or pomades. The increasing competition from the diversification of hair products necessitated that Drene reposition itself as the only product needed to achieve ideal hair. Drene accounted for a smaller market share by 1953, as did cream shampoos in general.

Though the conventions used to advertise Drene changed somewhat in the years under consideration in this dissertation, they collectively reveal some significant themes, all of which are tied to a particular feminine and domestic ideal. Ads included the following themes: the emphasis on youthfulness, the necessity of "controlling" hair, the requirement of well-groomed hair in achieving social acceptance, and aspirations of upward mobility.

The youth ideal. In her research on the evolution of American beauty culture, historian Kathy Peiss (1998) observed that in the 1940s, images of beauty were increasingly represented as youthful. Drene advertisements well represented this trend. Copy frequently referenced youthfulness, as in one ad from 1945 that declared Drene's role in preparing "exciting young hairdos" (Drene, 1945a). In fact, I found only one ad depicting an older adult female with gray hair. Featured in *American Hairdresser*, a specialty publication for those in the hairstyling trade, the ad says that since "many of your clients are older, more mature women", using Drene can

help them obtain a more youthful appearance ("Drene Presents Gracious Lady", 1946). This presupposes, of course, that youth is preferable and that hairdressers can assist their clients in achieving the ideal by using Drene shampoo. Other mass publication ads featured "Drene Girls" (the name itself denoting youth), who were presented in situations more prevalent among younger women than older adults. The women in the ads I have evaluated appear to be younger than those depicted in 1930s and early forties Drene ads, and are described in many of the vignettes in ways that suggest their life-stage as such. Most are represented as unmarried, but of marriageable age, and contain copy that privileged youthfulness in the construct of feminine beauty; "Springtime! Time for hearts to be young and gay . . . time for you to be lovelier than ever with radiant, glamorous hair that invites romance" (Drene, 1944a). Another ad insisted that "cupid finds it difficult to resist the girl with Drene-lovely hair", using Drene would allow women to remain "smoothly groomed" while "love-nest shopping", and "honeymoon tennis is indeed a love game when you braid your hair in these beguiling pigtails" (Drene, 1946d). Not only was the ad's model represented in scenarios more common in early adulthood, the model herself, Penny Edwards, was at the time only 18 years old (Oliver, 1998, n.p).[36] While other models in Drene ads varied in aged, they were still often depicted in life stage scenarios that resonate with young adulthood.[37]

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[36] For ads that identified models by name, I consulted biographical information (including census data, obituaries, and biographies) to learn their ages and other relevant information.

[37] Exceptions to the representation of youthfulness through the models used and vignettes described are a few ads from 1947 and later when the aspiration theme became even more prevalent. This will be described further in a later section.

While the above Drene ads are ones that could be found among general women's magazines such as *Ladies Home Journal*, and *Good Housekeeping*, Procter and Gamble's drive to attract a more youthful market propelled them to advertise in the first-ever teen market magazine, *Seventeen*, which was introduced in 1944.[38] Initially, they ran the same ads as ones used in adult women's magazines, like those described above. Realizing the need to better appeal to the magazine's younger market, Procter and Gamble quickly moved to create ads that featured even more youthful-looking women, and revised ads first appeared in the magazine's February 1945 issue (Massoni, 2010, pp. 121-122). Their attention to a more youthful market is further evident in Drene's sponsorship of the radio show "Junior Miss", which aired from 1942 until 1954. In 1944 Drene print ads featured "Junior Miss" models and gave advice about how to achieve a "becoming" and "appropriate" feminine hairstyle. Consider the copy from a 1944 Drene ad:

> Special occasions like school contests, concerts, plays, and proms! Time for a girl to look her super-special best! And nothing does so much to give her that happy confidence as shining-smooth hair, neatly combed into a flattering hair-do. . . . like all the Junior Miss hair-dos sponsored by Procter & Gamble, makers of Drene shampoo. (Drene, 1944d)

Junior Miss ads also included a section for teachers, offering advice on educating young women in proper hair maintenance. Offering "Helpful Material for Good Grooming Projects . . .

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[38] Magazines became further segmented into more distinct consumer markets in the 1940s; increasingly magazines targeted specific consumer categories such as teens and children (Peiss, 1998; Massoni, 2010). Procter and Gamble's advertising Drene in *Seventeen* as early as 1945 evidences their intuitive decision-making to jump on a marketing trend early in its inception.

Free to Teachers", educators could mail in a coupon to receive a sample copy of Procter and Gamble's book *A Girl and Her Hair*, a shampooing method chart, a hair styling chart, and enough samples of Drene Shampoo to distribute to all the students in the class (Drene, 1944d). Such ads targeting young women represent the ideology that hair maintenance was a critical aspect of femininity, apparently an important lesson for girls to learn before becoming adults.

Containment and social acceptance. Drene ads communicated to young prepubescent women the importance of hair to their overall appearance, in both their magazine advertisements as well as the supplementary materials described above. To achieve socially-preferred, youthful beauty, hair maintenance was an important routine that began with cleansing with Drene. Drene ads communicated far deeper messages, though, than the emphasis on the youth ideal, messages that were not just intended for the young women who might be the readers of *Seventeen Magazine*, or the recipient of lessons from *A Girl and Her Hair* in their home economics classes. The brand also sponsored educational initiatives meant to assist adult women as well, realizing a second prevalent theme Drene ads represented in the years 1944 through 1952 – that in order to attain the ideal, no matter her age, a woman's hair needed be controlled. Scholars have well documented the ideology of female sexual containment of the late war years and the decade that followed (Meyerowitz, 1994; Penn, 2001; Hegarty, 1998; May, 1999).[39] As Donna Penn (2001) noted, "the program for moral readiness focused on a domestic ideology that sought to contain female sexuality in the home, within marriage, and attended by motherhood" (p. 361). Similarly,

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[39] These scholars' arguments are not identical. Meyerowitz, for example, criticized May's position that the postwar idealization of home and femininity constrained feminine sexuality. Hegarty also believed that May's position downplays women's sexual agency. Despite the nuances in the scholars' arguments, they collectively contribute to an understanding of the popular treatment of late- and postwar female sexuality.

Elaine Tyler May (1999) suggested that female sexual containment was an important attribute in the construction of ideal domesticity, and that a woman's deviation from "widely accepted gender roles that defined men as breadwinners and women as mothers . . . would cause sexual and familial chaos and weaken the country's moral fiber" (p. 103). As I described in this dissertation's introduction, women's hair has long been invested with social meaning. In particular, hair has been an attribute of feminine appearance that represents sexual allure. Hair in the mid-forties represented feminine seduction even more overtly due to the wartime pin-up girl aesthetic, the rise of celebrity culture, and in general, the greater attention hair products garnered in the marketplace. Drene ads presupposed hair as a natural feature of feminine beauty and sexual appeal, suggesting that maintaining attractive hair is necessary to achieve social success and romantic involvement. At the same time, ads emphasized that women's hair needed be contained and fit within the parameters of what was considered appropriate and ideal.

The book *A Girl and Her Hair* is one such example of how Procter and Gamble and the Drene brand communicated this containment ideology. As described above, the book was marketed to home economics teachers for use in their classrooms, but it was also available to the general public via advertisements in popular general interest magazines as well. In addition to the information teachers could use to educate teenagers, the book included general hair grooming techniques that were applicable to women of all ages.[40] Information included shampooing and

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[40] Educational guide books regarding adolescent hygiene were not new in the 1940s. Popular health books, particularly those that addressed puberty and the impending bodily changes girls could expect, were common resources used by white middle- and upper-class mothers to educate their daughters by the late nineteenth century (Brumberg, 1998, p. 111). By the 1930s, pamphlets addressing topics such as menstruation were distributed to schools and households alike (Brumberg, p. 123-125; Peril, 1997, n.p.). These supposed "aggressive education"

brushing techniques – daily rituals that were considered necessary for all women (A Girl and Her Hair, 1947). The basis of all articles was Drene-shampooed hair, which was the necessary first step to attaining an ideal appearance. A shampooing tutorial in the book emphasized the need to shampoo with Drene frequently. Reminiscent of the appeal to modernity that I earlier described was characteristic of ads during this period, the tutorial stated that "contrary to old ideas, daily shampooing is not injurious to the hair" (A Girl and Her Hair, 1949, p. 5). To be modern, this suggests, women should consider daily washing. It warned that "dirty hair isn't pretty", and provided a step-by-step guide for how to clean hair well. Procter and Gamble cleverly created the "wash and repeat" instruction found on the back of Drene bottles in hopes that women would use more, and hence buy more, Drene. The same ritual was emphasized in the shampooing tutorial. It suggested that "two sudsings are usually enough, but you'll know if you need more by the way your hair feels" (p. 5). The self-described "authoritative" book on feminine hair grooming, it offered a collection of lessons emphasizing the role of clean and well-groomed hair in the construction of the ideal woman. The text is fraught with evaluative language that presupposed women needed to be educated in the proper methods of maintaining their hair. Further, the lessons implied that hair was the single-most attribute of feminine appearance that lent women their beauty, but also that women needed follow a host of rituals to achieve properly groomed, carefully arranged, and appropriately contained styles.

This book which women could receive by mailing in the advertisement's coupon, was but one example of Drene's role in the containment of feminine beauty through their commentary on controlling feminine hair. Advertising content also relied heavily on the theme of containment

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programs were essentially clever marketing tactics used to cultivate a lucrative adolescent market for feminine hygiene and grooming products.

and acceptance. Copy from ads ranging from 1945 through 1952 included the descriptions "every hair in its place is the first rule for a smart hairdo", "Drene leaves your hair so well-behaved", and "[this shampoo leaves your hair] so obedient" (Drene, 1945b, 1946d; 1952c). Messages in many ads from this period contended that a woman's clean and appropriately maintained hair is necessary to win the attraction of men. Written copy included: "Men notice and remember the girl with glamorous shining locks", "the first thing a man usually notices about your looks is your lovely shining hair", and "there's just no doubt, he'll love you <u>more</u> if your hair shines and shimmers . . . the way it will when you shampoo with today's gentle Drene" (Drene, 1944d; 1946c; 1952d). These comments implied that a woman's ability to secure a (heterosexual) relationship lay in the upkeep of her hair, and as such, enforced the notion that a woman's beauty was under the constant surveillance of men. As one ad from 1944 ad reprimanded, "Does your hairdo require constant fiddling? Men don't like the business of running a comb through your hair in public. Fix your hair so it stays put" (1944c). This message, and others like it, bound a woman's hair to the contentment of her male counterpart; it must be clean and contained to appease men.

Between 1944 and 1952, Drene ads suggested that properly groomed hair was not only necessary to appeal to masculine desire and contentment, but to avoid social scrutiny as well. Many ads warned that dull, dry, and unkempt hair risked a woman's social acceptance. Copy like "Shhh . . . you have dandruff?. . .what a pity", and "remember that no hairdo, not even the very loveliest really becomes you unless your hair itself is shiny smooth" reminded women that the texture and appearance of their hair was important in how others would perceive them (Drene 1944c; 1946a). These ads implied that dandruff and dull hair were social embarrassments, and that a woman was only truly becoming in the eyes of others if she had smooth and shiny hair.

With the introduction of a new Drene formula in 1947, this theme intensified. In this year, ads began to refer to Drene as a "magical" product, capable of performing a host of "beauty miracles" such as ridding of frizzy, dry hair and "unsightly dandruff" (Drene 1947a; 1947b; 1949c; 1952e). Such messages stressed the important of staying within the confines of what was deemed attractive feminine hair; any deviation from the ideal warranted a miraculous intervention that, as the story goes, only Drene could provide.

Upward mobility. Scholars suggest that in the late- and postwar years, there was an increased emphasis among advertisers to encourage that consumption, in general, was necessary to achieve self-fulfillment (Peiss, 1998; May, 1999). Advertisements in the early twentieth century already began to include messages intended to advance modernism, and while this momentum waned during World War II, it intensified at war's end and in the immediate post-war period (Laird, 1998; Marchand, 1985). As previously mentioned, Roland Marchand (1985) argued that advertisements in the pre-war period appealed to consumers' desires for better, more fulfilled lives. "Revealing the state of technology, the current styles in clothing, furniture, and other products", ads communicate via these "social tableaus" realistic scenarios consumers are encouraged to imagine as attainable for themselves (p. 165). This technique intensified in the late- and post-war years, and is evident in the Drene ads from the period 1944-1952. As I described in chapter one, in late- and postwar America, (white) women were charged with responsibilities of buying and using, in particular, personal and household-related goods in order to meet social standards against which she (and subsequently her family) would be measured. Drene ads contributed to an ethos that women's consumption of such goods was necessary in order to better their life prospects. Advertisements encouraged white women to consume Drene shampoo in order to obtain the domestic ideal, and provide the ultimate rewards of not only

“beautiful” hair, but healthy relationships, a happy home life, social acceptance, and improved social status. Advertising messages consistently reminded women that the solution to their mousy, dull, dandruffed, and unruly hair could be found in Drene shampoo. But not only could women’s hair inadequacies be resolved, using Drene, ads suggested, would help one be more desirable, socially-accepted, and better-performing at daily and recreational tasks. By incorporating vignettes that recall life experiences consumers (that is, white, middle-to-upper middle class consumers) could imagine themselves in, these ads advocated that consumption of Drene shampoo was the key to bettering one’s life.

Drene ads not only echoed commonplace scenarios that would resonate with their target market; they also evoked aspirations for grandeur and luxury which reflect the self-betterment ethos contained within the domestic ideology I employ in this study. As such, these ads are reminiscent of John Berger’s (1970) assertion that advertisements incorporate popularly recognizable devices or works of art within them to evoke a sense of “affluence and wisdom” (pp. 134-135). In so doing, they act as a kind of cultural authority; certain images that may otherwise be unrelated to the advertised product can conjure up the feeling of cultural prestige that viewers come to associate with the product itself. While Berger’s argument is more specific to suggest that advertisements borrow from the visual language of classical paintings, his theory can be broadened to include other visual forms like these Drene ads as well. For example, an ad from 1944 includes a female draped in a fur stole, posed in front of what appears to be a statue, presumably in a museum. Fur was popularized by Hollywood film stars in the thirties and forties, and came to represent sophistication and glamour among American viewers. The copy declares that Drene is the “preferred shampoo of beauty-wise women everywhere” (1944e). While upon first consideration, these messages may not resonate with an understanding of the

mid-century domestic ideal, I argue that they support an ethos that women's consumption of personal and/or household goods was a necessary requisite to achieve a better life. As I previously described, the purchase and implementation of goods intended to improve self or home was intimately bound in a late- and postwar discourse of ideal domesticity. White women's consumption of such goods had ideological ties to the home, and these ads evoking ideas of grandeur and class were meant to encourage women to aspire for the finer things even if certain elements, such as fur, were themselves not symbolic of domesticity.

The appeal to worldliness and intellect, coupled with the wealth and high-culture signaled by the visuals, exemplify Berger's theory. Taken together, the visual codes communicate "affluence and wisdom". Other ads from this period employ the same technique. Some ads include references to international destinations that were particularly popular during the forties and fifties. A 1944 ad includes an open neckline, hair combs, and an upswept style that are all "inspired by Mexico" (Drene, 1944b). Mexican destinations were popular among celebrities and expatriates in both decades, and were featured in popular literature and films as well (Weiner, 2010). Certain European destinations were also featured in ads. For example, a 1945 ad references Parisian hairstyles, exclaiming "straight from Paris [are] these exciting young hairdos!" (Drene, 1945a). Prior to the war, Paris was considered the premier fashion city internationally, and even though the American fashion industry grew due to restrictions on Parisian imports and media during the war, the appeal to Paris as a fashion authority was still relevant in the late- and post-war years. As I have argued, an element of the domestic ideal was that of self-betterment, and the worldliness and fashionable hairdo know-how these ads encouraged support a rhetoric of self-improvement. While a surface analysis of such ads that contain international travel may seem contradictory to an ethos of American domesticity, they

encourage women's self-betterment and yearning for upward mobility from the comfort of their own (American) homes. The concept of ideal domesticity is realized by females' "participation" in the international travel as advertisement viewers, as opposed to actual worldly travel which, for the majority of mid-century popular magazine readers, would never have been a reality anyway. After all, a critical piece of the domestic mid-century model was that of aspiring for higher social means despite one's own reality, and such ads invited women to envision social advancement through the vignettes recalling international destinations.

An additional tactic Drene ads used to appeal to the aspirations of their viewers was using recognizable models and celebrities. By 1945, Drene began including the names of models appearing in the ads. This appealed to women's fashion awareness, and feigned credibility of the product in the knowledge that models, too, used Drene shampoo. Called "Drene Girls", these models were posed in familiar situations that would likely resonate with a white, middle-class observer. This formula suggested that the well-known fashion model was a "real" woman, too, encouraging the observer to simultaneously envy and relate to her. Ads increasingly used celebrity endorsements from actresses, too. An ad from 1947 encouraged "hitch your hair to the stars", referring to the featured star Sonja Henie, figure skater and Hollywood actress. The accompanying text described how "a movie star's hair must always be radiantly clean" but the inset copy reminds women that "Sonja's [hair] is just as glamorous in real life" (Drene, 1947c). The concept of "glamour" was popularized by Hollywood film and celebrity culture, and was a frequently referenced ideal in Drene ads during this time. Many ads incorporated the latest fashionable trends among clothing and accessories, include motifs of sparkling jewels and twinkling stars, and encourage women to "make a date with glamour" (Drene, 1945a, 1945c). So important was the concept "glamour" in the formulation of the Drene ad model that Procter

and Gamble offered a book entitled “Glamour”, available for purchase with a mail-in coupon. The book was edited by a “famous beauty expert”, and contained advice on how to achieve more fashionable, glamorous hairstyles. The appeal to glamour reflects what Berger argued is a primary goal of advertising. “The purpose of publicity is to make the spectator marginally dissatisfied with [her] present way of life . . . It suggests that if [she] buys what it is offering [her] life will become better (p. 142). In this way, Drene advertisements play on the postwar consumer anxieties of its viewers to imagine an alternative, enhanced life.

Racialized Beauty and Social Class Bias

In all, Drene ads from the period 1944 to 1952 represent a discourse of ideal femininity, a discourse which relies heavily on the importance of domesticity in its construction. As I described, the concept of domesticity that I employ in this dissertation is one that is broader than the physical home itself. It includes notions about the theoretical home – those things which contribute to the well-being, maintenance, and pursuit of social and family life, particularly in the context of the American home front. In the late- and immediate post-war period, there was a growing national consciousness to restore the traditional family, emphasizing women’s “natural” inclinations as wives, mothers, caregivers, and homemakers. Drene helped convey this ideology not by engaging directly with homemaking or motherhood, but by stressing the importance of feminine appearance management, the social regulation of women’s hair, and class aspiration.

But in calculating a domestic and feminine ideal, these advertisements advance a narrative of racialized beauty and social class exclusivity. As I previously mentioned, all of the women in the ads are Caucasian, and conventionally attractive according to Westernized ideals represented by pin-up girls and among popular actresses of the day. While some ads contended that Drene was perfect for “all types of hair”, the hair “types” to which these ads referred are

presumably distinctions in hair *color*; additional text copy includes that this shampoo works for "glamorous blondes, beauteous brunettes, or radiant redheads" (Drene, 1947d; 1947c; 1951a). Nowhere in this promise of universality is there mention of ethnic hair or variety in textures for which the shampoo would be equally useful. Instead, these various hair types exclusively refer to the different colors of hair among those for whom smooth and lustrous hair is "natural". Further suggesting that Drene is marketed toward a racially-specific woman are the ads that offer styling advice. Examples of "beautifully behaved" hair types are depicted as classically Caucasian styles. One 1944 ad depicting a long style combed smooth and close against the crown, tucked behind the ear, remarks "there is nothing lovelier, nothing smarter than this simple, classic hair-do, particularly if your features are regular and your face small" (Drene, 1944d). One can only speculate about what was meant, exactly, by the descriptors "regular" and "small", but in the least we can assume that the brand envisioned a specific "type" of woman was intended to benefit from this advice.

Just as the ads exclude racial diversity, they also represent a significant social class bias. I have argued that the inclusion of higher socioeconomic class symbols and concepts can be regarded as representing an ethos of upward mobility which was, itself, bound in the domestic ideal. Such content was intended to entice social class aspiration among its viewers, but it simultaneously represented social class bias in the use of celebrity appeal, and in the assumptions made about who the viewer was. By addressing a universal "you" in nearly all the ads is, Drene purported to speak to any female viewer in hopes she would be enticed to purchase Drene shampoo. For example, storylines portray women in "commonplace" activities – attending a dance, shopping for their love nest, socializing at a football game, horseback riding, and enjoying dinner at a "table for two". And though these recreational activities resonate with the domestic

ideal (by engaging in social relationships and recreational activities, as well as evoking aspirational qualities), they are a limited portrayal of how American women likely spent their free time. The women are clearly represented as women of leisure. Work, whether within the home or employment outside of it, is not part of the narrative Drene creates.

Lustre-Crème shampoo, another popular brand during this same time period, did broach the subject of women and work, marrying the subject of hair in the ideal feminine construct differently than did Drene. A competing brand, Breck, likewise characterized ideal femininity in a particular way, differently than Drene but in a way that also privileges women's hair as the most important criterion of ideal femininity and domesticity. In chapter four, I will explore these two brands – Breck and Lustre-Crème – their parent companies, and their advertisements that characterize hair as fundamental to attaining the feminine and domestic ideal.

Chapter Four: Hair Girls: Breck, Lustre-Crème, and the Domestic Ideal

A 1949 *Time Magazine* article declared that "on its advertising message of optimism and progress, U.S. business this year is spending about $830 million in magazines and newspapers alone" ("Billion Dollar Baby", p. 90). As I described in chapter three, Drene was a leading shampoo brand communicating values that echoed these advertising messages by stressing the importance of upward mobility and self-betterment in the late- and immediate postwar period. Drene's rival brands Breck and Lustre-Crème did the same, in related yet different ways. The *Time* article further identified that "the new emphasis in advertising, particularly for such goods as synthetics . . . [was] on telling an informative story of quality" (p. 90). Emphasizing quality became increasingly necessary as brands worked to distinguish themselves in the highly competitive shampoo market. As competitors of Drene, a long-standing brand that introduced the first-ever synthetic shampoo, Breck and Lustre-Crème had the task of enticing consumers to use their brands instead, luring them away from the innovative Drene. To do so, they emphasized quality and what they considered unique features. Yet, despite attributes that purportedly set the brands apart, Breck and Lustre-Crème ultimately reinforced the domestic ideal that Drene perpetuated in its late- and postwar advertising campaign. While each brand carved out a specific and unique identity among the market, all three ultimately painted ideal domesticity in the same particular way, and naturalized hair in its construction. Many ads from this period emphasized the importance of appearance management which was, as I argue, a function of the late- and postwar domestic concept. But while the importance of self-beautification was commonly communicated in various mid-century product advertisements, shampoo ads essentialized the body itself in the construction of ideal domesticity. In this

chapter, I will explain how, like Drene, Breck and Lustre-Crème promoted a racialized domestic ideal in which (white) women's hair figured prominently in "doing" domesticity successfully.

"Beautiful Hair Breck"

Breck was a soap-based shampoo, unlike its leading competitors Drene and Lustre-Crème which were synthetic-based. The brand not only clung to the tradition of using soap as opposed to synthetics, it also competed as a liquid against the increasingly popular cream formulas, like Drene and Lustre-Crème. Creams were introduced in 1940 and steadily captured a major market share until their decline in 1953 (Powers, 1956, p. 60). At the height of their popularity in 1951, cream varieties accounted for nearly 40% of all shampoos sold, with pastes, liquids, and clear liquids making up the rest (Powers).[41] Nevertheless, liquid Breck secured a spot as one of the top five selling shampoos in 1951, the only soap-based formula among the most popular brands ("Shampoos: Evolving", 1995, p. 90). This attests to its popularity among the market, despite other brands' more innovative approach in switching to synthetic and cream formulas.

The Breck family was already well-established in their hometown of Springfield, Massachusetts prior to the popularity of Breck shampoo. John H. Breck operated a laboratory producing various body tonics and creams as early as 1910 before venturing into the shampoo business (Saxon, 1993, n.p). His son, pharmacist Edward Breck, joined the family business and in 1929, created Breck shampoo which was distributed exclusively among beauty salons in New England before being nationally distributed in 1946 (Saxon, 1993, n.p.; Minnick, 1998). Touted as the first ph-balanced shampoo of its kind, it was offered in three hair-type varieties – oily,

[41] Cream shampoos' market share decline to 30% by 1953, as "recent trends indicate[d] a preference for clear shampoo" (Powers, 1956; "Shampoos: Evolving", 1995).

normal, and dry – intended to meet the needs of "all" hair types. While this variety might at first suggest that the brand catered to an ethnically diverse audience of women, Breck ads suggest otherwise. Their advertising campaign featured the iconic "Breck Girl", who was one of a variety of real women featured in ads from the product's inception until the late seventies when the campaign was discontinued (Minnick, 1998, p. 2). The "girls" were fair-skinned Caucasian women, and overwhelmingly with medium-to-long, smooth hairstyles. It was not until 1974 that an African American woman was used in a Breck ad, so that the shampoo came in three varieties only evidences the brand's attempt to compete in the increasingly diversified shampoo market, as opposed to a strategy to otherwise attract an ethnic market (Goodrum & Dalrymple, 1990).

Despite the narrow demographic Breck Girls represented, they were cultural icons who garnered widespread attention after the company's national advertising campaign was launched in 1946, at which time they placed ads in popular consumer magazines including *Ladies Home Journal*, *Vogue*, *Seventeen*, and *Glamour* (Sherrow, 2006, p. 72). Former National Museum of American History Breck Girls Collection archivist, Mimi Minnick, who was responsible for helping acquire the collection in the 1990s from then-parent company the Dial Corporation, described that Breck Girl portraits born during the Depression era "came of age in the 1940s and fifties" (Minnick, 2000, p. 96). In researching and cataloguing the brand, Minnick noted that ad executives responded to the late- and post-war transition emphasizing conservative values and the American home by "crafting and presenting idealized images of an American woman they thought everyone could love, a woman both desirable and chaste" (p. 96). Materials that I acquired from this archive support her claim. Correspondences from former late-forties and early fifties Breck Girls themselves, information regarding the artist who painted their portrait,

and print ads collectively tell the story of how Breck advertisements stood for a particular version of American ideal domesticity.

Breck Girls were painted portraits of real American white women, women who throughout the forties and early fifties consisted of members of the Breck family itself, ad agency employees, and community residents. As I will later describe, Breck ads encouraged viewers to connect to the values of the brand by seeing themselves in these “everyday”, mainstream beauties. Women chosen to represent the brand were sketched by a single commercial artist, Charles Gates Sheldon, who created portraits for Breck’s advertising campaign until he retired in 1957 (Minnick, 1998, p. 2). Sheldon studied under Alphonse Mucha, French Art Nouveau painter whose works were characterized by the use of sensuous organic lines inspired by nature, and particularly, women’s bodies (“Charles Sheldon Student of Mucha”, n.d.). While women were not Mucha’s only subjects, he produced many works that included women draped in long, flowing robes, as well as a collection of nearly-nude compositions. He is credited with creating an early “pin-up” aesthetic in his paintings, a style that Sheldon would repeat in his own body of work (Buszek, 2006, p. 124). Prior to his employment as an artist for Breck, Sheldon was an already well-respected artist having painted portraits of Hollywood actresses for covers of such magazines as *Photoplay*, as well as portraits of babies and children for *Parents* magazine. He also secured contracts with several companies, including a lingerie brand, for which he photographed models in poses that evoked a pin-up style (“Student of Mucha”, n.d.). His specialization in portraiture and female subjects made him an especially attractive hire for the brand, as the Breck advertising approach was to emphasize women and their hair without supplementary content such as fictitious storylines or elaborate copy that typified Drene ads. As

I will explain later in this chapter, this simpler model of advertising helped reinforce their conceptualization of a specific and narrow American feminine and domestic ideal.

Breck was sold to American Cyanimid in 1963, and later to the Dial Corporation in 1990 (Jones, 2007, p. 196). Under Dial's ownership, a Breck Girl Hall of Fame was erected in Phoenix, Arizona where their corporate headquarters were located. After the corporate offices relocated, and a failed attempt to revive the Breck Girl campaign ensued in the early 1990s, Dial dismantled the archive and transferred ownership of the materials to the Smithsonian (Lowy, G., 1996; Minnick, 2000, p. 96).[42] Archivists for the collection have reported that changes in ownership over the years and periods of instability for the brand have resulted in fragmented holdings. Nonetheless, artifacts that have been preserved collectively tell a particular story about Breck shampoo, and more importantly, how their advertisements contributed to a rhetoric and iconography of ideal domesticity in the late- and postwar period. Among the material that helps communicate Breck's participation in such discourse are personal narratives from former Breck Girls who recounted their experiences working with Sheldon and representing the brand. In all, eight women who were Breck Girls during the late- and postwar period shared their stories which were included in the Dial Corporation's Breck Girl Hall of Fame in 1992. The women's correspondences provide insight on working with Sheldon and modeling for Breck ads. Importantly, these women stress that prior to having their portraits painted for Breck, they were not otherwise models; as Peggy Cullen modestly stated "I was just a clerk", working for

[42] With the rebirth of many nostalgic brands in the early 2000s, Breck was acquired by Himmel Group and relaunched in 2002. This attempt, like the one in the nineties, was also unsuccessful and the brand was eventually sold to Dollar Tree Corporation after which time it has been available for sale only at these deep discount retailers (Elliott, S., 2002; Jones, 2007).

Sheldon's agency (Cullen, 1992). Jean Ivory Stevens, who modeled for the ads from 1947-1953, also worked for Sheldon's agency, and later became a Breck Girl:

> When I graduated from high school in Springfield, Massachusetts in 1947, I faced a decision. Should I accept a scholarship to Boston University, or take an office job with a local company, Charles Sheldon Advertising? It was no contest when I learned that Mr. Sheldon was the artist who had originated the popular Breck Shampoo ads. This was my chance to become a "Breck Girl", an opportunity no one of my generation could pass up! (Stevens, 1992)

Ms. Stevens' situation probably resonated with other young women for whom working at Sheldon's agency was a viable option. Breck ads communicated a conventionally attractive, albeit narrow, vision of what American femininity embodied and the chance to work for the brand, and potentially become its representative in print ads, was probably an appealing opportunity for (white) women living in the Springfield area. When the Dial Corporation solicited their feedback for the opening of the Breck Girl Hall of Fame, former models expressed that working as a model was considered to be an exciting prospect, garnering them national exposure although their portraits were otherwise anonymous (Carrol, 1992, p. 1; Stevens, 1992, p. 1; Wigham, 1992, p. 1). Marguerite Mitchell Wigham, who sat for Sheldon in "approximately 1948", recalled having done so despite her father's disapproval. In her correspondence with Dial in 1992, she remembered that her father monitored her mail, discarding Breck's future attempts to hire her as a model in subsequent years, and he even destroyed copies of her portraits (Wigham, 1992, p. 1). Mary Lou Emmons Mehrtens' correspondence with Dial also evidences that working as a Breck Girl was an appealing opportunity. She was acknowledged by Edward Breck in a 1950 employee bulletin as the "first Breck pin-up girl". In the bulletin, he described

fan mail from a soldier who asked for the name and address of a model he saw in the *Ladies' Home Journal*, a woman he described as having a "come-hither" look. This woman was identified as Mehrtens (then Emmons), and Mehrtens herself recalled being flattered by the recognition (Mehrtens, 1992, p. 1). Many women not only modeled for Breck, but were dually employed as office assistants as well.

Although an appealing prospect for many women, becoming a face for Breck ads was a challenging process. As Ms. Stevens recalled, Sheldon worked from photographs he took of his subjects, and often manipulated hairstyles, hair color, and "minor facial features" to supposedly disguise that some models, like herself, were used in Breck ads multiple times. Ms. Stevens described her surprise the first time she saw that Sheldon painted her portrait with a hair color different than her own. While she speculated that it might have been for the purpose of diversifying advertising images by "recycling" one of her portraits, she also felt that that the artist often took liberties to modify women's hairstyles and facial features ever so slightly to better mimic the look of popular female celebrities. She remembered one portrait that looked like a mix of her own traits and those of actress Hedy Lamarr and that another "looked more like Jean Harlow" than herself. Tellingly, she also recounted a specific instance when Sheldon was upset at her for cutting her hair; she vividly recalled his disappointment in what she surmised was presumably a less-attractive style in his view (Stevens, 1992).

What Ms. Stevens' narrative lends this analysis is a reconsideration of "Breck Girl" authenticity, a value ads sought to evoke by using "real" American women. Charles Gates Sheldon imparted stylistic details that corrected for any attribute that compromised his (and presumably Breck's) vision of ideal beauty. He likewise manipulated the representation of women's faces and hair so they emulated characteristics of Hollywood beauty and glamour. So

interestingly, while Breck ads evoked authenticity and relatability by using "real", non-celebrity women, their models were nonetheless a calculated rendering representing the artist and brand's particularized vision of ideal beauty.

Because portraits during this time period were created by only Sheldon himself, advertisements were fairly visually consistent. Former collection archivist Minnick (2000) described the complexity of these otherwise "simple", unembellished ads; portraits were "provocative, even sensual, female poses executed in pastels, with soft focus and haloes of light and color to create highly romantic images of feminine beauty and purity" (p. 96). The brand's trademark was Roma Whitney, who was the first-ever Breck Girl in 1937 at which time she was only 17 years old, and sat for Sheldon when Breck launched their national campaign in 1946 (Schmich, 1992). The painting typified what Breck championed as the ideal woman. She was Caucasian with wavy, medium-length blonde hair, fair skin, blue eyes, and soft, small features.

Breck ads followed in the tradition Sheldon established in painting Ms. Whitney's portrait. Most ads from the period 1944 through 1952 featured only a woman's bust – her head and neck – with no evidence of clothing at all. Several of the Breck Girls were directly front-facing, but many of the ads from this time frame included women posed with their head tilted and eyes downward, or contained side profiles. Their silhouettes were always framed by a solid, often neutral, background. Women's lips were emphasized with red lipstick, and their cheeks rosy. Text copy is similar in all ads, with the phrase "Beautiful Hair Breck" as a title under each portrait. The letters "B-R-E-C-K" are stretched across the page from margin to margin, making it impossible to mistake these ads for any product other than Breck shampoo. Ads describe this shampoo as "gentle and thorough in action" leaving hair "fragrant and lustrous". Ad copy reminds viewers that this brand caters to diverse hair types, offering three varieties for "three

quite different hair conditions . . . either dry, oily, or normal". Of course, these varieties are presumably exclusive to Caucasian hair. There is no opportunity in these ads for women of color to imagine themselves or their hair. Even among advertisements appearing in African-American publications like Ebony during this period, ad agencies overwhelmingly used white women to market beauty products, a convention that did not begin to change until the late fifties (Filling, 2008).

Collectively, Breck ads presupposed hair's role in achieving natural, inherent beauty. Ads encourage women to rectify problematic or unruly hair to restore what was an otherwise "naturally" attractive feature of the feminine body. Their "Story of Beautiful Hair" booklet elaborated this perspective.

> Your hair can bring out beauty you never knew you had, or hide your natural prettiness when it's not as shining as it can be . . . . Besides, your hair is an important part of your femininity, and therefore you have a right to the loveliest hair possible" ("The Story of Beautiful Hair", 1946, p. 1).

Not unlike Drene, then, Breck positioned hair as a prominent feature of the (white) feminine body. Importantly, their ads contributed to a discourse that further situated hair as an attribute of the mid-century domestic ideal. This is evident in their advertisements which reveal three prominent domesticity-related themes – youth, emphasis on family, and an appeal to authority. Each theme is a character in Breck's construction of a homogenized, racialized depiction of ideal domesticity. Although ads included minimal copy, and featured only the subject herself without the storytelling convention Drene employed, a particular version of domesticity is portrayed via the following themes. The exclusion of a narrative and storyline can be viewed as a tactic Breck used to distinguish itself from its competition, like Drene, that

included more copy. Omitting textual content would emphasize the hair, the product, and essentially, the woman. Further, by using minimal copy to accompany women's portraits, Breck's less-embellished approach told the story of the all-American domestic ideal in a subtle, yet impactful, way.

The youth ideal and sexuality. Emphasizing youthfulness in its representation of femininity, some of the ads during this period feature portraits of young girls instead of adolescent or adult women, indicating that "beautiful hair" was necessary for females at any age. Through census research on the specific women used in ads, I have determined that women appearing by themselves in ads during this period were age twenty-three or younger, with many ads contained girls who range from toddler-aged through 19 years old (U.S. National Archives, 2012). Older women, in their thirties and forties, only appeared in ads that also contain their young daughters. All women, regardless of age, were portrayed with flawless, smooth skin, and included coloration that evokes a youthful, dewy appearance. In their Hall of Fame correspondences, former Breck Girls eluded to Sheldon's preference for imparting youthful attributes in their portraits by using soft pastels, and slightly manipulating their facial features.

Aside from the young age of models used in Breck ads, and Sheldon's artistic style, Breck further emphasized the youth ideal in supplementary material they offered through ads. Like Drene, Breck produced an educational booklet entitled "The Story of Beautiful Hair". The publication was advertised in print as well as throughout the broadcast of American Girl Philharmonic concerts of "Beautiful Music", a Breck-sponsored series, via the WSPR radio station in Springfield, Massachusetts ("Radio Scripts", 1946). The booklet contained advice on both hair care and styling tips, and included proper steps in cleansing and brushing hair ("The Story of Beautiful Hair", 1946, p. 4). The content was geared for the teenage market, and

presupposed that hair maintenance was a critical topic about which young women needed to be educated.

Breck's idealization of youth was informed by heteronormative standards of beauty. These ads reinforced the notion that youthfulness was heterosexually sexy. As evidenced by the aforementioned Breck employee bulletin, fan mail from one admiring male viewer emphasized the allure of one of the models. She not only captured his attention, she was also the subject of "numerous" conversations between him and "the fellows . . . at the barracks" who felt that hers were "the most expressive eyes and face seen in any ad for many a moon" (Mehrtens, 1992). His letter suggests that the characterization of her "come-hither" eyes evoked, at least for these men, her invitation for a sexual encounter. A former Breck model also acknowledged the sex appeal of Sheldon's portraits; she speculated that his manipulation of models' features to align with those of iconic celebrities was not only to make them appear "haughtier", but to also make them look sexier (Stevens, 1992, p. 1). Further, as I previously mentioned, women's lips were often emphasized with red lipstick, a symbol itself sexualizing its wearer. As Page Dougherty Delano (2000) argued in her analysis of the wartime politics of makeup, "lipstick, marking on a face's lips, the border of the mouth, suggests a visceral stamp . . . interacting with and echoing the physical intensity of warfare itself as well as the intricacies of wartime erotic desire" (p. 39). Although there are nuances among their respective arguments, she and other scholars have acknowledged the correlation of cosmetics, lipstick in particular, to heterosexual standards of attraction (Anderson, 1981; Gaines, 1985; Delano, 2000; Peiss, 1998).

Emphasis on family. The inclusion of mothers and daughters in Breck advertisements evidences a second theme, which emphasized the family and the home. The use of young girls in some ads that appeared in prominent women's magazines suggests that Breck wanted the

magazines' readership to understand Breck as a family brand that could be used for members of the readers' own families. Images of children were intended to resonate with a woman to consider the product not only for herself, but for the hair care needs of her children, too. Portraits from this period also included infant girls, as well as prepubescent and teenaged young women. Edward Breck's own daughters were as young as age ten when their likenesses were painted by Sheldon. While the concept of "family" is perhaps only implicit in imagery containing these girls and teens, some ad copy directly invited the female spectators to consider Breck for their families. An ad in a 1948 issue of *Ladies Home Journal* explained that "it is possible for other members of your family to use products that are available in the best beauty shops" (Breck, 1948). The "your" referred to the presumed female reader, and the message assumed that she was charged with maintaining her family's hair care needs. The subject of hair was socially-informed and regulated, and as shampoo ads from this period suggest, hair was considered to be a feminine concern. Ads further emphasized the need for women to always have Breck available at home for familial use, a theme that was underscored by representing mothers and daughters in the same ad. One of the first was in 1945 and included Gertrude Breck, Edward's wife, and her daughter Judy who was then only fifteen years old. In fact, all three of Edward and Gertrude's daughters appeared in Breck ads, as did other family members (Hamilton, 1995). While the imagery in the Breck ads from 1944 through 1952 do not depict a woman literally in a home-related setting, the ad copy reinforced the idea of family and home as important considerations in hair maintenance.

Authority and containment. A final theme evident in Breck ads is that women's hair maintenance should be governed by some external authority and that hair itself should ultimately be controlled. Advertisements emphasized that Breck shampoo was created by industry experts,

which not only instilled credibility in the product, but reinforced the concept that proper maintenance of women's hair needed be sanctioned by some external hair authority. In some instances, the ads directly referenced the company's founder himself. "John H. Breck, a hair and scalp specialist for more than forty years, will tell you that you should use [Breck Shampoo] if you want to keep [your hair] looking its best" (Breck, 1948b).[43] Other ads implied that women required outside assistance in selecting the formula best suited for their specific hair type. For example, as one ad from 1950 encouraged, "when you buy a Breck Shampoo, mention whether your hair is dry, oily, or normal and you will be given the correct Breck Shampoo" (Breck, 1948c1950a, 1950b). Ads emphasized that Breck shampoo was a trusted product, available in "many of the best beauty shops", elevating the brand's status as superior and exclusive (even though it was available in drugstores, too) (1948a). Advertising content such as these examples reinforced the idea that a woman's hair maintenance required outside assistance. In order to make a correct purchase, and ultimately improve one's hair condition, women needed seek external and professional advice.

Breck's marketing of "The Story of Beautiful Hair" publication in shampoo ads further communicated the need for women to take seriously the maintenance of their own (and their family members') hair, and emphasized the need for them to seek external guidance on proper hair upkeep. The booklet not only included suggestions for daily hair care and proper washing methods, but also provided steps in fixing hair "like a professional" ("The Story of Beautiful Hair", 1946, p. 4). It advised women to first examine their facial shape and profile before selecting a haircut or style, so as to avoid a style that hid their "good points and spotlight[ed] [their] so-so ones" (p. 12). After selecting the "right" hairdo, Breck authorities advised women

[43] John Breck is the founder of the company, but his son Edward is the creator of Breck shampoo.

to go “off to the hairdresser for a professional cut and shaping”, being careful to select the most skilled from among their local options (p. 16). Interestingly, this “cutting specialist” was presumed to be male, as women were advised to “stick to him” once finding a professional, highly-skilled hairdresser. By masculinizing the profession in this way, Breck furthered a rhetoric that women’s hair fell under the purview and scrutiny of a male authority, which they already established in the ads that referenced Mr. Breck as a “hair and scalp specialist”.

Advertising content also implied that women’s hair should be controlled. A common claim among ads from this period was that Breck shampoo “helps keep hair in place” (Breck, 1945a; 1948b; 1951a). This message was used even among ads that included infant girls, which suggests that no matter her age, women’s hair need be contained. Ads included phrasing that positioned familial haircare as women’s responsibility, pleading that women should “always hav[e] a Breck shampoo . . . in [their] home” in order to achieve and maintain beautiful hair (Breck, 1948a). Ads identified unsightly hair “conditions” such as dryness and brittleness that compromised women’s beauty, and vilified women whose hair reflected these attributes. Ads reinforced the idea that these such conditions needed be corrected for by using Breck shampoo, returning hair to its presupposed inherent, “natural” beauty. Underlying Breck advertising content is the implication that certain hair conditions, such as dryness or oiliness, fall outside the boundaries of “ideal” hair – that which they characterize as lustrous, “in place”, and smooth.

Breck ads no doubt differ in content and style from Drene ads, but as I have described, they similarly evidence the cultural weight placed on hair in the construction of ideal femininity. Breck Girls reflected a racialized conceptualization of beauty, and Breck ads furthered a discourse supporting white women’s hair as intimately bound in a domestic ideal that emphasized youthful beauty, family, and male authoritative control over women’s hair

maintenance regimes in its construction. A third brand and rival of Drene and Breck in the late- and postwar period, Lustre-Crème likewise communicated that white women's hair was a feature intimately bound in a particular mid-century understanding of ideal domesticity. In the next section, I will describe how the brand participated in this rhetoric through their advertisements.

"He Used to Call Me 'Scatter-Locks": Lustre-Crème and the Domestic Ideal

Like its competitors Drene and Breck, Lustre-Crème advertisements also reinforced that hair was a necessary character in the domestic ideal. Introduced in 1944 by Kay Daumit, Inc., it quickly became one of the top-selling shampoos on the market. Sales of the shampoo rose from $127,000 in 1944 to $579,000 in 1946, and the brand was marketed via a large national magazine advertising campaign ("Lusta-Foame Co. vs. MW. Filene's", 1946).[44] The brand's original parent company was Kay Daumit, Inc., but in November 1946 the company was acquired by a leading personal care and household products corporate giant, Colgate-Palmolive-Peet ("Cornell Co-op", 1947; Harlan & Vancil, 1961).

Lustre-Crème ads, like their competitors, included only white women, most with long, wavy hair. The ads contained highly feminized aesthetic elements, including such motifs as soft colors and flower petals that otherwise have no connection to the message of the ad, and textual content emphasized the primacy of hair-maintenance in a woman's self-beautifying regime. Three predominant formulae typified the ads during the period under consideration. The first model featured a woman and man posed in various romantic gestures. In all such ads, the female was positioned submissively relative to her male counterpart. Copy in these ads included phrasing such as "for lovely hair all men adore" (Lustre-Crème, 1947d). In one ad from a 1947

[44] Even though this shampoo hit the market in 1944, its widespread national advertising campaign did not run until 1946. Therefore, the ads considered in my sample are from this year onward.

issue of *American Weekly*, the woman's face was turned away from the viewer to directly face her male admirer who grasped the back of her neck, holding her head at his gaze. He was positioned about a heads' height above her, smiling down at her as if he had caught her in his grip and was not going to let go. From her side profile the viewer can see that she smiled too, but her grin was coy while his was cunning. Portraying an otherwise romantic engagement, this ad confirms the popular discourse that a woman's role is as the admirable object of the dominant man, which parallels the relationship ideology bound in the domesticity concept I employ in this study. Importantly, the ad depicted a romantic tableau meant to signal a lustful or loving relationship, yet the visual codes instead evoked a clear relationship imbalance of feminine submission and male control. This ad, as with others using this same formula, included a smaller inset sketch of a woman preparing herself in the (presumable) privacy of her own home. The inset image is one of a woman wearing only a bra and a slip, posed hunching over a sink washing her hair. The viewer is to assume she was preparing for her later encounter with the man illustrated in the larger image. It is only from this position – while washing her hair as a grooming activity to enhance her appearance – the woman looked directly at her viewer. This is important for several reasons. First, this conveys the idea that she was a subject only when actively remedying her appearance by washing her hair. Otherwise, she was an object of the male gaze. Second, this otherwise very private activity is the one she shared most intimately with her audience. Because her hair grooming was so significant in adhering to culturally expected feminine behavior, she shared it with the world. Third, we can presume that this direct-looking pose was also intended to encourage a visual connection between the character and her viewers. To be dutiful consumers, women needed to identify with the woman in the ad, and staring directly into her eyes is the strongest way that relationship could take place. Collectively,

the elements of this reflect the late- and postwar domestic ideal by incorporating imagery (half-dressed woman, perched over a sink in, presumably, her home) and activity (private grooming for a social encounter). This advertisement further proclaims “See how tempting it leaves your hair!” In so doing, it constructed femininity as necessarily tempting to male admirers, and encouraged that women should use this product to meet this end.

The second type of ad characterized women in fictitious storylines that required them to wash with Lustre-Crème to overcome some social predicament. Ranging from compromised performance at work, to ostracization in social settings, women in these vignettes become “unhappy” and “give up hope” as a result of how others perceived their hair. Some storylines contained males openly chastising women. After being referred to as “scatterlocks”, “hayhead”, and “tanglelocks”, the women become desperate in their quest for positive male attention (Lustre-Crème 1948a; 1948b; 1948c). Washing with Lustre-Crème was ultimately the answer, as these women discovered. After doing so, they won the admiration of the male character who, if not already married to her, became her husband at the end of the story. These ads, like the previous formula described above, represent happy, front-facing women only in the scene in which they washed their hair. Their eyes met the magazine viewers’ only at this moment. In all other scenes, the women’s heads were tilted to the side or downward as they were being reprimanded about their hair or recounting their embarrassment to a female friend. They only ever made eye contact with their male counterparts in post-washing scenes, when their hair was clean and the men no longer called them pejorative names. After fixing their “dull, stringy, wayward hair”, they instead become “dream girls” of their male admirers (1948a).

A third formula contained an individual female with no other characters or storyline accompaniment. This layout predominated Lustre-Crème advertisements from1949 through

1952. Early ads of this type included a female bust framed by text copy that first reminded that men benefitted when women used Lustre-Crème, then described its benefits as a shampoo. While these contained no storylines as in the aforementioned formula, a frequently-used line advised "tonight – show him how much lovelier your hair can look" reinforcing that a woman's upkeep of her hair was important in pleasing the man in her life (Lustre-Crème, 1950). Other ads that followed this same formula of an individual female with text copy included celebrity references, much like the celebrity endorsements Drene used in their post-war campaign. Some included actresses while others merely alluded to stardom by including a twinkling sky as a backdrop, and a description of Lustre-Crème washed hair as being "starry bright" (Lustre-Crème, 1951). By 1953, Lustre-Crème had shifted both their print and television advertising to almost entirely using celebrity tie-ins. For television, they featured a different celebrity every month in ads that corresponded with the actresses' new movie releases, a model that was echoed in prints ads that year, too (Rees, 1953). Marketers today credit Lustre-Crème with boosting the first massive wave of celebrity endorsements, a trend that has continued among hair and beauty product categories to this day (Klara, 2011). But prior to this massive switch in 1953, Lustre-Crème advertisements only flirted with the notion of stardom, tying the celebrity appeal to the importance of attracting the attention of a male admirer and the aspiration to celebrity. Beginning in 1953, Lustre-Crème ads began using the phrase "Lustre-Crème is the favorite beauty shampoo of four out of five Hollywood stars" (Lustre-Crème, 1953a). Advertisements no longer referenced men, and instead began to emphasize that women should select the brand for themselves because it was the preferred choice among actresses. Ads in this year even began to refer to women more as agents in the shampoo selection process, making a purchasing decision for themselves as opposed to the men in their lives. Common phrases in ads beginning in 1953

included "shouldn't it be *your* choice above all others" and "now, take your choice" (Lustre-Crème, 1953b, 1953a). This shift, while extremely intriguing, took hold in the year immediately following the time period I consider in this study. The shift to this more female-centered approach contrasts markedly with the approaches employed in the years 1946 through 1952 when women's hair maintenance was less about her own preferences and more about pleasing others and attaining a cultural ideal.

Collectively, the aforementioned formulae contain predominant themes that emphasized the domestic ideal. As explained in earlier chapters, a certain version of femininity is inseparable from the domestic ideal. These shampoo ads emphasized that domesticity was a feminine pursuit that included activities that involved not only the physical home itself, but also maintenance of feminine appearance, heterosexual relationships, tending to familial needs, and consuming goods. To be ideally feminine, these ads suggested, women should practice personal, familial, and home maintenance and Lustre-Crème cleaned hair was a critical tool to help meet these ends. Lustre-Crème ads contain five themes that support this. In what follows, I will explain how these shampoo ads privileged concepts of a natural and youthful feminine sex appeal, the subordinate status of women, the heterosexual marriage ideal, the value of thrift, and an appeal to authority.

Natural and youthful sex appeal. Repeatedly, women in Lustre-Crème ads were represented as young and their sex appeal was naturalized through the representation of their hair. First, the youthful ideal materializes in phrasing that recalls girlhood. An ad from 1947 demonstrates this in the captions: "How *sweetly* [emphasis added] feminine is the appeal of a woman's lovely hair to men" (Lustre-Crème, 1947a). Another used the same childish-appeal, stating that Lustre-Crème would leave one's hair "*sweetly* [emphasis added] clean" (1948a).

Among ads of this era, women were commonly referred to as "dream girls", a descriptor itself that conjures the idea of youth. Storylines featured situational immature romances that included "dating", receiving help from "cupid", meeting a love interest at a "hayride party", and gaining the attention from a "varsity star", all of which evoke the idea of adolescence (1948d; 1948b; 1948c). These immature romances were counter-balanced by descriptions that allude to a more adult-like sexual attraction between the fictitious couple. One example of this balance between a youthful and more-accelerated courtship is in a scene where the two characters embrace as they dance. The text reads: "you and the only man dancing, his face bent down close. The music is *hot and sweet* [my emphasis], your heart pulsing the same exciting way" (1948e). Ads also sexualize the storylines, as one female character described that her male counterpart "love[d] to rub his check against" her hair, while another suggested that her man brushed his lips against hers (1948a; 1948b). As the relationships in these vignettes blossomed, women's hair played a key role in their success. Women's hair was described as a natural attribute of feminine beauty that could only be restored by using Lustre-Crème. Phrases such as "see . . . how naturally lovely . . . your hair can be", "men love hair with its natural glory", "bring out the natural but often hidden hair beauty", and the shampoo "bring[s] out [a woman's] crowning glory" suggest that beauty and sex appeal were intrinsic features of feminine hair and women were obligated to reveal this by using Lustre-Crème shampoo (1947b; 1947c; 1948a; 1948b). One ad from 1948 *Ladies' Home Journal* captured this sentiment most blatantly by proclaiming that the female lead "might have been pretty except for her dull stringy, unmanageable hair", evidencing that a woman's hair was the prominent feature determining her beauty (1948c). These examples recall the same inherence of beauty in (white) women's hair that Drene and Breck ads conveyed. Such ads presumed that women's hair was a natural attribute of women's beauty, and that by using

Lustre-Crème, women could restore what was otherwise lost as a result of their neglectful hair maintenance routine.

Feminine subordination. Lustre-Crème ads from this period also displayed a second theme, that of female subordination and masculine control. In every ad that featured both a female and male, women were arranged in positions of subservience to men. As for physical proximity, men were above women, and frequently grasped their shoulders or neck in a gesture of dominance. Some ads featured disturbingly controlling storylines with accompanying images revealing the gendered power imbalance. For example, in a 1948 issue of *This Week*, a woman confided to the reader that her husband teased her about having "dull, stringy, wayward hair" (Lustre-Crème, 1948a). To address this shortcoming, she sought the advice of a confidant who suggested Lustre-Crème shampoo. As the woman bent over a sink to wash her hair, her husband stood behind with his hands on hips, leaning over her to ensure that "scatter locks", as he called her, followed through with the washing procedure. This scene took place after he disapprovingly held a lock of her hair in his hand as she sat below him at her dressing table. He only complimented his wife after the successful washing left her hair "soft and glamorous". In other ads, too, the male lead assumed an overtly controlling role over his female counterpart. Men made fun of women (and subsequently their hair) by calling them names, acting standoffish, or dismissing their presence altogether. In one ad's storyline, a "confirmed bachelor" John escorted Irene to a theatre performance but he flipped through the playbook, looking bored by her company, as she sat at his side smiling adoringly even though he ignored her. "Friends wondered", so goes the copy, why he would even date her given her unsightly hair (1948d). It is important to note that hair was not represented in this, nor in any other ad, as glaringly disheveled or messy. Yet because it did not meet the "soft, gleaming, and glorious" ideal, the

woman's beauty was compromised and she was unworthy of her male counterpart's attention. A common message throughout this period underscores the primacy of males' concerns about women's hair over the considerations of the women themselves. Ads repeatedly reminded that: "Tonight, show him how much lovelier your hair can look", "tonight he can see new sheen in your hair", and "see how it gives your hair new eye appeal for the man in your life" (1950; 1949b; 1948e). The message these ads conveyed is that women should use the shampoo to have lovelier hair for the benefit of men. Ultimately, of course, having lovelier hair would benefit women too, as they would win men's attention, secure relationships with breadwinning prospects, and earn a coveted domestic role championed in these Lustre-Crème ads.

Heteronormativity. Further supporting this relationship ideal – that a woman's hair influenced the contentment of and admiration from a man – was the emphasis on the heterosexual marriage ideal. Ads referenced wedding veils and rings, brides and grooms, and honeymoons. While these references are not needed to read the heteronormative assumptions these ads embody, they do emphasize the late- and postwar emphasis on the normalcy of marriage. The outcome of all of the storylines was marriage proposal or wedding, whether or not the initial encounter between the characters was even romantic in nature in the least. In several instances, the woman's washing with Lustre-Crème transformed her so significantly that her male peer took notice and asked for her hand in marriage. In the hayride vignette, the male character begged "forgive me goldilocks, I didn't know you were so lovely", an apology he offered only after calling her "hayhead" which was such an embarrassing and demeaning gesture that she was moved to wash with Lustre-Crème (Lustre-Crème, 1948b). This couple ultimately married, as did many other of the Lustre-Crème couples. Even the "elusive [bachelor] John", mentioned earlier, ignored his date at the theater, then proposed marriage to her after her hair

improved (1948d). In one vignette, an engagement ring was referred to as a "shining tribute to the gleam in my Lustre-Crème-lovely hair" and the shampoo helped this bride-to-be "attract and win [her] man", while other ads similarly reported that Lustre-Crème was responsible for bringing women and men together in blissful matrimony (1948c).

Thriftiness. Unlike their competitors Drene and Breck, Lustre-Crème emphasized the value of thrift. While the postwar boom inspired greater consumption and the attainment of social acceptance through the goods one possessed, thriftiness was considered a feminine virtue at the same time women were encouraged to buy. Making purchasing decisions for the betterment of her family, late- and postwar ideology harnessed women with the task of shopping responsibly while helping fulfill her family's needs and wishes. Advertisements stressed that using Lustre-Crème was an economical choice because it required no more than a "fingertip's full" to clean an entire head of hair, and was an inexpensive alternative to other brands. Promising that only "a little does so much", the product was available in a jar or a tube, which was convenient for both "home and travel use" (Lustre-Crème, 1947b). Many ads before 1952 also included in parentheses that men, too, kept their hair well-groomed and sleek by using Lustre-Crème, and it was, in fact, "convenient for the whole family" (Lustre-Crème, 1948c). These examples emphasized the concept of thrift by suggesting that the product is affordable, economical, and could fulfill the hair care needs of the entire family.

Authoritative control. A fifth and final theme displayed in the Lustre-Crème ads, similar to themes evident in Drene and Breck ads, is that women's hair required external control. Throughout this period, women's hair was frequently referred to as unmanageable, abused, and ultimately problematic in some way. A 1951 ad in *Ladies' Home Journal* frankly asked its readers "which hair problem do you have – dry, wispy hair, loose dandruff, a fuzzy perm?"

(Lustre-Crème, 1951b). It seems that no matter the texture, women's hair needed to be fixed. Female characters often sought advice from other, more knowledgeable peers or professionals. One ad depicted a woman whose hair compromised her happy marriage, so she sought advice from "the new bride next door" (1948a). Implied in this reference to a "new bride" is that she and her spouse were in the honeymoon phase of their relationship, and were thus still experiencing the charm and romance often associated with new marriage. In this way, the "new bride" could offer advice to the main character, whose husband chastised her about her hair leading us to believe that he found her less attractive as a result. Other authorities weigh in among other ads from this period. "Famous hairdressers" and "beauty-wise" women were said to use and recommend the shampoo, and references to the original creator Kay Daumit frequently reminded readers that she was a "noted cosmetic specialist", emphasizing the legitimacy of the product (1948c). Aside from the new bride the lead character consulted and the brand's founder Kay Daumit, all of the authoritative figures in ads prior to 1949 are males. The hairdressers depicted are men, and other "authorities" exerting control or offering advice on hair were the male counterparts in the advertising vignettes.

Ads' references to stardom in the years 1949 through 1952 further emphasized that women's hair required external authorities' input. Though they no longer included lengthy storylines as they had prior to about 1949, they did emphasize that appropriately feminine hair would only be achieved as a result of using this shampoo endorsed by "famous hairdressers" (Lustre-Crème, 1949a; 1949b; 1949c; 1950). Ads from this period still referenced Kay Daumit and suggested that using Lustre-Crème was done not only for the woman's benefit herself, but also (and perhaps more importantly so) for the man in her life. Celebrities also served as a form of cultural authority on the subject of women's hair in these ads, as headlines included "the most

beautiful hair in the world is kept at its loveliest with Lustre-Crème shampoo" (1951c; 1952a; 1952b). These most-beautiful-hair-having leading ladies who used Lustre-Crème were apparently chosen by a "jury of famed hairstylists" (1951c). This encouraged the female reader to understand the brand as credible and superior because of having been given hair experts' approval.

Breck and Lustre-Crème, like their competitor Drene, constructed femininity in particular ways that positioned white women's hair as prominent in a late- and post- World War II domestic ideal. They presented a calculated version of womanhood that emphasized certain attributes as necessary to achieving this ideal. Ads emphasized that women were ideally youthful, family-centered, subordinate to men, thrifty, and open to criticism and instruction from outside authorities. Hair was considered to be an attribute inherently and naturally beautiful and women were encouraged to restore hair's natural attractiveness by using these shampoo products in order to attain a particular conceptualization of mid-century ideal domesticity.

Chapter Five: "The Love of Home is Not Necessarily Connected with a House": Women's Magazines, the Domestic Ideal, and White Women's Hair

Drene, Breck, and Lustre-Crème shampoo ads reinforced cultural ideologies about the importance of women's hair in a particular domestic ideal. Ads portrayed hair as an attribute of feminine appearance that was essential to a woman's successful performance of femininity and, subsequently, domesticity. Ads characterized white women's hair as a critical consideration in securing romantic relationships, earning social rewards, and assuring familial well-being. And while these ads reveal some variety in their depiction of women, they collectively reflect a normative construct that masks realities of racial and social class distinctions. We can derive significant meaning from the ads' images, captions, storylines, and layout to better understand the construction of late- and postwar idealized American domesticity. However, such meaning is not created solely by the ads themselves, but is anchored by the particulars of their parent companies, as well as prevailing cultural values, such as upward mobility, family, and thrift as I discussed in the previous chapters. Meaning further arises by considering ads' placement in women's magazines. In this chapter, I will describe magazines in which Drene, Breck, and Lustre-Crème ads circulated, and ultimately show how they participated in a rhetoric of ideal femininity and domesticity by their placement in two non-competing magazines, *Vogue* and *Good Housekeeping*. Comparing these two magazines evidence the cross-class appeal of the shampoo ads' messages. These magazines catered to different markets; *Vogue* was a publication that appealed to the fashion and society interests of its readership, while *Good Housekeeping* (as its name implies) addressed topics concerning women's duties as homemakers. I use these two disparate, yet respectively influential, mid-century women's publications to demonstrate the prevalence of white women's hair in the portrayal of ideal domesticity in the late- and postwar

period. The magazines provide different contexts in which Drene, Breck, and Lustre-Crème advertisements were situated among broader messages about womanhood and domesticity. Despite the respective differences between these two magazines, I argue that the shampoo ads importantly influenced the magazine's portrayal of a particular mid-century domestic ideal in which white women's hair was essential. Editorial decision-making about which products to advertise would itself be a particularly contested task. Selecting products that both represent the "personality" of the magazine and also appeal to the magazine's intended audience would understandably be a politically-charged endeavor in the quest to feature popular, lucrative products that simultaneously symbolize ideals consistent with the magazine itself. As such, advertisements can be understood as, ideally, reflecting values of the magazines in which they circulate, but likewise, ads can inform the broader messages magazines communicate. This reciprocal relationship between a magazine and its advertisements cannot be definitively proven. But as Roland Marchand (1985) argued, advertisements contribute to "shaping of a 'community of discourse', an integrative common language share by an otherwise diverse audience" (p. xx). This is to say that although a magazines' readership cannot be considered a homogenous population that shares the same values and perspectives across the board, advertisements insert particular images and representations "into America's common discourse" (p. xx). I maintain that shampoo advertisements did just this; by marketing the brands in a particular way, Drene, Breck, and Lustre-Crème were agents in establishing white women's hair as a critical component of ideal domesticity in mid-century America.

Characteristics of Mid-Century Women's Magazines

In chapter one, I discussed mid-century advertising conventions which helped situate the shampoo brands in the broader marketing context of the time period under consideration.

Defense-related themes were prevalent among advertising content in the early years of my analysis, and a new genre of feminized images were used as wartime propaganda. Overtly sexualized images of women ran alongside pictures of women performing otherwise masculinized military duties in popular magazines. Simultaneously, national advertising campaigns for a variety of products began to reinforce the idea that personal shortcomings could be corrected by consuming goods; there was an emphasis on communicating to consumers the need for products to compensate for any social shortcoming they might experience (Sivulka, 2009; Scott, 2009; Lears, 1995). This is particularly true of goods relating to the home and maintenance of feminine beauty. The specific shampoo brands Drene, Breck, and Lustre-Crème reflect these same conventions that characterized advertising in general from the period 1944 through 1952. They further perform the cultural work, however, of using hair as a prominent character in the construction of ideal domesticity. According to their advertising stories, women's hair was "naturally" beautiful; by using one of these shampoos, women could regain the beauty they lost as a result of their neglectful maintenance or having used inferior products. The stories insist that doing so was a woman's obligation, not merely because it would improve her appearance but more importantly because restoring inherently beautiful hair was a requisite for doing domesticity appropriately. As I discussed in previous chapters, social acceptance, aspirations of upward mobility, and emphasis on family were some of the values that factored in the domestic ideal communicated through the medium of hair. Examining the magazines in which they circulated demonstrates more intensely how these ads communicated the reverence for white women's hair.

There was an abundant variety of mid-century women's magazines, including fashion, general interest, and homemaking publications that catered to various socioeconomic levels and

consumer markets. Leading publishers included Hearst, which produced popular magazines such as *Good Housekeeping*, *American Weekly*, *Cosmopolitan*, and *Harper's Bazaar*; Curtis Publishing who was responsible for the likes of *Saturday Evening Post* and *Ladies' Home Journal*; and Condé Nast, parent company of *Vogue*, *House and Garden*, and *Glamour* ("Results of a Scarcity", 1943; "Strictly for Ladies", 1943). In the early forties, U.S. magazine publishers were forced to ration subscriptions to comply with the War Productions Board's enforcement of paper quotas ("Results of a Scarcity", 1943). Nonetheless, readership increased in that decade, evidencing the vast popularity of print magazines despite wartime restrictions. Though some magazines realized a greater readership than others, magazine journalism scholar David Sumner (2010) calls the twentieth century the "American Magazine Century", with the forties and fifties, in particular, experiencing a sizable increase in overall magazine consumption among American audiences. In the years between 1935 and 1955, the amount of magazines an individual read in a month's time nearly doubled (p. 2).[45]

Women's historian Nancy Walker (2000) argued that at no other time in American history have women's magazines had to negotiate such a variety of social and political institutions to determine what to publish as they did during the forties and fifties (p. 130). While it could be argued that magazine content is necessarily always shaped by cultural institutions at any given time, her perspective acknowledges the complexity of wartime conditions that similarly undergirds my analysis. This climate fostered greater sentiment about the American

[45] It is unclear exactly who was polled in the Audit Bureau of Circulation's survey that estimates this per capita readership increase. We can assume, though, that since the bureau represented the "largest and best known consumer magazines" there was probably little attention to include diverse populations who may have instead been readers of less popular magazines that targeted more specific demographics (Sumner, 2010, p. 2).

home front, and magazines in the late- and immediate postwar years mirrored the perception that domesticity meant more than the physical structure of the home itself. As but one example of how magazines directly confronted this perception, in 1945, at the request of the U.S. Office of War Information, *Good Housekeeping* published "A Bride's Guide to the U.S.A.", a manual intended to assist "overseas brides of American soldiers" in their transition to American culture. The manual was marketed specifically to British women, a population which accounted for over 100,000 marriages to U.S. servicemen by the end of World War II (Nicholson, 2013). Its release coincided the passing of the War Bride's Act, which allowed foreign-born soldiers' wives and their children U.S. residency despite immigration restrictions. Soon after the act was passed, the War Department implemented Operation Diaper Run, an initiative to facilitate the transport of British wives and children to the United States.

> On January 26th, 1946, the first 'war bride' ship, the *S.S. Argentina*, left Southampton carrying 452 war brides and their children, arriving in New York Harbor to the sounds of 'Here Comes the Bride' as they docked. Over the next weeks and months, the rest [followed]. Months before the War Bride's Act was finally passed and Operation Diaper Run had begun, *Good Housekeeping* had been educating British GI brides about their future home [via the manual] . . . . . In July 1945 *Good Housekeeping* printed an editorial urging GH readers to welcome these war brides . . . and encourage them, if they were in need of any help or advice, to write to *Good Housekeeping*. (Nicholson, 2013, n.p.)

In these ways, *Good Housekeeping* directly participated in idealizing the American home front. The manual addressed expectations of womanhood, advising women not only on gendered behavioral norms, but also on values that revered the broad concept of domesticity. Among other things, women were advised to dress "smartly", demonstrate good manners, and value

courage in their new country. Further, this manual insisted that "[in the United States] love of home is not necessarily connected with a house" (n.p.). Home, the manual implied, was not merely a place but a combination of values, relationships, activities, and material goods thought to improve one's standard of living.

Other women's magazines, likewise, emphasized this broad understanding of domesticity. In her study of changing representations of womanhood in midcentury issues of *Ladies' Home Journal*, Janice Hume (2000) found that by 1952, "becoming a wife was the goal of almost every fictional heroine" (p. 14). She also discovered that the representation of women's roles extended beyond their own families to also include service to the broader community at large. Volunteering membership in civic organizations and serving on the school board were ways nonworking wives and mothers were linked to "the role of community housekeeper" (p. 17). As *Ladies' Home Journal* was a popular publication throughout the 1940s, and had the highest circulation of any women's interest magazine by 1952, its portrayal of domesticity would have been broadly received among middle class American white women ("Newspapers and Periodicals", 1952). Eva Moskowitz (1996) added to such an analysis, arguing that women's magazines directly engaged in a discourse of domesticity broader than the home to include expectations about social aspirations. The magazines, Moskowitz found, acknowledged women's discontent with gendered expectations, but it was assumed that women would restrain their discontent by focusing their efforts on cleaning or sport to release tension (p. 78-84). The discourse resulted in an emphasis on both the centrality and virtue of domesticity in women's lives.

This discussion speaks only to the contextualization of domesticity in publications targeting white women. Leading magazines such as *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Vogue*, *Good*

Housekeeping, and *American Weekly* envisioned a readership consisting of white women; therefore, their content addressed a narrow representation of the American female population. Incorporating black women in advertising among mainstream media did not trend until much later in the 1970s, during which time it was still a less pronounced practice among magazines than in television advertising. Zinkhan, Qualls, and Biswas (1990) found that the distribution of blacks among five leading consumer magazines was less than one third of one percent in 1946, and even decreased slightly in the 1950s (p. 548). Even still, the late- and postwar feminine and domestic ideals communicated through predominately white women's magazines are important to analyze as they necessarily had implications for all women, by representing norms which would dictate appropriate behavior, setting standards by which all women would be measured.

Shampooing Women's Magazines

As advertisements are inseparable from the content of women's magazines, Drene, Breck, and Lustre-Crème shampoo ads were participants in and informants to the ideals many women's magazines espoused. Mass-marketed women's magazines portrayed domesticity broadly, as including not only the physical home itself, but also personal grooming activities, negotiating social relationships, and engaging in opportunities for upward mobility. I use the phrase "mass-marketed" liberally to reference women's magazines that enjoyed a wide circulation, and marketed to a female population who was presumed to be white, and middle- to upper-middle class. I am not suggesting that all magazines I reference in this chapter were intended for the exact same market, and positioned in exactly the same ways; there are marked distinctions between magazines in terms of their positioning, categorization, and editorial direction. And, importantly, there are class-specific ideals associated with each. But when it comes to their portrayal of mid-century domesticity, as I will explain, there is far greater

similarity among magazines such as *Good Housekeeping* and *Vogue*, for example, than there are distinctions, regardless of their otherwise "mass" versus "class" appeal.

Drene, Breck, and Lustre-Crème ads enjoyed a circulation among many of these so-called mass-marketed women's magazines. These shampoo ads contributed to a particular characterization of late- and post-war ideal domesticity that these dominant-market magazines espoused, and importantly, inserted white women's hair in its construction. The magazines in which Drene, Breck, and Lustre-Crème ads could be found portrayed American domesticity in a specific way, and the shampoo ads engaged this portrayal, elaborating it to also include white women's hair in the conceptualization of the ideal. All three brands were found in a wide range of publications – fashion magazines such as *Vogue*, *Glamour,* and *Harper's Bazaar*, homemaking magazines such as *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Good Housekeeping*, film fan magazines such as *Silver Screen*, and even nationally-distributed inserts in Sunday newspapers, such as *American Weekly* and *This Week*. Fashion magazines were a logical medium for the circulation of shampoo advertisements, but they represented much more than the fashionability of hair; by linking hair to broader messages about beauty and social expectations, these ads echoed a rhetoric of mid-century domesticity that was, however subtly, reinforced by broader messages communicated in fashion magazines. Drene, Breck, and Lustre-Crème ads were broadly distributed in non-fashion magazines, too, such as *Good Housekeeping* and *Ladies Home Journal*. Perched alongside content that expounded on a variety of homemaking duties in such magazines that framed American domesticity in a particular way, these shampoo ads factored in a discourse about mid-century expectations for white women's role in domesticity. In addition to fashion and homemaking magazines, Drene, Breck, and Lustre-Crème were also advertised in fan magazines, a logical placement given the relationship between celebrity culture and

advertising shampoo as I discussed in chapters three and four. Female celebrities served as a sort of cultural authority on hair maintenance, reinforcing that women needed obtain external expertise and should strive to emulate celebrities' hair by using one of these three brands. Celebrity appeal, as I have explained, was yet another means of communicating a particular version of late- and post-war ideal domesticity. A final publication type in which these brands were advertised are thin magazine inserts of Hearst's Sunday newspapers. These papers enjoyed a wide distribution throughout the United States; publications such as *American Weekly* boasted a large readership, predominantly female, and included lots of full-color illustrations, fiction, and also national and local news stories ("Advertising and Selling", 1920, p. 18; Martel & McCall, 1964). Overall, the way in which these brands aligned popular rhetoric about domesticity, as espoused in these publications, with the subject of white women's hair is striking when considering the intense and growing hair culture in the late- and immediate postwar years. They communicated the significance of white women's hair in performing ideal femininity, a construct in which tending to matters related to domesticity was a virtue. Together, the ideals promoted by the emerging hair culture and the three brands that were leaders among the shampoo revolution participated in mainstream women's magazines' construction of a narrow version of ideal domesticity. To better understand the importance of Drene, Breck, and Lustre-Crème's insistence on hair as key in the construction of the ideal domestic woman, I have analyzed two prominent women's magazines from the time period under consideration – a leading fashion publication, *Vogue*, and a self-described "women's interest" magazine, *Good Housekeeping*. Selecting these dissimilar magazine types in which these brands' ads were placed helps illuminate how the subject of hair functioned in both fashion- and homemaking publications to communicate a narrow version of a late- and postwar domestic ideal. I have surveyed issues from

1944 through 1952, and in what follows, I describe the publications *Vogue* and *Good Housekeeping* and analyze their construction of ideal domesticity, which provides a context in which the shampoo ads were situated.[46] Further, I argue that the racialized construction of "beautiful hair" that Drene, Breck, and Lustre-Crème promoted informed the commentary on and prescriptions for women's hair that these magazines espoused. As they were leading shampoo brands of that era, and important characters in the burgeoning shampoo culture that emerged in the mid-1940s, their representation of ideal hair would necessarily have influenced magazines' portrayal of beautiful hair. Competition between brands during this shampoo-revolution era, a time when technological advancements in formulae increasingly affected the amount and variety of shampoos on the market, intensified their interest in portraying their brands as superior to all others. As I described in previous chapters, brands took great measure in advertisements to describe the superiority of their products, and convince the female reader that washing with their respective formula was necessary – necessary not only to achieve "naturally" beautiful (lustrous and smooth hair) hair, but to "do" domesticity well. The result of these advertising efforts was their securing a place among the top-performing shampoo brands. Their popularity promised exposure in leading magazines, in which their messages likely would have had ideological weight, ultimately influencing these magazines' representation of hair.

Domesticity, and Women's Hair in *Vogue*

Vogue, published by Condé Nast, was the publisher's largest profit-maker by 1943 and grew in readership despite the war, enjoying a peak in circulation in 1947 ("Strictly for Ladies",

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[46] As my focus is on the period 1944-1952, data from that time frame informs my analysis, but importantly, I considered magazines beginning in 1942 and ending in 1954 to see how, if at all, the magazines' commentary on hair and / or domesticity differed from the eight-year period.

1943, para. 4; "The Stylocrats", 1947, para. 3). The magazine was run largely by a staff of women, with a history of distinguished editors. Edna Woolman Chase was editor-in-chief for the majority of time under consideration in my analysis, leading the editing team from 1914 through 1951 at which time long-time managing editor Jessica Davies took her place (Chase, 1954). As she described in her autobiography, *Always in Vogue* (1954), Chase was an avid traveler and socialite, and regarded one's discernment in taste to be a critical personal asset. Chase was known to impart sophistication and haughtiness in her influence as an editor; a 1943 *Time* article reported that "she [was] largely responsible for *Vogue*'s British spellings of such words as 'pyjamas' and 'colour'" in the American publication (Strictly for Ladies", para. 6). Though fascinated with international flare and fashions, she invested greatly in promoting American products and values. She is credited with executing the first American fashion show, sparking national interest in domestic designers. During the war, she required writers to include stories on military-themed topics with accompanying photos of glamorous models and socialites in patriotic attire (para. 9). She also understood and valued the importance of home. In *Always in Vogue*, she criticized people's preoccupation with grandiose houses that neglect aspects of charm, coziness, and "natural attributes" implying that "home" was about more than its materiality (Chase, pp. 372-3). And although she enjoyed a career and lifestyle unlike what most American women experienced, her autobiography demonstrates that she internalized the prevailing sentiment privileging traditional notions about marriage and family. She pointedly acknowledged that although her interests did not center entirely on the home as was presumably common for many other women, familial considerations were very important to her. Throughout her memoir, comments such as "for a woman to live without a man is a great handicap" and career women need possess the "commonsense of a housewife" point to her understanding of

domesticity as central even to professional women's experiences (pp. 374, 380). As just one person among a staff dedicated to working on the same publication, it would be easy to underestimate the magnitude of her influence on *Vogue*. But as we know and as Chase herself recognized, "inevitably a magazine reflects its publisher and editor" (p. 381). During the late- and postwar years, the magazine clearly mirrored many of the values Chase herself espoused.

I surveyed issues from 1944 through 1952, and found that while *Vogue* catered to a worldly and sophisticated reader, it contributed as well to rhetoric of idealized domesticity, particularly due to the elevation of the American home front as a result of the war. *Vogue* was not a homemaker's magazine, yet it provides a unique lens through which we can better understand the virtue of domesticity in mid-century America. American *Vogue* was published twice monthly during the war. There were a few months they scaled back to produce a single issue, but for the most part, the publication continued a normal circulation throughout the war years. As a fashion authority, they took great measure to be the leader in reporting fashion among their competitors. They were at times even somewhat deceitful in attempts to be the first to report new trends. In September 1949, they published a 17-page spread revealing the latest Parisian styles, which was a full three weeks before the approved release date set by the French couture house regulating commission ("Gentlemen's Disagreement", 1949). This outraged their competitors, as well as the commission itself, but although controversial, it was a measure that continued *Vogue*'s tradition of being the premier authority on women's fashion. The magazine promoted this exclusivity throughout their content, reporting on such topics as leisurely travel, entertaining, and luxury goods. The pages are sprinkled with advertisements for furs, fine jewelry, and cocktails, as well as articles featuring authors, artists, and other proponents of high culture. In so doing, it evidenced a class bias in much of its content. An example is in a 1944

article asking its readers, “Are You Educated in Art” (Crowinshield, p. 48-49, 82-83, 85)? It was admittedly a “questionnaire that has a little more to do with [the reader’s] discernment and taste than with [her] study-book knowledge” (p. 48). As such, it presupposed that its audience would be inclined to know and care about art history.

Regardless of a predominance of such erudite features, by the 1940s it was regarded as a publication accessible to more than the social elite. A 1943 *Time* article reported that early in its history, *Vogue* was “a thin, snobbish weekly beamed at socialites and full of socialite-weight stuff”, but acknowledged that its content by the forties had “widened [its] horizons” to include content that was relevant and interesting to a broader class population than might compose their 225,000 subscribers (“Strictly for Ladies”, para. 8). Its following grew along with the burgeoning consumer culture that accelerated after the war, reaching more than 345,000 subscribers by 1949, a conservative following when considering its competition, but an increasingly accessible and popular glossy nonetheless (“Gentlemen’s Disagreement”, 1949). True enough, it often endorsed habits of expensive living and cutting-edge fashions, but it increasingly offered content that more women than simply upper-class elites could find applicable to their own experiences.

This was particularly true during the war and subsequent years, due to an increasing reverence of the American home front. For example, the magazine directly engaged with the topic of war and its effects on American citizens in general, not just those in the upper rungs of society. During the war, they ran features on proper clothing for wartime jobs, options for purchasing ration-free shoes, and ways to show patriotism through dress, lessons that were applicable to a variety of social classes. In her study of wartime images of fashion in women’s magazines, Linda Scott (2009) found that the frequency of war imagery in *Vogue* peaked in early

1943 (p. 5). Although military-inspired imagery began to decline in the late war years, I found that *Vogue* continued to include war-related content well after conflict ended by emphasizing nationalism during peacetime. In September 1945, they published President Truman's address to the nation, and in February 1947, included a lengthy article on American attributes, noting that "the war deepened certain qualities of the American character", as less self-centered, and more aware of one's obligation toward others ("People and Ideas", 1945, pp. 174-5, 250; Commanger, 1947, pp. 120b, 121). As were several issues throughout the time period under consideration, one 1950 issue was exclusively devoted to promoting people and things that were quintessentially American, including regional accents and styles of cooking (Elliot, pp. 169, 212-214). Another feature in this particular issue is titled "There Goes an American", outlining how American women were perceived by Europeans. What made her distinguishable was a democratic smile, degree of naiveté, and in general, a constantly bustling, and busy lifestyle ("There Goes", p. 124).

In addition to addressing the war and emphasis on Americanism, *Vogue* engaged in a rhetoric that upheld the broad concept of domesticity that I argue was so relevant to the idealization of American femininity during this time. This is blatantly apparent in a 1944 editorial that included a sketch of a woman's skull, with captions indicating *Vogue*'s perspective on what consumes a woman's thoughts. The "sections" of her mind included "house", "listening", "clothes", "dinners", looks", "weight", and "money", including advice that readers plan their year to better themselves in these areas of concern. "Plans that will find you at the end of your fiscal year a better cook and conversationalist, a better . . . listener, a better manager" ("Vogue's Eye View", p. 29). The understanding of these things as chief among their readers' concerns mimics popular rhetoric about the importance of domesticity to American women.

Additionally, *Vogue* regularly featured pieces on such topics as thrift, a key value bound in the domestic ideal. There was frequent advice on saving money, amid anecdotes in which otherwise wealthy women took initiative to spend less. An April 1944 piece heralded "My Cook is *Me*", in which a lieutenant's wife willingly wore the kitchen apron herself (as opposed to hiring someone else to cook) and prepared plentiful, cheap meals for her family, which aligns with the popular sentiment that caring for her family was a woman's top priority (Richardson, pp. 126, 129-132). Other articles during this period advised "it's a good idea to buy only what you need", "see what you can make over and make do", and "the price is a point" featuring fashions for the budget-conscious ("It's a Good Idea", 1945, pp. 124, 188; "The Price", 1949, pp. 130-135). The idea of thrift is also evident in the magazine's many references to home sewing, as *Vogue* had long since produced their own line of patterns. Advertisements for fabric companies are abundant throughout their issues, encouraging women to buy material to produce their own garments. Production of home sewing machines was halted in 1942, but when production resumed at war's end, machine manufacturers revived demand by investing in extensive marketing tactics to target young, middle-class women (Margerum, 1999). As a result, the trend of home sewing intensified in the years immediately following the war. For the first time, in 1952 *Vogue* referenced their patterns as "an American habit" ("Vogue Patterns", 1952, pp. 214-215, 228-229). Although the trend of home sewing declined in the late fifties, the magazine acknowledged its importance throughout the war and the years following. The persistence of such messages suggest that thrift was a value that resonated not only with the working class, but with *Vogue*'s middle and upper class readers, too.

Vogue's content represented prevailing discourse about the importance of domesticity in the construction of the ideal woman in more ways than encouraging thrift. Other common

messages include the import placed on a woman's responsibilities to her family, as well as the expectation that she meet her civic and social responsibilities, too. In describing the ideal mother, a columnist insisted in a 1944 piece that never before had wise parenting been more critical that it was at that time (Hall-Quest, 1944, pp. 62, 97). He further suggested that women should view their roles of influence beyond the "four walls" of their home. Families would benefit, he argued, from women's "flexibility, resourcefulness, and greater tolerance in human relationships" by participating in the "the widening circumference of daily living" (pp. 62, 97). Another article entitled "Big Families – Little Mothers" asserted that women could have large families – four or five children – and not sacrifice her personal time or looks due to the demands of mothering. It featured two women who juggled familial responsibilities, "managing their house with expertise" while still having time to socialize and volunteer ("Big Families", 1945, pp. 144-145). This is the characterization lauded as the ideal domestic woman, a model that intensified in *Vogue*'s postwar messages. In 1947, *Vogue*'s description of the postwar climate romanticized family life, exalted women and children, and fostered a renewed interest in recreation enjoyed by "more people than ever before" (Commanger, 1947, pp. 120b, 121). *Vogue*'s representation of domesticity is also apparent in their inclusion of recipes and guidance on proper cooking for the family. Many issues throughout late- and postwar years included articles about ingredients, meals, and buffet-style serving – which ran counter to other discussions about dining out and attending formal, plated affairs. An article in a 1946 issue declared that "learning to cook is as important as learning any other art form", putting a loftier spin on meal preparation by likening it to art (Marshall, p. 128). A superficial analysis of *Vogue* magazine would ignore or overlook entirely their commentary on the domestic ideal; to be sure, my analysis of issues from 1944 through 1952 evidences rhetoric of refined taste, elegance, and

sophistication, values we would stereotypically associate with this publication. But a more critical analysis reveals *Vogue*'s participation in the same discourse that dominated other mass publications, emphasizing that domesticity was critical in the construction of a particular late- and postwar feminine ideal.

A 1947 *Time* magazine article declared that *Vogue* magazine was "read as much for their ads as for anything else", and securing an advertising deal with the publication was of critical importance to leading manufacturers of women's products ("The Stylocrats", 1947, para. 4). As a twice-monthly "ad-fat" publication, *Vogue* was a magazine that "publicity-hungry manufacturers" fawned over (para. 4). As such, it included a host of product advertisements, ranging from those concerning women's cosmetics and clothing, to hotels and liquor. With such a breadth of promoted products, establishing an advertising relationship with the magazine was a competitive endeavor. That all three shampoo brands – Drene, Breck, and Lustre-Crème – did secure advertising deals with *Vogue* speaks to their popularity amid an increasingly competitive hair care market. They function within a publication that, as described, privileged refined taste, and catered to high society, or at least the fantasizing elite. But as I have also shown, *Vogue* did not neglect the concept of domesticity, and its relevance to the ideal feminine experience. In fact, in many ways it strongly emphasized that women be domestically-inclined, catering to needs of family and community. Many of its ads, likewise, emphasized these principles. Ads that relate to women's bodies in some way – whether in clothing or cosmetics, for example, communicated some similar messages to those of the shampoo. Ads for women's hosiery, cold creams, and lipstick suggested that using their products would garner male attention and beautify a woman's look, not unlike what Drene, Breck, or Lustre-Crème might convey. What's different about these ads compared with the shampoo ads, though, is that the claims they make do not

single out any particular bodily feature as critical in the construction of ideal domesticity. For example, a 1944 ad for Pond's Cold Cream contains signs representing the domestic ideal, as well as women's wartime duties. The caption exclaims "She's lovely", and "she's engaged" and features images of engagement rings and a blissful female war worker holding a drill (Pond's Extract Co", p. 75). At first glance, this ad may not look dissimilar to that of the shampoo ads I have discussed. But missing from this depiction is that a singular feature of the woman's body is responsible for her success. In other words, the ad relied on similar conventions that other wartime ads used, but it did not elevate her complexion as necessary in the attainment of ideal domesticity in the way that the shampoo ads do about hair. In the Drene, Breck, and Lustre-Crème ads, "natural", "lustrous" hair is a virtue that, if attained, brings social rewards. Also, the shampoo ads more strongly emphasized a particular aspect of femininity – hair – as so important to the ideal because it was during this time that the subject of women's hair came to mean so much; as described in previous chapters, it was during this period that commentary on women's hair gained momentum due in part to governmental propaganda urging females to consider war work, and the acceleration of the shampoo revolution. Shampoo ads used hair to contribute to a narrow construction of domesticity, unlike skincare ads, for example, that depicted domesticity as the collective elements shampoo ads did but without emphasizing one particular feature (even that which is the topic of the advertisement) as being critical in the construction. Cosmetics are assumed to be additive goods that enhance one's beauty, whereas shampoo is discussed as restoring hair to its natural, inherent beauty.

Vogue content provided a context in which the shampoo ads engaged a rhetoric of ideal domesticity – including notions about patriotism, thrift, the importance of family, and expectations of women's social and civic duties. The magazine also contained prescriptions of

feminine beauty that align with the shampoo ads' instance on the importance of hair. While it is speculative to assume that the shampoo ads informed *Vogue*'s portrayal of mid-1940s and early 1950s women's hair, I argue that as a result of the shampoo revolution, portraying a particular version of white women's hair as an American beauty ideal intensified. As such, it makes sense that the characters advancing this revolution – the shampoo brands themselves – could certainly have influenced hair discourse among popular mid-century magazines, like *Vogue*. The magazine commonly insisted that women's hair should be neat, well-tended, and "beautiful". Beautiful hair, as *Vogue* endorsed, was much like how Drene, Breck, and Lustre-Crème ads described; attractive hair was that which was medium to long in length, shiny, and smooth. For example, coinciding with the war years' proscription of long hair in factory work, *Vogue* featured shorter styles but emphasized that they should not compromise feminine appeal. In 1943's September issue, they reintroduced styles similar to 1920's-era shorn cuts, but by 1944 they were eager "to prove that a neat head is not necessarily a shorn one" ("A Neat Head", p. 34). In the same issue, *Vogue* included that among women's New Year resolutions should be to meet the wartime influence that women wear shorter styles, but "to make one's hair look short while keeping it long", a suggestion alongside other advice concerning decorating one's home, socializing, and managing money (p. 29). While representations of hair length and color varied, what remained consistent in these years was the message that "good" hair was that which was shiny and soft. Privileging these features reveals the racial bias of mid-century hair culture. Granted, this bias is apparent by simply glancing through the magazines which, during this period, contained no women of color. But a more critical analysis shows that not only were white young women privileged in promoting the domestic ideal, Caucasian hair was an integral factor in the construct. A 1945 article included a bulleted list of things "it's a good idea to [do]",

and insisted among them that women should "look on straight hair as a blessing" (p. 124). There is no other context for why this is included among a list of less disconcerting suggestions, including alternative ways to wear a shoulder bag, buttoning the top button of an otherwise open cardigan, and the need to incorporate the latest colors among women's wardrobes. The only additional content accompanying this line are ideas for how to style an up-do, and the advice to brush hair into a "high polish", further reinforcing the ideal that shiny hair was the preferred aesthetic. Feature articles on hair and hair product ads in the years prior to 1944 also encouraged shininess. However, the smooth and lustrous descriptions, which signal racial bias, intensified during the shampoo revolution as the products relied heavily on synthetics that would brighten instead of dull hair, as was the complaint against "old-fashioned" soap-based shampoos. All three shampoo brands characterized smooth and shiny texture as "beautiful" during this revolution, and their verbiage might well have influenced the broader discussion about what contributes to attractive hair throughout *Vogue*'s content, as well.

Hair's Role in *Housekeeping*

A second magazine in my analysis is *Good Housekeeping*, which was established in 1885 and by the 1940s was a leading women's interest magazine. More than the namesake of a magazine, the company was a pioneer in the field of product testing and consumer research; in 1900 it established The Good Housekeeping Research Institute which employed experts in the areas of food science, sanitation, and health to test consumer products against measures such as safety, performance, and health benefits ("Ahead of Our Time", n.d.). They had separate divisions, including a "Beauty Clinic" in which they could test leading consumer cosmetics and hair products in a simulated environment. In 1909, they established the Good Housekeeping Seal, an honor granted to goods whose claims for performance and quality were deemed an

accurate representation of what the experts found in their series of product testing ("The History of the Seal", n.d.). The seal was a measure to protect and inform consumers, and became a symbol consumers sought in making purchasing decisions between competitive brands.

The company's involvement in a variety of matters dealing with family seems to have intensified in the early-to-mid 1940s. In 1942, the company formed a Product Use and Development Division of their Good Housekeeping Research Institute. This division was charged with consulting a variety of manufacturers to publish advice on the postwar economy, particularly on consumer products. In 1944, the Institute devised surveys to include consumer feedback in order to understand the role of industry not only from manufacturers' perspectives, but based on the material needs and desires of the American population (Good Housekeeping Consumer Panel, 1944, p. 4). The consumer panels were comprised of magazine subscribers, and fairly proportionately reflected the magazine's readership. Approximately seventy-five percent of the respondents claimed an occupational status as "housewife", followed by just over ten percent who were employed in clerical jobs, which provides an understanding of the demographics of the magazine's readership (pp. 9, 13). In 1943, the company opened a Baby Center in New York City at which women could get childcare advice from on-staff nurses, and learn about baby formula, bottles, diapers, and the like. The Center also featured a variety of nursery furnishings on display, as well as a library containing maternity and childcare books, and various educational stations at which women could learn about nutrition and making baby clothes (Kenyon, 1943, pp. 134-135, 223). As a further extension of the magazine and the activities of the Institute and Baby Center, Hearst publishing produced *Good Housekeeping* books as educational tools women could use as references in their homes. In the forties and early fifties, these included books on topics such as home decorating and general household-

maintenance tasks. In 1944 and 1945, Hearst also produced a series of findings from consumer surveys on topics like laundering, cooking habits, and textiles. The impetus for reporting consumer surveys was to address challenges the war imposed on American citizens, and the goal was to ultimately address ways of life in a postwar economy.

Though they had already enjoyed a long history of success as a publication its readers felt they could trust, communicating ideal domestic principles seems to have strengthened in the years immediately following the war. They had already published books on specific housekeeping considerations, but in 1947 they produced what was simply titled "The *Good Housekeeping* Housekeeping Book", a comprehensive compilation of "recommendations and methods for keeping house" ("Forward", 1947, n.p.). A lengthy book at nearly 500 pages, it was intended as a housewife's reference book not to be read at once from cover to cover, but as a handy text to "turn to for quick and *right* answers to the emergencies and everyday problems that bedevil at times every woman who keeps house" ("Forward", n.p.).

Like its peer publications, the circulation of *Good Housekeeping* was affected by wartime restrictions on paper use. By 1944, they chose to temporarily decline new subscriptions, only producing magazines for those readers who were renewing theirs ("Results of a Scarcity", 1943).[47] Nonetheless, the magazine enjoyed a loyal readership throughout the war, and

[47] *Good Housekeeping* is not the only publication to have made such adjustments during the war years. Many U.S. magazine publishers reportedly rationed subscriptions, including Hearst which not only declined new subscriptions of *Good Housekeeping*, but for other magazines they owned as well, such as *Cosmopolitan* and *Harper's Bazaar*. Other publishers rationed in different ways, such as Curtis Publishing Co., which required

increasingly so in the years after. In general, the magazine more overtly tackled subjects dealing with the American home and families than did *Vogue*, which as described in the previous section commented on domesticity in perhaps less obvious, but important, ways. *Good Housekeeping's* content echoed its tagline "the magazine America lives by", by providing articles and advertisements that addressed aspects assumed to be relevant to citizens' everyday lives – home, health, family, and general well-being. It also included entertainment sections, providing its readers poems and short stories sprinkled throughout the pages that otherwise addressed solutions for what were considered to be average, everyday American matters. However, by 1948, fictional content decreased by over half; in the mid-forties, there were approximately nine fiction pieces per issue whereas in the late forties, there were only about four. The length of the magazine remained consistent, though; in place of the fictional content the magazine began to feature sections related to stereotypical household matters that would fall under the purview of women. For example, in 1944, the magazine included a new section called "The Baby Center", featuring advice for mothers written by the Center's director. The exclusion of entertainment columns for home-related segments evidences the magazine's entrenchment in broader cultural discourse about privileging domesticity, and the implication of (white) women in it.

In the years 1944 through 1952, the comprehensive concept of domesticity that I employ in this analysis was intensified in *Good Housekeeping*. Special magazine sections that remained consistent during this period include "The Institute", featuring advice and findings from their research laboratory, and the "Beauty Clinic", which offered "expert" advice on topics relating to

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subscriptions of a two-year or longer duration for such publications as the *Saturday Evening Post* and *Ladies' Home Journal* ("Results of a Scarcity", 1943, para. 6).

women's hygiene, cosmetic, and self-presentation etiquette guidelines. There was also a "fashion" section, as well as a "studio" section which offered suggestions for decorating the home. While these sections persisted throughout the period, their relative composition changed. The fashion section expanded to include more articles increasingly so beginning in the late forties. For example, the fashion section only included three articles in the January 1944 issue, whereas the January 1949 issue included 16 articles ("Contents", 1944, p. 2; "Contents", 1949, p. 2). Likewise, in addition to the studio section which already contained information about house layout and décor, a new section was added to the publication in October 1945, called "Building Forum". This section featured "homes America wants" in their inclusion of home styles and floor plans, as well as landscape and gardening ideas (Mason, 1946, p. 43). In addition to these changes, content began to more clearly tie a woman's role in her home to the interests of the nation. Multiple examples of this exist. In February 1944, *Good Housekeeping* began a new feature that included lessons mothers should instill in their young daughters. The section title itself emphasized that educating their children was a woman's responsibility, as it was called "Cooks' Kindergarten" or "Homemakers' Kindergarten", depending on the article's theme. Introducing this new feature, *Good Housekeeping* said:

> Because we believe that food is here to stay, that no one is going to give up eating, that everyone can and should know how to whip up a meal, we're starting [this section] . . . [In this first issue] begin with Susan and custard, and look for this page each month" (p. 87)

Unsurprisingly, the intent was not that *everyone* learn to cook. The articles consistently featured a fictitious character, Susan, who was a girl the article encouraged mothers to identify with as their own daughters. The article titles always started with "Susan Learns" followed by

whatever recipe or skill being explained. For its duration, which continued into the fifties, it was only this young girl, never a boy, who was the subject of the educational vignette. The inclusion of this section implied that mothers were responsible for teaching their daughters to carry on the traditions of homemaking, skills necessary for the greater good of not only their families, but for society as a whole. While some lessons seem to only be for the benefit of her immediate family, the skills Susan learned were ones that prepared her for the role of ideal female citizen in the broader cultural context.

Another example of the rhetoric *Good Housekeeping* espoused regarding women's idealized responsibilities is in a July 1944 feature article that proclaimed "there is no forum so powerful as the home; a woman's spoken vote counts most, for what we teach our children shapes the future policies of the nation" (Peattie, 1944, p. 17). Women were encouraged to revere their roles as mothers, and to regard their homes as a "house of representatives" in which matters about the home were "voted" upon daily. As such, the responsibility fell to mothers to ensure that children were appropriately guided in the home and that decisions be made that best meet the interests of every family member.

The subject of marriage, likewise, garnered a great deal of attention in the magazine. A 1946 article published supposed statistics outlining women's chances of getting married due to the shortage of available men, which was purported to be "worse than ever" (Churchill, p. 38). Claiming that "marriage is not only a woman's number one career but her favorite topic of conversation and the object of most of her daydreaming", experts weighing in on the subject cautioned that in the postwar years one in seven women could expect to live alone due to the gender imbalance in the population. "Unless you watch your step", so they warned, "this may be you" (p. 313). *Good Housekeeping* thus enforced the notion that marriage was bound in the

construction of ideal femininity and domesticity, a sentiment that was ramping up in the late- and postwar years. The implied alternatives to marrying a financially-secure prospect during this period were low-wage or low-skilled labor, and barriers to upward mobility such as securing credit and purchasing a home on one's own. Although these articles were sensationalized scare-tactics, there were real obstacles unmarried women faced that may have been lesser concerns for married women.

As a publication distinct in kind from *Vogue*, *Good Housekeeping* more blatantly emphasized the late- and postwar ideology about domesticity in the feminine construct. As mentioned above, it included frequent commentary on women's lives, and included content that addressed topics such as beauty and decorating the home that were supposedly foremost concerns of women. But similar to *Vogue*, *Good Housekeeping* included fashion advice, resources such as recipes and patterns, and an interpretation of what was considered ideally beautiful. Frequently bound in this conceptualization was the topic of hair. Throughout the magazine, women were represented as Caucasian with either shorter haircuts inspired by wartime factory work restrictions or, more frequently, long hairstyles. Beautiful hair was described throughout the magazine in much the same way Drene, Breck, and Lustre-Crème ads characterized it. The director of the Beauty Clinic division of the Good Housekeeping Research Institute, Ruth Murrin, published articles about hair that mimicked the rhetoric espoused by shampoo advertisements. One feature urged that "shimmering hair is beautiful in itself", that it not only made a woman look healthier, but also more becoming in her clothes (1944, p. 71). The director advised women to avoid hair products that would dull its *natural* shine, and likened women's rough-textured hair to "lackluster coats of lab animals" (p. 71). Likewise, a 1946 article demonstrated bias for straight, smooth hair. Titled "How to Tame Bushy Hair", the article

urged that bushy hair was never "an asset", it "spoils the line of one's head", and "detracts from the look of good grooming" (Murrin, 1946, p. 119). A cartoon-like sketch of a woman with a voluminous curly hairdo accompanied the text. Together, the article and image characterized non-smooth, wavy hair as compromising the quality of one's grooming and attractiveness. The Beauty Clinic's emphasis on shiny, straight hair only intensified in the years that followed. In 1950, the magazine published a "Master Handbook" of women's hair, a feature they called "the largest and most important presentation of [its] kind ever to appear in any national magazine" (Murrin, p. 73). The section included 35 pages (ten percent of the magazine's total content) of advice on styles and hair care do's and don'ts. Key attributes for obtaining a "smart hair style" included straight hair containing minimal waves, no frizz, and a lot of shine, and "trained to look exceedingly well-behaved" (p. 74). This "handbook" further stated that attractive hair "must be earned", and that many factors such as a woman's diet, the way she lived her life, and the "way [her] mind works" profoundly affected her hair quality (p. 108). The publication encouraged women to be meticulous and diligent about their hair care, using proper tools and products. It is no coincidence that *Good Housekeeping's* attention to hair maintenance in this way intensified during the late- and postwar years, the years the shampoo revolution gained momentum. As I have discussed, Drene, Breck, and Lustre-Crème emphasized women's responsibility to maintain hair by using their products, and that achieving beauty, happiness in the home, and social rewards were sure outcomes of washing with their respective brands. *Good Housekeeping* echoed these ideals, and so a discourse binding hair and domesticity was seamlessly communicated throughout the magazine content, and the ads themselves.

Good Housekeeping promoted all three brands, and their messages furthered a discourse emphasizing particular hair qualities, stressing that (white women's) hair was integral to the

construction of ideal domesticity. The magazine was advertisement-heavy, containing the most advertising content among all women's magazines by the early 1940s ("Tested and Not Approved", 1941, p. 52). In an issue with 250 total pages, there were approximately 220 advertisements, and Drene and Lustre-Crème, in particular, were frequently featured brands among them. Of this long list of advertisements, though, most issues during this period contained few shampoo ads overall, at maximum four different brands but more frequently, only two per issue. That *Good Housekeeping* endorsed these brands among such a short list of shampoo products indicates these brands' reverence in the market, as well as *Good Housekeeping*'s trust in them; earning the seal meant *Good Housekeeping* agreed the products met their claims and approved of their advertising. In fact, I argue that the portrayal of ideal hair through Drene, Breck, and Lustre-Crème advertisements may have influenced how the homemaking magazine represented the ideal. Drene advertised in all years under consideration in this analysis, and Lustre-Crème was first featured in January 1947. Both were recognized as quality brands with the Good Housekeeping Seal; in fact, all products that advertised in the magazine must be awarded the seal to even be included among its pages. On page six of every issue, a "Consumers' Guarantee" index provided a list of every seal-bearing product advertised therein. The seal, which was by mid-century a highly recognizable symbol of a product's supposed quality, accompanied brands even in other magazines in which they advertised. But the seal represented more than a product's having been tested for its performance and quality. It was an ideological marker, as well, signaling that the product that bore it stood for the values that *Good Housekeeping*, itself, espoused. As a company that emphasized home life, the virtue of marriage and motherhood, as well as idealized notions about a woman's civic responsibilities, so too the shampoo brands carried this connotation by boasting their seal.

Interestingly, Breck was not advertised in the magazine until the early fifties. It is unclear whether or not this had something to do with obtaining the seal of approval. Assigning the seal was no small measure on the Institute's behalf; not only did they require all products to undergo extensive testing before being included among their pages, they would also take responsibility to refund any product that was found to be defective. So their reputation was not only at stake, they were also financially liable for any product that did not perform as promised. Nonetheless, Breck did earn the seal and was a logical addition to a magazine that espoused the same values Breck upheld in their advertisements privileging a narrow version of "all-American" beauty and the virtue of family.

Drene, Breck, and Lustre-Crème advertisements represent the shampoo revolution and the emerging hair culture of the mid-1940s and early fifties. As artifacts of consumer culture, they demonstrate the important ideological implications of hair. But they do not function on their own to create meaning. They function within the values of the culture at large, and within the context of the magazines in which they advertise. Both *Vogue* and *Good Housekeeping*, a fashion and homemaking publication, respectively, provide a context in which these shampoo ads can be read as furthering a discourse that white women's hair was inherent in the domestic ideal.

Conclusion: Late- and Postwar Domesticity and "Soft, Glossy Tresses"

Scholars have acknowledged relative distinctions between wartime and postwar advertising as America transitioned to a postwar economy. I have argued, however, that there was a continuity among Drene, Breck, and Lustre-Crème shampoo ads from the late- to postwar years, specifically the eight year period, 1944 through 1952. This time frame serves as an ideological moment in which American domesticity came to represent something distinct as the U.S. transitioned from war to peacetime. White women were implicated in the idealization of the home front through various outlets including governmental propaganda, legislative policies, and popular culture media. Shampoo ads furthered white women's role in the idealization by suggesting that to uphold the values of the nation, they must have beautiful hair. Although the predominance of a particular popular discourse can never be neatly contained to a specified number of years, the period 1944 to 1952 distinctly exhibits certain characteristics that distinguishes it from the period just prior and the years that would follow. Starting in 1944, the G.I. Bill ideologically cemented men's dominant roles within their families, and as I described in this dissertation, the subject of hair garnered increasing commercial and personal interest in the maintenance of feminine beauty. However, because haircare products began to diversify greatly beginning in 1952, the options available for women to groom and style their hair became abundant. This changed the landscape of the shampoo industry, necessitating that brands adjust to counter the competition they faced from the flood of products, such as hairspray, that began to vie for consumers' dollars. The shampoo industry realized decreased profits in 1953 as other products captured a more sizable market share.

White women's hair was nonetheless big business for beauty product manufacturers in mid-century America, increasingly so beginning in the mid-1940s. Beauty salon sales

plummeted as many previous salon-goers opted instead to shampoo their hair at home. The privatization of shampooing aligned with the concurrent trend in self-preparations spurred by technological advancements in the haircare industry. Many women opted to shampoo their own hair instead of seeking the services of a professional due to the increasing variety of shampoo brands available at their local drug stores. It is no wonder that many women made this switch. The marketing of such products were virtually inescapable; leading brands advertised among various mass market print publications as well as on the radio and by the early fifties, via television, too. Drene, Breck, and Lustre-Crème even sponsored popular radio shows in the forties and early fifties. As a result of their marketing campaigns and business prowess, these brands were household names among a white, middle- and upper-middle class demographic. Their parent companies, Procter and Gamble, Breck, and Colgate-Palmolive-Peet reaped the benefits, realizing soaring profits in the mid-forties through early fifties, and were forerunners among what I have termed the "shampoo revolution".

The shampoo revolution had important consequences not only for consumers' conveniences and the beauty industry in general, it ultimately influenced the popular representation of the American woman and her important role in tending to the home, caring for her family, and upholding the values of a postwar economy. It did so through the ways three of its leading agents, the shampoo brands Drene, Breck, and Lustre-Crème, portrayed a particular ideal of womanhood. Not unlike other late- and postwar media, their characterization of women emphasized certain attributes that resonated with quintessential American mid-century values. Among other things, advertisements privileged heterosexual relationships, motherhood, thrift, and upward mobility. They also importantly introduced white women's hair in this construction, creating a narrative that white women's bodies (through the medium of hair) were critical

components of the mid-century domestic ideal. Whiteness was made normative in this construct for the obvious reason that advertisements featured light-skinned Caucasian models exclusively during the period under consideration. But whiteness was also naturalized by the brands' descriptions of "beautiful" hair as straight (or slightly wavy), smooth, and lustrous. These descriptors were juxtaposed against hair conditions such as kinkiness, curliness, dryness, and dullness that were represented as not only unattractive, but shameful. Aside from advertisements' biased portrayal of attractive hair, shampoo itself was an already inherently racialized product. Mass-marketed shampoos were designed for use on Caucasian hair, neglecting any consideration of how hair maintenance practices differed for black women. Examples of this were in the brands' suggestion of repeated washings (which were counter to the relative infrequency with which black women reported washing their hair), and the omission of ingredients such as moisturizing oils that had long been an important part of the hair maintenance regime among African Americans. Even still, the predominant portrayal of beautiful hair as shiny and straight persisted among advertisers who claimed their products' universality and thus agents of the shampoo revolution furthered a racialized discourse that a particular narrow version of hair was a standard against which all women would be measured.

Whether white women's hair continued as a requisite in later representations of ideal domesticity warrants further investigation. The impact Drene, Breck, and Lustre-Crème ads had on subsequent haircare marketing over the last 60 years also begs further inquiry. What is clear, however, is that the shampoo revolution and the three brands' collectively contributed to elevating a feature of white women's bodies as a critical component of late- and post-World War II domesticity in which women were harnessed with the responsibilities to be dutiful wives and

mothers, active among their communities, participants in the growing consumer economy, and diligent in maintaining soft, glossy tresses.

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