



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

Edinburgh Research Explorer

Historical research in marketing

Looking to the past to understand the present

Citation for published version:

Marshall, D 2022, 'Historical research in marketing: Looking to the past to understand the present', *Japan Marketing History Review*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 42-47. https://doi.org/10.51102/jmhr.1.1_42

Digital Object Identifier (DOI):

[10.51102/jmhr.1.1_42](https://doi.org/10.51102/jmhr.1.1_42)

Link:

[Link to publication record in Edinburgh Research Explorer](#)

Document Version:

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Published In:

Japan Marketing History Review

General rights

Copyright for the publications made accessible via the Edinburgh Research Explorer is retained by the author(s) and / or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing these publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

Take down policy

The University of Edinburgh has made every reasonable effort to ensure that Edinburgh Research Explorer content complies with UK legislation. If you believe that the public display of this file breaches copyright please contact openaccess@ed.ac.uk providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.



Special Issue Paper

**Historical research in marketing:
Looking to the past to understand the present**
マーケティングにおける歴史研究
—現在を理解するために過去を振り返る—

David MARSHALL

University of Edinburgh, Professor of Marketing and Consumer Behaviour

This short paper suggests that historical research offers us an opportunity to 'observe' customers and provides a context to understand and reflect on contemporary marketing. It considers the role of historical research in marketing through two projects. The first highlights the impact of legislation and changing demographic and lifestyle of consumers that shaped the unique character of the modern Japanese konbini and notes the limited historical account of the customer experience or store employees. The success of the Japanese convenience store owes much to this history. The second focuses on the visual dimension and the depiction of British family life in Good Housekeeping magazine advertising over a sixty-year period. It highlights not only what brands were being targeted at British families during this period but looks at how the family unit was portrayed by commercial advertisers in this popular magazine. In post-war Britain advertising featured images of the patriarchal nuclear family with a number of campaigns focused on mothers and children at home. While advertisements for new kitchen equipment on the pages of Good Housekeeping in the 1950's offered a release from the drudgery of domestic work women remained responsible for the 'housework' and there was little to challenge this idea. Magazine advertising offers an insight into how family life was depicted in this post war period and reminds us of the debate around the unintended consequences of this promotional activity. Historical perspectives add context and often reflect broader social, cultural, technological and legislative changes that shape our consumption practices. Only in looking to the past can we really understand the present.

Key Words : Japanese *konbini*, British family life, magazine advertising, visual history

この短い論稿は、歴史的研究が我々に顧客を「観察する」機会を与え、現在のマーケティングを理解し考える上での文脈を提供していることを示唆するものである。本稿は2つの研究課題を通して、マーケティングにおける歴史研究の役割を考察する。第1は、独特の特徴を持つ現代日本のコンビニの形成に影響を与えた法律や人口動態、消費者ライフスタイルの変化に注目し、顧客視点での体験や店員に関する歴史的記述に若干の言及を行う。日本のコンビニの成功はこのような歴史に負うところが大きい。第2は、60年間にわたる『グッド・ハウスキーピング (Good Housekeeping)』の雑誌広告におけるイギリス家庭生活についてのビジュアルや記述に注目する。この間イギリス家庭がどのようなブランドをターゲットにしていたかということだけでなく、家庭という単位がこの人気雑誌での商業広告によってどのように描かれていたのかに注目する。戦後のイギリスでは、広告が、家父長的な核家族のイメージをもち、家庭の母親と子供に焦点を当てたキャンペーンが特徴的であった。1950年代の『グッド・ハウスキーピング』に掲載された新しいキッチン用品の広告は、女性を家庭内の重労働から解放してくれる一方、「家事」への責任を負ったままであり、この考え方に異を唱えられることはほとんどなかった。雑誌広告は、戦後のこの時期において家庭生活がどのように描写されていたかを知る手がかりをもたらし、そして、こうしたプロモーション活動が意図せざる結果をもたらしという議論を思い起こさせる。歴史的な視点は我々の研究に文脈を付け加え、しばしば我々の消費行動を形づくってきたより広い社会的、文化的、技術的、法的な変化を考察する。過去に目を向けることによってしか、我々は現在を真に理解することはできないのである。

キーワード：日本のコンビニ、英国の家庭生活、雑誌広告、ビジュアル・ヒストリー

(翻訳：越川靖子)

In this era of social media influencers, big data, and algorithms, one could be forgiven for thinking that we should

be looking forward rather than back into the annals of marketing history. As individuals and organisations

* Author contact: d.w.marshall@ed.ac.uk

search for the next big idea the focus is often on the future rather than the past. But in order to fully understand where we are and what might lie ahead, marketers could take some time to look back and reflect. Indeed, the past may tell us more than we can learn from yet another survey of potential consumers who do not always know what they want until they see it. Consider Sony Chairman, Arikito Morita who decided to launch the Sony Walkman despite feedback that consumers would not buy a cassette recorder that could not record. Sony, like many Japanese organisations do not rely solely on hard data and sales figures but complement this with soft data such as store, dealer and distributor visits to observe and better understand the customer experience – the essence of good marketing (Johnsson and Nonaka 1987). So too, history allows us to ‘observe’ customers and provides a context in which to better understand contemporary marketing. Moreover, history adds a richness to our understanding and avoids us reinventing the wheel as well as framing and legitimising our contribution to marketing knowledge (Tadajewski and Jones 2014, Fullerton 2011, Tadajewski and Saren 2008). I want to briefly reflect on how history has featured in my own research in two projects looking at the appeal of the ubiquitous Japanese konbini, or convenience store, and the representation of British family life over a sixty-year period in *Good Housekeeping* magazine.

Context and historical accounts

Mark Petersen, in a recent editorial in the *Journal of Macromarketing*, reminds readers of the need to think about marketing in context and understand what phenomenon have influenced marketing over the years (Petersen 2020). Take the case of the Japanese konbini. These unique Japanese convenience stores can be found everywhere from dense city conurbations and downtown office blocks to rural and even remote locations. They are a quintessential aspect of Japanese life and something of a novelty, at least to this occasional visitor. Understanding the appeal of the konbini is not simply a case of consumer demand but closely related to historical developments and a unique Japanese affinity with this store format (Usui 2014, Marshall 2016, 2019).

Usui (2014), in *Marketing and Consumption in Modern Japan*, illustrates the need to consider the ways in which individual choices and decisions are shaped by the historical landscape and economic, environmental, cultural, social, legal and technological influences. Of specific note in relation to the development of Japanese retail is the distri-

bution keirestu (*ryutsu keiretsu*), an exclusive network of manufacturer organised merchants that developed in the early 1900’s in the absence of anti-monopoly law in Japan and resulted in exclusive dealing and retail price maintenance throughout the distribution channel. Legislative changes introduced with the 1937 and 1956 Department Store Laws was designed to curb the rapid growth in Department stores and protect smaller retailers. Further restrictions on opening days and closing times followed with the Large-Scale Retail Store Law (1974–2000) and allowed convenience stores to open for longer and without any closing dates. *Supers* seized the opportunity to develop the sector which expanded rapidly through subsidiary and franchised stores. Catering to needs of dense urban neighbourhoods the konbini proved especially popular with the growing number of one person households, salarymen, students and younger working women.

As Usui notes, *Japanese convenience stores developed rapidly thanks to the strict regulation of large sized stores and the weak regulation of urban planning affording locations in residential areas, and as a result of changes in demography and lifestyle of consumers, such as the increasing numbers of one-person households, university/college students, pupils commuting to cram schools and younger women working at nights* (2014: 198). These historical insights help us better understand contemporary consumption and marketing in Japan. While economic, social and cultural changes provide a rich context in which to understand the evolution and transformation of this retail format history has less to say on the experiences of store employees and those charged with delivering the retail experience. Even with increased in-store automation staff remain an important part of the konbini experience and rational for using, or not using, the konbini. History may have to look elsewhere for these accounts (Murata 2016, Kobayashi 2019, Steinberg 2020, Whitelaw 2014). As Whitelaw notes the konbini is an important *‘place between places... anonymous, silent and distancing but also close, comforting and possessing a certain affect of their own’* (2019: 85). Moreover, the nature of that interaction reflects shifting expectations around what the customer experience should entail and represents a seismic shift away from the original *nihon-gata* or ‘mom and pop’ stores. Japanese convenience store ‘brands’ have evolved to meet changing consumer needs and demands. Academic history is challenged to capture the experience of the konbini customer and observations from the field of marketing in practice. It is impossible to understand the unique character of the Japanese konbini without looking

at the historical context.

Reverting to stereotype: looking back at the family in popular magazine advertising

I now turn to a project that highlights the importance of taking an historical perspective and adding a visual dimension to more fully understand contemporary consumption and the link between the past and the present. As Leiss, Kline and Jhalley (1986) note, advertisers play a mediating role in the relationship between customers and products but they also shape and influence our perceptions over time through the visual images they choose to use, in this case of family life. We need to look at what is 'shown' as well as what is 'said' (Cochoy 2010 : 33). Historical research can not only teach us about industries, companies, products or technologies but help us better understand social and cultural institutions such as the family along with changing patterns of consumption and new ways of living (Trentmann 2004, Tedlow 1990, Denegri-Knott and Tadajewski 2010, Tadajewski and Jones 2014). It can offer insights into how commercial and marketing influences, including advertising, contribute to that discourse and impact on consumer perceptions. The pages of women's magazines like *Good Housekeeping*ⁱ are littered with advertising that features 'the family' but few deviate from a rather narrow idea of what constitutes family life (and the role of consumer goods and consumption as part of that identity). While we can learn from the past, it is also worth reflecting that where we choose to look, and the source of the 'story' is not without its own agenda. Publishers, advertisers and those companies promoting their products have a vested interest in not 'rocking the boat'. Post war marketing campaigns were designed to talk directly to their selected demographic, or in the case of *Good Housekeeping*, female readers. The images they chose to present, and equally those they chose to ignore, can tell us much about the social and cultural narratives of the time and provide a visual account of the types of family these brands were targeting. I want to look gener-

ally at the ways in which the family are represented over a sixty-year period and return to consider what was being displayed on the pages of *Good Housekeeping* in the immediate post-War period

Our content analysis of seven hundred and fifty-eight advertisements targeting families over a sixty-year period included seventy-one different food brands each vying for the readers attention. Over the time period from 1950 – 2010 certain brands disappear and others emerge onto the pages of the magazine. Food brands like Coleman's Semolina that featured in the fifties editions are replaced by advertising for Kellogg's Super Noodles in the eighties or McCain's Oven chips in the noughties or Alpro soya in the next decade. Brand's shift and change their message, style and execution over time to attract the readers attention. Domestic white goods that featured on the pages of post war editions are less prominent in the next decade as more households came to afford refrigerators and washing machines. Home improvement brands of the sixties and seventies reflected greater household affluence while the personal hygiene and grooming products of the eighties and nineties revealed more interest in individual identity (Marshall et. al. 2013)

Equally, we see a shift in family life depicted in the magazine advertising. The nuclear family, that traditional unit with father, mother and children slowly disappears over the next decades giving way to advertising targeted at individuals. What this selection of advertising affords us is the luxury of observing the ways in which the family is depicted from the wholesome nurturing middle-class family of the post war era through to the more obscure and abstract household of the new millennium (although much advertising still falls short of any idea of diversity – at least by current standards). Looking back across a range of advertisements we see very different images of the family. Much of the post war magazine advertising feature all the family members. One advertisement for the Frigidaire shows the whole family gathered around the refrigerator while an advertisement for Coleman's Semolina has the family gathered around the table. In another

i *Good Housekeeping* was launched in the UK in March 1922 following the success of the US edition. It proved an instant success with middle class households and sold out the initial print run of 150,000. (Horwood 1997, cited in Martens and Scott 2005). The magazine ran advertising from the very first issue and offered advice on household appliances, food recipes and beauty. The *Good Housekeeping Institute* was opened in 1924 and *Good Housekeeping* was the first magazine to carry out product testing, championing consumer rights offering the '*Good Housekeeping* seal of approval' and its 'Tried and Tested' slogan. It survived the war years 1939-1945 and contributed to the war effort with advice on rationing, as well as on the evacuation and separation of husbands and wives. At the time of the research it had a combined print and digital circulation of 400,228 (digital comprises 4,567) and a readership of 1,437,000. It is primarily targeted at ABC1 readers with a reach of 1,057,000 and median age of 52. (*Good Housekeeping* 2014). It was ranked as number eighteen in UK magazine circulation, superseded mainly by free supermarket and retail magazines, making it one of the top ten paid for magazines (Press Gazette 2013).

campaign for Crosse & Blackwell Tomato Soup the mother is in the kitchen preparing lunch as the father and children play outside (Marshall et. al. 2013). By the mid eighties we see a much greater emphasis on children in many of the campaigns as they move from the background into the foreground with more advertisements targeted directly at mothers (Davis et. al. 2016). Mothers continue to be portrayed as those carrying the main responsibility for family care and taking on the role of expert or 'knowing mother'. Despite the discursive shift towards mothers as experts a particular form of maternal hegemony remains with an emphasis on nurturing and caring (Davis et. al. 2019). Advertisements featuring fathers are few and far between by the millennium and almost never show fathers with their children (Marshall et. al. 2014). While accepting that these images are often designed for a specific target market demographic, they offer an insight into how advertisers were depicting families and family life in their respective campaigns during this period in advertising history. Editorials and magazine articles offer more diverse picture of family life. But let us return to the 1950's to see what family life looked like on the pages of *Good Housekeeping*.

British family life in 1950's *Good Housekeeping*

As noted, the 1950 's *Good Housekeeping* data shows a somewhat narrow definition of the family as predominantly middle class, married with two or three children, and occasionally featuring pets. Most of the articles and advertisements that feature the family reflect this 'nuclear' focus and there are relatively few articles about, or references to, the extended family. Exceptions include one article which looks at the extended family and others discussing adoption, or what happens when the family split up.

Many of the advertisements directly reference family through the visual illustrations (there are few pictures in 1950's). The family is depicted eating at home around the kitchen or dining table or standing around admiring the new home appliance. The families shown in the advertising usually feature mothers with babies or younger children. Women are portrayed mainly in relation to domestic roles as mothers responsible for the welfare and care of the family (this includes caring for husbands as well as children). They are often shown in the kitchen and advertisements for cookers or washing machines during this period centre on labour saving and removing the drudgery of domestic work for women. In almost all the advertisements for new kitchen equipment women are shown

at home wearing aprons or with the shopping or food in hand. In contrast men are shown in work suits or relaxing in casual clothing. Women are responsible for the cooking. The men and children are not! In this post-war era rationing and food shortages present additional challenges to feeding the family and meal planning features heavily in the *Good Housekeeping* advice section. One article discusses the challenges of managing the household budget and reveals considerable variation in who has control over the domestic budget. Women are responsible for their children's health and several advertisements for health supplements and vitamins stress the need to use these as 'preventative' remedies to protect against winter colds. Extra sugar, or fat or calories provide needed sustenance and nutrition while brands like Horlicks and Yestamin promise to nourish. Several food advertisements, for cereal brands like Weetabix and Shredded Wheat, feature recipe ideas, and serving suggestions reflecting issues around food availability and variety.

Family advertising in the 1950's in *Good Housekeeping* reflects a new era in domestic life post-war. New kitchen technology in the form of washing machines, dryers, cookers and refrigerators feature heavily in the advertising around this period. These new technologies combined with the wonders of gas and electricity offer a respite from the usual drudgery of housework and domestic appliances promise greater efficiency and reduce the frequency of cleaning (new fuel), washing (larger loads) and shopping (more storage). These labour and time saving devices are portrayed as liberating women from domestic chores. The era of austerity and rationing is still evident in the advertising and claims of improved efficiency, lower running costs and money saving devices are pitched at the men in the household. The underlying assumption in all of this is that women are responsible for the 'housework' and included within this are childcare responsibilities. This is 'women's work' and there is little to challenge this idea (Schneider et. al. 2017).

What these advertisements, editorials and articles in *Good Housekeeping* reveal is a very narrow and specific idea about family life and consumption as depicted in this magazine in this period. Many of the campaigns promise a 'better' life arguably 'moulding' consumer aspirations rather than 'mirroring' the reality for many (Pollay 1986). Over the longer term there is less direct visual representation of the family and scope for more interpretation of what constitutes the family and family life both in the advertising images and magazine articles. In many ways the magazine is cognisant of the social and cultural changes

in family life, but advertisers rather than challenging or questioning family stereotypes appear to reaffirm and reinforce traditional ideas centred on the middle-class patriarchal family.

Adding contextual richness

Whether we are looking at the rise of the konbini in Japan or family life in the pages of *Good Housekeeping* in the United Kingdom, taking an historical perspective adds to the contextual richness and provides a greater understanding of how marketing and consumption has developed over time. While these are both relatively short historical perspectives, they remind us that while much has changed – from the *nihon-gata* to the *konbini* or from the *traditional* to the *contemporary family* - these magazines often reflect broader social, cultural, technological, and legislative changes that consumers may not be immediately aware of as they live through the period in history. We can use historical accounts to add to our understanding in much the same way that Japanese companies use observation to better understand the consumer experience. It is only by looking back that we can wonder at how things were and see the progress, or lack of progress, in marketing over time and hopefully learn for the future. There are parallels today with new retail formats such as online shopping and domestic technologies in the smart home that impact on family life. Things that at one time seemed strange and new will soon be assimilated into the fabric of everyday life and accepted as 'normal'. Our ideas about what constitutes family may take longer to change. Finally, as Cwiertka (2011) notes thoughtful pioneering scholarship can do much to challenge the stereotypical by drawing on historical sources and learning from the past.

Acknowledgements: The reflections on British family life draws on data collected as part of the Leverhulme International Network Research Fund: 'Discursive Families: a comparison of magazine advertising across two countries' reference number F/00158/CS. This was a collaborative research project involving the David Marshall University of Edinburgh, Teresa Davis University of Sydney, Margaret Hogg, Lancaster University, Alan Petersen, Monash University and Tanja Schneider, St. Gallen. A number of papers relating to this work have been published and can be accessed below. The views in this paper are solely those of the author.

References

- Cwiertka, K. (2011) The Japanese Consumer: An alternative economic history of Modern Japan. In *Reviews in History*. Available at <https://reviews.history.ac.uk/review/1108>
- Cochoy, F. (2010) Reconnecting marketing to 'market-things': How grocery equipment drove modern consumption (Progressive Grocer, 1929–1959). In L. Araujo, J. Finch, & H. Kjellberg (Eds.), *Reconnecting Marketing to Markets* (pp. 29–49). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Davis, T., Hogg, M. K., Marshall, D., Petersen, A. and Schneider, T. (2019) The Knowing Mother, Maternal knowledge and the reinforcement of the feminine consuming subject in magazine advertisements, *Journal of Consumer Culture*, Dec. 2, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1469540519889990>
- Davis, T., Marshall, D., Hogg, M., Schneider, T. and Alan Petersen, (2016) Consuming the Family and the Meal: Representations of the family meal in Women's Magazines over 60 years. In B. Cappellini, D. Marshall and L. Parsons (eds.) *'The Practice of the Meal: Food, families and the marketplace'*, Routledge, Oxon, 137–150.
- Denegri-Knott, J., & Tadjewski, M. (2010) The emergence of MP 3 technology. *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing*, 2, 397–425. <https://doi.org/10.1108/17557501011092466>
- Fullerton, R. A. (2011) Historical methodology: The perspective of a professionally trained Historian turned marketer. *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing*, 3, 4, 436–448. <https://doi.org/10.1108/17557501111183608>
- Johnsson, J. K. and Nonaka, I. (1987) Market Research the Japanese Way, *Harvard Business Review*, May. (Available at <https://hbr.org/1987/05/market-research-the-japanese-way>)
- Kobayashi, N. (2019) Japan's Convenience Store Woman has lessons for retail tech in *Nikkei Asia*, July 19, 2019. Available at <https://asia.nikkei.com/Opinion/Japan-s-Convenience-Store-Woman-has-lessons-for-retail-tech>
- Leiss, W., Kline, S., & Jhally, S. (1986) *Social Communication in Advertising: Persons, products and images of well-being*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Marshall, D. (2014) Co-operation in the supermarket aisle: young children's accounts of family food shopping, *International Journal of Retail & Distribution Management*, 42, 11/12, 990–1003. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/>

- IJRDM-08-2013-0165
- Marshall, D. (2016) Convenience stores and discretionary food consumption among young Tokyo consumers, *International Journal of Retail & Distribution Management*, 44 10, 1013–1029. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJRDM-08-2015-0137>
- Marshall, D. (2019) Convenience stores and well-being of young Japanese consumers, *International Journal of Retail & Distribution Management*, 47 , 6 , 590–604 . <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJRDM-08-2017-0182>
- Marshall, D., Davis, T., Hogg, M., Petersen, A. and Schneider, T. (2014) From overt provider to invisible presence: discursive shifts in advertising portrayals of the father in Good Housekeeping, 1950 – 2010 , *Journal of Marketing Management*, 30, 15–16, November, 1654–1679. <https://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0267257X.2014.945471>
- Marshall, D., Hogg, M., Davis, T., Schneider, T. and Petersen, A. (2013) Images of Motherhood: Food advertising in Good Housekeeping Magazine 1950–2010 in ‘O’Donohoe et. al. (eds.) *‘Motherhood, Markets and Consumption: The making of mothers in contemporary western culture’*, Routledge, 116–128,
- Martens, L. and Scott, S. (2005). “The unbearable lightness of cleaning”: Representations of domestic practice and products in Good Housekeeping magazine (UK), 1951 – 2001 , *Consumption, Markets and Culture*, 8, 4, 379–401 . <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10253860500241948>
- Murata, S. (2016) *Convenience Store Woman*, Portabello Books Ltd, England.
- McMullan, A. and Dann, S. (2020) , Conceptual-historical analytical research model: a means for applying history to contemporary marketing problems, *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing*, 12 , 3 , 401 – 420 . <https://doi.org/10.1108/JHRM-06-2019-0017>
- Petersen, M. (2020) Rock on, Macromarketing! *Journal of Macromarketing*, 40, 1, 5–7. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0276146719900400>
- Pollay, R. W. (1986). The distorted mirror: Reflections on the unintended consequences of advertising’ *Journal of Marketing*, 50, 2, 18–36. <https://doi:10.2307/1251597>
- Press Gazette (2014). Mag ABCs: Full circulation roundup for the first half of 2013, 15th August, (Available at <http://www.pressgazette.co.uk/magazine-abcs-full-circulation-round-first-half-2013>)
- Schneider, T., Davis, T, Hogg, M., Marshall, D. and Petersen, A. (2017) Imagined Families - Technology and Care in Advertising, International workshop: Remaking Families: Technologies, media and consumption, University of St. Gallen, Switzerland, 19–20th June.
- Steinberg, M. (2020) Delivering media: the convenience store as media mix hub. In Derek Johnson and Daniel Herbert eds. *Point of Sale: Analyzing Media Retail*. (Available at <https://digitalcommons.uri.edu/mgdr/vol3/iss1/2> <https://digitalcommons.uri.edu/mgdr/vol3/iss1/2>)
- Tadajewski, M. and Jones, B. (2014) Historical research in marketing theory and practice: a review essay, *Journal of Marketing Management*, 30, 11–12, 1239–1291. <https://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0267257X.2014.929166>
- Tadajewski, M., & Saren, M. (2008) The past is a foreign country: Amnesia and marketing theory. *Marketing Theory*, 8, 4, 323–338. <https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1470593108096539>
- Tedlow, R. (1990) *New and Improved: The story of mass marketing in America*. New York, NY: Basic Books
- Trentmann, F. (2004) Beyond Consumerism: New historical perspectives on consumption. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 39 , 3 , 373–401 . <https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0022009404044446>
- Usui, K. (2014) *Marketing and Consumption in Modern Japan*, Routledge.
- Usui, K. (2018) Critical marketing in Japan: The legacy of Fujiya Morishita, *Markets, Globalization & Development Review*: 3 , 1 , Article 2 . <https://dx.doi.org/10.23860/MGDR-2018-03-01-02>
- Horwood, C. (1997) Housewives’ choice + launching of the British version of Good Housekeeping, March 1922—Women as consumers between the wars. *History Today* 47, 3, 23–28.
- Whitelaw, G. H., (2014) Shelf Lives and the Labors of Loss Food, Livelihoods, and Japan’s Convenience Store. In *Capturing Contemporary Japan*, eds. Satsuki Kawano, Glenda Long and Susan Orpett (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press), 135–159.
- Whitelaw, G. H. (2019) Konbini-Nation The rise of the convenience store in post industrial Japan. In K.J. Cwiertka and E. Machotka (eds.) *Consuming Life. In Post Bubble Japan*, Amsterdam University Press.