

Character analysis and racism in marketing theory and practice

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Abstract

This paper discusses how early marketing scholars and practitioners drew upon the insights offered by physiognomy and phrenology. These ancient ways of understanding ‘character’ and personality types were used as tools to encourage practitioners to be more analytic and systematic in their dealings with customers. And these variants of psychological thought, it is argued, provided interesting but racially charged ways of thinking about and reflecting on consumer behaviour. While this literature is not unproblematic, given the racism that can be discerned in the output of certain scholars, those working in the intellectual domain that was known as ‘character analysis’ were quick to enunciate their racial pluralism. Racism, it is suggested, remains an issue that marketing scholars and practitioners still need to confront and critique.

Keywords

Character analysis, critical marketing studies, marketing theory, racism, sales

Introduction

Traditionally, the discipline of economics is viewed as the key intellectual resource for early marketing thought (Mittelstaedt, 1990). In some respects this is a reasonable assumption; after all, marketing is often referred to as a variant of ‘applied economics’. This said, to overlay the influence of economics in our early history is, however, a mistake. There were numerous scholars, with a diverse range of intellectual and paradigmatic interests, who sought to demonstrate the value of psychological insights for marketing and business practice (e.g. Link, 1920; Kingsbury,

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1923; Wulfeck, 1945), ably supported by groups such as the Psychological Corporation (Cattell, 1923; Gallup, 1942).

The emerging discipline of psychology played an important role in early marketing theory and practice via its articulation of racialized typologies of 'character'. Different character profiles, it was argued, allegedly impacted on consumer behaviour in terms of the way people respond to certain product offerings, particular types of arguments and so forth. Theoretically, much published 'character analysis' was indebted to physiognomy and phrenology.

In view of the fact that historically the representation of marketing theory has largely elided questions of race¹ and prejudice (Burton, 2009a, 2009b), this paper should be considered an exploration of how longstanding beliefs about race and racial hierarchies impact upon marketing and how marketing practices reaffirm or undermine such values. Specifically, attention is devoted to the use of racism and certain 'models of man' (Heede, 1981) that were widespread in society and invoked a discourse (character analysis) that was subsequently communicated to students, scholars and practitioners via the correspondence course devised and offered by Dr Katherine Blackford, the most prominent character analyst in the United States during the first three decades of the 20th century.

Examining such material is long overdue. In the first place, papers that chart the contribution of female scholars in marketing are exceptionally rare (Zuckerman and Carsky, 1990). And until now, historians of marketing have focused their considerable energies on documenting the dissemination of marketing theory and practice via university courses (Bartels, 1951, 1988). University courses, however, were only one means of instruction open to students and even then the preserve of a relatively small minority. Correspondence courses, on the other hand, offered the promise of education to large numbers of students and were an important conduit, communicating the philosophy of marketing to groups who would otherwise have left formal education (Tadajewski, 2011; Witkowski, 2012).

Indeed, correspondence courses often reached audiences of 40,000 subscribers or more (Sheldon, 1911b; Galloway, 1916). Furthermore, if the sociology of interesting (Davis, 1971) has taught us anything, it is that the more racially problematic material circulated by correspondence schools would not have deliberately tried to violate the assumption grounds and core values of their intended audiences.² The issues of race and racism that are found in such publications are, therefore, indicative of more widely held values in society. This should not surprise us.

The genealogy of race thinking is complex, reaching back many centuries (Frederickson, 2002), and this way of evaluating people on the basis of the colour of their skin has been an influential means of ordering the marketplace (Kennedy, 2000; Harris et al., 2005). It formed the grist for the advertising mills of manufacturers and retailers (Mehaffy, 1997; Davis, 2007) and was used to legitimate European colonialism in particular (Ramamurthy, 2000; Frederickson, 2002). In the United States, racism has been equally influential. As Newby (2010: 372) points out, 'White nationalism has been at the core of American politics, economics and social organization' and this reached into 'every aspect of American life'.

With the above in mind, this paper is structured as follows: it begins by outlining the intellectual foundations of physiognomy and phrenology, linking these with the work that falls under the rubric of character analysis. This is most appropriately achieved by focusing on the work of an individual who was acknowledged as a key exponent of character analysis, Dr Katherine Blackford (Brown, 2005). Blackford's work thus forms the means through which we can see racial discourses re-articulated and transmitted to the marketing community. Her work is important in the sense that

it was praised when it originally appeared and moreover continued to be used throughout the 1920s and in some instances through to the 1960s (Friedman, 2004; Brown, 2005).

Beyond Blackford's work, a case is made that marketing theory and practice continue to be marked by the taint of racist conceptions of the consumer that impact on the way certain groups are treated in the marketplace. This account concludes by offering some tentative thoughts for further research and critical pedagogic practice.

The intellectual foundations of character analysis: Physiognomy and phrenology

The intellectual foundations of character analysis originate in physiognomical and phrenological discourse. Character analysis, phrenology and physiognomy have a long history (Dunlap, 1923). As Laird and Remmers (1924: 429) report,

The interest in appearance . . . is very ancient. Although the soul may have been located in the viscera by the ancients the eyes were the windows of the soul, and mental qualities in general were thought to be reflected in the features of the face.

Across the literature dealing with phrenology, it is generally conceded that this scientific style is concerned with the influence of heredity on character, with character discernible from the shape of the head. Broadening such interests is the study of physiognomy which considers the whole body as a reflection of character. Both ways of thinking were influential. While their origins extend all the way back to ancient Greece and to the writings of Theophrastus (370–288 BC) and Aristotle (384–322 BC), both only seriously merited scientific study from the late 18th century. Key figures involved in promoting physiognomical and phrenological insights included Lavater (1741–1801), Gall (1758–1828), Spurzheim (1776–1832), Galton (1822–1911), Darwin (1809–82), Lombroso (1835–1909) and the extremely popular *American Phrenological Journal* (Jastrow, 1915; Collins, 1999; Lombardo and Foschi, 2002, 2003).

Phrenology, most notably, was frequently referenced in popular culture. And the 'educated middle classes' were among those most likely to have undergone some form of physiognomical or phrenological analysis (Collins, 1999). As an indication of the cultural significance of these ways of interpreting character, phrenological examinations were often performed at dinner parties. Within the nascent marketing industry, the central tenet of physiognomical discourse that people could be read, much like a book or advertisement was, by the late nineteenth century, well established. Many travelling salespeople were considered to be proficient character readers (Spears, 1993), identifying which prospects needed to be treated carefully or approached with vigour on the basis of their appearance, speech and general deportment (Friedman, 2004).

Early literature offered the promise of teaching the neophyte salesperson the skill of character reading that normally only experience could provide (e.g. Fosbroke, 1914). A key figure in this intellectual current was Dr Katherine Blackford, MD, who was an active consultant in the early twentieth century and defined the parameters for character analysis.

Katherine Blackford MD

Katherine Blackford was born on 18 March 1875 in Mineral, Missouri. Dr Blackford undertook medical training (*Who's Who*, 1934–5) and her intellectual attention centered on 'the difficult field

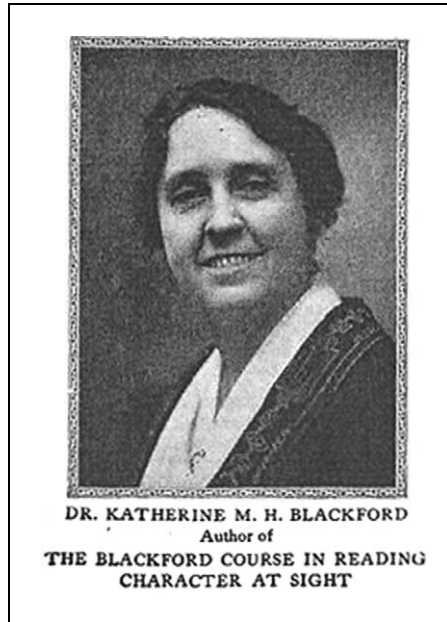


Figure 1. Dr Katherine Blackford
Source: Blackford, 1918: Lecture One

of brain physiology and electrotherapeutics' (Howland, 1918: 5). It appears her interest in diagnosing character occurred very early:

As a young practitioner, Dr Blackford fell into the habit of basing her diagnosis more and more on a minute's searching study of the patient's face, manner, actions and habit[s] of speech. More and more, she relied upon the systematic support of her eyes. To her trained mind the salient facts stood out clearly – often before the patient had said a word. (Howland, 1918: 5)

In 1913 she started her consulting business, marketing her correspondence course on character analysis that we focus upon sometime later in 1918.

What is interesting about the listing of consultancy activities she undertook was their varied and international nature, running from traditional for-profit work through to non-profit studies. The range of her clients indicates that character analysis was not a marginal activity, but a 'normal and reputable' practice (Rose, 1988: 180; see Laird and Remmers, 1924). On a related issue, Dunlap opines: 'it can safely be inferred that the "selling" of character analysis in various ways is at present a very profitable business' (1923: 74).

These views about the diffusion and profit generating potential of character analysis were justified. The large scale growth of industry and the increasing importance of the distribution and retailing system necessitated the use of psychological techniques and tools to maximize the efficiency of organizations. And access to factory and retailing institutions offered business consultants the opportunity to study retailing and distribution arrangements first hand. As Howland explains:

Having accumulated, as a result of her wide practice, a great collection of precise measurements, observations and records, together with careful notes of groups in factories, stores, schools, conventions and other gathering places, Dr Blackford classified and studied this rich mass of material, and the principles, reduced to their simplest terms, are contained in the wonderful Course which she now gives to the world.

(1918: 7)

Let us now turn to the practice of character analysis in more detail.

The practice of character analysis

At the start of her series of lectures ('The Blackford Course in Reading Character at Sight'), Blackford underlines the point that many times each day we judge people by their physiognomy. She emphasizes that 'Reading character is not a trick. It is not magic or "second sight." It is not an uncanny "gift." It is an art based on sound common sense and experience. Anyone can learn it and use it' (Blackford, 1918, Lecture One: 9). Schematically, Lecture 1 introduces a rationale for studying character and begins to outline the complex range of character 'profiles' that Blackford later develops in Lecture 2. Lecture 3 focuses on issues that relate to the homophily principle (see Spiro et al., 1977) and in particular the distinction between 'fine' and 'coarse' types that are discussed below. Lecture 4 deals with 'sex' and gender related topics; 5 tackles 'The Meaning of Race'; 6 concentrates on the 'white' and 'dark races'; and the final lecture expands her focus from physiognomy to the various ways that clothes, handwriting and other indicators all reveal elements of character. Throughout her writings she frequently includes numerous photographs or line drawings to indicate the structural features of the face that she wishes the student to study closely and use for future character diagnosis.

As she makes clear, the function of character analysis is 'to enable you to recognize, swiftly and accurately, the predominating characteristics of a given customer . . . This knowledge is essential to the highest success in your mission of service to others, commercially, socially and ethically' (Blackford, 1911a: 16–17). Her reasoning is simple and straightforward; it allows the salesperson to modify their approach to the customer, playing on the likely traits of the individual concerned, thereby allowing the skilled salesperson–analyst 'to persuade him most easily' (Blackford, 1911a: 19). Commensurate with studies on 'mirroring' (e.g. Hollman and Kleiner, 1997), or that deal with the cultivation of a 'mirror-like personality' (Spears, 1993), the effective salesperson, she suggests, should develop rapport with the person they wish to influence (Blackford, 1918, Lecture One: 39).

Knowledge of human nature and the possession of a malleable personality by the salesperson were all important if the customer was to be psychologically shifted from awareness, through interest, desire and onward to action, ultimately achieving a state of satisfaction (e.g. Blackford, 1911a: 64–6, 1911b: 58, 1918: front cover). Here Blackford was drawing on the work of two early contributors to marketing, E. St Elmo Lewis and Arthur Frederick Sheldon, by invoking the AIDA concept. St Elmo Lewis originally defined this as 'Attract attention, maintain interest, create desire' (Strong, 1925: 76). Sheldon's seminal conceptual development – and Blackford does hail Sheldon, who employed her to write correspondence course material after meeting her in July 1909 (Blackford, 1911a: 6), as a seminal thinker along the lines of Socrates and Shakespeare (Blackford, 1911a: 53) – was to add 'satisfaction' to this list. All business endeavours, for Sheldon, should be focused on creating satisfied customers, since this represented the key to profit and success (Sheldon, 1911a). Touching upon each of these issues Blackford writes:

Success in contact with men depends largely upon one's ability to judge them correctly and then adapt one's self to their personality. To be able to detect a man's strong points and his weak ones, gives one an immediate point of contact which is essential in getting favorable attention. To accomplish this successfully requires an accurate knowledge of character, for some men are not readily responsive and no matter how kind and courteous one is to them they are cold, passive and unsympathetic if not positively rude. This type is a veritable nightmare to the average salesman. But if the salesman understands his man and conducts himself properly he will make a favorable impression, and the next time he calls he will succeed better, and bye and bye Mr. Icicle will be thawed out. When you have persuaded such a man that you can be of service to him you will have accomplished something worthwhile. Those who are hard to convince, hard to influence, oftentimes become our staunchest customers, for once won they are steadfast, while the customer too easily won is sometimes quite as easily lost.

(Blackford, 1911a: 20–1, emphasis in original)

Notwithstanding the fact that her differentiation of people into their physical features and character attributes is complex, we can identify a number of key ideas underwriting her analytic strategy. This account will come to Blackford's racial gestures slightly later. For now, it is worth noting that her analysis is consistent with those relating to 'scientific racism' (Dennis, 1995), and pro-colonialist thought; she uses Madison Grant's racist work, which itself is based on William Z. Ripley's (1899) important text.

With these intellectual strands Blackford formulates her exposition of the 'great white races'. These included groups she terms the 'Anglo-Saxon', the 'Teutonic', the 'Latin', and the 'Slav'. She calls the 'original white races of Northwestern Europe', the 'Nordics' using a distinction that is found initially in the 13th-century work of Montesquieu, and developed further by the Count de Gobineau (1816–82) (Puzzo, 1964). This said, we do not need to let her outline of the 'white races' detain us further, as she uses the Anglo-Saxon or 'Nordic' label and characteristics as a counterpoint to the 'black' or darker races most frequently. Invoking this dichotomy, she distinguishes between the 'great white races' and other groups predominantly on the basis of the colour of their skin, eyes, hair, and so on. A high proportion of either 'white' or 'blond' features, led to an individual being associated with the 'blond' 'profile'; a predominance of darker colouring certified an individual as 'brunet'.³

'Blond' and 'brunet' characters

Empirically, Blackford's argument about skin and hair colour being connected to character traits has been widely critiqued (e.g. Paterson and Ludgate, 1922–3). Still, it is perhaps not surprising that in an environment in which race was a prominent immigration topic, Blackford's arguments found a ready audience given that the related issue of colouring orients her views: '*the coloring of an individual . . . largely determines the kind of work for which he is best adapted, reveals his disposition, and gives us the key which unlocks the innermost chambers of his mind*'⁴ (Blackford, 1911a: 29, emphasis in original).

For example Blackford claims that those who have dark skin are conservative in nature, while the 'blond', white races with their 'natural motivation and self-confidence are adapted to selling, advertising, organizing, colonizing, invention and creation' (Blackford, 1918, Lesson Six: 15; see also Sheldon and McDowell, 1924: 120). The self-motivation of 'blonds', for Blackford, makes them ideal candidates to undertake 'outside' sales activities. Indeed, marketing related tasks appear to be the forte of this group: 'the blond is particularly well adapted to selling, especially to finding

new customers, opening up new markets, finding new ways to introduce new products and developing new territory' (Blackford, 1918, Lesson Six: 26).

The 'blond' goes out searching for new business opportunities. The 'brunet', on the other hand, is responsible for maintaining the existing customer base. Her term to describe this service activity, following Sheldon (1911a), is 'business building':

The brunet . . . is better adapted to calling on the same customers over and over again, selling them the same things, making friends with them, seeing that they secure the very best service, and tying them up more and more closely to himself and the house. (Blackford, 1918, Lesson Six: 26)

Some people, she asserts, are better business builders than others. Those people with 'short heads', she tells the reader, are inclined to adopt a sales orientation. Short headed people are

mindful only of temporary gain. In business this type are intent upon grasping everything they can get hold of at the moment, without due consideration for future benefits. They are grasping, selfish natures, who in commercial life are often good business *getters*, but poor business *builders*. (Blackford, 1911b: 24, emphasis in original)

Such views are, at a basic level, consistent with recent debates on relationship marketing (Gummesson, 1994; Keep et al., 1998).

With these issues in mind, Blackford continues to refine her arguments, offering a variety of other methods through which character can be diagnosed and manipulated. Most notably, she focuses on the curvature of a person's face and the degree to which they possess 'coarse' or 'fine' features. 'Fine' individuals, for example, tend to have 'fine' hair, soft, smooth skin, be well presented, appreciate high quality goods and services and enjoy the arts. As sales people, they are adept at promoting and selling expensive or intellectually oriented products. Conversely, those who show evidence of 'coarse' attributes are suited 'to rough, uncouth work' and lack sophisticated social skills. In line with this they 'are not capable of fine shades of thought or great delicacy of feeling' (Blackford, 1911b: 9). This is not to say they are unfit for sales work, Blackford suggests. But we must register their temperamental differences in relation to the 'fine' type, as this will influence the work they are allocated. A 'coarse' individual, according to Blackford's reasoning, is better positioned to sell industrial goods such as 'heavy hardware, implements or other heavy articles' (Blackford, 1911b: 10).

As was alluded to above, the issue of race underpins Blackford's variant of character reading. Given that it is an important element of her work, it should not be ignored, irrespective of how it disrupts the largely racially sanitized account of the history of marketing theory and thought that we presently possess.

Character analysis and racism

Blackford's writing is complex in terms of the axiology she displays. For instance she demonstrates a progressive commitment to exposing and critiquing unequal gender relations. This said, what is equally prominent is a degree of racism in her writings. Racism, put simply, is predicated on the idea that skin colour can be used as a proxy for economic value (Cooke, 2003), intellectual development and attributions of moral fibre (Puzzo, 1964; Primm et al., 2007). Connected to racist hierarchies of value is the notion that certain groups are better fitted to rule over 'inferior' others (Ramamurthy, 2000).

In the works of writers commonly associated with these discourses, including Galton, Grant, and Spencer, non-Western groups were depicted as more immature, less sophisticated, child-like or violent in character who deserved their place in the world order on the basis of their alleged lack of intellectual and cultural development (see Taylor, 1981; Bhatia, 2002). These were not just theoretical speculations. Clear lines were drawn between the races. They were legally enforced and illegally policed by vigilante methods, 'terroristic violence' (Wacquant, 2002: 46) and accompanied by 'an epidemic of sadistic lynching parties' in the American South⁵ (Fredrickson, 2002: 111).

As such, when we factor in the history of race in the West, the concern over the 'Negro problem' (Wolff, 2006), combined with 'white hysteria' (Wacquant, 2002), 'KuKluxism' (Dewey, 1923) and the rise of the white supremacist movement (Cooke, 2003; Newby, 2010), it is probably not surprising that Blackford can appear critical of other racial groups:

Do all Negroes – or Chinese – or Italians – or Syrians look alike to you? If they do, there is a good reason for it. Those who have made a specialty of the study of the races of mankind tell us that, in many respects, all members of unmixed races are very much alike in face, head and body . . . Even the least observant of us is familiar with the dark skin, hair and eyes; the wide flat nose, the thick lips; the woolly hair [sic]; the long heels; and the peculiar guffaw of the pure-bred negro . . . The negro is emotional, somewhat irresponsible, musical, naturally obedient and trustful, happy-go-lucky, affectionate, talkative, fond of warmth, comfort and good food. (Blackford, 1918, Lesson One: 47–8; cf. Grant, 1918 [1970]: 31; Gould, 1981: 79; Bristor et al., 1995: 51, 55; Fuller, 2001: 121; Henderson and Baldasty, 2003: 99, 107; Davis, 2007: 29)

The 'negro' was not the only racial type to be caricatured: 'The Albino . . . is the most unstable human compound known' (Blackford, 1911a: 36). For what it is worth, her arguments are nuanced and she was aware they could be misinterpreted. After all, Blackford was reading and using material from a variety of thinkers who were considered quite radical in their own way. She refers to the publications of Havelock Ellis, the famous psychologist of sex whose works were subject to censure for some time (*New York Times*, 1939).

Madison Grant, another author directly cited by Blackford, is more problematic. It is worth clarifying his background and views very briefly. He was lauded as an 'Authority on Anthropology' in his obituary (*New York Times*, 1937) and his views 'were uncritically acclaimed' during the 1920s (Amann, 1986). However, in a number of publications, Grant made plain his desire for a 'racially and nationally pure' America (MacDonald, 1933: BR4). He 'is for the white man and the white man's burden' (MacDonald, 1933: BR16) and was active in campaigning for restrictions on immigration and intermarriage (cf. *New York Times*, 1906).

It must therefore be realized that in emphasizing race Blackford was not unusual. The governmental and legal structure of the US has been predicated for a substantial part of its history on racial exclusion (Rodriguez, 2010) and these values were refracted in wider society:

After the First World War intolerant nationalism and its concomitant racial nativism emerged with a vengeance in American society. The largest and most powerful nativist organization in United States history, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, enrolled perhaps eight million members during its turbulent career. Anti-Semitism, anti-Catholicism, and a general mistrust of 'foreigners' pervaded the thinking of probably a majority of the citizenry. (Alexander, 1962: 86; see also Dewey, 1923: 514; Bernays, 1928 [2005]: 53; Baldwin, 2001: 32–3, 170; Tye, 2002: 235–6; Wheatland, 2009: 89; Della Femina, 2010: 2–3, 514; Martin-Nielsen, 2010: 134–5)

This included *some* working in the social science community. The extent of this racism is difficult to determine. For some observers, such as Taylor (1981: 449), the notion that ‘race’ functioned as

a determining factor in human affairs was supported with virtual unanimity by the leading figures in American social science. Utilizing both professional and popular channels, biologists, psychologists, and sociologists proclaimed with one voice the inherent and immutable inferiority of the black race.

Others, by contrast, have documented the numerous prominent scholars such as W.E.B. du Bois, Franz Boas, Margaret Mead, J. Robert Oppenheimer and Leo Lowenthal alongside practitioners such as Edward Bernays, the PR guru (1928 [2005]) and many ‘ordinary’ people who were very critical of the racism that was present in the academe, business practice, popular culture and everyday life (see also Amann, 1986; Lieberman, 1997; Kramer, 2009; Wheatland, 2009).

Even so, for Blackford: ‘every man’s racial inheritance is one of the strongest forces in molding his character – and it is responsible for some of the most important traits of his character’ (Blackford, 1918, Lesson Five: 4). While her analysis is often cautious, her citation strategy hints at a more troubling view of human nature operating behind her considered review of the different groups. She focuses attention on Grant’s distinction between ‘fair’ and ‘dark people’ which appears consistent with Blackford’s examination of the ‘white races’ and ‘dark races’. And, in an unselfconscious move she asks the reader:

What is the first thing you notice about a man? ... It is his color, isn’t it? Whether he is white, black, brown, red or yellow? Color is easily seen and makes such a difference among men that you have to notice it. (Blackford, 1918, Lecture Six: 3)

She relates this point to the representation of different races in literature, stage shows and religious iconography. This provides a bridge to Grant’s text which uses equivalent examples to those that follow below. Unlike Grant’s profoundly racist views, Blackford professes no antipathy to any racial groups (see also Blackford, 1911a: 37). She makes positive comments about the former slave, Frederick Douglass, and praises the political skills of another ex-slave, Booker T. Washington (Blackford and Newcomb, 1917a: 62) and thus is somewhat confused by accusations of racial bias:

Strange to say, I have often been reported by newspapers and people as favoring blonds [roughly speaking, white people]. I have also been reported by other newspapers and other people as favoring brunets [darker skinned people]. It ought to be clear that neither color is ‘better’ than the other; that the blond is no more superior to the brunet than the brunet is superior to the blond. (Blackford, 1918, Lesson Six: 23)

Yet, it is understandable why there was confusion about her views, especially when she asks:

Did you ever see a painting or other picture of a black or even brunet angel?

Did you ever see a picture of a blond devil?

Did you ever see a picture of a good king, a lovely queen, a fairy princess, a very gentle, perfect knight or a popular hero who was not blond?

Did you ever see a villain or a vampire on the stage or in a picture who didn’t have raven-black hair, ‘wicked’ black eyes, and a dark skin? (Blackford, 1918, Lesson Six: 4)

Such questions could easily be misinterpreted. For this reason Blackford pauses and encourages in-depth reflection on these issues in an attempt to remind the reader not to base their character judgments on one physiognomical feature alone. In a powerful argument reminiscent of Althusser's (2008) critique of the role of ideology, Blackford describes the effect of influential psychological and economic structures on society and raises the spectre of colonialism:

On the whole, do you find blonds any more angelic than the brunets, the brunets any more devilish than the blonds?

Neither do I.

Nor does anyone else.

Then how did all our artists, poets, playwrights and novelists get the idea?

Well, look around you.

Who runs things in this world, white people or dark-skinned people – the white race or the dark races?

Which have the greatest wealth?

Which can bestow the highest rewards?

The white people of course. (Blackford, 1918, Lesson Six: 4)

Here we see Blackford setting up a debate through a series of posed questions that guide the reader in a very particular direction – only then to deviate from it markedly. This approach makes her perspective on such matters somewhat ambiguous (cf. Blackford and Newcomb, 1917a: 346). A cynical reader might suggest that she feels insecure in committing herself to a racist posture, even given the social acceptance of the views she articulates. This leads her to blur her axiological commitments, so that Blackford's opinion is hard to determine, as we shall see in relation to her analysis of 'wide' headed people.

Ethnic totem poles

Michel Foucault (1966 [2002]) begins *The Order of Things* with reference to an encyclopaedia produced by a Chinese scholar which reveals how the ideas and categories that we take for granted can, when revisited much later, appear 'exotic', even 'fantastic'. Rarely, however, do arguments from historical marketing texts appear quite so radical as the encyclopaedia entry that Foucault reproduces. Animals, in this text:

are divided into: (a) belonging to the Emperor, (b) embalmed, (c) tame, (d) suckling pigs, (e) sirens, (f) fabulous, (g) stray dogs, (h) included in the present classification, (i) frenzied, (j) innumerable, (k) drawn with a very fine camelhair brush, (l) et cetera, (m) just having broken the water pitcher, (n) that from a long way off look like flies. (Foucault, 1966 [2002]: xvi)

The citation of Foucault is not frivolous. Blackford produces an analysis that is as foreign as Foucault's Chinese encyclopaedia. We can think through Blackford's work via a study by Dennis (1995). Dennis (1995) uses the phrase 'ethnic totem pole' to illustrate the way in which races have been positioned at different points depending on racial superiority and colour. Such a means of classifying people was scientifically bereft of validity (Gould, 1981), but quite common at the time, being used as a means to rate and evaluate the races on the basis of a comparison against their presumed white superiors (Bhatia, 2002). Blackford follows the same logic in her lectures, going one step further in including not just different coloured people on such a pole or hierarchy, but animals as well.

In reference to people with 'wide heads', she writes:

the *wide head* . . . is destructive, resistant, combative, tenacious of life, grasping and selfish. The cat, the tiger and the Indian are all examples of wide heads. They are all noted for their longevity, their resistance to attack and their cruel, destructive tendencies. (Blackford, 1911b: 25; emphasis in original)

Later, in the same pamphlet, Blackford enunciates the role of the forehead in facilitating the analysis of character in a way that has been subject to scrutiny by the palaeontologist Stephen Jay Gould and found severely wanting (e.g. Gould, 1981: ch. 3). Her argument is worth citing in full:

The ‘knowing room’ of the mind is located in the frontal lobes of the brain. This section of the head is commonly spoken of as the forehead. The degree of intelligence in both animals and man is in direct ratio to the development of the frontal lobes of the cerebrum. Beginning at the lower end of the scale with the snake, the dog, the horse, the elephant, the monkey, the Bushman, the Negro, the Indian, the illiterate man, the educated man and the philosopher form one unbroken succession of steps in the development of the forehead. (Blackford, 1911b: 34)

In an analogous manner to the rest of her lectures and research, Blackford tries to operationalize her ideas. Largely repeating the arguments first put forward with respect to the ‘blond’ and ‘brunet’ types, she says that the white race

has always attacked new problems, invented new ways of doing things, organized new enterprises and new markets, while the other [the dark race] has followed routine, worked out details, specialized upon and improved the inventions of the first class, carried on the work the first class started, and grown or made the product the first class advertised and sold. (Blackford, 1918, Lesson Six: 6)

Let us not belabour the hierarchical reference to ‘first class’. Having now covered the more racially questionable material that Blackford draws upon, it is entirely appropriate to examine the critical responses of writers to character analysis during the early 20th century.

The decline of phrenology and physiognomy?

There was no shortage of critics willing to highlight the problems associated with character analysis or, for that matter, the other sciences of character that formed the intellectual foundations of this way of understanding the customer. For instance Ivey (1926) declares that physiognomy ‘was discredited many years ago’. Kornhauser (1922) dismisses the scientific credibility of character analysis. Both Scott (1920) and Kingsbury (1923) include the latter in omnibus citations with telepathy, palmistry and related ‘mystical’ practices (cf. Blackford, 1912a, 1912b). In no uncertain terms, Laird and Remmers assert that those passing judgment on people’s character using photographs would have made equally good choices if they had closed their eyes during the decision-making process (Laird and Remmers, 1924).

Simply studying the faces of individuals using photographs was thus questioned by many contemporaries of Blackford. This critique was levelled on the basis that it was not just the structural elements of the face or body that revealed character (Brown, 2005); more important were the fleeting expressions of emotion that left little mark on the face, except over a period of years (Watson, 2004). Blackford’s use of static photographs consequently failed to demonstrate to the apprentice character analyst this important element of character diagnosis and this left early industrial psychologists rushing to fill this epistemological void via the distribution of

correspondence materials that included long series of photographs and sometimes films to illustrate changing emotions (Watson, 2004; Brown, 2005).

Taking a more pragmatic approach, Dunlap points out that a major flaw with character analysis is its almost complete neglect of the role of education and socialization in character development:

if we observe any type of nose, we find it possessed by historians, mathematicians, lawyers, and men of every other class, of all degrees of ability. It is possessed by feeble-minded individuals as well. The same is probably true of any other feature. At least, no one has yet shown by scientifically valid evidence that any body detail is linked with any mental character. (Dunlap, 1923: 77)

In terms of the marketing literature, the comments expressed in Paul Ivey's (1926), *Salesmanship Applied*, provide a representative sample of the kind of critique that was circulating at the time. He contends that

1. Phrenology is superficial:

How well do you study customers? How do you study people? Well, there are different ways of studying people. One way is known as phrenology. I have little use for phrenology, because I find that in actual practice it does not work out.

2. Character analysis is not dependable:

The second way of judging human beings is by what is known as character analysis. This is an interesting study and I want my students to go into it as far as possible. But I want to tell you frankly, it too does not work. There is some truth in it, but I would not call it practical salesmanship.

3. As a man thinketh, so he acts:

Well, you say, how do you judge customers? I will tell you how to judge customers. Judge them by the expression on their faces and how they act. As a man thinks, so he acts. If you remember your psychology, you know that the mind controls the nerves of the body, and the nerves control the muscles of the body. Therefore, as a man thinks, he acts – unless he is an actor. If he is trying to repress his emotions or his actions, as some professional buyers do, it makes the problem all the more difficult. So we get into the field of sizing people up by their actions, which is one of the most fascinating of occupations [cf. behaviourist oriented research].

(Ivey, 1926: 30)

To affirm how unscientific were phrenology and character analysis, Ivey explains that very few psychologists continued to subscribe to the assumptions associated with either approach:

Yet salesmen still spend their money for lessons on these subjects. If a customer came in and had his hat on, how far would I get if I said to him, 'Will you please remove your hat sir, and let me feel the bumps on your head?' (Ivey, 1926: 105)

In an indirect reference to Blackford he continues his deconstruction:

One writer on character analysis says that a blonde is much more impulsive than a brunette. I doubt it very much . . . This same writer on character analysis says that a high arched nose means great executive ability. I saw such a nose on a street sweeper in Milwaukee. (Ivey, 1926: 106; see also Hoyt, 1929 [2000]: 74–5)

For many, the criticism of character analysis was compelling. Nevertheless, academics and practitioners remained interested in trying to understand the customer, but sought ways to operationalize 'character' along more credible lines. Where character analysis was plagued by its inherent subjective bias, there were a number of ways in which researchers tried to overcome these problems (e.g. Oschrin, 1918; Miller, 1923; Schultz, 1936). One method was to actually speak to the person that was of interest, whether they were a potential customer or prospective salesperson, asking them about their needs, wants, desires and interests in an effort to determine the products, services or position most suitable for them (Schultz, 1936; Brown, 2005). This permitted the salesperson or employer to gain more insight into the personality and emotional characteristics of the individual.

Another way in which researchers could scrutinize consumer behaviour was to utilize proxy variables to differentiate consumer groups. Proxy variables include the use of demographic and socio-economic measures to identify homogenous groups and their consumption patterns (e.g. Laird, 1923). This interest in understanding the market in a more sensitive fashion was part of a wider movement in disciplines from marketing to social psychology that were intent on supplementing the attention previously devoted to very broad analytic categories, such as Blackford's 'black' and 'white' races⁶ (cf. Nixon, 1936), with greater emphasis on understanding the individual consumer (Likert, 1936). Thus, standardized tests to evaluate retail and sales managers were intended to 'bring the significant factors in the individual study of each man to the focus' (Schultz, 1936: 560). The assumptions under-girding this psychological turn towards the individual went as follows:

The variability of individuals when compared with one another as to any particular trait, and the usefulness of expressing those individual differences in some sort of quantitative terms, is one of the tenets which the applied psychologist has had so thoroughly drilled into him that it determines the nature and direction of his thinking about human beings. He sees differences instead of merely likenesses between people. He thinks of them, moreover, not merely as 'different,' but as exhibiting more or less of whatever quality he is interested in observing.

(Kingsbury, 1923: 7, emphasis in original)

Scholarship dealing with successful sales strategies echoed these arguments. Here research was undertaken in the interest of 'isolating individual specific arguments for modes of presentation, and of ascertaining their effectiveness, objections to them, and the strength and generality of these objections' (McKinney, 1937: 297). This concern was all part of making marketing more scientific, replacing rules of thumb used by marketing managers and salesmen (White, 1927; Scott and Howard, 1928) with approaches viewed as 'more exact, more quantitative, objective, representative, time saving, preventive of errors in dealing with valued customers, and more suggestive of new modes of approach' (McKinney, 1937: 298).

Trying to make marketing more scientific was never going to be easy. Having questioned character analysis, marketing and consumer researchers turned their attention to the conceptualization of 'economic man', having realized that people were inclined to offer rationalizations about their own consumption habits, irrespective of whether information was collected via 'objective' methods like structured questionnaires or not (Kingsbury, 1923: 2; Laird, 1923; Ivey, 1926; Mitchell and Burtt, 1938; Markin, 1979). Kingsbury (1923: 2) takes this argument one step further and proposes that 'not all conduct is explicable in terms of conscious trains of causes and that, if any case of human behavior is logical and rational, it is

the exception rather than the rule' (see also Scott and Howard, 1928). These intellectual challenges to the economic orthodoxy were important in shifting marketing and consumer research towards more rigorous interpretive and qualitative forms of seeking knowledge (see Newman, 1955; Tadajewski, 2006).

Beyond racism?⁷

As has been demonstrated, racially awkward comments are apparent in Blackford's publications. However, she does make frequent remarks about the need for a plurality of indicators to determine character and this account should not leave the reader with the impression that Blackford was out and out a racist. She was not; nor was using race as a prism necessarily unusual in marketing practice or consumer research (e.g. Weems, Jr, 1994; Ward, 2009).

Moving beyond Blackford, there continues to be considerable evidence that race has influenced the way we evaluate people in the marketplace. It has determined who should have access to particular goods and services (e.g. Clark, 1996; Crockett and Wallendorf, 2004; Wolff, 2006; Rugh and Massey, 2010); how they are treated (e.g. Booms and Ward, Jr, 1969; Harris et al., 2005; Mallinson and Brewster, 2005); and who should work in service environments (e.g. Kreydatus, 2010). People of colour were often marginalized by marketers, out of fear that close attention to black customer needs or the presence of people of colour in advertisements would alienate the allegedly more desirable white audience (Davis, 2007). This is not just a long distant historical phenomenon and the extent to which this is attributed to the *deliberately* racist actions of those working in business is mixed. Some observers assume that racially inflected views are largely unconsciously expressed⁸ (Kennedy, 2000), while remaining commensurate with a '*dominant white ideology*' (Bristor et al., 1995: 48, emphasis in original).

When we list the various examples of marketing communications that have been criticized for their racist connotations it is hard not to agree with this argument. The campaigns for Uncle Ben's rice, Krystal and Taco Bell restaurants, Budweiser beer, Benetton clothing and Goodyear tyres certainly provide the critically minded academic with evidence to question the motives of those trying to speak to the marketplace (Back and Quaade, 1993; Giroux, 1993–4; Kennedy, 2000; Fuller, 2001; Davis, 2007). Goodyear, for example, thought it appropriate to index 'the texture of its tires to a black man's lips' (Davis, 2007: 35) and it is common to see people of colour rather than white individuals in particular types of advertisements (e.g. for fried chicken) (see Mehaffy, 1997; Henderson and Baldasty, 2003). Very recently, a commercial for the UK based on-line gaming company, Tombola, has been condemned and prevented from further broadcast by the Advertising Standards Authority for their use of irresponsible representations that depicted 'black people as less intelligent than white people' (Sweney, 2010).

If one wanted to dismiss these examples as just a few instances of individuals demonstrating a negative belief system through their work, then the above cases make this a very difficult task. There are clear instances where race issues remain a cause for concern. We could turn to readings of the scholarly marketing literature (e.g. Jack, 2008; Burton, 2009a, 2009b) or look to the world of industry and corporate practice to find examples of well-known marketing companies being implicated in the types of racial debates and problems documented above (e.g. Back and Quaade, 1993; Giroux, 1993–4; Fuller, 2001; Davis, 2007; Ward, 2009).

But we should not simply assume that this is just a problem facing marketing scholars and practitioners. There is ample evidence that people try to dismiss racism as an on-going issue in society (e.g. Bonilla-Silva and Forman, 2000). To deal with this they adopt a variety of strategies.⁹ These include literal attempts to self-segregate among a more homogenous phenotypical grouping (Bonilla-Silva, 1996; Bonilla-Silva et al., 2006). Alternatively they may modify their discourse to appear non-racist (cf. Bonilla-Silva, 2002), often justifying the existing racialized status quo in their linguistic somersaults (Bonilla-Silva and Dietrich, 2011).

Having now called attention to the continued presence of racially charged references in marketing practice, the final section offers an attempt at thinking about how we might try to respond to these issues.

Implications for contemporary marketing theory, pedagogy and practice

Using race as a self-reflexive prism does, at least, allow us to recognize the limitations of existing ways of thinking about and engaging in the production of marketing knowledge (Bristor et al., 1995). There is a variety of ways in which this can be accomplished, whether taking a Postcolonial (Jack, 2008), Critical Race Theory (Borgerson and Schroeder, 2002), Critical Whiteness (Burton, 2005, 2009b), Critical Multicultural orientation (Burton, 2002) or possibly more than one of these used in parallel or sequential fashion in a single study (Stern, 1999). Burton (2009a), for instance, explores a number of volumes of the *Journal of Consumer Research* and finds that the great majority of papers completely fail to engage with non-white populations¹⁰ (among other issues).

It should go without saying that further research into the issue of racism and marketplace discrimination is needed. Given that a recent turn in the Critical Marketing literature has encouraged us to take responsibility for the types of knowledge that we produce and the impact of this on our students and other stakeholders, we each have an important role to play in eliminating overt and more subtle forms of racism. This can be achieved by providing students with forms of instruction that better reflect the diversity of society (Coltrane and Messineo, 2000). In bringing material such as Fuller's (2001) careful deconstruction of an advertisement for Jambalaya and the campaign for Pinesol into the lecture theatre, the way this material uses racist imagery and certain conceptions of the consumer can be debated and discussed. This is consistent with Burton's (2002: 211) call for 'critical multicultural praxis'. Similar arguments in favour of student experiential learning that offer a less mediated engagement with a particular 'subgroup' have been articulated by Stern (2008). On the basis of her experience, when students are encouraged to directly study groups who have different life experiences from their own, these efforts have met with success. She saw significant positive changes in the way her students viewed various populations, with minority groups actively welcoming those seeking to understand their everyday lives without prejudice.¹¹

The above comments are not meant to be taken as a suggestion that these issues are easy to resolve. They are not. While Katherine Blackford was writing around a century ago and we have made strides in improving race relations in society, some elements of marketing practice still have a long way to go before we can begin to be complacent. On a final note, just as Blackford's work is sometimes questionable in terms of the statements she made, it was not unusual in this regard (e.g. Lynd and Lynd, 1929). Her contemporaries echoed related points of view (Petitt, 2007). Moreover, it is an important part of our disciplinary heritage. For this she deserves her place in the history of marketing theory and thought. But, as she reiterated, one indicator – in this case, race – did not serve to fully elucidate consumer behaviour. Burton's (2002, 2009a, 2009b) various studies of

multiculturalism highlight that this remains a lesson we still need to apply more widely in our research endeavours.

Conclusion

Character analysis, for its supporters, succeeded in identifying broad character traits that people were believed to possess. The fact that Blackford's own correspondence school course, along with her other publications, continued to be used up to the 1960s for character judgments (Friedman, 2004; Brown, 2005), provides us with an indication that her ideas had some resonance for students, academics and practitioners. Arthur Frederick Sheldon, one of the most prominent sales and marketing correspondence school operators who had commissioned her work for his own series of publications, thought very highly of her.¹² Companies continued to employ her not just in America, but internationally. But, as has been noted, her work was also widely criticized on epistemological grounds.

For its critics, the theoretical speculations of this discourse far outran the available empirical evidence. For the contemporary reader, Blackford's work *may* appear to be a remnant of its time in terms of the racial comments she makes. Conceptually it might appear dated. We should not, even so, be too quick to make strong arguments about the decline of physiognomy, as physiognomical assumptions continue to impact on the way different groups act (e.g. BBC News, 2010; Harlow, 2010) and the income levels they earn (e.g. BBC News, 2008). In equal measure, psychologists pursue their explorations of the role of physiognomical interpretation in social relations (see Collins, 1999; Dalrymple, 2010), with those of a more historical orientation articulating the genealogical connections between physiognomy, phrenology, neuroscience and neuroimaging (Castro-Caldas and Grafman, 2000; Watson, 2004).

As Hassin and Trope state: 'Considerable experimental evidence suggests that people can and do infer personality traits from faces' (2000: 838). They appreciate the criticism of earlier physiognomic, character analysis studies but make a case that 'recent evidence suggests that face-based impressions may sometimes be valid' (Hassin and Trope, 2000). Bar et al. (2006) agree with these findings. People, they believe, are extremely adept at 'judging personality traits and complex social characteristics' in a comparatively short period of time.

Of course, relegating some of the more racially problematic elements of the above account firmly to history would be comforting. We could after all quite easily marshal citations to demonstrate the commitment of many firms to 'social goals like racial equality' (Crockett, 2008: 252) and anti-racism in their marketing communications (Müller et al., 2008). It would present only a partial picture though. While the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s did have some influence on the way minorities were treated, the issue of racism and discrimination continues to permeate marketer–customer exchange relations. The interrelation between race, marketing and the structuring of the market thus warrants much greater exploration by academics and practitioners alike (Branchik and Davies, 2009; Crockett et al., 2003). In view of the importance of these issues, serious attention to the structuring influence of racial views on market and human behaviour and the ways in which those impacted by such a pernicious axiology negotiate the marketplace is essential.

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Notes

1. Burton (2005: 154) provides us with a way of differentiating race from ethnicity. She writes, 'Students need to recognise that the concept of ethnicity is of relatively recent origin, emerging with increasing frequency during the first two decades of the twentieth century when biological notions of race were breaking down. Biological distinctions between races are rarely used in contemporary discourse. The current emphasis is on the ways in which ethnic groups are socially constructed'. Burton's comments are valid to a degree (e.g. Bonilla-Silva, 1996). The problem is that race discourse does occasionally surface and when it has, it has received a tremendous amount of publicity, some critique, but is often accompanied by an uncritical repetition of the biologically inflected arguments being made – the exemplar here according to Giroux and Searls (1996) is the best-selling *The Bell Curve*. Within marketing, race based categories and an element of biological determinism remained in wide circulation throughout the studies on advertising and race which appeared in the late 1960s (see Stern, 1999: 3).
2. My point in documenting this historical case is not to demonstrate that many practitioners were racist; rather, that racist material was circulating among them. Presumably this material would not have been as successful as it was if it offended the assumption grounds of its audience.
3. In other words, the references to 'brunet' character profiles should not be interpreted as totally commensurate with the so-called 'black' race; some of the images that Blackford reproduced are clearly of Caucasian males, albeit those with darker skin tones.
4. In their study of the controversy surrounding the publication of *The Bell Curve* which purported to demonstrate genetic differences in IQ levels between black and white groups, Giroux and Searls (1996) cite a number of examples that are depressingly similar in tenor to the quote from Blackford (e.g. 1996: 21).
5. To put this into further context, drawing attention to the commensurability between races remained illegal in Mississippi well into the twentieth century. Frederick Taylor, the father of scientific management, referred to people of colour as 'an inferior race' (Cooke, 2003: 1912). President Roosevelt warned of 'race suicide' which he linked to the idea that the 'lesser' races and 'weaker' members of society were breeding faster than 'superior' elements of the population (Leonard, 2003). President Woodrow Wilson was known as 'unequivocally racist' (Cooke, 2003: 1915). In much the same vein, President Coolidge cautioned the public about inter-breeding and stressed the deleterious effect this could have on the health of the nation (Leonard, 2005).
6. Blackford's work is quite nuanced and she reminds her students that broad analytic categories can be misleading. In recognition of the complexity of character profiles she states: 'Trace the similarities in character and disposition. Observe differences in individuals who are similar in these variables and different in others. Note and verify both similarities and differences in character' (Blackford, 1918: 2). Moreover, what Burton (2005: 154) calls 'objective measures' of ethnicity continue to be used in the preparation of census returns; these are based on very broad categories (cf. Stern, 1999: 5). In addition, efforts to generate broad character profiles are also found in the psychoanalytic literature and in certain strands of Critical Theory. The work of Erich Fromm is an exemplar here, as are the various studies of the authoritarian personality (see Wheatland, 2009). The growth of lifestyle marketing, theories of group behaviour and psychographics also tried to reconcile an awareness of individual differences, while retaining a structuring role for membership and reference groups (Markin, Jr, 1974). However, as Stern (1999) notes, the research studies undertaken at the end of the 1960s on minority groups still subscribed to biological determinism and assumed population homogeneity (see also Burton, 2000: 854). Obviously, the point of differentiation of these areas from contemporary CCT and postmodern research is that the categories were presumed to be more durable (Burton, 2000) than the notion of the 'collective' in

postmodern scholarship (e.g. Firat and Dholakia, 2006) or the social relationships discussed in the brand community literature (e.g. Muniz and O'Guinn, 2001).

7. For an important review of the various theories of race, see Bonilla-Silva's (1996) contribution to this debate.
8. What continues to be problematic is the way that even without some conscious racial values determining the production of advertising campaigns there is nevertheless a remarkable consistency in the imagery and messages communicated to consumers (Edwards, 1993; Kennedy, 2000: 620). Other views in the literature claim that it is not conscious racial prejudice that encourages the production of harmful products targeted at people of colour. Instead, it is the pursuit of profit pure and simple (see Pollay et al., 1992: 52; Smith and Cooper-Martin, 1997: 3).
9. It is beyond the remit of this paper to offer any frameworks for studying race issues. While there are frameworks in the literature, given the changing nature of racism in society, one framework is unlikely to diagnose all the various types of racism and racist belief systems in play at any given time (Mullings, 2005). While writing this paper I have found much intellectual inspiration in the works of Eduardo Bonilla-Silva that highlight the various theoretical perspectives that can be turned on the issue of racism (e.g. Bonilla-Silva, 1996), along with methodological critiques of the ways in which racism has been studied historically (e.g. Bonilla-Silva and Baiocchi, 2001). Underscoring the somewhat fluid nature of racism and its disavowal, his writing with various co-authors details the ways that racial beliefs continue to be manifested and negotiated (e.g. Bonilla-Silva, 2002; Bonilla-Silva and Dietrich, 2011; Bonilla-Silva and Forman, 2000; Bonilla-Silva et al., 2006; see also Weaver, 2011).
10. Other publications have documented a type of neo-colonialism evident in the adoption of particular forms of theory development in marketing (Burton, 2009b; Jack, 2008; Peñaloza, 2009; Varman and Saha, 2009). Because of page limitations I cannot cover this debate.
11. From the practice side, there has been a 'slow and spotty' improvement in terms of the racial and ethnic diversity found in marketing campaigns (Kennedy, 2000: 646). Even so, minority representation remains an issue that needs further rectification. Mere appearance in an advertisement does not naturally result in positive and beneficial campaigns. For example, Benetton's advertising has been denounced for its use of stereotypes and unrealistic portrayal of race relations (Back and Quaade, 1993; Giroux, 1993–4). Minority participation thus needs to be combined with greater attention to the occupations and social roles adopted. Prominent media outlets can help here, providing their readers with positive role models, thereby influencing wider society (Primm et al., 2007). Supplementing such important moves, Davis (2007) makes a compelling case for greater community stakeholder involvement in the production of advertising (cf. Burton, 2005: 158). Using an approach that speaks to Critical Marketing concerns about community based decision making (Ozanne et al., 2009), she suggests that the actions of the Quaker Oats company are a good example of the way to construct campaigns. In concrete terms she asserts that marketers should '(1) solicit input from diverse decision makers on advertising strategy; (2) increase the level and quality of research on the perspectives of diverse consumers, and (3) include diverse consumers in testing advertising material' (Davis, 2007: 36). This approach has been successful in a number of cases (Back and Quaade, 1993; Davis, 2007).
12. To put the value of Sheldon's patronage into context, the materials his correspondence school circulated were eventually distributed to 'a quarter [of a] million [students] in Britain and the British dominions as well as [in] the United States' (Knutson, 1955: 60).

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