Abstract

Purpose

The purpose of this article is to analyse the social debate on women, health and smoking in the *New York Times* from 1870 until 1929. The paper aimed to establish whether smoking for women was a form of oppression and whether it was publicly known that smoking is harmful in decades preceding the 'Torches of Freedom' campaign run by Edward L. Bernays. This criticism for engineering women's smoking and thus harming women's health up to today causes harm to the reputation of the public relations industry.

Design/methodology/approach

Articles were analysed per decade and a total of 294 articles from the *New York Times* was analysed. The coverage was analysed using two themes, smoking and health and women and smoking and discourse analysis have been carried out on articles in these themes to explore what was known of smoking and whether the social perception of women smoking was oppressive and could be seen as a woman's issue that 'Torches of Freedom' addressed.

Findings

Findings show that it was not known that cigarettes were harmful to health and that smoking can be seen as constituting part of women's oppression in the US before 'Torches of Freedom' campaign. The oppression of women who smoked intensified during the 1920s and Bernays' Torches of Freedom campaign directly addressed an existing social issue rather than engineering a campaign and manipulating women to start smoking.

Originality/value

This paper engages with the coverage of the *New York Times,* a newspaper that is often mentioned in the context of the 'Torches of Freedom' campaign success and explores in detail what the debate on smoking, health and women were in nearly 60 years preceding the much-criticised campaign.

Practical Implications

The paper highlights the revolutionary potential in Bernays' campaign. This could inspire researchers and consumers to keep on critically reflecting on PR campaigns while still appreciating any progressive agenda they might contribute to. Simultaneously, PR practitioners may take away from the article that a message of social relevance may just be more memorable than the advertised brand itself.

Introduction

Edward Bernays and public relations (PR) has been criticised for decades for propagandistic work. The criticism commonly draws from Bernays' work on propaganda, which he defined as "the conscious and intelligent manipulation of the organised habits and opinions of the masses" as an "important element in democratic society" (Bernays, 2005 [1928], 37; Bernays, 1952). Bernays argued that PR professionals engineer consent through the creation of "symbols which the public will respond to, analysing the responses of the public, finding

strategies that resonate with receivers, and adapting communication to receivers" (Bernays, 1923, 173).

Because of the association of PR with propaganda the field often remains seen as unethical (Bivins, 2013; Myers, 2015). However, what critics do not take into consideration is that while Bernays' campaigns promoted his clients, in some cases they also contributed to social causes and Bernays sometimes exaggerated the impact of his campaigns and the social impact he achieved (Murphree, 2015). The commonly criticised campaign 'Torches of Freedom' is seen as propaganda to get women to smoke, and because smoking causes cancer Bernays' work is seen as harmful. However, according to Bernays, at the time he launched his public campaign, nobody knew that cigarettes cause cancer (see his interview at senior age on SpectorPR, 2010) and he claimed that he advocated pro-social propaganda, thus actively trying to contribute to society (Bernays, 1965). Nevertheless, this campaign was heavily criticised and portrayed as successful and thus damaging for women's health (Tye, 1998; Brandt, 2007; 1996; Amos and Haglund, 2000; Evans, 2010; Murphree, 2015; Maclaran, 2012), which warrants further exploration. Since other papers have analysed 'The Torches of Freedom' campaign and the advertising campaign that ensued afterwards, this paper focuses on a detailed exploration of circumstances that preceded the campaign to explore whether Bernays' PR work simply continued from existing social debates on smoking and therefore gave a contribution to the women's equality plight or whether his work could be seen as out of context manipulation of public (or an attempt to do so given the argument on the lack of success of the campaign).

Therefore, this paper analyses the debate on women, smoking and health preceding the 'Torches of Freedom' campaign and this is done through the lens of the *New York Times* coverage of the issue from 1870 until 1929. The paper particularly focuses on smoking and health and women and cigarette smoking as two main themes of objections towards Bernays' 'Torches of Freedom' campaign. While there are papers that use newspapers, including the *New York Times,* to write about Bernays and the 'Torches of Freedom' campaign, these are used as quotes and illustrations to support other research or author's statements whereas this paper directly engages with the coverage of the newspaper that is often mentioned in the context of the campaign success, and explores in details what the debate on smoking, health and women were in nearly 60 years preceding the much-criticised campaign.

Studying Edward Bernays' work is relevant because he is often seen as a Father of public relations and *LIFE* magazine named him as one of the most influential persons of the 20th

century (Fletcher, 2015). *The New York Times* is important for understanding social history because the newspaper has always had a reputation of editorial excellence and is often considered the greatest newspaper in the world (Encyclopaedia Britannica, n.d.). Therefore, the *New York Times* is considered as a relevant source for this analysis due to the fact they are known for excellent journalism and editorial practice, which means their portrayal of social circumstances in the US in decades preceding the 'Torches of Freedom' campaign is likely to be highly accurate. The newspaper is also often used by scholars to illustrate social circumstances and public opinion. For example, in a study of the portrayal of public relations in the US media, Zoch, Supa and VanTuyll (2014) analysed the portrayal of Ivy Lee's work through the lens of the *New York Times*' coverage whilst Penning (2008) explored the coverage of PR using the *New York Times* and the *Time* magazine during the 1920s.

What is more, studying public relations history has relevance for marketers as public relations campaigns, events and other relationship-building activities can be successfully included in integrated marketing campaigns, and recently there has been a shift in seeing marketing and public relations practice as inextricably intertwined and complementary to each other. For example, *Forbes* magazine published in 2020 an article entitled 'Better together' arguing that both public relations and marketing have an "essential role in helping a company achieve its goals, public relations (PR) has historically been responsible for building and maintaining a brand's reputation, establishing trust, and persuading public perception. In contrast, marketing has traditionally focused on brand management, advertising and product promotion, all of which are known to contribute to the sales funnel" (Chodor, 2020, n.p.). Since Edward Bernays launched a 'Freedom of Torches' campaign, which then resulted in a successful marketing and advertising campaign for a cigarette brand, it is clear how public relations and marketing can successfully work together, and thus studying public relations history, along with marketing history, becomes relevant for marketing scholars and practitioners.

The Criticism of PR and the 'Torches of Freedom' Campaign

Scholars agree that the negative portrayal of PR in the media started in the 1920s or during the rise of advertising and the consumerist culture (Penning, 2008). Rodgers (2010) conducted an analysis of coverage of PR in the US press between 1890 and 1930 and argued that the newspapers' hostility was directed towards press agents who were accused of distorting the truth and thus causing harm to public opinion and society. At the time, PR as an industry was started to be seen as a threat to journalism because higher salaries of press agents started to

attract good journalists to PR. Penning (2008) conducted an analysis of coverage of PR in the *New York Times* and *Time* magazine during the 1920s and argued that the view of PR as a propagandistic tool associated with press agents and not much more than media relations is a legacy of the 1920s coverage. In other research on the portrayal of PR in the media, the profession has consistently been portrayed as a mere publicity exercise and media relations, thus linked with propaganda (Bishop, 1988; Spicer, 1993; Henderson, 1998; Samsup, 2003; Frank, 2004).

In popular literature, Stauber and Rampton (1995) called PR deceptive and PR professionals propagandists who influence the public whilst staying hidden. As such, the PR technique is labelled as negative for the democratic processes as well as serving only corporate interests who are, according to this view, only using PR technique to greenwash the wrongdoing they do to the society. This book was also made into a film 'Toxic Sludge is Good for You: The Public Relations Industry Unspun', which is available to watch free of charge on the Films for Action website[1], YouTube[2] and numerous other websites, thus continuing to cause damage to the industry. Ewen (1996) also heavily criticised Edward Bernays and Ivy Lee for their work, which is labelled as serving corporate interests. However, as argued by Coombs and Holladay (2007) neither of these authors engaged with defining PR or PR techniques which they commonly criticise, such as spin for example. Coombs and Holladay (2007) added that "people need to have their ideas heard. Public relations is a means of making ideas audible (…) Public relations can be a communication mechanism for binding society together through the facilitation of the marketplace of ideas, and so be valuable and essential to society" (p. 23). This argument could be extended to Bernays' campaign, 'Torches of Freedom' where one could argue that women's voices needed to be heard.

The 'Torches of Freedom' campaign is Bernays' most criticised work because Bernays hired women to publicly smoke during the Easter Day parade on 31 March 1929, to encourage more women to smoke. The advertising campaign that followed after a PR event on the Easter day parade was featuring a large number of references to women's equality plight. For example, the *Lucky Strike* brand and campaign posters were informing women they can keep a slender figure by smoking, and that smoking can reduce sugary intake and help the figure (see photos at Society Pages, 2012). The advertising campaign lasted for decades after 'Torches of

[1] https://www.filmsforaction.org/watch/toxic-sludge-is-good-for-you-the-public-relations-industry-unspun-2002/
[2] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UxdD_XIkNbo

Freedom' with the Lucky Strike campaign of the 1920s and Virginia Slims of the 1960s being the most prominent ones. Scholars often argue that advertising cigarettes to women made smoking more appealing (Craig, 1999; Sivulka, 1998; Fass, 1977). While this is not in question, it remains open whether Bernays' 'Torches of Freedom' campaign was a deliberate manipulation or a result of the social context and thus a continuation of an already ongoing social plight for the equality of women.

The main criticism of Bernays comes from the fact his client was a tobacco company, and thus his effort was seen as engineering consent and manipulating the public. Critics of Bernays and his work often say that this campaign caused the ultimate damage to the PR industry, and in a letter to President Franklin Roosevelt, "Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter described Bernays and Lee as 'professional poisoners of the public mind, exploiters of foolishness, fanaticism and self-interest'" (Stauber and Rampton, 1995, 24). However, Bernays claimed at senior age that he did not know cigarettes were causing cancer at the time he created the campaign (see an interview with Bernays at Spector PR, 2010) and even critics of the PR industry, such as Stauber and Rampton (1995), emphasized that scientific studies started to show that tobacco can cause cancer in the 1950s, thus well after Bernays' 'Torches of Freedom' campaign from 1929.

Besides, there is an argument that Bernays was potentially a feminist and that his engagement with women empowerment in campaigning may have been out of personal conviction. For example, in his book 'Propaganda' he stated that women should use propaganda as a tool to organise and "use their newly-acquired freedom in a great many ways to mold the world into a better place to live" (Bernays, 2005 [1928], 134). In his memoirs, Bernays (1965) explained that he was engaging in pro-social propaganda, thus arguing he was meant to support and help the social cause of women empowerment. In this book, Bernays outlined that he consulted with A.A. Brill who told him that women saw cigarettes as torches of freedom, following which he found celebrities of the time to light cigarettes as a sign of freedom for women (Bernays, 1965; St. John III and Opdycke Lamme, 2011).

It is known that there was a social condemnation of women who smoked in the 19th century US. For example, Amos and Haglund (2000) argued that smoking among women was associated with loose morals and inappropriate sexual behaviour, and when Irish American actress Lola Montez, in 1851, took a photo with a cigarette, this caused a social debate and was seen by some as a sign of emancipation. The condemnation of women smoking and its

association with loose morals goes back to the 17th century when Dutch painters associated women who smoked with prostitution (ibid). In the US, women were arrested for smoking in 1908, and in 1928 (a year before the Torches of Freedom campaign), the District of Columbia proposed a law to the US Senate that would legally ban women from smoking (Greaves, 1996; Waldron, 1991). Segrave (2005) also argued that from 1880 to 1908 women were not allowed to smoke in public and for example, restaurants would not allow it, thus smoking by women was only done covertly by the upper-class women in a closed upper-class circle. However, in the period from 1908 to 1919, women started to smoke publicly and campaign for the right to smoke and most restaurants allowed this practice by 1919 but smoking in streets has still landed jail time for many women. It was in the period between 1919 and 1927 that women started to smoke more publicly but there were still often conditions attached to women's smoking, especially in public, however, women did not gain equal rights to smoke until 1950 (ibid).

It was in 1927 that the tobacco companies decided to launch a campaign targeting women, and focusing particularly on their waistlines as this was the time when women no longer wore corsets and the ideal of thinness started to develop (Amos and Haglund, 2000). In general, the 1920s US, the decade of the 'Torches of Freedom' campaign, was a time when the beauty myth was born with the first beauty pageant occurring in 1921 (Watson and Martin, 2004). Hamlin (2004) argued that the introduction of beauty pageants was born in a context where traditional gender roles were in upheaval. During the 19th century, women were confined to homes and family roles and had no power over their lives including the right to vote, however, this started to change and by the turn of the century, women started to demand liberation and equal rights, which generated resistance and attempts were made to confine women to their traditional roles. Some authors argue that Mother's Day was invented to remind women of their domestic role, and this happened in 1914 when women started to enter the workforce when men were in the war, proving they are just as able to work effectively in a variety of jobs (Hamlin, 2004). In 1920, women finally won the right to vote and it is in this context that women's activism for equality increased because the right to vote did not instantly increase their rights and traditional expectations. Therefore, attempts were made to remind women of their traditional roles and define womanhood and what it means to be a woman and as already mentioned, women's right to smoke under the same terms as men did not happen until the 1950s (Segrave, 2005). According to the common view, newspapers included, an independent woman going to college and earning a living was not seen as a true woman and thus the first Miss America beauty pageant was also used to define womanhood with the winner, Margareth Gorman, being a

teenager with eyes wide opened and the innocent look, which the *New York Times* described as 'the type of womanhood America needs…strong, red-blooded, able to shoulder the responsibilities of homemaking and motherhood" (Hamlin, 2004, 35). This period is known as the period when a New Woman was created (Hamlin, 2004; Honey, n.d.) because many American women went to college, started to dress following the latest fashion, which for middle and upper-class women meant abandoning corsets which symbolised submissiveness, and women went to work and gained more social freedom (Hamlin, 2004).

In this period, which is sometimes called the post-suffrage period as the change and a shift to a New Woman occurred right after the victory of the Suffragette movement in securing women's right to vote, feminism was in a decline as it was seen through the suffragist movement that secured victory and thus fulfilled its purpose (Honey, n.d.; Freedman, 1974). However, whilst women gained entry into the workforce, the traditional gender roles did not change as many men did not accept women in their working environments, which resulted in harassment and women taking menial roles and not being appreciated for their work (Saval, 2015). However, activism after the Suffragette's victory for the right to vote changed and there was a sense of divide where some women's organisations continued to campaign for women's equality and professional advancements, such as the National Women's Party and the National League of Women Voters whereas some other organisations continued to work in the areas of home and motherhood (e.g. welfare of children, health, education, morals, etc) (Stanley Lemons, 1973).

It is in this context that Bernays' 'Torches of Freedom' campaign was born, at the time of negotiated gender identities and roles where women were trying to achieve labour equality and professional development and recognitions whilst attempts were made by conservative men, newspapers and also conservative women's organisations to push women back into the private sphere and traditional gender roles.

It also needs to be emphasised that using women's equality plight in any form of promotion, marketing, advertising or public relations, is a contentious issue and not all authors see this practice as helpful for women. But, Bernays worked at the time of first-wave feminism and early feminists "were very happy to use marketing tools and techniques to publicise their work and the feminist cause more generally" (Maclaran, 2012, 463). It was the second-wave feminism that was critical of attempts to use women in promoting products, and this wave of feminism co-existed with large advertising campaigns promoting smoking to women, such as

already mentioned Virginia Slims of the 1960s. During this time, some medical research already indicated that smoking is unhealthy and the campaigns heavily played on appearance and weight loss, with which they promoted patriarchal expectations of women. The latter was the focus of criticism of second-wave feminism (Maclanaran, 2012). However, brand campaigning for women whilst selling products continued. For example, Thompson and Margulis (2015) mapped what they see as the most important campaigns for women and thus enlisted campaigns such as, *Girls Can* by Cover Girl, *#LikeAGirl* by Always, *Comfortable* by Jubilee Project, *Pottymouthed Princesses* by FCKH8, *Not sorry* by Pantene, *Goldix Box*, *Ban Bossy* and *Real beauty* by Dove. Nevertheless, despite a considerable history of social activism, PR up to today faces criticism, which commonly comes from the press and popular literature, and the arguments against PR, and Bernays' 'Torches of Freedom' in particular, largely resemble the second-wave criticism despite the fact 'Torches of Freedom' were launched in the 1920s when feminists supported the use of feminist goals in promotional activities.

Method

An analysis of historical coverage of women and smoking as presented in the *New York Times* has been conducted. The method of the analysis was a discourse analysis as proposed by R. Wodak who introduced a discourse-historical approach to studying discourse, which was seen as particularly suitable for this analysis. This approach is particularly centred on studying discrimination. The method originally developed from studying antisemitism in Austrian newspapers and this analysis was done by comparing newspapers coverage with a social context (Wodak, 1999a). The discourse-historical approach does not intend to evaluate what is right or wrong but analyse data in the historical context in which it was produced and using multiple sources and methods. In the same way, in this paper, the newspaper articles were selected using the methodological procedure explained below, which is usually associated with content analysis, however, this was done to avoid bias in selecting articles for the analysis. In addition to that, literature describing social context in the period preceding the 'Torches of Freedom' campaign was reviewed and within this context, a discourse-historical analysis has been conducted in two areas of coverage, smoking and health with a particular emphasis on women, and also smoking and women as a potential form of oppression.

Whilst there is some literature on women and smoking, as explained in previous sections of this paper, this literature is produced well after the campaign and thus this paper focuses on what was publicly accessible at the time the campaign was created, which is the newspaper

coverage. Analysing the coverage of smoking provides a good overview of the social situation in regards to smoking that preceded Bernays' campaign. Thus, this paper focuses on knowledge and perception of smoking through the prism of the newspaper coverage and what Bernays could have known about smoking before designing the campaign. What is more, the literature that analyses smoking either focuses on smoking alone or on women and smoking whereas this paper provides more depth with its focus and concurrent analysis of smoking, what was known about it and the rights of women to smoke with a focus on an in-depth analysis of *The New York Times,* which has been historically read in elite circles due to its reputation for excellence and agenda-setting potential. This focus is relevant because it explains circumstances preceding the much-criticised campaign 'Torches of Freedom'.

Articles published in the *New York Times* were selected for the analysis using the ProQuest database. The keyword used for the analysis was 'Women cigarette smokers', and the aim was to find articles that write about women and smoking to get a sense of the overall smoking debate on women and to find out whether the health implication of smoking was publicly debated and if so, what was known about smoking. Therefore, the search for articles was concentrated on identifying articles that tackle either women and smoking, smoking and health or both.

The search using the keyword above provided 3,341 results overall and in total 582 articles were selected for the analysis under the initial criteria that these are journalistic articles and not adverts or short news items.

The articles were analysed per decade, and the analysis was done concurrently, i.e. all 582 articles were read and analysed. A further reduction of the sample was performed after reading 582 articles. The articles selected for the analysis encompass those articles that wrote about women and smoking, as well as articles that discuss the health implication of smoking (general and in regards to a particular gender) or both concurrently in the same article. Further adverts were removed, as well as articles that appeared in the search because of the keyword 'women' but had nothing to do with smoking or articles that discussed cigars and other products in a descriptive and/or promotional way but had nothing to do with health or women. The total number of analysed articles is 294, and the largest number of articles has been found in the period from 1920-1929 or when Bernays was launching his campaign (table 1), which makes it visible that the public debate on smoking has intensified in this period.

Table 1. Sample for the Analysis

Decade	Number of articles found and read for selection	Number of articles selected for the analysis
1870 – 1879	13	10
1880 – 1889	10	7
1890 – 1899	63	51
1900 – 1909	106	42
1910 – 1919	197	71
1920 - 1929	193	113
Total number of analysed articles	**582**	**294**

Articles were analysed according to the two main themes that were the focus of this article, a) general debate on health implications of smoking and b) the debate on women and smoking. These articles have been analysed to answer the following research questions,

• Was it publicly known that smoking is harmful to health, in a period preceding the 'Torches of Freedom' campaign?

• Does the *New York Times* coverage reveal social condemnation of women's smoking in the period preceding the 'Torches of Freedom' campaign?

Each article has been carefully read, and all newspaper text relevant to the paper have been typed into a Word document in preparation for the analysis. The discourse analysis was conducted and the main discourses that emerged from newspaper articles were identified and analysed using discourse analysis proposed by Wodak (1999). Wodak (1999) proposed a textual analysis in the search for discursive *topoi*, or a core argument in the text or the talk of the actors, in this case, journalists writing articles. In other words, only the writing of journalists was considered as part of the discourse analysis and not statements from sources, for example.

This approach identified the main arguments, which were then grouped into the main discourses as presented below. Discourse analysis is also incorporated into social context (Wodak, 1999) and this was seen as useful for this paper because the debate on women and smoking is incorporated into a larger debate on the equality of women. Part of that equality debate was whether women should be allowed to smoke, and thus identifying discourses surrounding that debate was particularly useful.

The findings are presented through an analysis of these two areas of research, and discourse analysis is then presented within each of these themes, using also direct quotes from the newspapers to show the narrative journalists promoted. The latter is done comparatively, in line with an approach of Strauss & Corbin (1990) to compare data, thus findings are showcasing the debate as it developed through decades. The findings are analysed and presented by contrasting different historical periods and by linking the findings with social circumstances explained earlier in this paper.

Findings

Smoking and health

The main discourse when it comes to smoking and health was that *smoking cigarettes cause mental health issues*, which was not backed up with any medical evidence. However, in early articles (1870-1878) there is no mentioning of health impact but articles portray smoking more as a nuisance due to its odour. The majority of articles wrote about tobacco in a promotional way, for example explaining how it is produced or how much tobacco sale contributes to tax revenue, whether pipe should be used for smoking and if so, which one, etc. The health risk enters the debate during the period between 1880-1889, which was centred on accusations that cigarette smokers may have issues with 'insanity' and thus smoking was blamed for suicide,

> "Preston Tarpie, sixteen years old, committed suicide by (…) The boy was an inveterate cigarette smoker (…) Yesterday afternoon he asked his father to give him some money to buy cigarettes, but his father refused and threatened to punish him severely if he caught him smoking." (A cigarette smoker hangs himself, 20 October 1890).

In the 20th century, the smoking debate continued with blaming smoking for insanity and moral degeneration. This was the case despite some of the accused of being insane having a history of mental illness in the family. For example, a person called Professor Morrison of Mount Vernon, who was a bigamist and killed one of his wives stated that he may be going insane and this statement is also supported with his cigarette consumption,

> "Prof. Morrison of Mount Vernon, who killed one of his wives recently, said yesterday he fears he is going insane. He is a great cigarette smoker, consuming as many as ten packs of cigarettes a day" (To-day, ten pages, 8 January 1900)

Other reports on cigarette consumption included accusations of nicotine poisoning and its effect on the entire system, including the brain, which can make people feel out of their mind and commit a crime, thus trying to link smoking with insanity and criminal behaviour. This

writing continues through a period of 10 years. For example, articles from 1900, 1901, 1903 and 1910 make similar arguments, thus showing the similar argumentation spanning over a decade,

> "…the atrocity of the crime was positive evidence that the defendant was a moral degenerate of the most pronounced type and totally irresponsible for his acts. He said that Garrabrant had been in the habit of smoking 150 cigarettes a day since he was five years old, and that nicotine poisoning had affected his entire system, including his brain…" (Garrabrant murder trial, 4 October 1900).

> "Lehman is said to be an excessive smoker of cigarettes, and it is thought that he may have been temporarily out of his mind when he made the attack on the station agent" (Woman agent attacked, 14 February 1901).

> "To smoke one cigarette is worse than drinking half a barrel of beer. Every cigarette means a dream of some future crime. The first cigarette of a boy or a man smokes is the first step in a future criminal career. Cigarettes mean death before it is due" (Raised riot on a train, 16 November 1903).

> "Excessive cigarette smoking is given as the cause of the shooting early yesterday morning of William Greenberg (…), by his brother, Philip, 21 (…) who afterwards shot himself (…) Mrs William Greenberg says that her brother-in-law worked for her husband as a waiter until two weeks ago, when he was discharged. She says he was an inveterate cigarette smoker, and the habit had undermined his nervous system. It was on this account that he lost his place" (Seeks child saver, 4 April 1910).

Nevertheless, some tried to link smoking with reduced brain abilities and thus people who smoke were seen as reduced to the level of 'imbeciles'. For example,

> "One of the greatest menaces to our moral and intellectual wellbeing today is the fact that cigarette smoking is becoming a popular fad among boys and young men, while the use of a strong pipe is close second in favor (…) The ordinary case exhibits about the following type of conduct: (1) While the craving is at its height the victim manifests much uneasiness and often much excitation. (2) During the indulgence the cheek is alternatively flushed and balanced, the respiration considerably increased, and the hands tremble. (3) About twenty minutes after smoking the muscles become relaxed, the respiration slow and shallow, the skin on the face dry and sallow, and there is an apparent feeling of unconcern about everything. The injurious effects of smoking upon the boy's mental activities are very marked. Of the many hundreds of tabulated cases in my possession, several of the very youthful ones have been reduced almost to the condition of imbeciles. Out of 2,336 who were attending public school, only six were reported to have met with many failures" (Testing the boy who smokes cigarettes, 27 February 1910).

However, two articles published in 1920 warned about attempts from prohibitionists who banned alcohol to also try to ban tobacco, and warned that there is not enough evidence that smoking is harmful. An article from 14 November 1920 (Anti-tobacco crusade) thus warned that there is lots of propaganda on smoking and outlines these views are just personal beliefs

according to which "coffee, cocoa and tobacco are forbidden" (Anti-tobacco crusade, 14 November 1920) whereas an article from 23 September 1927 argued that there is no evidence of the harmfulness of smoking,

> "…among 304 boys brought under observation it was found that the non-smokers were more successful than the smokers both in scholarship and athletics. It now appears, however, that this conclusion was too hasty. Dr. Earp has pursued his investigation further and write to The Lancet that the new results reached by him 'definitely weakened the case against tobacco as a cause of mental inefficiency'. He still maintains that non-smokers are superior, but admits that this may not be because they do not smoke. It sometimes seems, according to him, that tobacco tends to sort out the weak from the strong, and that the inferior are such not because they smoke but because they were born so (…) It is a question to which no decided answer can be given on the basis of present knowledge" (Tobacco and brains, 23 September 1927)

Based on the analysis of writing in the *New York Times* it does appear that there was no evidence that smoking was harmful to health other than unfounded accusations of smoking causing insanity and criminal behaviour. Besides, those who were trying to argue that smoking is harmful frequently came from the conservative side of the argument. For example, the Temperance societies and other advocates of the prohibition were active in criticism of alcohol and tobacco, but also everything new including coffee and tea (Anti-tobacco crusade, 14 November 1920; War is declared on 'demon' tobacco, 2 September 1923). This goes in line with social debates on smoking because men in the 19th century mostly smoked pipes and smoking cigarettes started to grow in popularity during the 1880s when cigarettes started to be seen as a symbol of manhood (Encyclopaedia Brittanica, n.d._a), thus instigating a debate in the *New York Times* on smoking and its benefits. However, what Bernays could have known from this coverage and explained social circumstances is that smoking is seen as harmful but in a way that was not medically proven and the propaganda against smoking was mainly coming from conservative activists who were not progressive about women's rights either. In this context, Bernays could have not concluded that promoting smoking to women would harm their health.

<u>Women and Cigarette Smoking</u>

The main two discourses with women and smoking are that *smoking cigarette is immoral* and *not ladylike*. The timeline of the debate follows the same timeline as the debate on the health aspects of smoking. In other words, as the debate on smoking radicalised with the involvement of temperance activists, the criticism of women smokers increased. However, when it comes to women and smoking there is a change in tone and thus, at first, smoking was not seen as a

woman's issue. For example, in the period between 1870 and 1883, there is no mentioning of smoking being unhealthy and smoking was portrayed as a man's habit,

> "The Hungarian had the grace to ask if smoking was offensive to me before he lit his cigarette. Soon, however, with the heavy pipe of the Saxon, the air became thick with smoke, and I saw that the wife of the German, who sat at the other window, was becoming ill. We both said something to the Saxon, and the Hungarian threw his cigarette out of the window, but the Saxon only shrugged his shoulders, with a kind of self-satisfied grunt: "Oh, she wouldn't have me give up anything which pleases *me*!" The woman did not reply, but opened her window wide and leaned her head out of it" (Scenes in Hungary, 18 November 1872, emphasis in the original)

> "And if you're an experienced traveller you will be sure to have in your valise a pair of slippers, a smoking-cap, a case of cigars, and a convenient flask that may contain either smelling salts or French brandy, as fancy dictates. No journey of any length can be made comfortably without them, provided, of course, your gender is masculine and your case nominative enough to nominate such a stiff nightcap" (A night in a sleeping car, 4 November 1883).

It was in 1879 that the main discourse on women and smoking emerged, and this is the *discourse of morality* where women who smoked were portrayed as immoral. However, this does not mean that everyone was supportive of this view. For example, one article criticised the view that women should not smoke following the closure of the Newman-Hall divorce case[3] and confirmed that women who smoked at the time were seen as immoral. The tone of the article opened a possibility for an empowering PR campaign. This discourse survived well beyond 1879 and carried on into the 20th century during Bernays' PR work. For example, in an article from 1879, journalist argues that smoking for ladies is seen as a sign of immorality,

> "I must say I am at loss to understand why the practice of cigarette-smoking among ladies seems to be generally regarded by counsel as the usual accompaniment of, or prelude to immorality. One would not be astonished were this conclusion to be jumped at by the ignorant and narrow-minded among us, to whom each now departure from the manners and customs of our forefathers seems to be fraught with moral and spiritual danger; but one is surprised to find enlightened men – who, over and over again, must have found themselves in the company of ladies irreproachable in character, and who yet may have occasionally taken a whiff at a cigarette – pandering to the prejudices of the million (…) Let us assume it is objectionable, and, in many instances, injurious to the health; still, it is no more immoral than taking snuff or eating bonbons; and I have been told by several eminent medical men that it is, as a rule, less injurious to the female constitution than it is to ours, sleeplessness being a malady to which women are peculiarly subject, and tobacco in moderation acting as a decided soother to irritable nerves (…) A lady – a friend of mine – who had suffered terribly from insomnia for many years, and who had tried every

[3] Newman Hall filed for a divorce against his wife Charlotte Hall for adultery, and the long court case was argued also on the fact that she was smoking (see Larsen, 2001 for details).

> kind of narcotic without effect (…) told me that she was induced at last to try smoking, and that the beneficial result was almost instantaneous. It occurred to her at the time how injurious so strong a narcotic must be to those who had no need of it; but to her it was a restorative to health" (Women and Smoking, 20 August 1879)

Numerous articles were stating that while some states in the US are banning tobacco use, e.g. Georgia (Small talk, 7 November 1893), abroad, women's smoking was already getting normalised, thus evidencing that smoking in the US was, in fact, a woman's issue and journalists were somewhat standing up for women by criticising those in the US who impose morality about smoking onto women. For example,

> "Ever and anon crops up in print the question of women smoking. London Truth has just published a story from Paris, by that most reputable of correspondents, Mrs. Crawford, to the effect that in Continental Europe, although the cigarette has not quite found its way with after-dinner coffee into the drawing room, it soon will (…) Nobody is shocked at ladies smoking, not merely one cigarette apiece, but two or three. A Minister of Queen Christina told me that that highly-respectable and respected royal lady is an inveterate and a veteran smoker" (Her point of view, 24 December 1893).

> "…for during the past few years the cigarette habit has been laying hold of women all over the world (…) And they smoke in England and in the United States, although in the latter country it is only recently that women have begun to use tobacco. There was a story in Gil Blas not long ago to the effect that three young girls in Louisville, Ky., were seen smoking by a policeman and were arrested. The Judge, although recognizing that the accused were not confirming to the properties, felt bound to release them because they were violating no law" (Women and tobacco, 28 February 1897).

However, while articles were arguing that women abroad smoke, the discourse was still that American women do not smoke and smoking was seen as a foreign vice (Women who smoke rare, 9 December 1894). Also, it is clear from many articles that smoking among women was seen as not ladylike, which is the second main discourse in newspaper coverage,

> "In some of the theatres where there are one or two inner rooms, they sometimes find women patrons who are smokers (…) When the curtain went up I stepped in the next room and spoke to them. I thought I noticed a little smoke and when they had gone I found the ends of cigarettes. 'Oh, yes, they were very ladylike looking women. Such a thing as that does not occur very often. I suppose they are in the habit of smoking, and can't wait until the play is over'" (Women's ways between the acts, 9 February 1896).

> "The women of conservative England are continually giving the women of free-and-easy America something in the nature of a surprise. It may be that the real conservativism is in the younger country (…) it is frequently brought up with regard to American women that they are ruining their constitutions by the use of tobacco. However, investigation never seems to bring out evidence that there are more than a few sporadic cases of the tobacco habit. But if the reports are to be believed there are many clubs of English women where a smoking room is one of the features of the clubhouse. And now there is a call

> for smoking cars (…) Some 150 women have written to Miss Vance complaining of their trials in being obliged to smoke unseen (…) It would be necessary to have not only one feminine smoking carriage on a train, but three. This trouble could be lessened if the first, second, and third class women would only be willing to ride and smoke together. Whether they would or not, when all need of hypocrisy was done away with and with the delightful fraternal feeling which would come from a great universal wish fulfilled, remains to be seen" (And they are conservative, 3 April 1898).

In the 20th century, women were also treated badly in courts if they were smokers and thus the situation directly preceding Bernays' campaign worsened. For example, in trials, smoking was used against women, which proves that smoking was a women's equality issue. This issue stretched over decades and similar issues can be found in articles in many years, such as in examples below from 1900 and 1915,

> "She spends every cent she gets for cigarettes (…) 'Get out of this court! Get out of this court!', he roared. 'You come here with hands like that! You had your husband arrested! Get out, you cigarette fiend! Get out of here, you spieler, or I'll have you arrested! You have no right to the support of an honest man!'" (Her hands betrayed her, Molineux case delayed, 21 July 1900).

> "Mrs Frances S. B. McCormick smoked cigarettes before she was married and she smoked them afterwards. In restaurants, after dinner, in the smoking compartment (…), in her home and in the homes of her friends, and sometimes on public thoroughfares, she lighted a cigarette if she wanted to and thought nothing of it…" (Wife, a smoker, asks court 'what of it?', 8 June 1915).

Nevertheless, smoking among women was seen as a "menace" (Women cigarette smokers, 24 June 1901), but smoking among women was on the increase nonetheless and some writers expressed criticism of those who deny women the same right to smoke like men, thus again showing that smoking was a women's equality issue,

> "That cigarette smoking among women is on the increase is evidenced by the fact that a part of the cigar-stand in the main foyer of this hotel has been sectioned off for the exclusive handling of cigarettes for women. Although women are not allowed to smoke in the hotel lobbies, women smokers are steadily on the increase" (Hotel oddities, Wyndham gives fair $250, 13 March 1910).

> "..though the impropriety of smoking by women is a mere matter of convention and geography – unless some doctors are right in saying that it is a little more apt to injure their health than it is to hurt men – a considerable majority of the better people in this country view the practice with disfavor. People with sense, however, do not deny the right of women to smoke if they choose – do not pretend it is immoral or wrong. They only feel that it is somehow incompatible with their ideals and standards of feminine delicacy and cleanliness. So they exert a silent pressure that is usually effective" (Smoking and meddling, Topics of the Times, 6 August 1910).

Criticism of smoking among women was so severe and the social condemnation of women smokers was so strong that it became a campaign issue for Woodrow Wilson. Therefore, in an article from 13 August 1912 the *New York Times* reported that many think that a cigarette smoking woman should not be a First Lady, which then prompted Wilson's wife to denounce smoking even though the *New York Times* reported that previously she said something different (Mrs. Wilson against smoking by women, 13 August 1912). This situation clearly shows the pressure on women not to smoke and the extent of social condemnation of smoking, which according to *The New York Times,* eventually brought about a public debate between Women's Christian Temperance Union that opposed smoking and the Federation of Women's Clubs, where Frances Yawger of the Federation stated that "this matter of smoking is nobody's business but that of the individual woman concerned. If smoking is a menace to the health of women, I believe women can be trusted to know it" (Women Smokers…, 29 February 1920). In this period, directly preceding Bernays' campaign, attempts were made to stop women from smoking in public and some girls schools banned smoking too. The law proposed in 1921 stated that 'female persons',

> "may not smoke in public places in Washington – under the penalty of $25 fine for the first offense and $100 for each separate subsequent cigarette", and the journalist of the New York Times boldly stated that "with official 'female persons', both those that smoke and those that don't smoke, the issue is political, not personal (…) I am inclined to think that the prejudice against women smoking is one of these conventions grown right – although it probably had its start in the clinging vine days when it wasn't considered 'attractive' for women to be mannish – and from that point somehow got mixed up in people's minds with 'fastness'" (To smoke or not to smoke, 26 June 1921).

Therefore, the discourse of smoking not being ladylike continued in the 20th century with even more conservative proposals. In other words, while in previous periods women who smoked were condemned and shamed by society, once smoking among women started to grow, an attempt was made to stop women from smoking legally with fines and condemnation, and thus legally enforce patriarchal views on expected roles. For example, at the time the law was proposed, there were news reports on increased production of cigarettes for women abroad (20,000 Cuban cigars made for London women smokers, 4 September 1921). However, this ban brought more debate into the public and thus instigated more criticism as it became obvious that the ban is enforced along the gender lines and not because of health concerns. The ban also came with violence against women,

> "… has brought the subject of smoking to the attention of a thoughtful public. To legislate for or against this peculiar habit along sex lines is archaic and no more possible than to do so along color or class lines.

> "It is only possible to approach this subject from the point of view of the public weal, which enables us to plant ourselves upon fundamental principles, not prejudices, and if our reasoning be intelligent and sincere we are bound to reach a just conclusion" (The fiend nicotine, 16 April 1922).

> "Mrs. Sladden, who is 19 years old, was with her husband at Eight Avenue and Twenty-eight Street Friday; when the policeman is alleged to have knocked the cigarette from her hand after sharply ordering her to throw it away" (Woman smoking case, 20 August 1922).

Finally, in the period directly preceding Bernays' campaign, it became clear that many women liked to smoke. For example, a survey in Vassar college revealed that 433 girls liked to smoke whereas 524 stated they don't smoke, thus showing that nearly half of the girls' college was interested in smoking and they were asking for more relaxed rules on smoking on campus, which was ignored by the College Board (433 Vassar girls admit liking cigarettes…, 22 January 1925). In the same year, an article in the *New York Times* called cigarettes the 'Torch of Erebus' and stated that they are even "flaming in the awakened Far East" (Women pipe-smokers, 3 November 1925), however, negativity around women's smoking continued. Thus, in 1928 there were also arguments from 'experts' claiming that cigarettes are damaging for women only, using patriarchal reasoning of women's expected appearance,

> "…cigarettes are ruining the feminine voice, eyes and disposition" however, there were also others that "affirm that cigarettes give woman a large sense of freedom (if she needed it). One expert even thinks they help her digestion and keep her thin. He is a very popular expert. No matter what the scientific investigators say, smoking has fallen steadily under the ban of business in office and factory hours…" (A tobacco war impends…, 11 March 1928).

When Bernays launched his campaign on the Easter day parade, he echoed the term previously used by the *New York Times* ('Torch of Erebus') and called cigarettes 'Torches of Freedom' and framed the debate within the women's equality plight. *The New York Times* reported on his campaign the next day with the following paragraph,

> "A group of young women, who said they were smashing a tradition and not favouring any particular brand, strolled along the lane between the tiered skyscrapers and puffed cigarettes (…) One thing that the parade disclosed in the way of feminine fashion was the general disinclination to follow the dictum of Paris that skirts be longer (…) About a dozen young women strolled back and forth between St. Thomas's and St. Patrick's while the parade was at its peak, ostentatiously smoking cigarettes. Two were asked which brand they favoured, and they named it. One of the group explained the cigarettes were 'torches of freedom' lighting the way to the day when women would smoke on the street as casually as men" (Easter Sun finds the past in shadow at modern parade, 1 April 1929).

The above quotation is a small part of an article reporting in detail on the Easter Day parade, and thus this presents the success of the PR event in regards to earned media coverage of the campaign. This is, however, just one paragraph in a two-page long article, and it would be difficult to claim that this work alone caused a major impact and thus damage to women's health. Whilst there is a case on the advertising industry and their impact on women's health, the PR event Bernays organised fits into what Murphree (2015) called exaggerated because the reading of the article deemed as a success of the campaign cannot justify Bernays' claims or excessive focus in research and activism against PR using this campaign as one of the pieces of evidence of the manipulative character of public relations. Equally, as with smoking in general, Bernays could not have seen smoking as anything else other than the oppression of women as there is a clear sign of this in the coverage, as demonstrated above. Since he already mentioned in one of his books first published a year before the 'Torches of Freedom' campaign ((Bernays, 2005 [1928], 134) that women should use propaganda as a means to increase their rights, it is not illogical to conclude that, with smoking that was not yet seen as a health hazard, he did exactly that, created an emancipatory campaign that helped women achieve social equality, at least when it comes to this habit.

Conclusion

We know today that smoking is harmful to health, but this was not the case back in 1929 when Bernays launched the campaign. The analysis of the coverage of *The New York Times* in a period of nearly 60 years has shown that understanding of smoking evolved from being seen as a mental health issue, enticement for violent behaviour, causing criminal tendencies and that the debate ultimately led towards the patriarchal view that smoking is immoral and not ladylike.

Nevertheless, smoking was initially seen as causing 'insanity' and not cancer and there are records of professionals and journalists debating that smoking is not unhealthy at all, even when some raised that issue. As an analysis in this paper has shown, smoking can be seen as an equality issue and as an oppressive factor where women were subjected to different rules than men and where the smoking ban was disproportionately applied to women. Nevertheless, there are records, in *The New York Times*, of women organising and campaigning for smoking, thus showing that activism for women smoking was already in place. As the findings have shown, there was already a Federation of Women's Clubs that campaigned for women's social rights, including smoking and its president asked for women to be trusted to smoke and take

action if evidence shows that smoking is a menace to women (Women Smokers…, 29 February 1920, *The New York Times*).

The situation in regards to women and smoking has worsened during the 1920s with many smoking bans for women's smoking, thus again proving that smoking was an equality issue and part of the women's oppression at the time because it was not seen as morally wrong or unhealthy for a man to smoke. Therefore, by launching the campaign for his client, Bernays did not just promote the product and helped in increasing sales; he has organised a PR campaign that promoted women's equality. By not knowing that smoking is a harmful substance whilst using this focus in the campaign, Bernays can be seen as contributing to the plight of women's equality.

There is an issue as to whether brands should use women's equality plight to increase sales, however, there is no evidence that this is only what Bernays did. In his memoirs, Bernays promoted feminism by saying that women should use propaganda and "use their newly-acquired freedom in a great many ways to mold the world into a better place to live" (Bernays, 2005 [1928], 134), thus promoting women's equality plight. It seems, based on this analysis, that all criticism of the 'Torches of Freedom' and all criticism of the PR industry that derives from the criticism of this campaign is focused on proving that PR is a propagandistic field only aiming to entice publicity and manipulate the masses. Instead, 'Torches of Freedom' campaign can be used to argue that PR is not just greenwashing but a useful part of the marketplace of ideas (Heath, 2005) because women's voices in the 1920s needed to be heard (Coombs and Holladay, 2007). In that sense, it can also be argued that by joining already existent campaigning for women's right to smoke, 'Torches of Freedom'gave a voice to women to fight oppression and double standards.

References

Amos, A. and Haglund, M. (2000), "From social taboo to "torch of freedom": the marketing of cigarettes to women", *Tobacco Control,* Vol. 9, pp. 3-8, available at https://tobaccocontrol.bmj.com/content/tobaccocontrol/9/1/3.full.pdf (accessed 1 August 2021)

Bernays, E. (2005 [1928]), *Propaganda,* New York, Ig Publishing.

Bernays, E.L. (1965), *Biography of an Idea: Memoirs of Public Relations Counsel,* Edward L. Bernays, Simon & Schuster, New York, NY.

Bernays, E. (1952), *Public Relations,* Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Bernays, E. (1923), *Crystallizing public opinion,* New York, Boni and Liveright.

Bivins, T. (2013), "A golden opportunity? Edward Bernays and the dilemma of ethics", *American Journalism,* Vol. 30 No. 4, pp. 496–519.

Bishop, R. L. (1988), "What newspapers say about public relations", *Public Relations Review,* Vol. 54, pp. 50-52.

Brandt, A. (2007), *The Cigarette Century,* New York, Basic Books.

Brandt, A. M. (1996), "Recruiting women smokers: the engineering of consent", *Journal of American Medical Women's Association,* Vol. 51, No. 1-2, pp. 63-66.

Coombs, T. and Holladay, S. (2007), *It's Not Just PR: Public Relations in Society,* Malden, Blackwell Publishing.

Chodor, B. (2020), "Better Together: The Evolving Relationship Between PR And Marketing", *Forbes,* 14 October, available at https://www.forbes.com/sites/forbescommunicationscouncil/2020/10/14/better-together-the-evolving-relationship-between-pr-and-marketing/?sh=47a8801b3721 (accessed 2 August 2021)

Craig, S. (1999), '"Torches of Freedom": Themes of Women's Liberation in American Cigarettes Advertising', A Paper Presented to the Gender Studies Division, Southwest/Texas Popular Culture Association, February 25, available at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228934885_Torches_of_Freedom_Themes_of_Women's_Liberation_in_American_Cigarette_Advertising_A_Paper_Presented_to_the_Gender_Studies_Division_SouthwestTexas (accessed 25 June 2020).

Encyclopaedia Britannica (n.d.), *The New York Times: American newspaper,* available at https://www.britannica.com/topic/The-New-York-Times (accessed 2 August 2021)

Encyclopaedia Brittanica (n.d._a), *A social and cultural history of smoking,* available at https://www.britannica.com/topic/smoking-tobacco/A-social-and-cultural-history-of-smoking (accessed 3 August 2021)

Evans, T. (2010), "We are all in PR now", *Journalism Review,* Vol. 21 No. 2, pp. 31–36.

Ewen, S. (1996), *PR! A Social History of Spin,* New York, Basic Books.

Greaves L. (1996), *Smokescreen—women's smoking and social control,* Halifax, Fernwood Publishing.

Fass, P. S. (1977), *The damned and the beautiful: American youth in the 1920's,* New York, Oxford.

Freedman, E. (1974), "The New Woman: Changing Views of Women in the 1920s", *Journal of American History,* 61 (September 1974), pp. 372- 393.

Fletcher, F. (2015), *The Career, Times, and Legacy of Edward L. Bernays,* available at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/311646708_The_Life_and_Times_of_Edward_Bernays (accessed 1 August 2021)

Frank, J.N. (2004), "PR in the spotlight", *PR Week*, September 13, pp. 21.

Hamlin, K. (2004), "Bathing Suits and Backlash", in - *"There She Is, Miss America": The Politics of Sex, Beauty, and Race in America's Most Famous Pageant,* ed. Elwood Watson and Darcy Martin, New York, Palgrave Macmillian.

Heath, R. L. (2005), "Mutually beneficial relations", Heath, R. L. (ed) *Encyclopedia of Public Relations,* Vol. 2, pp. 552-556, Thousand Oaks, SAGE.

Henderson, J.K. (1998), "Negative connotations in the use of the term 'public relations' in the print media", *Public Relations Review,* Vol. 24 No. 1, pp. 45-54.

Honey, M. (n.d.), *Gotham's Daughters: Feminism in the 1920s,* available at https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/162640498.pdf (accessed 2 August 2021)

Larsen, T. (2001), "Sex, Lies and Victorians: the case of Newman Hall's Divorce", *The Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society,* Vol. 6 No. 8, pp. 589-596.

Maclaran, P. (2012), "Marketing and feminism in historic perspective", *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing,* Vol. 4 No. 3, pp. 462-469.

Myers, C. (2015), "Reconsidering propaganda in U.S. public relations history: An analysis of propaganda in the popular press 1810–1918", *Public Relations Review,* Vol. 41 No. 4, pp. 551–561.

Murphree, V. (2015), "Edward Bernays's 1929 "Torches of Freedom" March: Myths and Historical Significance", *American Journalism*, Vol. 32 No. 3, pp. 258-281.

Penning, T. (2008), "First impressions: US media portrayals of public relations in the 1920s", *Journal of Communication Management,* Vol. 12 No. 4, pp. 344-358.

Rodgers, R. R. (2010), "The press and public relations through the lens of the periodicals, 1890–1930", *Public Relations Review,* Vol. 36 No. 1, pp. 50–55.

Samsup, J. (2003), "The portrayal of public relations in the news media", *Mass Communication and Society,* Vol. 6 No. 4, pp. 397-411.

Saval, N. (2015), *Cubed: A Secret History of the Workplace,* New York, Anchor Books.

Segrave, K. (2005), *Women and Smoking in America, 1880-1950*, Jefferson and London, McFarland & Company Inc. Publishers.

Sivulka, J. (1998), *Soap, sex, and cigarettes: A cultural history of American advertising,* Belmont, CA, Wadsworth.

Society Pages (2012), "Torches of Freedom Campaign", available at https://thesocietypages.org/socimages/2012/02/27/torches-of-freedom-women-and-smoking-propaganda/ (accessed 14 December 2019)

SpectorPR (2010), *Interview with Edward Bernays*, available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6pyyP2chM8k (accessed 28 February 2019)

Spicer, C. H. (1993), "Images of public relations in print media", *Journal of Public Relations Research,* Vol. 3 No. 1, pp. 47-67.

Stanley Lemons, J. (1973). Social feminism in the 1920s: Progressive women and industrial legislation. *Labor History,* Vol. 14 No. 1, pp. 83-91.

Stauber, J. and Rampton, S. (1995), *Toxic Sludge is Good for You! Lies, Damn Lies and the Public Relations Industry,* Monroe, Common Courage Press.

Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. M. (1990), *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques,* Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage Publications.

St. John III, B. and Opdycke Lamme, M. (2011), "The evolution of an idea: Charting the early public relations ideology of Edward L. Bernays", *Journal of Communication Management,* Vol. 15 No. 3, pp. 223-235.

Thompson, L. and Margulis, O. (2015), *10 Women Empowerment Campaigns You Need To Know About,* available at https://www.hercampus.com/school/drexel/10-women-empowerment-campaigns-you-need-know-about (accessed 11 May 2019)

Tye, L. (1998), *The Father of Spin,* New York, Crown.

Zoch, L. M., Supa, D. W. and VanTuyll, D. R. (2014), "The portrayal of public relations in the era of Ivy Lee through the lens of the New York Times", *Public Relations Review* Vol. 40, pp. 723-732.

Waldron I. (1991), "Patterns and causes of gender differences in smoking", *Social Science & Medicine,* Vol. 32 No. 9, pp. 989–1005.

Watson, E., and Martin, D. (2004), *"There She Is, Miss America": The Politics of Sex, Beauty, and Race in America's Most Famous Pageant,* New York, Palgrave Macmillan.

Wodak, R. (1999), *The discursive construction of national identity,* Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.

Wodak, R. (1999a), "The discourse-historical approach", in – eds. Wodak, R., and Meyer, M., *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis,* London, SAGE.