

**A Comparative Study of Marketing Strategies:
The Development of Cosmetic Brands Created by
Diaspora Entrepreneurs and Non-Diaspora
Entrepreneurs in the US Cosmetic Industry**

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Abstract

The purpose of this research is to explore diaspora entrepreneurship from a business history and marketing perspective, and compare the differences in marketing strategies between diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs in the development of cosmetic brands. The research is focused on four cosmetic brands as case studies (Avon, Estée Lauder, Maybelline, and Johnson & Johnson) and three periods of interest (date of brand creation, during the Great Depression and during World War II). A case study methodology relies heavily on the historical archives of the companies, supported by data from open-ended unstructured interviews. Thematic analysis was used, and through a combination theory of entrepreneurial opportunity identification and development, marketing strategies, and resource-based view, data was analysed through manual coding. The findings indicate that firstly, diaspora entrepreneurs have a tendency to venture into market-oriented businesses through niches, while non-diaspora entrepreneurs seem more interested in brand-oriented businesses at the point of brand creation. Secondly, during the Great Depression diaspora entrepreneurs put more endeavour into marketing innovation, whilst the non-diaspora entrepreneurs continued to improve their product through innovations, retaining the same product line and target market. Finally, during World War II diaspora entrepreneurs started to implement market segmentation, whilst non-diaspora entrepreneurs ventured into vertical product differentiation. Drawing upon literature on diasporas, entrepreneurship and marketing, this thesis has reconceptualised diaspora entrepreneurship, and studying the diaspora phenomena from a business management perspective. It contributes to the emerging stream of research on diaspora entrepreneurship and introduces a unique historical insight from a business history and marketing perspective. It notes the implications for entrepreneurs relevant to entry processes, diaspora entrepreneurship, and management. This study primarily advances a better knowledge of diaspora entrepreneurship in a historical context.

Keywords: Marketing Strategies, Diaspora Entrepreneurship, Cosmetic Industry, Business History

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that, to the best of my knowledge, this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References. I have not colluded with any other person in the writing of this research.

This thesis is dedicated to my parents,
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with much love.

Chapter 1:

Introduction

1.0 Introduction

This chapter aims to provide an overview of the thesis research framework. This thesis investigates differences in the marketing strategies of cosmetics brands created by diaspora entrepreneurs, such as Avon and Estée Lauder, and brands created by non-diaspora entrepreneurs, such as Maybelline and Johnson & Johnson, in the United States (US) across three time periods: date of brand creation, the Great Depression 1929-1939, and World War II 1939-1945. Briefly, the concept of diaspora entrepreneurs used in this thesis refers to individuals who recognise and exploit new business opportunities and who reside away from their first generation's perceived homeland and maintain a psychological link of culture, myth, language, belief system, sentiment and material links either with the first generation's homeland or among themselves in a host country. Very little research has been conducted on diaspora entrepreneurs and their business activities, or on the role of the diaspora in business (Elo, 2015). Interestingly, there is a general perception that diaspora entrepreneurs are very different from non-diaspora entrepreneurs, but the distinctive character of diaspora entrepreneurs and their innovativeness is still relatively unknown (Harima and Vemuri, 2015). This thesis builds on these few studies. The objective of this thesis is to explain why so many of the most valuable global brands in cosmetics were created by diaspora entrepreneurs. It provides historical evidence to clarify the distinctiveness of diaspora entrepreneurs in the marketing strategies of their cosmetic brands' development, and compare such strategies with non-diaspora entrepreneurs in the same context. The main findings show that diaspora entrepreneurs followed consistent and different marketing strategies particularly in terms of product, price, distribution and promotion. Based on these findings, this thesis extends the theory of entrepreneurial opportunity identification. Based on these findings, this thesis adds a potential and recommended factor to the theory of entrepreneurial opportunity identification. This thesis hopes to contribute to a body of knowledge, making its impact in theoretical chapters, literature and methodology, and some practical implications.

This chapter is structured as follows. Section 1.1 discusses the background of the research topic and context. Section 1.2 gives an overview of gaps in the literature. Section 1.3 outlines the research aim and objectives. Section 1.4 provides the research question. Section 1.5 briefly discusses the methodology. Section 1.6 defines the operational definitions used throughout this thesis. Section 1.7 illustrates the overall structure of the thesis. Finally, Section 1.8 provides a conclusion.

1.1 Research Background

Defining the concepts of Diaspora and Diaspora Entrepreneurship

The term *diaspora* does not have a specific accepted definition by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), neither is there legal recognition of the term and as a result many diverse meanings and interpretations exist (Ndubisi, 2013). Recent studies show an increasing recognition of the importance of understanding diaspora as a concept, and the process of diaspora formation and mobilisation. However, there is still very little research that explores these processes (Betts and Jones, 2016; Gamlen, 2014). Therefore, it is not surprising that the definitions used vary and generate criticism, especially as diaspora is a phenomenon studied in a number of disciplines (Binaisa, 2015; Safran, 1991; Usher, 2005). It is important to define the concepts of 'diaspora' and 'diaspora entrepreneur' for this research context, referring to existing studies.

Even though the term *diaspora* captures well the hybrid national belonging of the immigrant, it has been recognized that it has a historically negative meaning of '*forced migrant*', displaced from his or her home country to the host country by push factors (Nkongolo-Bakenda and Chrysostome, 2013). Interestingly, push factors such as poverty, unemployment, language barriers, low salaries and discrimination that are identified as motivating for immigrant, ethnic and diaspora entrepreneurs to enter business are very similar to the push factors that may have stimulated the migration in the first place (Elo, 2015). Controversially, Safran (1991) a sociologist highlights that once one applies such criteria of adaptation, acculturation or integration, '*one must conclude that most 'white ethnics' in America cannot, after the gap of two or three generations, be classified as members of diasporas*'(p.262). This means that from the

third generation, subsequent generations of immigrants do not belong to the diaspora. This thesis rejects this concept, because during the periods of study, mass migration was still happening in the US (Hatton, 1994). Also, entrepreneurs in this study were either first or second generation immigrants (i.e. immigrants or the children of immigrant parents). In the United States, the term first generation is used to refer to foreign-born residents; second generation refers to the US-born children of foreign-born parents (US Department of Commerce, 1920).

Likewise, another study on the diaspora concept includes historical processes by distinguishing a fivefold diaspora topology, such as victim, labour, colonial, trade and cultural diasporas, which is tricky to use (Cohen, 2008). This means that the Greek diaspora, for instance, can be identified as both colonial and trade; the Italian diaspora, labour, trade and colonial. This concept may be useful when applied to certain periods of time or a particular historical event, but not all diaspora groups within the same ethnicity over time associate with this topology, especially in a study such as this, focusing on a long period of time. This thesis did not consider using this definition, because the entrepreneurs in this study may belong to any of the five categories, but may shift from one to another during the period of study.

This thesis focuses on the United States and therefore it is appropriate to consider a definition provided by the US State Department. According to Plaza (2013), the US State Department defines a diaspora as those individuals who share the following features: (a) dispersion, whether voluntary or involuntary, across sociocultural boundaries and at least one political border; (b) collective memory and myth about the homeland; (c) commitment to keeping the homeland alive through symbolic and/or direct action; (d) the presence of the issue of return, though not necessarily a commitment to do so; and (e) a diasporic consciousness and associated identity expressed in diaspora community media, creation of diaspora associations or organisations, and online participation. These elements are illustrated in Table 1 to define concept of ‘diaspora’ for this thesis, and distinguish it from the concept of ‘immigrants’. The significance of considering these elements is because; the US is the country of context, and also widely known as one of the largest nations of immigrants alongside Australia and Canada (Hollifield, Martin and Orrenius, 2014).

Table 1: Difference between ‘diaspora’ and ‘immigrant’

Elements	Diaspora	Immigrant
Identity	People reside outside their perceived homeland in a host country regardless the actual status of their citizenship with possibility to return for a visit or permanently or have a psychological link with homeland (Gillespie et.al., 1999). This means that homeland plays a key role in identity formation	An immigrant is a person who was born as a citizen of another country and subsequently moved to the US (Wadhwa et.al., 2007) and who lived for more than six months in a township or city district other than where their permanent residence was registered (Martiniello and Florence, 2005). Thus, homeland does not play a key role in identity formation.
Geographical location	From one country and dispersed to various countries, or in various locations of a host country (Cohen, 1996).	From one country to other country, or from one country to a particular location in another country (Kloosterman, 2000).
Generation	The majority of sociology scholars define diaspora by generation up to the second generation, but there is no restriction as to which generation defines the diaspora. This means that a child born in a host country with two immigrant parents, or children brought from their homeland by their immigrant parents at an early age are considered part of the diaspora as long as they fulfil the identity element (Child, 1943; Thomson and Crul, 2007). In addition, subsequent generations also can be considered part of the diaspora as long as there are cultural, belief system, sentimental and material links with the homeland of the first generation (Cohen, 2008; Sheffer, 1986).	Many sociology scholars studying immigrant characteristics by generation trace back until the third generation. This means the immigrant term by generation includes those born in the host country, those with parents born in the host country and those with immigrant grandparents (Carliner, 1980; Harker, 2001). In addition, immigrant communities have a certain temporal span and often last up to a third generation, after which their self-identification as immigrants in most cases fades, even though they may retain an ethnic identity (Shuval, 2000).
Roots and Origin	In the case of diaspora, the people are very conscious of their roots and origins. For example, diaspora communities care about maintaining communication each other and maintain contact with the homeland (Tölölyan, 1996).	In migration, this feature cannot be seen because immigration can result in assimilation within a pluralist society (Tölölyan, 1996).
Myth	People maintain a myth of homeland (Basu, 2005).	People do not maintain a myth of homeland, due to acculturation and assimilation (Gans, 1996).

Source: Table developed by the Author.

This thesis uses the term *diaspora* as defined in Table 1: individuals who emigrated, or the children of immigrants born in the US or emigrated from their home country and reside permanently in the US, who maintain a psychological link with the home country or relatives and others from the same cultural and language background (Gillespie et al., 1999; Riddle, 2008). Such a group (according to the US Census Bureau) belong to the *first generation (immigrant) or second generation (children of immigrants)*. This definition will be used throughout the study.

Diaspora entrepreneurs differ from non-diaspora entrepreneurs because they may provide goods or services that others are not very likely to offer, such as food, drinks, arts and crafts, music, and beauty products. In many cases, this hard-to-copy expertise can be based on first-hand knowledge from back home, skill and knowledge handed down by previous generations that is strongly tied to their culture or language, or it can be generated through the transnational networks that bridge the country of origin and sometimes extensive diaspora of specific groups of immigrants (Faist, 2000). Therefore, diaspora entrepreneurs can be viewed as innovators albeit in a more modest form, and thus broaden the range of goods and services in a host country and expand consumers' choice (Engelen, 2001). The terms diaspora entrepreneurs, non-diaspora entrepreneurs, immigrant workers and immigrant entrepreneurs are briefly described in Table 2 and precisely defined in the US context as follows.

Table 2: Differences of terms used in migration-related studies in business

Term	Definition
Diaspora entrepreneurs	Individuals who recognise and exploit new business opportunities by founding new ventures for profit and with an input factor directly related to firm longevity, having features of both a 'traditional entrepreneur' and 'expanded entrepreneur', and who resides away from their perceived homeland in a host country, but maintaining a psychological link of culture, myth, language, belief systems, sentiment and material links either with their homeland or among themselves in a host country. ¹
Non-diaspora entrepreneurs	Entrepreneurs outside the above definition, who created new businesses in the US, or continued businesses founded by their non-immigrant parents and grandparents in the US.
Immigrant workers	Unskilled and semi-skilled workers of foreign nationality needed in various industries in the US who have contributed significantly to the pool of skills the country has needed over time, consistently from the nineteenth century up to the present (Mott, 1966).
Immigrant entrepreneurs	Foreign nationals that have already started or are about to start a new business in the US to immigrate permanently to the US and targeting business in terms of market demand dimensions (USCIS, n.d.).
Ethnic entrepreneurs	People sharing a common national background or migration process who bring their business from their home country or have already established a business in a foreign country and targeting their business at only members of their ethnic community (Waldinger, Aldrich and Ward, 1990) .

Source: Table developed by the Author.

¹ See Section 1.7 Operational Definition, p.37.

The definitions in Table 2 distinguish between diaspora entrepreneurs, non-diaspora entrepreneurs, immigrant workers, immigrant entrepreneurs and ethnic entrepreneurs, terms commonly used in migration-related studies in business².

The theoretical basis for defining diaspora entrepreneurship as the formation of a new venture is provided by the socio-economic phenomena in a host country, which is the consequence of three distinct and interconnected components: an entrepreneurial diaspora individual, the entrepreneurial organisation, and existing resources within the context of the environment. These components and their relationship to each other influence the success of a venture and distinguish it from those of non-diaspora entrepreneurs (Ojo, 2013).

Diaspora Entrepreneurship Research

From the end of World War II until the Asian financial crisis in 1997-1998, the economies of East Asia grew rapidly (Ahlstrom et al., 2004), and during the crisis period the region settled back into steady (albeit slower) growth, in which the economic activity is traceable by the commercial activities of diaspora entrepreneurs (Weidenbaum, 1996). In Europe, diasporas are represented as new '*agent[s] of change*', and there is a growing recognition that diasporas have an important place in economic and political collaboration between host and home country (Sinatti and Horst, 2014). This is because diaspora entrepreneurs are often important first-mover foreign investors in uncertain political and economic climates (Gillespie, Sayre and Riddle, 2001). In addition, diaspora entrepreneurs and investors are important sources of capital and innovation for many developing countries (Buckley, Clegg and Wang, 2002; Jensen et al., 2016; Nkongolo-Bakenda and Chrysostome, 2013; Ramamurti, 2004). This is because diaspora entrepreneurs can create '*social field[s] that link together the country of origin and the country of settlement*' (Ma and Cartier, 2003, p.4). Therefore, due to shared psychological links and maintaining cultural and behavioural norms among diaspora entrepreneurs in a host country, diaspora networks (self-organized groups of expatriates) are formed (Kuznetsov, 2006).

² Based on interviews with diaspora entrepreneurship scholars. Expert D, Expert E and Expert G shared the same opinion on this.

In recent years, there has been an increasing interest in the role of the diaspora in business, although very little research has been conducted (Elo, 2015). This can be seen in previous studies on diaspora entrepreneurship in business management, looking at the characteristics of diasporas. For example, diaspora entrepreneurs create a baseline of trust and a predisposition to share information among themselves, giving rise to a common code of shared language and systems of meaning, which is particularly important when dealing with tacit knowledge (Nahapiet and Ghoshal, 1998). Other studies note that diaspora entrepreneurs are active in several dimensions, such as management, entrepreneurship, and investment, and have context-specific-activity-related roles and drivers that influence their way of doing business (Elo, 2015, p.27). In addition, diaspora entrepreneurs are considered to be a counteractive force that tends to lower informal barriers in international business, such as social, cultural, and institutional differences in economic exchange and transactions, as they build links between their origin and host countries (Flisi and Murat, 2011). This benefits the Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) of a host country, as seen in the fact that the two-way mobility of highly skilled Chinese students and scholars significantly promotes Chinese outward FDI (Gao, Liu and Zou, 2013).

Migrants and diasporas are less acknowledged in international entrepreneurship; particularly their theoretical position in relation to global brands, international entrepreneurship, and immigrant entrepreneurship are less developed (Brinkerhoff, 2009; Elo, Harima and Freiling, 2015; Marian, Nicole and Kwan, 2011; Riddle and Nielsen, 2011). A systematic review of literature on this area of study suggested that further research in understanding how these entrepreneurs identify entrepreneurial opportunities in their host country is needed (Aliaga-Isla and Rialp, 2013). Therefore, it is important to understand the differences in marketing strategies by diaspora entrepreneurs because of increased migration, which is a source of economic interest, especially in terms of people and other resources (Brinkerhoff, 2009; Kuznetsov, 2006). The link between the main arguments and gaps identified is obvious. By doing this research, it closes the gap that there are differences in the marketing strategies of diaspora entrepreneurs in the US cosmetic industry at the date of brand creation and during periods of crises

A preliminary examination of the literature reveals previous studies of diaspora entrepreneurs as change agents, innovators and middlemen in various industries, such as information technologies, engineering, commerce, trading, restaurants, retail chains, consultancy, tourism-oriented enterprises, cosmetics and others (Bello, Urban and Verhage, 1991; Collins, 2002; Foreman-Peck and Pepelasis, 2013; Riddle, 2008; Riddle, Hrivnak and Nielsen, 2010). In the recent most valuable global brand ranking (see Chapter 3), cosmetics appeared among the top three industries in the US dominated by diaspora entrepreneurs, after computing and food. This study considers the cosmetic industry because computing industry is a new industry that did not meet the ontological assumptions of historical context in this study; the food industry by contrast is one of the oldest, in which similar research on immigrant-founded brands has been conducted (Koehn, 1999; Lehu, 2004; Lonier, 2010). Drawing from this literature, this thesis chose to investigate the cosmetic industry using a comparative and holistic multiple case study, because this had not been done in previous research (Jones, 2008; Koehn, 2001b; Kumar, 2005; Kumar, Massie and Dumonceaux, 2006; Manko, 2001a, 2001b). Therefore, this thesis attempts to provide new insights as to the different ways of examining the industry, such as distinguishing between cosmetic brands in terms of whether they were created by diaspora or non-diaspora entrepreneurs. The US cosmetic market provides an important example of the most valuable global brands at present such as Avon, Estée Lauder, Maybelline, and Johnson & Johnson (see Chapter 3 for discussion of case selection). Thus, this thesis makes a substantial and original contribution to knowledge by providing an in-depth analysis and comparison of the marketing strategies of these brands in three periods of interest: date of brand creation, the Great Depression and during World War II.

Historically, scholars such as Schumpeter, Chandler, and others have linked the entrepreneur with invention and innovation in capital-based industries (Chandler, 1962; Schumpeter, 1951). In contrast, this thesis analyses a marketing-based industry, in which Lopes and Casson (2007) emphasise that innovation relies on other activities, such as branding, and on marketing knowledge, including the intelligence and skills required to manage brands and distribution channels. Therefore, this thesis argues that diaspora entrepreneurs have different marketing strategies in developing cosmetic brands than non-diaspora entrepreneurs, and this had consequences for how

each brand competed in the US cosmetic market during the period of study. For diaspora entrepreneurs, the evidence in this thesis demonstrates that they developed a competence in marketing strategies that enabled their brands to survive and develop during crisis periods, successfully competing with other cosmetic brands offering similar product portfolios. However, for non-diaspora entrepreneurs in the three periods of study, brands are focused on particular products, so brand and product association was high. Operation and performance were compromised while raw materials were rationed. This was a consequence of the failure to develop their marketing strategies capability, and US Government intervention saved the business. This research aims to address this gap.

Specifically, this thesis will compare the marketing strategies of diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs, as previous studies illustrate that there are differences in several dimensions, such as management, entrepreneurship, and investment, and that diaspora entrepreneurs have context-specific-activity-related roles and drivers that influence their way of doing business. Therefore, findings and evidence from this thesis will close the gap identified by looking at their marketing strategies, and how these differences occur. This thesis attempts to depart from the typical diaspora entrepreneurship research tradition by focusing on business history and the marketing, viewpoint rather than a sociological perspective. The purpose of this research is to increase understanding of the role of diaspora entrepreneurs from a business historical context, and to what extent they are important and different in business and entrepreneurship within the period of study. The recent work progress of diaspora entrepreneurship illustrates in Figure 1 below.

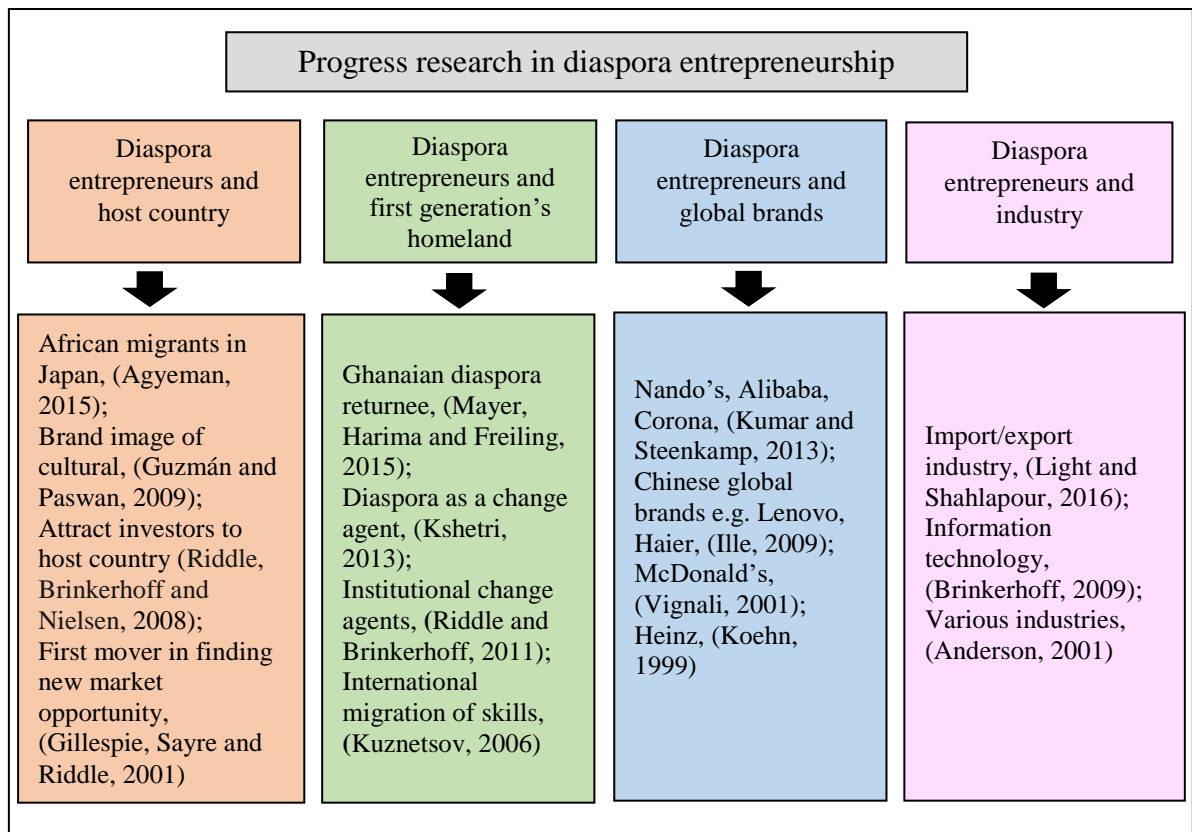


Figure 1: Progress research in diaspora entrepreneurship.

Source: Figure developed by the Author.

Figure 1 demonstrates research progress in diaspora entrepreneurship up to the current study. The research progress divides into four main areas such as diaspora entrepreneurship and the host country, diaspora entrepreneurs and the first generation's homeland, diaspora entrepreneurs and global brands, and diaspora entrepreneurs and industries. This thesis adds into each of these areas of research progress by contributing the US as a host country, maintaining psychological links through beauty myths and business practice of the first generation's homeland, case studies derived from global brands at present, and focuses on the US cosmetics industry. In doing so, the research progress in diaspora entrepreneurship will be updated to the current year; it provides relevant arguments with evidence that clearly justify the relevance of this research stream, and it is hoped it will support current debates by the academy, practitioners, policy makers and governments on the impact of immigrants in a host country, especially this particular group of diaspora entrepreneurs.

US Cosmetic Industry

This thesis focuses on the US cosmetic industry. As a reminder, the US is a very important country in terms of immigration, where many leading cosmetics companies are based. This information can be obtained from numbers of industrial databases and rankings such as Fortune, Forbes, Interbrand, Brand Finance (Brandirectory), Euromonitor, and some others. Therefore, all definitions and items categorized as cosmetics are defined under the US Cosmetic Law prepared by the US Food and Drug Administration (FDA), a federal agency under the US Department of Health and Human Service. Under the Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act (FD&C Act), consumer goods items associated with cosmetics and drugs are defined in three categories, as below.

Table 3: Definition of cosmetics

Type	Definition
Product that is a cosmetic	Defines cosmetics by their intended use, as ‘articles intended to be rubbed, poured, sprinkled, or sprayed on, introduced into, or otherwise applied to the human body for cleansing, beautifying promoting attractiveness, or altering the appearance’. Among the products included in this definition are skin moisturizers, perfumes, lipsticks, fingernail polishes, eye and facial makeup preparations, cleansing shampoos, permanent waves, hair colours, and deodorants, as well as any substance intended to be used as a component of a cosmetic product. [FD & C Act, Sec.201 (i)]
Product that is a drug	Defines drugs, in part, by their intended use, as ‘articles intended for use in the diagnosis, cure, mitigation, treatment or prevention of disease’ and ‘articles (other than food) intended to affect the structure of any function of the body of man or other animals’. This includes over-the-counter (OTC) drugs are drugs that can be purchased without a doctor’s prescription such as fluoride dentifrices, cough suppressants, and antihistamines. [FD & C Act, Sec.201 (g) (1)]
Product that can be both a cosmetic and a drug	Some products meet the definition of both cosmetics and drugs. This may happen when a product has two intended uses. For example, a shampoo is a cosmetic because its intended use is to cleanse the hair, but an antidandruff treatment is a drug because its intended use is to treat dandruff. Consequently, an antidandruff shampoo is both a cosmetic and a drug. Among other cosmetic/drug combinations are toothpastes that contain fluoride, deodorants that are also antiperspirants, and moisturisers and make up marketed with sun protection claims.

Source: (FDA, 2016a).

Generally, consumers tend to misunderstand or exaggerate which products are considered to be cosmetics, as this term mostly refers to colour cosmetics or makeup, which makes up 14.6 per cent of the US beauty industry (Statista, 2016a). In this thesis, the term ‘cosmetics’ refers to all products that fall under the definition in Table 3. Controversially, lawmakers in the US began to investigate possible revisions to

these three definitions established under the FDA because the distinction between cosmetics and drugs was considered vague (FDA, 2016a; Kumar, 2005). However, this thesis uses the definitions in Table 3 while the investigation is on-going. Additionally, it is important to identify the structure of this industry in term of product categories, because this is discussed throughout the thesis and associated with cosmetic brands in the case studies. Therefore, the structure of the cosmetic category is illustrated below in Figure 2 to give a clear view of the product category and examples of product items.

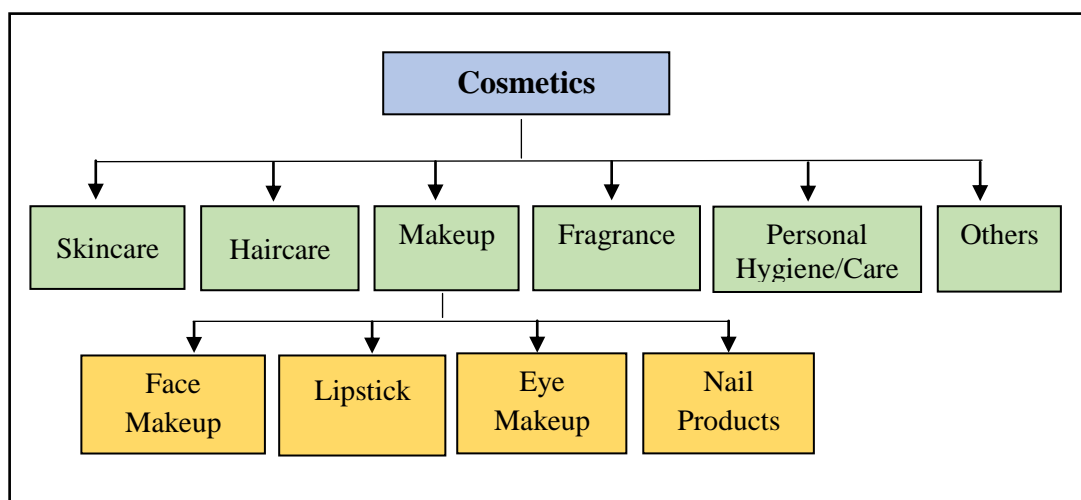


Figure 2: Classification of the cosmetic product category in this thesis.

Source: Adopted from 13 Codes of Cosmetic Product Category from the FDA (FDA, 2016a). Modified by Author to develop this figure. Note: *Fragrance* includes perfumes, bath preparations, cologne, sachets, talcum; *Personal Hygiene* includes shaving preparation, soaps, deodorants, dentifrices, oral hygiene products; *Others* includes baby products, teenage products, lotion, oils, powders, medicated cosmetics items and suntan preparations.

Figure 2 illustrates the classification of the cosmetics product category in this thesis. According to this illustration, Johnson & Johnson is classified under the cosmetics category due to its products offered. Historically, Johnson & Johnson may be seen as belonging to the health and pharmaceutical industry and some studies conducted categorised this brand as suitable for that industry due to its research purposes and setting. At present, Johnson & Johnson is more obviously seen as part of the cosmetics industry due to the wide range of products offered for skincare, makeup, hair care and others. Although this thesis studies historical context, it considers Johnson & Johnson as a cosmetic brand for three reasons: 1) the evidence of products

consisted some in classification of the cosmetic product category, 2) the definition from the FDA of 13 codes of cosmetics product category, and 3) based on industrial databases and rankings. In addition, other cosmetic brands in this thesis such as Avon, Maybelline and Estee Lauder clearly belong to the cosmetics industry.

Therefore, this thesis considers those cosmetic brands used as case studies to be companies that produce any (or a combination of) products falling into a category illustrated in Figure 2. The cosmetics industry is an important industry, because it helps to achieve social and economic goals in terms of both global and national income, as well as meeting consumers' demands. This can be seen when the cosmetic industry is very segmented, and it looks to develop continuously, which leads cosmetic sales to continue to grow in global markets (Statista, 2016b). The revenue of the US cosmetic industry is estimated at US\$ 62.46 billion in 2016. Consequently, cosmetics appear as a category in many global rankings worldwide, such as Interbrand, BrandFinance (Brandirectory), Forbes, and Fortunes. The selection of cosmetic brands for case studies in this thesis derived from BrandFinance (Brandirectory). See Chapter 3 for further discussion.

At present, the cosmetic industry is very competitive globally and has a very segmented market that includes segments such as haircare, skincare, makeup and colour, perfume and fragrances, oral hygiene, bath and shower, deodorant, men's toiletries, children and baby care, sun-care, and teenage toiletries (Weber and Villebonne, 2002). Previous studies of this industry investigated cosmetic firms' success performances using case studies, comparing their SWOT (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats) analysis, and most of the firms are diaspora-entrepreneur-founded firms (such as Estée Lauder, Revlon, Avon and P&G), which is not addressed in this study (Kumar, 2005). Another comparative study on differences in cosmetic purchasing behaviour between France and the US suggests that it is important to understand the differences in purchase behaviour, as it helps the decision-making process when developing appropriate marketing strategies in a cross-cultural situation, and a primary limitation on historical data was highlighted as useful in studying the industry (Weber and Villebonne, 2002). There is interesting analysis of the cosmetics industry using SWOT, Porter's value chain and five forces, using case studies of four cosmetic brands (namely Estée Lauder, Revlon, Max Factor and

Avon Products). Each of these cosmetic firms is unique because each of them offers something different to the industry, such as selling methods, marketing strategies, product lines and distribution channels (Kumar, Massie and Dumonceaux, 2006). These cosmetic brands were created by diaspora entrepreneurs, and previous research reveals that these brands are among the most successful in the industry (Kumar, Massie and Dumonceaux, 2006). The uniqueness of their marketing strategies emphasised in the study motivates this thesis to consider their history right back to their brand creation; observe their endurance during the Great Depression and World War II; and how they are different from others, particularly those brands created by non-diaspora entrepreneurs. The aim of the research is to address this gap from a historical context in the cosmetic industry research, particularly in the US.

Apart from cosmetic industry research that focused on recent decades, studies from a historical stance in this industry are crucial. This is because findings and evidence from the past are helpful in supporting research that focuses on more recent times, and can provide rich historical insights at a fundamental level of the industry. Historically, the use of cosmetics, fragrance and personal care products can be traced back to ancient times as early as the Egyptian, Greek, and the Roman eras (Ramli, 2017). Often, products associated with beauty or cosmetics rely on local knowledge, myth, age-old religious and cultural beliefs, particularly those that derive from those civilizations (Jones, 2010). This has created a link between beauty routine and myths about a product, associated with the heritage, country of origin, or a person from those places, which in turns became a fundamental part of the identity in developing a brand. For example a cosmetic brand from France is usually seen as sophisticated and high- quality due to its beauty heritage; during the middle decades of the twentieth century, France's reputation for refined luxury was strengthened by the development of high fashion (Jones, 2011). Due to technological advancement and marketing innovations, the French cosmetic industry grew rapidly and linked its products firmly to the prestigious world of fashion (Briot, 2011; Jones, 2010, p.26). The US cosmetic industry emerged in the late nineteenth century due to a positive shift in socio-economic factors such as discretionary incomes (especially for women), urbanization, and changing values that spurred rapid growth. In the early twentieth century, however, the production of cosmetics was controlled by a handful of multi-national

corporations, and most of the cosmetic brands (particularly in the US) started as family businesses at the early stages of this period (Jones, 2010; Peiss, 2011).

A preliminary examination of the literature on the cosmetic industry in a historical context founded that research on the timing, extent, and social and cultural impact of widely-diffused hygiene practices and beauty ideals were largely unexplored (Ramli, 2017). The existing literature is primarily nationally-based, considers single cases, and/or comparative studies focus on recent times. Business historians that have previously studied cosmetics suggested that the best historical studies on the cosmetic industry are done in the US (Jones, 2010; Peiss, 2011). This addresses the gap, and is why this thesis looks at the cosmetics industry in the US. By doing this thesis, it links between the arguments that diaspora entrepreneurs are different in their marketing strategies in the development of cosmetic brands in the US compared to the non-diaspora entrepreneurs and the following gaps identified in this area.

1.2 Research Gaps

This section briefly elaborates on the three research gaps identified. It discusses gaps and highlights why it is important to investigate them in this study.

GAP 1: According to the literature reviews up to the present, there is no comparative study of this kind examining the marketing strategies of diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs in developing their cosmetic brands. Indeed, there is very little research on the role of the diaspora in business and their entrepreneurial business activities are relatively unknown (Elo, 2015). This is because research on the diaspora is very fragmented and often disciplinary-based, largely in sociology. In recent research, a combination of economic, political and financial roles played by the diaspora network is emphasised as important factors influencing the likelihood of their entrepreneurship, by facilitating successful firm emergence growth and performance, but the concept of diaspora entrepreneurship and their marketing strategies have been discussed far less (Dutia, 2012). Therefore, it is important to first conceptualise diaspora entrepreneurship and then focus on its particular marketing strategies, as this may explain the longevity of such brands, which will answer the research questions.

GAP 2: In previous studies of global brands in the cosmetic industry, scholars studied recent contexts, using Estée Lauder, Revlon, Avon, Max Factor, Elizabeth Arden, Helena Rubinstein and P&G as case studies. All of these brands were created by diaspora entrepreneurs, but this was not addressed anywhere in the studies, although they did emphasise the uniqueness of their marketing strategies (Chelekis and Mudambi, 2010; Koehn, 2001a, 2001b; Kumar, Massie and Dumonceaux, 2006; Manko, 2001a, 2001b; Peiss, 2000). On the other hand, scholars previously studying cosmetics in a historical context highlighted the changes in cosmetics firms from family-owned businesses to multinational corporations, and recommended research be carried out on timing, extent, and social impact on practices and trends that influence changes that are currently largely unexplored (Black, 2004; Jones, 2010; Peiss, 2011). Therefore, it is crucial to conduct this research, as it links global cosmetic brands (mostly created by diaspora entrepreneurs) with social changes over time. This will close the gap on the issues addressed above, and link it to the arguments on how these global cosmetic brands created by diaspora entrepreneurs differ in their marketing

strategies from those of brands created by non-diaspora entrepreneurs and whether the marketing strategies' consistency exists in the period of study.

GAP 3: Empirical studies are predominant and among them the quantitative approach is the main trend in diaspora entrepreneurship study (Aliaga-Isla and Rialp, 2013). There are very few qualitative studies, from other than a sociology perspective, particularly in business management and strategy as evidenced in a recent literature review (Aliaga-Isla and Rialp, 2013; Barnard and Pendock, 2013; Elo, Harima and Freiling, 2015). Therefore, it is important to carry out this study by examining business history and marketing viewpoint, rather than a sociological perspective. Conducting qualitative research will add a balance and can provide a new insight into a different way of examining diaspora entrepreneurship. By doing this research, it links to this gap addressed, where this research adds evidence from the business management perspective through the qualitative case study method.

1.3 Research Aim and Research Objectives

The main aim is to explore a better understanding of the importance of diaspora entrepreneurship in marketing strategies from a historical context. It explains the success of global brands in the US cosmetics industry created by diaspora entrepreneurs that very much related to consistent marketing strategies and brand proposition since date of brand creation, during the Great Depression and World War II. This consistency in marketing strategies was going back to the vision of their founders. This thesis will offer historical insights for entrepreneurs on which marketing strategies are appropriate to consider in the development of a brand, especially when the industry is in crisis. In addition, it will contribute to the literature on diaspora entrepreneurship, marketing strategies, business history, and entrepreneurship as a whole. There are two specific objectives of this thesis, as follows;

The first objective is to explore the US cosmetic industry from a business history and marketing perspective, in three periods of study. In particular, this research will analyse the geographical market, customers' trends and demands, ownership of the companies, and the marketing strategies implemented by both diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs.

The second objective is to compare marketing strategies between diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs in the development of their cosmetic brands, as a means to explain the global success and longevity of the US cosmetic brands created by diaspora entrepreneurs. In doing so, this research will analyse the marketing strategies of the two groups of entrepreneurs in development of their brands during the periods of study.

1.4 Research Questions

The scope of research is to provide answers to the following research questions within the nominated periods, based on the previous discussion of research aims and objectives:

- 1) Is there a consistency in the brand proposition and marketing strategies over time, including periods of crisis, between diaspora entrepreneurs and non-diaspora entrepreneurs in the development of their cosmetic brands?
- 2) How did the marketing strategies differ between diaspora entrepreneurs and non-diaspora entrepreneurs in the development of their cosmetic brands and to explain the longevity of the brands?

1.5 Research Methodology

From an epistemological perspective, this thesis takes the philosophical position of *interpretivism*. Drawing on the research questions addressed earlier, the appropriate methodology for this thesis is a case study (Yin, 2013). A qualitative approach is used to analyse the data collected from archival documents, secondary data, and supporting open-ended unstructured interviews. There are four cosmetic brands used as cases: Avon, Estée Lauder, Maybelline, and Johnson & Johnson. The criteria and process of case selection is based on the ranking in the most valuable global brands from the Brand Finance (Brandirectory) database (see Chapter 3). This study examines marketing strategies, which gives this multiple case study a holistic approach. The four cases divide into two groups; cosmetic brand created by diaspora entrepreneurs and cosmetic brands created by non-diaspora entrepreneurs. This is an important step in a comparative approach with multiple-case studies, as it links the research questions, research objectives, and the research design, to control the observed units of variation that make up the theoretical relationship (Sartori, 1991). Moreover, a comparative approach is important to study variables across time, situations or societies, which is appropriate for this study based on its subjective nature, research questions, and research objectives (Bartolini, 1993). With regard to the complexity of the business history field, it is extremely difficult to set out simple rules or normative research instructions for case study research. Therefore, this comparative approach in a holistic multiple-case study illustrates the consistency and how there are differences in marketing strategies in the three periods of study between the two groups of entrepreneurs in the US cosmetic industry, using thematic analysis, which helps to form pattern recognition within the data, with the emerging themes becoming the categories for analysis.

This thesis focuses on three periods of study that include two crisis periods: the date of brand creation, the Great Depression and World War II, to examine the longevity of the brands that is caused by the consistency of the marketing strategies implemented over time during the period of study. The reason for the choice of these three periods of study to be undertaken is as follows:

- 1) **At date of brand creation:** This is an important research setting for all cosmetics brands in these case studies. It will provide the original date that the brands were created; the motivation behind the brand creation; and the trends, demands and society at that time which could be an influence on the decision on brand creation as well as their appropriate marketing strategies.

- 2) **The Great Depression:** This is a crucial period to examine the consistency of marketing strategies for brand proposition in the case studies. The study will investigate and compare whether there are changes in the marketing strategies between date of brand creation and during the Great Depression.

- 3) **The World War II:** This is a vital period to explain the consistency of marketing strategies for brand proposition in the case studies as a development of the US cosmetics brands. The study will compare if there are changes in the marketing strategies between the Great Depression and World War II, and draws a conclusion that consistency in marketing strategies is indeed a significant factor in brand proposition success in the US cosmetics industry for the period of study in this thesis.

1.6 Contributions to Knowledge and Impact

This thesis **contributes to empirical knowledge** by extending a large database of five hundred most valuable global brands by BrandFinance (Brandirectory) with five additional new columns and data such as founder, country of origin of founders' parents, founders' country of origin, date of creation, and immigrant status. It is hoped that these empirical findings will contribute to future research, in which there is a possibility of using the database for any study particularly one looking into research settings such as founding of brands, country of origin of founders' parents, founders' country of origin, date of creation, and immigration status. It will also provide new evidence relating to global brands and the contribution of diaspora entrepreneurs to various industries whilst providing detailed empirical data about their brand history.

Additionally, this thesis is hoped to make a **contribution to theoretical knowledge** in two key ways. First, the research has identified the appropriateness of theorising the differences between diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs using a holistic multiple case study approach suggested by Yin (2013), which a theoretical replication technique used to generate findings, provide 'generalisation[s]' between the two group of entrepreneurs, and build a claim. Drawing from this claim, it envisages pattern recognition among diaspora entrepreneurs, which explains why they are and not non-diaspora entrepreneurs, identify specific opportunities and launch different marketing strategies. Second, the claim from this thesis explains the theory of entrepreneurial opportunity identification by Ardichvili, Cardozo and Ray (2003), which argues that diaspora communities have psychological links that strengthen myths around products, and this can be seen as an opportunity, particularly for diaspora entrepreneurs, increasing the likelihood of success in the market. Thus the experiences and backgrounds of diaspora entrepreneurs make them able to exploit available resources in a host country, create a niche market, and apply different marketing strategies than the non-diaspora entrepreneurs. This is in stark contrast to entrepreneurial behaviour theory, which tends to overemphasize outcomes, business strategy created due to routine, and decisions about strategy and investments based on a short or long time-span (Kautonen, Van Gelderen and Tornikoski, 2013; Krueger, Reilly and Carsrud, 2000). The contradictions within such theories correlate with the

results of a number of existing studies (Busenitz and Barney, 1997; Gillespie et al., 1999; Wei and Balasubramanyam, 2006).

Furthermore, this thesis is expected to **contribute to the body of knowledge through literature** on diaspora entrepreneurship. First, this thesis uses a combination of theories from three identified fields: entrepreneurship (including entrepreneurs and innovation and entrepreneurship opportunity identification), marketing (marketing and innovation, and basic marketing mix) and resources (resource-based view) (Ardichvili, Cardozo and Ray, 2003; Lopes, 2007; McCarthy, 1964; Schumpeter, 1934; Wernerfelt, 1984). This combination of theories is used to provide a better explanation of differences between diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs in various aspects, such as their characteristics, how these two types of entrepreneurs see opportunities, and is there a consistency in marketing strategies between these two types of entrepreneurs in development of their brands. However, this thesis did not take a narrow view of each theory as a set of strict procedures to follow, but rather used them as guides to shed light on the processes and identify marketing strategies from historical perspectives. Thus, this thesis is hoped to contribute to the body of knowledge.

Likewise, this thesis is predicted to **contribute to methodological knowledge** for diaspora entrepreneurship research. It uses a holistic multiple case study approach, and this methodology has been highly recommended by the recent systematic review of the diaspora entrepreneurship literature, as the research stream is predominant by quantitative methods, explanatory, exploratory and much studies on a single case (Aliaga-Isla and Rialp, 2013). In doing so, this thesis is expected to contribute to the body of knowledge through methodology.

This thesis is hoped to **impact** new diaspora entrepreneurs and their marketing strategies through the dissemination of the research findings. According to the Research Council UK (RCUK), research impact is defined as '*the demonstrable contribution that excellent research makes to society and the economy*', where it involves academic impact, economic and societal impact, or both (RCUK, n.d.). First, the historical findings could perhaps have an impact on marketing, particularly on brand leadership. This can be obtained through marketing strategies that demonstrated

by the case studies among the US cosmetic brands in this thesis. Second, the historical analysis in this thesis hopes to reflect the diaspora entrepreneurs in the present day, particularly those living in nations of immigrants like the United States, Canada and Australia. Also those living in countries of immigration such as France, Great Britain, Germany, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, and Switzerland could perhaps fully utilize their diaspora background capability, particularly to maintain their psychological links with their homeland, heritage or diaspora network, for either new start-ups or expanding existing businesses (Hollifield, Martin and Orrenius, 2014). Host countries could perhaps generate income from these entrepreneurs through taxes and encourage foreign investors, increase job creation, and foreign direct investment (FDI) to host countries (see Chapter 6).

1.7 Operational Definition

Below is the list of terms used frequently throughout the thesis;

Business/Firm/Company: used interchangeably to refer to an organisation or enterprising legal entity engaged in entrepreneurial activities (Chandler, 1992).

Brands: a name, term, sign, symbol, design or combination of these, intended to identify the goods or services of one seller or group of sellers and to differentiate them from competitors (Aaker, 2009; Kotler and Armstrong, 2010).

Brand proposition: often referred to as a brand statement. It clearly identifies the benefits that a consumer derives out of that brand. It is often focused only on the benefits that brand offers, which a good brand proposition should include benefit that no other brand can provide (Hankinson and Cowking, 1995).

Cosmetics: a consumer product intended to be rubbed, poured, sprinkled, or sprayed on introduced into, or otherwise applied, to the human body for cleansing, beautifying, promoting attractiveness, or altering appearance (FDA, n.d).

Diaspora: a person residing outside their perceived homeland, but maintaining a psychological link to its culture, myth, language(s) and belief system(s), continuing sentimental and material links with their homeland in a host country (Gillespie et al., 1999).

Entrepreneur: an individual who recognises and exploits new business opportunities by founding new ventures for profit (Bates, 1990; Shane and Venkataraman, 2000). See also 'traditional entrepreneur' and 'expanded entrepreneur'.

Entrepreneurship: the process of creating and operating a new business activity, ranging across all sizes and scale of businesses in a competitive global marketplace that is constantly evolving. This involves sourcing of opportunities, processes of discovery, discovery, evaluation and exploitation of opportunities (Shane and Venkataraman, 2000).

Expanded entrepreneur: an individual using single branding firms originating from family businesses (Lopes and Casson, 2007).

Home country: country of origin (Meyer, 2001).

Host country: the country that a person emigrated to; a country of destination (Meyer, 2001).

Immigrant: a person born as a citizen of another country and subsequently moved to the US (Wadhwa et. al, 2007).

Immigration: international movement into a destination country of which they are not natives or where they do not possess citizenship, in order to settle or reside there (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993).

Innovation: this thesis follows Lopes's definition of innovation in marketing-based industries, that innovation relies on branding and marketing knowledge, rather than technology (Lopes, 2007).

Longevity: the life span of a brand (in this case) and association with the stability of its heritage, the brand's history, or brand's origin (Merchant and Rose, 2013).

Marketing: planning and executing the conception, pricing, promotion and distribution of ideas, goods, and services to create exchanges that satisfy individual and organizational objectives (Calonius, 2006).

Non-diaspora: A person who is a native, born and bred and holding citizenship of a country, subject to an intensive process of political and cultural nationalism in that country (Hirsch, 2002).

Opportunity: an offering that is novel in one or more ways, such as pioneering a truly innovative product, devising a new business model, creating a better or cheaper

version of an existing product, and targeting an existing product at new sets of customers (Eisenmann, 2013).

Strategy: A process of determining the basic, long-term goals and objectives of an enterprise and adopting courses of action and allocating resources necessary to achieve those goals (Chandler, 1962).

Traditional entrepreneur: individuals engaged in exploitative firm behaviour, such as extending, rejuvenating and globalised branding of marketing knowledge (Lopes and Casson, 2007).

Vertical product differentiation: a type of product strategy based on a single characteristic and consumers are clear on its quality and strong association (Sutton, 1986).

1.8 Structure of the Thesis

This research is organised into seven chapters along with appendices and references. Figure 3 outlines the whole thesis structure.

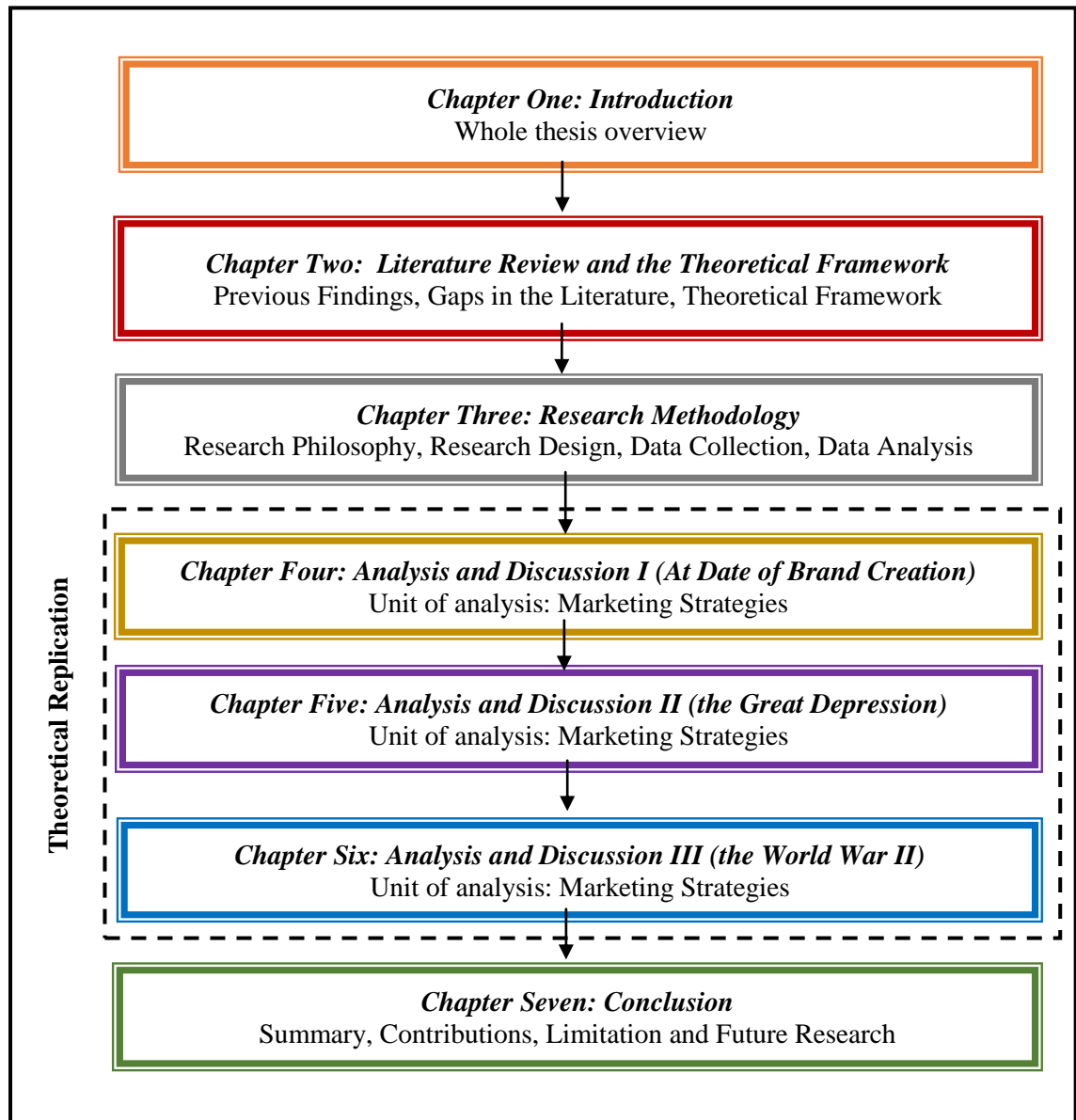


Figure 3: Overview structure of the thesis.

Source: Figure developed by the Author.

Chapter 1: Introduction. This chapter outlines research background and context, research gaps, research aim and objectives, research questions, methodology,

contribution to knowledge and impact, operational definitions, and a conclusion, aiming to give an overview of the whole thesis.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework. This chapter critically reviews the relevant literature on previous findings, methods, issues occurred, and it identifies the gaps therein. Then, the chapter discusses a theoretical framework, consisting of concepts, definitions and reference to scholarly literature, using existing theory to assist this research. The aim of this chapter is to develop a conceptual study to analyse the findings. Different literature has been reviewed while conducting this study, such as that relating to entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship, diaspora and migration in the US between 1870 and 1920, diaspora entrepreneurship as an emerging research stream, marketing strategy as unit of analysis, and appropriate theory related to this study.

Chapter 3: Methodology. This chapter provides the research philosophy of the study, detailed explanation of the research design and method, arguing why a holistic multiple case study approach has been chosen. Furthermore, it justifies the choice of historical archives documentary sources and open-ended unstructured interviews for data collection in this research. Then, the chapter explains the process of data collection and analysis, including method and sources, followed by a problematisation of the research approach, and a conclusion.

Chapter 4: Analysis and Discussion of Marketing Strategies at Date of Brand Creation. Considering the case studies (Avon, Estée Lauder, Maybelline, and Johnson & Johnson), this chapter combines the theory of entrepreneurial opportunity identification and development, marketing mix strategies, and a resource-based view to examine this phenomenon, highlighting the interconnectedness of entrepreneurial activities, strategy and resources.

Chapter 5: Analysis and Discussion of Marketing Strategies during the Great Depression. This chapter adopts a replication logic to examine marketing strategies using the similar combined theories to observe the consistency and alteration of the original marketing strategies. In doing so, this chapter provides a strong ontological assumption for the claim from this study.

Chapter 6: Analysis and Discussion of Marketing Strategies during World War

II. This chapter embraces the same replication logic and combined theories used at date of brand creation and during the Great Depression to confirm the consistency and alteration of the original marketing strategies in a different crisis period. In doing so, this chapter raise the level of confidence in the robustness of the finding and provide better knowledge for a new claim in this area.

Chapter 7 is the Conclusion. This chapter summarizes the key findings and measures them against the research questions posed within this chapter and the literature discussed in Chapter 2. This chapter presents the theoretical, literature, practical and methodological contribution of this research. It discusses the limitations of the thesis, makes recommendations for future research and discusses the PhD process in order to be transparent, due to the subjective nature of qualitative research.

1.9 Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter aims to give the reader an overview of this thesis. It also introduces the reader to the important concepts, context and definitions as well as reasons why this research needs to be undertaken. It has identified the research gaps, research aim, research objectives, and research questions posed and why this topic is important, before outlining briefly research methodology, and identifying the empirical, theoretical and practical contribution to knowledge. Building on this, the next chapter explores diaspora entrepreneurship literature. The position of this research derives from the intersection of three main areas as illustrated in Figure 4 below.

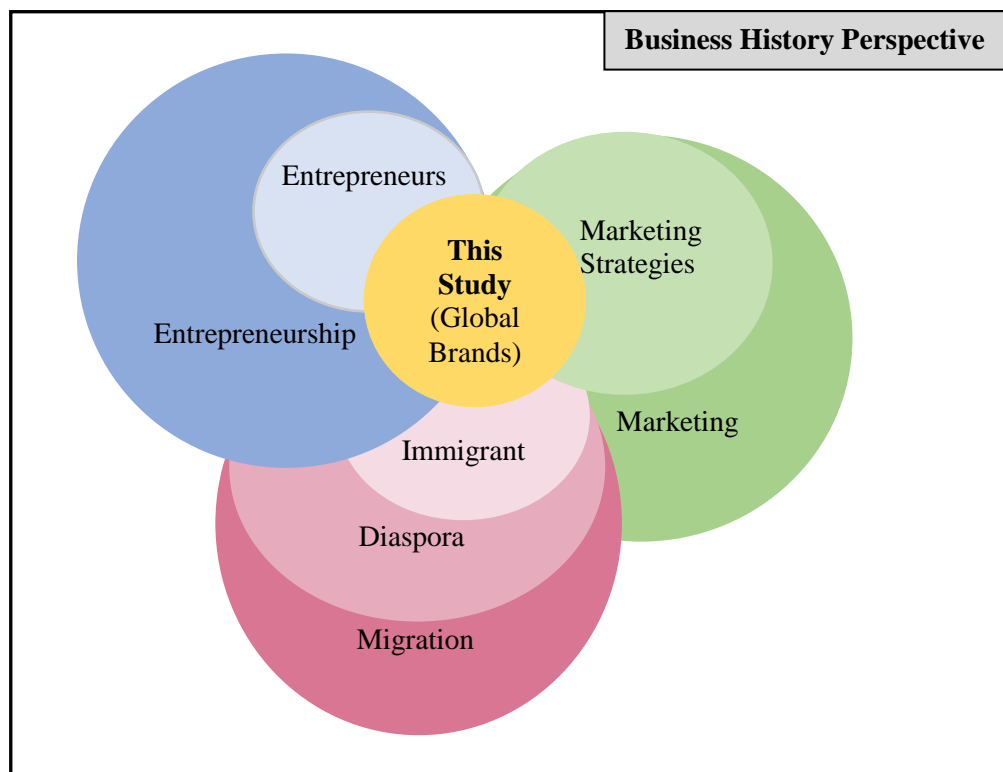


Figure 4: Position of this research in three intersection areas.

Source: Figure developed by Author.

Chapter 2:

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.0 Introduction

This chapter is a narrative literature review, divided into five sections and describes the general concepts, history and current knowledge, and issues in related fields, such as entrepreneurship, diaspora, diaspora entrepreneurship, marketing and global brands. Although it focuses mainly on the US context, global trends are not omitted. Finally, it proposes a theoretical framework for this study after discussion of appropriate theories.

The first part of the literature is going to explore entrepreneurship, diaspora, diaspora entrepreneurship, and marketing and global brands. It begins by exploring the history of entrepreneurship in the US context, defining entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship for this research context. The chapter will discuss diaspora entrepreneurs identifying entrepreneurial opportunities in various industries and regions, their uniqueness in terms of their business approach especially marketing strategies, and the impact this has on the host and home countries. It will then conceptualize diaspora entrepreneurship for this study context, why it is important to distinguish diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs, and justifying the cosmetic industry as appropriate for this research. Here, the complexity of diaspora entrepreneurship is explored and arguments put forth as to which industries these entrepreneurs have dominated using empirical data collected. In order to make clear the gap which this thesis aims to fill, this chapter discusses recent studies and identifies that very little qualitative research has been conducted in this area, as highlighted in the introductory chapter.

The second part of the literature review explores the theoretical foundation of marketing strategies and entrepreneurship. It will introduce the reader to the argument that diaspora entrepreneurs identify opportunities differently than the non-diaspora entrepreneurs. Building upon arguments set out in the first part, it then identifies why and how diaspora entrepreneurs are different in terms of marketing strategies from

non-diaspora entrepreneurs, using a combination of theory of entrepreneurial opportunity identification, marketing mix and resources-based view and business management literature, rather than entrepreneurial behaviour theory, which it argues to be inappropriate. This chapter concludes by summarising the research to be carried out and introduces the next chapter on methodology.

This chapter is structured as follows. Section 2.1 describes entrepreneurship in an historical context in the US and defines entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship for this research context. Section 2.2 elaborates on diaspora and migration in the US, emphasising characteristics, push and pull factors and trends. Section 2.3 scrutinises diaspora entrepreneurship in the US and summarises the key issues. Section 2.4 discusses marketing and global brands, and the involvement of diaspora entrepreneurs in the area. Section 2.5 identifies the appropriate theories related to the research questions and context, followed by a proposed theoretical framework. Finally, Section 2.6 concludes this chapter and introduces the next chapter.

2.1 Defining the Concepts of Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship

The complexity of the entrepreneurship research stream can be seen from the many definitions of “entrepreneurs” and “entrepreneurship” that exist in literature reviews (Carlsson et al., 2013). Furthermore, the field of entrepreneurship itself was argued to be misleading when empirical strategy on small business activity distinguished it from Schumpeterian entrepreneurship (Henrekson and Sanandaji, 2014). This has been supported by research that suggests small businesses, innovation and entrepreneurship have their own specific literature and can be dealt with independently (Sahut and Peris-Ortiz, 2014). Although there is a clear distinction between entrepreneurship and small businesses, it is recognised that entrepreneurship is not confined merely to new venture creation or being self-employed (Kirby, 2004). Consequently, the definition of entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship remains debated.

Historically, Cantillon was one of the first to define an entrepreneur as a rational decision-maker who assumed the risk and provided management for a firm (Hébert and Link, 2009). Schumpeter (1934) describes an entrepreneur as a person who innovates, which may take the form of new products, processes, markets,

organizational forms, or sources of supply. Casson (1982) defined entrepreneurs as individuals who focus on making decisions about the management of scarce resources, emphasising that this implies decision-making under uncertainty and that the ability to identify and exploit opportunities is vital. Among some economic theorists' conceptions of entrepreneurs, a superior ability to perceive and identify opportunities is central (Kirzner, 1979). Brockhaus (1980) doubts the validity of considering a propensity for risk-taking propensity an entrepreneurial characteristic, as there is no statistical difference found in the risk preference patterns of a group of entrepreneurs and a group of managers. However, in later research that used psychometric meta-analysis to mathematically accumulate the literature concerning differences between entrepreneurs and managers, it was indicated that the risk-taking propensity of entrepreneurs is greater than that of managers (Stewart Jr and Roth, 2001). Apart from these characteristics, another key factor in entrepreneurial activity found in research is energetic and/or novel instrumental activity (McClelland, 1961). On the other hand, an empirical study conducted using the Delphi technique to identify the characteristics of an entrepreneur stated that factors correlated with an entrepreneur are risk-taking, locus of control, autonomy, perseverance, commitment, vision and creativity (Gartner, 1990). Another perspective by Bruyat and Julien (2001) defined an entrepreneur as an individual responsible for the process of creating new value or innovation (the individual without whom the new value would not be created). The other definition of an entrepreneur is someone who create a new venture creation using a four-dimensional conceptual framework involving variables such as individuals, environment, organisation, and process, which then excludes those inherit a business or buy an existing firm (Gartner, 1985).

In contrast, some scholars describe an entrepreneur as an individual concerned with invention and innovation in capital-based industries (Chandler, 1962; Schumpeter, 1951). Lopes and Casson (2007) for example, argued that innovative management is a feature in marketing-based industries, where innovation relies on marketing knowledge, branding, and distribution channels, and requires the specific intelligence and skills of an entrepreneur. Additionally, entrepreneurs have been divided into two categories. The first is the 'traditional entrepreneur', an individual using single branding firms originating from family businesses; and second the 'expanded entrepreneur', an individual engaged in exploitative firm behaviour such as

extending, rejuvenating and globalised branding of marketing knowledge (Casson, 1982; Lopes and Casson, 2007). Recent study suggests that ambidexterity is another capability that the entrepreneur has, meaning exploratory and exploitative behaviour simultaneously for the business (Volery, Mueller and von Siemens, 2015). In summary, much research has revolved around attempts to define ‘entrepreneur’, but less attention has been paid to learning perspectives that have stronger empirical support (Walter and Heinrichs, 2015). Table 4 summarises some of the chronological studies of entrepreneurs’ characteristics.

Table 4: Summary of chronological studies of entrepreneurs’ characteristics

Year	Author (s)	Characteristic (s)
1848	Mill	Risk-bearing
1917	Weber	Source of formal authority
1934	Schumpeter	Innovation, initiative
1954	Sutton	Desire responsibility
1959	Hartman	Source of formal authority
1961	McClelland	Risk-taking, need for achievement
1963	Davids	Ambition; desire for independence; responsibility; self-confidence
1964	Pickle	Drive; human relations; communication ability; technical knowledge
1971	Palmer	Risk-management
1971	Hornaday and Aboud	Need for achievement; aggression; power; recognition; innovative
1973	Winter	Need for power
1974	Borland	Internal locus of control
1977	Gasse	Personal value orientation
1978	Timmons	Self-confidence; goal-oriented; risk-taker; innovation; locus of control
1979	Kirzner	Superior perception of opportunity characteristic
1980	Sexton	Energetic/ambitious; positive reaction to setbacks
1981	Welsh and White	Need to control; responsibility seeker; self-confidence; risk-taker
1982	Dunkelberg and Cooper	Growth-oriented; independence-oriented; craftsman-oriented
1982	Casson	Making judgemental decisions for the management of scarce resources
1985	Gartner	New venture creation: individual, environment, organisation, processes
1999	Casson	Information manager; influencing opinion; degree of optimism
2001	Bruyat and Julien	New venture creation; innovation
2001	Stewart Jr, and Roth	Risk-taking propensity
2007	Lopes and Casson	Innovation relies on marketing knowledge rather than technology
2015	Volery, Mueller, and von Siemens	Ambidexterity (exploration and exploitation)

Sources: Adopted and adapted from Carland et al. (1984); Kirzner (1979); Bruyat and Julien (2001); Stewart Jr. and Roth (2001); Lopes and Casson (2007); Volery, Mueller, and von Siemens (2015).

Table 4 illustrates research that defines entrepreneurs based on characteristics. According to this table, most researchers defined who an entrepreneur is and what he or she does, excluding the presence of opportunities and enterprising individuals, which is crucial (Venkataraman, 1997). Shane and Venkataraman (2000) argued that

entrepreneurship involves the study of sources of opportunities; the processes of discovery, evaluation, and exploitation of opportunities; and the set of individuals who discover, evaluate and exploit them (p.218). By defining the field in terms of the individual alone, scholars have generated incomplete definitions that do not withstand the scrutiny of other research (Gartner, 1988). However, there is a critique of one-dimensional frameworks to conceptualise entrepreneurship by Shane and Venkataraman (2001), suggesting that the correct framework for entrepreneurship includes the capacity to coordinate, the capacity to see a venture through to fruition, and the capacity to recognise opportunities. In another concept of entrepreneurship, study, ability, need, and opportunity are variables that should be taken into consideration for a definition (Davidsson, 1991). On the other hand, entrepreneurship can be defined as acts of organizational creation, renewal, or innovation that occur inside or outside an existing organisation (Sharma and Chrisman, 1999, p.17). In a more recent study, entrepreneurship referred primarily to an economic function carried out by individuals, acting independently or within organisations, to perceive and create new opportunities and to introduce their ideas into the market, under uncertainty, by making decisions about location, product design, resource use, institution and rewards systems (Carlsson et al., 2013).

Although defining an entrepreneur and entrepreneurship in much research has been heavily influenced by European schools of thoughts, such as the Austrian School (Menger, 1840-1921), the British School (Smith, 1723-1790, and Ricardo, 1772-1823), the French School (Cantillon, 1775, and Say, 1767-1832), the German School (Von Thunen, 1785-1850, and Mangoldt, 1842-1858) and Schumpeterian views (Schumpeter, 1883-1950, and Knight, 1885-1972), the view from the America School must not be omitted (Hébert and Link, 2009). For example, Walker (1888) defined an entrepreneur simply as one who brings about '*an advantageous union between labour and capital*' and identified the actor as employer, manager, entrepreneur, projector, businessman, merchant, farmer or '*whatever else he may be called, whose services are indispensable*' (p.279). Davenport (1913) defined an entrepreneur as '*the independent, unemployed manager; the one who carries the risks and claims the gains of the enterprise*'. Knight (1951) emphasises the distinction between insurable risks and non-insurable uncertainty, advancing a theory of profit that relates this non-insurable uncertainty on the one hand to rapid economic change and differences in

entrepreneurial ability on the other. However, not all economists have found Knight's theory appropriate (Redlich,1957). Maidique (1980) notes that as a business grows or becomes more diverse, the original entrepreneurial network becomes fragmented; therefore, there is an important intermediate entrepreneurial role especially in diversified firms.

The discussion of defining entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship is endless due to the complexity of the field. However, Casson (2005) considered the foundations of the study of entrepreneurship based on an edited volume of previously published papers from an economist's view as follows:

- 1) ***Economic theory***: Risk and uncertainty; Market process; Innovation; and The entrepreneur and the firm.
- 2) ***Empirical evidence on firm and industry***: New firms and market entry; Innovation and size of firm; Employment and regional growth.
- 3) ***Culture and economic development***: Personality and motivation; Immigrant, social mobility and culture; Development and decline.

Similar work has been done, which narrowly focused on entrepreneurship as the creation of new business organisations (Welsch, 2004). Likewise, the most critical definition of an entrepreneur and entrepreneurship has been conducted in chronological order that include in prehistory of entrepreneurship, early French contributions, the English school of thought, the German tradition, early neoclassical perspectives, the view from America, Joseph Schumpeter, beyond Schumpeter, and the entrepreneur and the firm (Hébert and Link, 2009). In more recent work, the knowledge base for entrepreneurship research was explored using a database consisting of all references in twelve entrepreneurship handbooks published since 1982 (Landström, Harirchi and Åström, 2012).

In summary, from the arguments of scholars, indeed, no single definition of 'entrepreneur' or 'entrepreneurship' has been uniformly accepted in the literature and Gartner (1988) illustrates the on-going process of defining these terms. This is supported by Short et al. (2010) that there is a debate between highly different philosophical positions, for instance in the discourse on the ontology and

epistemology. It can be argued that entrepreneur and entrepreneurship have meant different things to different scholars (McMullan and Long, 1990). Furthermore, business historians suggest that there is a potential for re-integrating history and theory, and have begun to revisit thematic issues such as company founders, diaspora entrepreneurship, venture capital and innovation (Cassis and Minoglou, 2005). Therefore, for the sake of clarification in terminology and in recognition of entrepreneurial activities of individuals in this thesis, the following definitions of entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs are proposed (Schumpeter, 1934; Shane and Venkataraman, 2000; Sharma and Chrisman, 1999; Zahra, 1993).

In this thesis;

- 1) **An entrepreneur** is an individual who recognises and exploits new business opportunities by founding new ventures, for profit, and with the aim of firm longevity, including both 'traditional' and 'expanded' entrepreneurs.

- 2) **Entrepreneurship** refers to the process of creating and operating a new business activity, ranging across all sizes and scale of businesses in a competitive global marketplace that is constantly evolving, involving sources of opportunities, processes of discovery, evaluation and exploitation of opportunities.

2.2 Diaspora and Migration in the United States between 1870 and 1920

The conceptualisation and definitions of diaspora have been mostly shaped by an intense study of one diaspora or another, with the intention of discerning its significant characteristics via an ethnographic approach, which resulted in each body of literature tending to reflect the particular conditions of the diaspora under study, which are not always normative for all diasporas (Butler, 2001)³.

A growing body of literature has investigated that mass diaspora migration to the US between 1870 and 1920, fleeing diseases and war, and also for socio-economic reasons, as illustrated by a numbers of studies (Hatton and Williamson, 1998; Williamson, 2002). The historical trend of mass migration in the US between 1815 to 1924 was primarily from Europe (Hirschman, 2005; Jones, 1992). Migrants in the nineteenth century were certainly different from those in the twentieth: the early nineteenth-century migrant streams were often led by farmers and artisans from rural areas, whilst the late nineteenth-century migrants were typically young adults: of those entering the US between 1868 and 1910, those aged 15-40 constituted 42 per cent of immigrant arrivals (Hatton and Williamson, 1998, p.12). Many scholars agree that the most important cause of immigration to the US during this period was the potato famine in Ireland and other European countries between 1845 and 1852 (Cohn, 2000; Gráda and O'Rourke, 1997; Hatton and Williamson, 2005). This potato famine was caused by a fungus-like disease turned the potatoes into inedible black mush and reduced the acreage of potatoes in Ireland from 2.1 million acres in 1845 to a mere 0.3 million in 1847 (Gráda, 2000; Mokyr, 2013). A study of Irish emigration 1850-1913 shows strong evidence that while large families migrated to escape infection and death, agricultural variables were important in determining cross-country emigration rates, and some evidence suggested that after 1880 poverty inhibited emigration (Hatton and Williamson, 1993). Another significant group of immigrants entering the US was Eastern European Jews in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, due to cultural and political conditions, and economic uncertainty (Soyer, 1997). There were three great waves of mass migration to the US from Europe. The first wave was 1815-1860; the second 1860-1890 in a pre-civil war wave, from the

³ See Chapter 1 for a reminder of the distinction between 'diaspora' and 'immigrant' in this thesis; refer to Table 1, p.16.

same general areas in Europe predominantly from the British Isles, Germany, Scandinavia, Switzerland, and Holland; and by the greatest third wave, which brought 15 million immigrants to the US in 1890-1914, drawn largely from Austro-Hungry, Italy, Russia, Greece, Romania and Turkey (Jones, 1992).

Numerous scholars have argued that American cities during this period were primarily immigrant cities due to industrialisation, and the fact that many migrants arrived in the US at various city ports (Gibson and Lennon, 1999). Keeling (1999) shows that during the period of mass migration, almost 70 per cent of immigrants arrived at ports in New York. The significance of New York city as the popular point of arrival was due to its dominant mercantile port that later became an industrial city (Albion and Pope, 1984). Alongside New York City, many large cities in the Northeast and Midwest were populated by the immigrants and their children, such as Chicago, Boston, Cleveland, San Francisco, Buffalo, Milwaukee, and Detroit (Carpenter, 1927, p.13). Figure 5 shows the four main areas of the US. Henceforward, all discussion of geographical areas in this thesis refers to this map.



Figure 5: Four parts of the United States of America.

Source: Online Atlas.

In 1820, the great majority (93 per cent) of the population in the US lived in rural areas. The population residing in the cities increased to 51 per cent in 1920, as most of the immigrants were concentrated in cities and were much more likely to live in cities than Americans (Bartel, 1989; Ward, 1971). A study illustrates that most immigrants settled in cities because they can take advantage of ethnic externalities (Borjas, 1995). Table 5 compares foreign-born and native-born in the various areas.

Table 5: Net lifetime migration (in thousands) of Whites and African Americans, by nativity: 1870-1880 to 1940-1950

Decade	North-east and North-Central			South			West		
	Native-Born			Native-Born			Native-Born		
	White	African-American	Foreign-Born	White	African-American	Foreign-Born	White	African-American	Foreign-Born
1870-1880	-348	68	1609	91	-68	89	257	-	177
1880-1890	-283	89	3297	-271	-88	124	554	-	337
1890-1900	-344	185	2559	-30	-185	124	374	-	205
1900-1910	-1306	172	4263	-69	-194	240	1375	22	686
1910-1920	-219	523	2227	-663	-555	232	880	32	428
1920-1930	-641	861	1896	-704	-903	67	1345	42	480
1930-1940	-692	425	-74	-558	-480	-53	1250	55	5
1940-1950	-1955	1225	408	-866	-1581	206	2822	356	361
1870-1920	-2500	1307	13955	-942	-1090	809	3440	54	1833
1920-1950	-3288	2511	2230	-2128	-2964	220	5417	453	846

Source: Adopted from Eldridge and Thomas (1964).

Table 5 shows the net lifetime migration of White and African-American by nativity between 1870-1880 and 1940-1950. From 1870 and 1920, the growth of immigrant population in the Northeast and North-Central is almost 14 million compared to negative net migration of 2.5 million native-born white in the region. Therefore, the table shows that mass migration contributed to the growth of cities in the region between 1870 and 1920, compared to the South and the West. This growth is also evidence that cities may enable businesses to become successful by offering close proximity to resources, suppliers and markets, and the competitiveness of these

cities can be enhanced by creating and sustaining conditions that enable local businesses to trade successfully (Smallbone, Kitching and Athayde, 2010). The high immigrant populations in these cities, also influences business competitiveness, rather than focusing on ethnic resources and networks alone (Smallbone, Kitching and Athayde, 2010, p.181). In addition, the raising of these businesses' competitiveness was due to the “*big four waves*” i.e. the invention of electricity, internal-combustion engines, rearranging molecules, and communication (Gordon, 1999).

However, Light (1977) argues that diaspora and immigrants often lack the resources and connections to get ahead through conventional careers between 1880 and 1944, and his findings indicate that they have a tendency to find work among their ethnic enclaves, small businesses, or in fields that are open to talent. This shows that immigrants have limited opportunities to find mainstream careers in a host country and therefore rejects the assumption that these people ‘steal’ jobs from others in the US. This has been supported by a study that shows there is no evidence of economically significant reductions in native employment. Most empirical analysis of the US and other countries finds that a 10 per cent increase in the population of immigrants in the population reduces native wages by 1 per cent at most (Friedberg and Hunt, 1995). Additionally, the presence of diaspora and immigrants’ small businesses in this period has brought some measure of hope and vitality to many American cities in hard times (Foner, 2001). Studies show that an advantage of outsiders like diaspora is that they are sometimes able to rise above the prejudices and closed minds of insiders (Hirschman, 2005). For example the Jewish diaspora in the US concentrated in the clothing industry between 1890 and 1914, and this industry was important and expanding, associated with new trends in society (Kahan, 1978). The gradual changes of trends in the US beauty industry from the nineteenth century into the twentieth century resulted from the diversity that the immigrants brought, and encouraged the burgeoning of beauty salons and cosmetics brands (Peiss, 2011; Willett, 2010, 2000). Apart from business, another remarkable role the diaspora played is in the American creative arts such as writing, directing, producing, and acting in films and plays (Buhle, 2004; Most, 2004). Hirschman (2005) lists examples (see Appendix 1) of diaspora who receive two or more prestige awards in the film industry.

Diaspora keeps their psychological links to their homeland and to each other by maintaining their diaspora networks, culture, beliefs and language in a host country. Most diaspora studies illustrate the relationship between diaspora and their home country through discussion of their physical return to their home country (Baruffaldi and Landoni, 2012; Gillespie et al., 1999; Kapur, 2001). In contrast, the relationship with a homeland does not end with the departure of the initial group, but it may take diverse forms simultaneously, from physical return, to emotional attachment as expressed artistically, to the reinterpretation of homeland cultures in diaspora (Butler, 2001). It has also been argued by Fazal and Tsagarousianou (2002) that what is important in diasporic notions of 'home' is their relationship to a multiplicity of locations through geographical and cultural boundaries and not physical return (p.57). In later work, Brah (2005) also disagreed on diaspora returning home to measure the relationship between diaspora and homeland by asking *what is home?* The reason diaspora migrated may be due to push factors and the meaning of 'home' is a mythic place of desire in diasporic imagination. *Return* is perhaps a questionable defining criterion of diaspora discussed by most traditional scholars in this stream, because some diasporas, in fact a majority, do not desire to return (Bauböck and Faist, 2010).

Measuring the contribution of diaspora to their homeland does not necessarily require them to return to their country of origin; this can be done through committed psychological links, such as tightening their diaspora network. One piece of evidence for this can be seen in the early decades of the century in the US, where racial intermarriage was extremely rare between immigrants and native-born (Pagnini and Morgan, 1990). For example, Jewish Americans remained primarily endogamous for much longer periods, but by the 1980s, most Jews were marrying persons of different faiths (Alba and Nee, 2009). This illustrates that the diaspora were strongly tied to their network shortly after their early arrival up to the mid-twentieth century, for the benefit of family businesses and related to issues of trust (Kitching, Smallbone and Athayde, 2009; Morris et al., 1997; Riddle and Brinkerhoff, 2011).

The original concept of diaspora referred to the dispersal of the Jews from their historic homeland (Wahlbeck, 2002). However, in sociology, this concept is often used to elaborate several well-established communities that have an experiences

of ‘*displacement*’ such as overseas Chinese, Armenians in exile, Palestinian refugees, Gypsies, and the whole African diaspora (Clifford, 1994; Safran, 1991; Tölölyan, 1996). This concept has been disputed by Fazal and Tsagarousianou (2002), who argued for redefining the concept because it is primarily seen as not much more than a sub-category of an ethnic group or a nation (p.55). In the same vein, Cohen (2008) argued that the same perspective formula of constructing an ideal type of ‘*diaspora*’ as a vehicle of expanding the definition to include a broader range of phenomena. In more recent work, Bauböck and Faist (2010) discussed a concept by Chivallon who posits a ‘*hybrid*’ diaspora, distinguished very clearly from any ‘centred model’ against the concept of a ‘community’ diaspora, for example Jewish, Greek, Armenian or Chinese diasporas.

This thesis recognises the problems emerging from and inherited by the historical processes and descriptive terms that led to diasporas being formed. It appreciates that Cohen’s (2008) diversification of diasporic types is helpful in explaining diasporic meaning, identification and consciousness among so many diaspora cases in the world, closer to this thesis’s case studies. Therefore, this thesis argues that the study of diaspora role in business (particularly during the historical period 1880s and 1920s) in explaining the development of US global brands should be fundamentally conducted at a broader range of phenomena, rather than community-based, which results in findings that are not strong and difficult to generalise. The importance of understanding diaspora entrepreneurs from a historical perspective is that it provides retrospective ideas about the roots of the modern global economy, which is helpful in theory-building to distinguish diaspora entrepreneurs from non-diaspora entrepreneurs (McCabe, Harlaftis and Minglou, 2005).

In addition, the combination of the chosen periods for this study and the selected cases may have affected the findings. It is important to acknowledge that those brands created before and after 1900 in the US had different motivations to start their businesses, as discussed in this section. Therefore, the business strategies implemented during the period of study could possibly be different due to the increasing immigration rate to the US, and the growth of demand. However, this study examines a detailed historical view for each case selected in three periods of study and then it compares the findings. By doing so, the differences between the diaspora

entrepreneurs and the non-diaspora entrepreneurs can be visibly seen, by demonstrating those brands created before and after 1900. Hence, it is important to select two case brands created before 1900 by a diaspora entrepreneur and a non-diaspora entrepreneur, and another two case brands created after 1900 by the same groups. The chosen periods in combination with the case selection is appropriate as the consistency in the marketing strategies for all cases can be fairly observed.

2.3 Diaspora Entrepreneurship as an Emerging Research Stream

This section comprehensively discusses diaspora entrepreneurship as an emerging research stream. It starts with conceptualising diaspora entrepreneurship as adopted in this thesis, follow by push and pull factors that create diaspora entrepreneurship, the role of diaspora in businesses, diaspora entrepreneurship and global brands, and finally diaspora entrepreneurs in the cosmetic industry. Figure 6 visualises the niche research problem from a large literature review.



Figure 6: A visualisation of research area identification.

Source: Illustration developed by the Author.

Conceptualising Diaspora Entrepreneurship

The entrepreneurial and economic activities of diasporas have attracted substantial research attention in recent years due to the increased number of diaspora worldwide rapidly growing (Harima, Elo and Freiling, 2016; Newland and Tanaka, 2010; Riddle and Brinkerhoff, 2011). From a historical perspective discussed earlier in this chapter, network diasporas connect developing economy insiders in command of technical know-how and investment capital. However, very little research has been conducted, as can be seen in previous studies on diaspora entrepreneurship in business

management, which were looking at the characteristic of diaspora entrepreneurs (Nahapiet and Ghoshal, 1998). Other studies note that diaspora entrepreneurs are active in several dimensions, such as management, entrepreneurship, and investment, and have context-specific activity-related roles and drivers that influence their way of doing business differently from non-diaspora entrepreneurs (Elo, 2015). In addition, diaspora entrepreneurs are considered a counteractive force that tends to lower informal barriers in international business, such as social, cultural, and institutional differences in economic exchange and transactions since they build links between their origin and host countries (Flisi and Murat, 2011).

Numerous scholars have debated why migrants and diasporas are less acknowledged in international entrepreneurship, particularly their theoretical position in relation to global brands, international entrepreneurship, and immigrant entrepreneurship (Brinkerhoff, 2009; Elo, Harima and Freiling, 2015; Marian, Nicole and Kwan, 2011; Riddle and Nielsen, 2011). A systematic review of literature on this area of study suggested that further research in understanding how these entrepreneurs identify entrepreneurial opportunities in their host country is needed (Aliaga-Isla and Rialp, 2013). Therefore, it is important to understand the differences in marketing strategies by diaspora entrepreneurs (Brinkerhoff, 2009; Kuznetsov, 2006). In a recent study, Kumar and Steenkamp (2013) conceptualising diaspora entrepreneurs in four categories: assimilators, biculturals, marginal and ethnic affirmers. *Assimilators* are immigrants unlikely to retain customs and practices from their home culture; *marginals* have been forced to leave their homelands and society has marginalised them; *ethnic affirmers* are consciously separate from the host culture and cling to their home cultures; finally, *biculturals* maintain a sense of belonging to both their home and their host cultures without compromising their identity (Kumar and Steenkamp, 2013). These differences explain why there are diaspora entrepreneurs targeting ethnic-based businesses in a host country, while others prefer to be middlemen between a host country and home country, and still others venture bigger businesses outside their ethnicity. Therefore, the authors suggest that concept of diaspora entrepreneurship should be based on groups of immigrants because the research reveals that reality is complex. However, this suggestion is not appropriate for this thesis as this thesis focuses on diaspora entrepreneurs in the historical context of the US.

Ionescu (2006) defines diaspora entrepreneurs as a collective notion, implying organised groups and collective identities, and therefore should not consider diaspora entrepreneurs as a homogeneous entity. This means that diaspora entrepreneurs have diverse interests and strategies in their businesses. On the other hand, economic interests play less of a role in non-diaspora situations, particularly when the homeland state is more economically developed than the diaspora, due to the promise of possible future economic gains (Bauböck and Faist, 2010). Indeed, defining and conceptualising diaspora entrepreneurship is a complex process as it relies on context of study, integration and definition of other subjects, such as who is the entrepreneur, who is diaspora, and the purpose of the study (Schulte, 2008). It can be seen from the literature review that some scholars are more likely to investigate a very specific group of diaspora entrepreneurs, whilst others are more general. This thesis aims to explore the differences between diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs in term of their marketing strategies in development of their brands in the US and therefore the concept of diaspora entrepreneurship must be clearly defined. It conceptualises diaspora entrepreneurship closely following Kitching, Smallbone and Athayde (2009) to refer to the dispersion of any ethnic and national groups across international borders resulting from migration. No assumption are made regarding diaspora entrepreneurs' self-identities *vis-à-vis* their host societies, or their orientations towards any putative homeland (Kitching, Smallbone and Athayde, 2009). Therefore, this thesis does not regard diaspora entrepreneurs in the study as a homogeneous entity.

Push and Pull Factors to Diaspora Entrepreneurship

There are numerous social and psychological push and pull factors for diaspora to become involved in entrepreneurship on different levels and due to different motivations. At present, the push and pull factors relevant to diaspora entrepreneurship are due to family ties, fear of failure, business behaviour, homeland investment, and sharing knowledge. Vissak and Zhang (2014) found that family ties is a push factor that encourages diaspora to venture into business because they can help other family members in their home country and other countries by actively supported innovation through creating design, R&D hiring local staff or other immigrants, or actively participating in new service development. In the same vein, Berger (2015) found that the fear of failure is a pull factor in the case of entrepreneurial venture

creation. Hamilton, Dana and Benfell (2008) found that the push factor among 320 diaspora entrepreneurs of Chinese and Indian origin whose ancestors moved to Singapore is a willingness to adapt their traditional family values in business behaviour. A study identified that homeland investment decision can be emotionally significant as a pull factor for diaspora entrepreneurs to venture into business in their homeland (Kotabe et al., 2013). Barnard and Pendock (2013) suggest that sharing knowledge is a pull factor for diaspora entrepreneurs to venture their business in homeland. Elo (2016) founded that diaspora entrepreneurs in Uzbekistan noted reasons relating to life strategy, personal dreams, influence of family, competences and plans, income and economic benefit, opportunity identification and exploitation, local network connectedness and the particular willingness to work there, which contrasted with reasons for those in more developed countries like the US, Canada and Australia.

In the past, the push and pull factors acting on diaspora entrepreneurship included discrimination, hardship, higher levels of human capital, insufficient information about the labour market, language barriers, and higher immigrant populations. A long history of diaspora entrepreneurship in Australia since the 1850s among the Chinese community suggests that the factor pushing them into entrepreneurship is that racial discrimination has blocked other opportunities (Collins, 2002). Although this Chinese diaspora became entrepreneurs, racial discrimination cannot be avoided. For example all Chinese-made furniture was to be stamped with the words *Chinese labour* (Yuan, 1988, p.305). The Lebanese diaspora in the US arriving between 1880 and 1940 was pushed into entrepreneurship by the hardships of living in a host country selling imported rugs and linens (Ahmed et al., 2012). On the other hand, Lebanese diaspora has never lacked entrepreneurs as evidenced in their long history of buying and selling, exporting and importing, and serving as middlemen in all stages of production, which entrepreneurial activities were carried out throughout Middle East, Africa, Asia, Sao Paulo and Detroit (Sayigh, 1962). However, the pull factors for entrepreneurship and a higher level of human capital are due to mass migration, when recruiting people with similar background was easier via established networking processes among diaspora (Kariv et al., 2009). In a historical study of the Jewish diaspora in the US, the push factor to entrepreneurship between 1890 and 1914 was insufficient information about other opportunities in the labour

market combined with lack of ability in English (Kahan, 1978). Godley (2001) pointed out that among Jews from Europe in New York and London, similar push factors led them into entrepreneurship, such as equal levels of literacy, and an absence of discernible differences in wealth, talent or skill. Brighton (2009) presented that the Irish diaspora faced prejudice as a push factor where they were excluded from several occupations such as carting business and shipbuilding trades in the US. Another pull factor into entrepreneurship in the US during mass migration is when immigrant populations outnumber the natives in cities such as New York, which can be an opportunity for entrepreneurship (Harima, Elo and Freiling, 2016).

Although there are differences in the push and pull factors over time that lead diaspora into entrepreneurship, studies illustrate different findings. Sociologists and anthropologists research on diaspora entrepreneurship emphasised ethnic resources as the major contributing factor for establishing businesses, whilst economists have claimed that class resources largely determine diaspora, immigrant and ethnic businesses (Min and Bozorgmehr, 2000). Drawing from this literature review, it must be asked whether diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs can be distinguished by these factors.

In addition, apart from the push and pull factors that have been discussed in many studies up to the present, another additional factor that may influence the studied issue particularly from the business management perspective that diaspora entrepreneurship is lack (Aliaga-Isla and Rialp, 2013) including marketing mix decision, and their business strategies (Kumar and Steenkamp, 2013). By considering these recent studies' recommendations, this thesis highlights the additional factors to explore the significance of the marketing strategies, focusing on the marketing mix, of diaspora entrepreneurs to demonstrate their difference in making business decisions by comparison with the non-diaspora entrepreneurs. By doing so, it is hoped that this thesis will contribute to the diaspora entrepreneurship research area by highlighting the marketing strategy as another factor that made diaspora entrepreneurs start their businesses and develop their own brands or products.

The Role of Diaspora Entrepreneurs in Businesses

The role of diaspora entrepreneurship is important in many emerging markets and also in developed countries like Australia, Canada and the US (Bengtsson and Hsu, 2015; Collins, 2002; Nkongolo-Bakenda and Chrysostome, 2013; Riddle, Hrivnak and Nielsen, 2010; Vissak and Zhang, 2014). Diaspora entrepreneurs are also viewed as ‘*opportunity entrepreneurs*’ because they often operate in emerging and high-demand sectors where quality, expertise and skill are required to be competitive (Nurse, 2015). This is because diaspora entrepreneurs may also use their diasporic market as well as myth associated with their diaspora background as a stepping stone or bridgehead into wider international markets (Nurse, 2015). Kuznetsov (2006) founded that diaspora entrepreneurs are more likely to invest in innovation businesses. In the same vein, Kuznetsov quoted in Newland and Tanaka (2010) noted that diaspora entrepreneurs can be categorised into six behavioural models: top executive, mentoring/venture capital, investors, setting new strategic direction and identifying new opportunities, talents, and outsourcing (p.19). This is to some extent related to earlier discussions of the specific characteristic of entrepreneurs proposed by Lopes and Casson (2007) as ‘traditional’ or ‘expanded’.

An increasing number of studies have examined the role of diaspora entrepreneurs, such as how diaspora established companies and investment, how they network for international trade, and how their diasporic nature creates clusters and development (Elo, 2015). For example, Brinkerhoff (2009) found evidence of diaspora entrepreneurs in bridging markets and creating businesses in information technology. A study illustrates that diaspora entrepreneurs often play ‘*catalytic roles in creating home-grown multinational enterprises (MNEs) in another large country*’, showing that nearly 80 per cent of inbound FDI in the 1980s came from overseas Chinese investors in China (Ramamurti, 2004, p.280). Diaspora entrepreneurs are increasingly important for investment promotion agencies (IPA) to attract investors to a host country where these diasporas reside, particularly those from homeland of these diaspora (Riddle, Brinkerhoff and Nielsen, 2008). This is because the trust can be built between diaspora entrepreneurs and potential investors based on common knowledge, experience, and normative orientation (Börzel, 1998). Diaspora entrepreneurship also includes commercial financial contribution through investment

in commercial enterprises; non-commercial financial contribution through direct remittances to family; collective remittances to community groups to support development project; philanthropic contribution; provision of critical skills; and contributions in term of knowledge transfer through documentation of knowledge and experience, especially in home country languages (Kuznetsov, 2006, p.226).

Additionally, a study illustrates the role of diaspora in business with evidence from the Chinese diaspora network that shows a considerable quantitative impact on international trade by helping to match buyers and sellers among ethnic Chinese in the Southeast Asia (Rauch and Trindade, 2002). In Norway, diasporas often introduce non-traditional products and services, and pursue innovative business opportunities related to exotic products, exposed to relatively high risks of failure (Vinogradov and Isaksen, 2008). Case studies show that a Ghanaian returnee entrepreneur became successful in his business back home through transferring knowledge, culture, and institutions from Germany (Mayer, Harima and Freiling, 2015). In Japan, a study examines the strategies that African migrants adopt to build network and utilise the social capital derived from the network to achieve socio-economic integration and mobility in Japanese society (Agyeman, 2015). The role of the Italian diaspora in Australia is dynamic because they remain connected to Italy through family and friendship networks, which illustrate that it is not a political diaspora (Baldassar, 2012). Meanwhile in sub-Saharan Africa, a study examines the contexts, mechanisms, and processes associated with diaspora networks' roles as institutional change agents in the context of entrepreneurial behaviours in Sub Saharan Africa economies (Kshetri, 2013). The other studies on roles of diaspora entrepreneurs based on ethnic communities are illustrated in Appendix 2.

Apart from these diasporas based on community ethnic cases, the role of general diaspora studies in business show that these groups of entrepreneurs are indeed helpful in creating business opportunities. A World Bank study of the US foreign direct investment abroad finds empirical evidence to support the proposition that diaspora networks affect foreign direct investment by promoting information flows across national borders and serve as contract-enforcement mechanisms (Javorcik et al., 2011). In other general studies of diaspora entrepreneurs' role in business, a study indicates that their role is often an important first mover in finding

new market opportunities and foreign investors in uncertain political and economic climates (Gillespie, Sayre and Riddle, 2001). According to Drori, Honig and Wright (2009), the role of diaspora entrepreneurs is often viewed as influencing the creation of business opportunities, as well as its impact on transferring knowledge, technology and know-how, and as a catalyst for the evolution of global production networks (Saxenian, 2002). Ranjan (2015) summarises that diaspora entrepreneurs are often more willing than non-diaspora entrepreneurs to engage in emerging markets or business activities with high risks.

In summary, studies on the role of diaspora in business are gradually emerging for those that focusing on diaspora ethnic community and also those studying a general context. Most of the studies examine the role of diaspora entrepreneurs as an agent that connects the country of their residence and their homeland for economic advantage, and also their contribution as a returnee in the first generation's homeland. In a recent study on diaspora entrepreneurship, Elo (2015) notes that research on diaspora in business is very fragmented and often located in disciplines, therefore there is very limited research about diaspora entrepreneurs in their host county or their country of residence on how they started their businesses, create competitive advantages, and maintain their businesses there, which giving economic advantage to their host county or their country of residence. This lack of study motivates this thesis to conduct research predominantly about diaspora entrepreneurs residing in a host country of their first generation, researching how these entrepreneurs started and maintain their businesses. In doing so, it integrates a more expansive view of diaspora entrepreneurship into extant understanding of diaspora entrepreneurship, and examples from case studies shed light on how the businesses survive and develop their brands competing with the non-diaspora entrepreneurs in the same market (Basu, 2011).

Diaspora Entrepreneurship and Global Brands

The concept of branding and its importance to marketing has been widely studied in marketing-based industry (Aaker, 2009; De Chernatony, 2001; Kapferer, 2002; Keller, 2003). Interest in brands has increased among researchers and practitioners in the last decades has reflected increased market maturity and a high focus in consumers, which the marketing theorists describe as development '*from substance to*

image' (Aaker, Fournier and Brasel, 2004). However, research on diaspora entrepreneurship and global brands is very limited. The recent effort from Kumar and Steenkamp (2013) provided an overview of diaspora entrepreneurs in developing their brands into global brands, for example, casual dining chain Nando's, e-commerce giant Alibaba, fast-food company Jollibee, Mexican beer Corona, among others. The authors describe a strategy which marketers from emerging markets can use is to '*follow the diaspora*' in order to break into new markets, and argue that diasporic consumers follow separation or integration strategies to purchase, incorporating cues from their ethnicity origin (Kumar and Steenkamp, 2013). Additionally, there is an empirical study on diaspora entrepreneurs drawn from Mexico City and the Latino community of Mexican descent comparing host and home countries and providing an important insight into the brand image of cultural brands from emerging markets (Guzmán and Paswan, 2009). However, these studies did not further discuss the diaspora entrepreneurs that created brands in a host country, or compare them with non-diaspora entrepreneurs in the same industry, which draws attention to the need for this thesis to conduct a comparative case study, which can serve as a foundation for further research on diaspora entrepreneurship practices (Song and Parry, 1997).

At present, there are numerous studies on brands from local to global; however, few studies take a closer look at the exclusivity dimension of historical context in products, prices, distribution and promotions strategies (Kapferer, 2008). There are critics of how American brands dominate the international market and ride roughshod over indigenous cultures in other countries (Holt, Quelch and Taylor, 2004). Interestingly, more than 40 per cent of Fortune 500 companies were founded by diaspora entrepreneurs (Anderson, 2011). This applies to some of America's greatest brands, including Apple, Google, AT&T, Budweiser, Colgate, eBay, General Electric, IBM, Amazon, Sandisk, PayPal, McDonalds and many others. This has increased job creation in other countries and access to consumers requires sophisticated distribution systems, a trusted network, and aggressive marketing campaigns (Anderson, 2011; Kumar and Steenkamp, 2013). Studies indicate that some brands are not just brands in the international market; rather they are cultural anchors for the immigrant populations living in various host countries (Guzmán and Paswan, 2009). Therefore, the development of brands created in host countries were also influenced by the high populations of immigrants living there. Whitelock and

Fastoso (2007) agree, noting that branding strategy is more strongly rooted in the target market's cultural context and reflects a broader conceptualisation of international branding.

In the same vein, Chandler (1962) proposed a dynamic model of strategy and structure whereby the nature of the environment and the resources of the organization influence the strategy, which in turn influences the organizational structure. For example, when the environment and resources evolve, a new strategy and new structure are generated, useful in developing a brand, particularly in an emerging market and appealing to a high demand population. Further, strategy in development of a brand relies on innovation, which Lopes (2003) refers to marketing knowledge and branding, which are central in explaining the growth and survival of the firms that created such brands. However, Holt, Quelch and Taylor (2004) highlight that consumers across the world associate global brands with high quality, a certain global myth, and social responsibility. A study on building Chinese global brands illustrates that cultural myths influence buying behaviour of both local and foreign customers, and therefore quicken the brand-building for example Lenovo, Haier, Cosco, Tsingtao and Suntech Power (Ille, 2009). Doherty and Tranchell (2005) indicate that a strategy of implementing a unique fair trade model on farmer ownership at the centre of the brand helped the Day Chocolate Company achieve its business goals in a highly competitive UK chocolate market. Therefore, by considering innovation as reliant on marketing knowledge in marketing-based industries, appropriate strategies for the industry in a competitive market, and the tendency of global brands to be associated with certain myths and expectations of quality, this thesis scrutinises the implications from a historical perspective, and the practices applied by diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs in developing their cosmetic brands in the US.

Historically, research on global brands has briefly mentioned immigrant-founders, but did not study it as a subject. Jones (2010) discusses the history of the global beauty industry and compares cosmetics brands in a globalisation context. He briefly described some brands as founded by immigrants, but his study goes no further. Koehn (1999) conducted a case study on Heinz, a German immigrant-founded brand, looking at its brand creation and brand-building strategies in the late nineteenth century. Its success was due to investment in a range of organisational capabilities to

support the products and corporate identity (Koehn, 1999). Different studies also mentioned the immigrant roots of founders of brands such as Elizabeth Arden, Helena Rubinstein, Estée Lauder and Avon. These studies discussed management structure, company culture and marketing materials, but no comparison was made between cosmetic brands created by these diaspora entrepreneurs and those created by non-diaspora entrepreneurs (Koehn, 2001a, 2001b; Manko, 1997; Peiss, 2011, 2000; Willett, 2010, 2000). Another diaspora-founded brand, McDonalds, built its global brands over time through the concept of ‘*think global, act local*’, and adopting the 7Ps marketing mix (Vignali, 2001). In addition, findings from US firms employing marketing strategies to reach ethnic minorities in the country has implications for marketers to strengthen their brands (Quinn and Devasagayam, 2005). Wilkins (1988) describes some firms doing business across borders before 1914, who had ventures in a single foreign country, whilst others already had operations in several countries. These differences between firms apparently reflect the strategies implemented, including strategies derived from marketing. Jones (2011) concludes that the beauty industry was historically contingent on the unique circumstances prevailing at that time and highlights that the strategies of business firms have helped to reinforce the business alongside the emergence of globalisation. Other studies suggest that constant monitoring of the market is a prerequisite to study brands in their historical context (DuWors Jr and Haines Jr, 1990). Therefore, this thesis conducts research based on three contiguous periods.

Recently, global brands’ marketing and diaspora entrepreneurship have become increasingly attractive to scholars in business management. Kumar and Steenkamp (2013) spent three years studying emerging giants that are striving to expand around the world and found that the target diaspora is the main theme, suggesting that capitalising on their success abroad can be a valuable brand-building tool. The authors describe that diaspora phenomena have a potential influence on brand building, particularly those from emerging markets. Basu (2011) raised a question of *how and why do entrepreneurs facing similar market structures adopt different marketing strategies?* While the number of diaspora entrepreneurship and global brand studies is gradually growing, there is a lack of **empirical evidence** to support the arguments (Dinnie, 2004; Kumar and Steenkamp, 2013). Drawing from existing studies, this thesis further examines the diaspora entrepreneurship phenomena

in global brands, particularly marketing strategies in their historical context, which is hoped to contribute to a better understanding of the phenomena. Although this thesis carries out a qualitative study, the empirical data collected for this thesis will be useful for future researchers interested in diaspora entrepreneurship and global brands.

Diaspora Entrepreneurs in the Cosmetic Industry

There is not much literature dedicated to diaspora entrepreneurship in the cosmetic industry. Jones (2010) indicates that some entrepreneurs have an essential understanding of fragrance, which seems to have been passed from generation to generation, and many of these influential entrepreneurs were “*outsiders*” of one sort or another, frequently with cosmopolitan or immigrant backgrounds (p.37). From a marketing strategy perspective, Jones (2010) illustrates with an example from Procter & Gamble growing the brand through advertising, a strategy devised by Harley Procter, the youngest member of the second generation of owners (p.75). In another study, Jones (2008) notes that firms such as Colgate (1806) and Procter & Gamble (P&G) (1837) were among the earliest to venture into the revolution in soap-making technology in the early nineteenth century. Indeed, some other firms invested into product and marketing innovation such as Colgate, which sold its first toothpaste in 1873, packing its powders and pastes in jars and in 1896 invested in the collapsible toothpaste tube; and Avon developed direct selling. The fact that these first movers in the industry were diaspora entrepreneurs has not been rigorously discussed. Diaspora entrepreneurs also have numerous specialties in colour cosmetics through makeup companies such as Max Factor, whilst Elizabeth Arden and Helena Rubinstein develop substantial sales in interwar Western Europe (Jones, 2008).

Additionally, the European detergents market between 1962-1985 was shared by Unilever, P&G, Henkel and Colgate due to European integration and corporate restructuring strategies (Jones and Miskell, 2005). Two of these firms were founded by diaspora entrepreneurs, suggesting that firms in the same industry moved at different pace, as the entry of strong international competitors forced detergent managers to reconsider corporate values that identified local decision-making as the primary source of competitive advantage (Jones and Miskell, 2005, p.137). Jones (2012) emphasises that individuals were important in diffusing concepts across

national borders, taking an example from Benedict Lust, a German immigrant who brought the German concept of natural food and healing medication to the US.

Peiss (2011) elaborates that, companies in the beauty industry before 1945 were often founded by the immigrants. Some firms advertised directly to ethnic communities using foreign language press, posters in immigrant neighbourhoods, and local promotions; for example, Eastern European immigrant entrepreneurs advertised in the *Jewish Daily Forward*. In the same vein, the beauty industry open opportunities not only for firms but for immigrants with a culture that celebrated inner, moral beauty and they placed a new emphasis on external appearance through the purchase and use of cosmetics and other beauty aids (Peiss, 2000). Indeed, such immigrants use their cultural links and beauty myths as business opportunities, directing their businesses and marketing efforts not only at the wealthy but working women, African Americans, and other immigrants, drawing on cultural practices and institutions familiar to women in their daily lives (Peiss, 2000). Demands from various markets have increased the interest of American cosmetic firms in promoting a variety of specific national and ethnic images of beauty and other market segments. In short, American beauty products promise cultural dominance and symbolise opportunity and freedom (Peiss, 2002).

Apart from these studies that briefly mention diaspora entrepreneurs, Manko (2001) examines a single case (the California Perfume Company) founded by a diaspora entrepreneur. Her findings suggest that this firm implemented a depression-proof business strategy during the Great Depression, with an emphasis on sales techniques, service skills development and product information. This thesis disagrees with the term depression-proof proposed by Manko (2001a) and argues that the cosmetic industry is rather depression-resistant. Koehn (2001a, 2001b) focuses on Estée Lauder brand as a case study, mentioning the immigrant background of the founder and the general strategies of the firm between 1940s and 1990s such as management and marketing. Manko (2001a, 2001b, 1997) and Koehn (2001a, 2001b) provide historical insight into both cosmetic firms, although their analysis of marketing strategies is general; this opens an opportunity for further research, such as a comparative study, a method which Gourvish (1995) argues is respectable and intellectually justified for the field.

In recent studies of the cosmetic industry, findings indicate that North America accounts for the greatest share of cosmetics sales, and the industry has become more complex due to globalisation, which forces competition in product, price, promotion and distribution (Kumar, 2005). Interestingly, the Strength, Weakness, Opportunity, and Threat (SWOT) analysis in the study illustrated that Estée Lauder, P&G, Revlon and Avon have more practical strengths than weaknesses, which helps them survive during crises (Kumar, 2005). These are all brands created by diaspora entrepreneurs. A series of economic impacts from the Great Depression, recessions of the 1960s, 1980s, and the early 1990s brought new challenges, for example counterfeit products (Kumar, 2005). Kumar, Massie and Dumonceaux (2006) investigate Estée Lauder, Revlon, Max Factor and Avon using Porter's five forces analysis and SWOT analysis, and their findings demonstrate that each of these cosmetics firms is unique and offers something different to the industry, particularly in selling method, marketing strategy, product line and distribution channels (Kumar, Massie and Dumonceaux, 2006). This result is not surprising, as studies in the historical context explain the growing competition, high demands due to changes in society and globalisation, and opportunities in the market structure. This shows that the performance, existence or disappearance of cosmetic brands could perhaps be connected with interpretative findings of historical studies, which this thesis hopes to illustrate.

However, Peiss (1998) criticised that business historians have focused on the large-scale processes of standardization, nationalisation and globalisation in modern industries; yet at the level of retailing and service provision, as well as production, many businesses remained small, local family affairs throughout the twentieth century. She also criticised that business history has largely focused its attention on the triumph of continuous-flow industrial production, rationalised systems of distribution, national media-based advertising and the rise of the mass market, yet there are other paths in the creation of mass-consumer goods and service industries, on which research is fairly limited (Peiss, 1998).

Building on the existing literature, this thesis argues that there is no comparative study between diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs examining the

marketing strategies in development of US cosmetic brands. In filling this gap, this thesis aims to give a better understanding of how and why these two groups of entrepreneurs facing similar market structures in the same country adopt different marketing strategies, which perhaps can explain their survivability in the present. It also analyses the alternative paths for distribution and promotion emphasised by Peiss (1998).

2.4 Marketing Strategy as Unit of Analysis

As discussed earlier in this chapter, there are many factors that made diaspora entrepreneurs different from the non-diaspora entrepreneurs. Marketing strategy is one of the additional factors recommended for future research by scholars in this field (Aliaga-Isla and Rialp, 2013; Kumar and Steenkamp, 2013). Marketing as a strategy involves the process of segmentation, targeting, and positioning, so that products or services are focused on appropriate buyer groups through product, price, distribution and promotion (Stokes, 2000). This thesis focuses only on marketing strategies as its unit of analysis. This is a crucial study to focus on marketing strategy, as it is a tool to observe the consistency in strategies to highlight the differences between diaspora entrepreneurs and the non-diaspora entrepreneurs in the US cosmetics industry for the period of study.

In previous studies, marketing strategy was set as unit of analysis to synthesize extant knowledge on the subject, using meta-analysis of empirical studies and emphasising product, price, distribution and promotion in assessing export success (Leonidou, Katsikeas and Samiee, 2002). Findings indicate that marketing strategy can indeed determine export success, because the variables were significantly associated with overall export performance (Leonidou, Katsikeas and Samiee, 2002). However, research on marketing emphasises that marketing strategy focuses explicitly on the quest for long-term competitive and consumer advantage, which overlaps with business strategy that deals with marketing variables such as market share, market growth, market development and so on (Wind and Robertson, 1983). Other empirical research has been conducted using marketing strategies as the unit of analysis, examining factors that influence product, price, promotion, and distribution to measure performance in export market ventures (Cavusgil and Zou, 1994). The results indicate that firms can achieve better performance in international markets through deliberate marketing strategy implementation based on a comprehensive understanding of its basic marketing mix success factors (Cavusgil and Zou, 1994). Marketing strategy was used as a unit of analysis emphasising price, a major positioning tool to differentiate a product, and it was found that the importance and role of various marketing efforts related to each other, such as store image,

distribution intensity, advertising, and price promotion, in building strong brand equity (Yoo, Donthu and Lee, 2000).

In more recent work on a comparative study, a sample of fourteen developed and emerging markets were used to provide insights into brand sales' effectiveness by deploying all the core 4Ps marketing mix (Bahadir, Bharadwaj and Srivastava, 2015). The study offers unique insights on the impact of deploying marketing tools on brand sales between developed and emerging markets (Bahadir, Bharadwaj and Srivastava, 2015). In a comparative study of diaspora entrepreneurship using a marketing mix such as product, promotion, price, personnel and place, it was found that the older generation of migrants tends to be more oriented towards traditional sectors serving the needs of a particular segment market, whilst the younger generation looks for new opportunities outside traditional markets (Masurel, Nijkamp and Vindigni, 2004). A research suggests that firms are more likely to rely on social capital, such as diaspora entrepreneurs when operating in a target market where customer behaviour varies significantly from the home market (Tung and Chung, 2010). This is supported by the empirical results using marketing mix, suggesting that the use of diaspora who are more familiar with the target market can assist local investors to differentiate their product from their competitors to gain a greater competitive advantage (Tung and Chung, 2010).

In general, marketing strategies required some changes to be made during the economic crisis, particularly in the four main elements: product, price, place and promotion (Haluk Köksal and Özgül, 2007). A study using factor analysis with varimax rotation showed that the most important factors in marketing mix during crisis period are those relating to promotion, including promotional budget, advertising budget, media usage, quantity discount, public relation activities and after sales service, followed by factors related to product strategy like new product development, product range, R&D budget, product quality and marketing expenditure (Haluk Köksal and Özgül, 2007). Surprisingly, there is no significant differentiation in the performance of companies that practice different pricing policies during an economic crisis (Haluk Köksal and Özgül, 2007). In contrast, Shama (1978) explained that the crisis period forces significant change in prices, usually downwards, to increase sales volume in the short term. However, some scholars disagree with Shama

(1978) because reducing prices to increase sales volume during a crisis could harm the brand image and customers might resist moves to return to former price level when the crisis is over (Ang, Leong and Kotler, 2000; Bennett, 2005; Haluk Köksal and Özgül, 2007). In the same vein, Ang, Leong and Kotler (2000) suggest that companies need to withdraw from those markets in which they are not main players and concentrate their resources on those in which they are strong.

Findings from other research during crisis periods indicate that promotion is the main factor to maintain the business, as advertising usually becomes cheaper during this period; aggressive marketing campaigns may be more effective during this time, and introducing new products is recommended based on evidence of successful new product introduction during the 1990-1991 recession (Pearce and Michael, 2006). The temptation to cut prices to increase sales should be resisted because it may unintentionally send the message to consumers that the products have reduced in quality (Pearce and Michael, 2006).

In the Great Depression 1929-1933, a historical study suggested that lower production efficiency contributed to productivity decreases, and changes in organisational capital are necessary because it is as large as the total physical capital stock. When the capital stock has fallen significantly, this can include breakdowns in relationship with suppliers that lead to changes in production plans, breakdowns in customer relationships, and changes in marketing, distribution and inventory plans (Ohanian, 2001). Interestingly, during the recession, the consumer goods industry went against the trend towards price-cutting across many sectors, and some smart companies were even able to raise price through the period, exploiting the uniqueness and necessity of their products. For example P&G and Colgate have both increased prices during the downturn to protect their profit margins from the effect of declining sales, whilst focused aggressively on product and promotion strategies (Colvin, 2009). According to Golder and Tellis (1993), much of the early research done before World War II found that many firms can be considered inventors, pioneers or first movers in the markets. For example, in the tobacco industry in North America and Europe in the 1920s and 1930s, marketing strategies became more sophisticated, developing a diverse range of messages, products, and brands to appeal to different segment of the female market (Amos and Haglund, 2000).

Research illustrates that a niche market strategy is useful for certain industries during a crisis period, which findings corroborate the work of Kotler (1999) that firms with a successful niche strategy are strongly dedicated to their customers, offering them superior performance, responsive service, and punctual delivery, rather than low prices (Parrish, Cassill and Oxenham, 2006). Dalgic and Leeuw (1994) suggest that firms in a large market consider niche marketing strategies, as they could identify new opportunities for healthy profits in smaller markets. This may lead to smaller profits per market but more markets, easier defence against potential competitors and new approach to the market from uniform to fractured (Dalgic and Leeuw, 1994). There are other marketing strategies that the firms commonly implement, such as market-oriented and brand-oriented. A market-oriented business refers to a firm with the purpose to identify need and wants in its target market, and to satisfy these more effectively and efficiently than the competitors (Slater and Narver, 1998). Brand-oriented businesses refers to the extent to which the marketing strategy and activities are focused on the brand in order to create distinctiveness (Yin Wong and Merrilees, 2005). Studies show that a market-oriented business is positively associated with a firm's innovativeness (Olavarrieta and Friedmann, 1999). Dickson (1992) suggests that such a firm must improve the product offering and to meet the needs and wants of the target market. This explain what Lopes (2007) means by innovation relying on marketing knowledge and branding rather than technology in marketing-based industries, challenging Chandler's (1990) view of innovation in capital-intensive industry that relies on technology, like machinery.

In contrast, research shows that the more brand-oriented the firm is, the more it pursues strategic brand- and marketing-related performance benefits, such as brand positioning and brand distinctiveness (Reijonen et al., 2012). This is because brand-oriented firms generate value and meaning through their brands: a product can be objectively described, explained and analysed, while a brand is emotionally associated with the product (Urde, 1999).

Additionally, scholars have proposed various classifications of innovation strategies related to marketing, such as marketing innovation, process innovation, product innovation and service innovation (Santamaría, Nieto and Miles, 2012; Staub,

Kaynak and Gok, 2016). Marketing innovation refers to firms with novel and creative strategies and methods to market their products in competitive environment, as demonstrated by a study among Spanish firms during a crisis period. It found that firms were most likely to innovate in marketing, design, promotion, placement and pricing as a solution to the new economic context (Medrano-Sáez and Olarte-Pascual, 2012). Product innovation refers to firms that introduce new products in the market, for example Apple, Dunlop, Volley, Mini, and Gucci, which have revitalised their brands and increased market share and profit, indicating that brands implement this strategy while striving to become industry leaders (Beverland, Napoli and Farrelly, 2010; McDermott and O'Connor, 2002). Product differentiation and market segmentation are other common marketing strategies (Smith, 1956). These alternative marketing strategies were strongly related to and rooted in the core 4Ps marketing mix discussed earlier (Baker, 2001). The discussion in this section provides an insight into the relevance of deploying the marketing strategy as the unit of analysis for this thesis. The next section provides criticism of the 4Ps marketing mix that will be used in this thesis, to allow a 'conversation' in this chapter.

Criticism of the Marketing Mix

The concept of the 4Ps marketing mix has been criticised by number of studies (Goi, 2009). Popovic (2006) has noted that the mix of product, price, distribution and promotion are a production-oriented definition of marketing, and not customer-oriented. Möller (2006) presents a debate around the marketing mix by reviewing five marketing management sub-disciplines such as consumer marketing, relationship marketing, service marketing, retail marketing and industrial marketing and an emerging marketing of e-Commerce. Fakeideas as cited in Goi (2009) disagrees with the basic marketing mix because marketing is meant to be 'customer-focused management' and the mix does not mention relationship-building. This illustrates the continuous debates among scholars and practitioners over the simplistic nature of the marketing mix: the original components of product, price, distribution and promotion made it easy to apply and remember (Constantinides, 2006). However, this thesis disagrees with these arguments because each P can be adapted to industrial products and services, which obviously derived from the original P, and empirical research conducted found that some respondents thought that *the extra Ps could be*

incorporated into the existing Ps (Rafiq and Ahmed, 1995, p.13). This can be observed in differences between firms pursuing a transaction-type strategy and those applying a relationship strategy in marketing (Grönroos, 1994). Indeed, those firms pursuing a transaction-type strategy will probably benefit most from the basic 4Ps marketing mix, whilst those firms applying a relationship strategy often become too restrictive using the basic 4Ps marketing mix, as there are other variables that relate to customers (Grönroos, 1994). Although this study does not explore the relationship between the transaction and customer, nonetheless it does consider the fundamental stance of the two types of entrepreneurs in development of their brands, which are more likely belong to transaction-type, and therefore the 4Ps marketing mix is appropriate.

In the same vein, Vignali and Davies (1994) argue that the criticism aimed at the basic marketing mix arose out of a misunderstanding, when practitioners find it difficult to translate the academic frameworks into practice, for example between the variables and elements of the marketing mix. Indeed, practitioners and academic scholars in the field of business-to-business-marketing differ, because academics pursue knowledge as their primary goal, whilst practitioners are mainly interested in practical tools and solutions to specific problems (Brennan and Ankers, 2004). As a consequence, there were attempts at modifying the original marketing mix and the emergence of Ps can be seen from numbers of works, such as Judd's suggestion of the fifth P (people) (Judd, 1987). Booms and Bitner (1981) added another three Ps: participants, physical evidence, and process; Kotler and Armstrong (2010) added political power, and public opinion formation; MaGrath (1986) suggests personnel, physical facilities, and process management; and Baumgartner (1991) extended it to a total of fifteen Ps. Grönroos (1997) summarises that the emergence of Ps in marketing mix clearly illustrates that the 4Ps of marketing mix have become the universal marketing model and an almost totally dominant paradigm for most academics, while also having a tremendous impact on the practice of marketing by practitioners as well. Following Grönroos (1997), this thesis adopts the original 4Ps because this reflects the fundamental stance of the entrepreneurs and firms in business. The 4Ps is the most appropriate: as Grönroos (1997) mentioned, it is a universal marketing model which makes it suitable to any period of time, and any point of business progress. This has

been supported by Kent (1986), who refers to the 4Ps of marketing mix as '*the holy quadruple...[.] of the marketing faith...[.] written in tables of stone*' (p.146).

Additionally, McCarthy and Perreault (1987) have defined marketing mix as a set of *controllable marketing tools* consisting of product, price, distribution and promotion. These are the primary ingredients of a marketing strategy, translating marketing planning into practice, which firms can co-ordinate to satisfy their target market in a competitive environment (McCarthy and Perreault, 1987). This has been support by Jobber (2001), who argues that the strength of this basic marketing mix approach represents a memorable and practical framework for marketing decisions and has proved useful for case study analysis for many years. Following Kotler (1984), he considers the marketing mix as the elements of the marketing strategy, which approach has been developed gradually over the years from “academic” perspective to a more ‘practical’ one. In summary, despite its deficiencies and debates among scholars, the 4Ps remain a staple of the marketing mix (Goi, 2009).

Paradoxically, marketing in the diaspora entrepreneurship research stream has not generated much attention from scholars, but there is a growing demand for marketing strategies and theories, and recent scholarly work has provided useful insights into ethnic consumers’ responses to marketing efforts, such as sales promotions, advertising and media (Jamal, Peñaloza and Laroche, 2015). The emergence of research in marketing for diaspora entrepreneurship is important, as it reflects a significant change in lifestyle, the rise of global markets and global consumer culture (Jamal, Peñaloza and Laroche, 2015, p.4). However, as this thesis is going to explore the fundamental stance of diaspora entrepreneurs in business, research on their marketing strategies is the beginning of diaspora entrepreneurship study in a business management context. Therefore, what this research aims to explore is a better understanding of diaspora entrepreneurship in marketing strategies from a business history context. This will undoubtedly have implications for diaspora entrepreneurship. Using the theory of entrepreneurial opportunity identification coupled with marketing mix and a resource-based view is a theoretical contribution. While efforts have been made to explore diaspora entrepreneurs establishing businesses abroad (particularly with their first generation’s homeland through middlemen theory and ethnic enclaves), this has not yet been done as a comparative

study with non-diaspora entrepreneurs in exploring marketing strategies (Bonacich, 1973; Wilson and Portes, 1980). This could help shed light on the important role of diaspora in business, and the next section presents the proposed theoretical framework for this study.

Branding and Corporate Identity

This thesis focuses on the marketing strategies that were closely related to the founder's philosophy and corporate identity of the company in the development of a brand. According to Serrat (2010), marketing and branding are inextricably linked where the objectives that a good brand achieves are to deliver the message clearly, confirm credibility, connect emotionally to the targeted prospects, motivate the end users and concretize user loyalty. This is directly linked to the corporate identity that influences the development of a brand. A growing number of scholars supported this claim and started to appreciate the multidisciplinary foundations of business identity at the date of brand creation (Balmer, 2001, p.249). Balmer (2001) further explains that marketing is associated with the philosophy, content, management and process that have a long lineage in branding, communication, image, reputation and identity.

In addition, the corporate identity is important because it is initially defined in terms of the fundamental attributes of an organisation (Balmer, 2001, p.251). Therefore, these fundamental attributes embrace a wealth of other concepts and strategies of the brand, image, personality and reputation over time. In contrast, this corporate identity and marketing mix has received little attention, with the exception of Balmer (1999).

Furthermore, as corporate identity associates closely to marketing strategy, it is then needed to use certain tools, methods and approaches or strategies to achieve strategic and operational goals (Serrat, 2010). This is where the thesis' position can visibly seen through selected case studies to explore whether the consistency of the marketing strategy created at the date of brand creation is significant in the development of a brand, especially during selected crisis periods. This marketing strategy to some extent is derived from the founder's philosophy, and identity of the company, where the brand's reputation is built from the sum total of the experiences

of the organisation's products, services and corporate identity (Serrat, 2010, p.2). Indeed, building a reputation takes time, authenticity and consistency in strategies, which this thesis is going to illustrate in three periodisations.

By doing this research, it is hoped that the findings will contribute to the brand and corporate identity literature, as many scholars emphasise that a growing number of management scholars no longer view business identity as a chimera but rather as a crucial research activity (Balmer, 2001, p.285).

2.5 Theoretical Framework

In relation to the literature review, there are three main components appropriate to explain the phenomenon of study. First, this study examines the different capabilities between diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs to identify opportunities in the US over three periods of studies. This is important to distinguish how these two groups of entrepreneurs seek opportunities within different periods. Second, this study uses the basic marketing mix as a tool to compare action undertaken between the two groups of entrepreneurs. It is coupled with the resource-based view of the firm, to explain how the two groups of entrepreneurs decide their marketing strategies based on product, price, distribution and promotion. Third, the development of US cosmetic brands created by diaspora entrepreneurs and those created by the non-diaspora entrepreneurs will be explained by the differences on marketing strategies implemented. Appropriate theories used for this framework will be used to produce a better explanation of the differences between diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs to answer the research question posed in Chapter 1 on how these two types of entrepreneurs see opportunities, and is there a consistency in their different marketing strategies. Indeed, this thesis does not take an assertive view of each theory of entrepreneurial opportunity identification and development, the marketing mix, and resource-based view as a set of strict procedures, but rather combines these theories as a guide to investigate the phenomena.

The theoretical framework consists of concepts, definitions and relevant scholarly literature. Previous work proposed a framework that attributes of the emergence of business performance growth to the intersection between three streams (the entrepreneur, strategy and the firm) (Storey, 1994). Recent work examines and groups factors for business growth and performance based on the earlier study framework and critically emphasis three linked areas: business characteristics, owner-manager characteristics and business strategy (Blackburn, Hart and Wainwright, 2013). Drawing on these studies and the literature review, this thesis proposes a theoretical framework from the intersection of three theories: entrepreneurial opportunity identification, marketing mix and the resource-based view to explain the differences between diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs in their marketing strategies.

Many studies in entrepreneurship have applied the Theory of Planned Behaviour, to predict the intention to start a business (Kautonen, Van Gelderen and Tornikoski, 2013). Krueger, Reilly and Carsrud (2000) found that any planned behaviour in entrepreneurship is ‘*by observing intentions toward that behaviour and not by attitudes, belief, personality or mere demographics*’ (p.413). This is in contrast with the context of this research, where entrepreneurs identified business opportunities through recognition and opportunities are made, not found within the demographic of their entrepreneurial activities (Ardichvili, Cardozo and Ray, 2003). This opportunity development involved entrepreneurs’ creative work, where their opportunities-alertness and creativeness were scrutinised in this thesis by two groups of entrepreneurs. Figure 7 illustrates a proposed theoretical framework to investigate the marketing strategies of cosmetic brands created by the two groups of entrepreneurs in three periods of study.

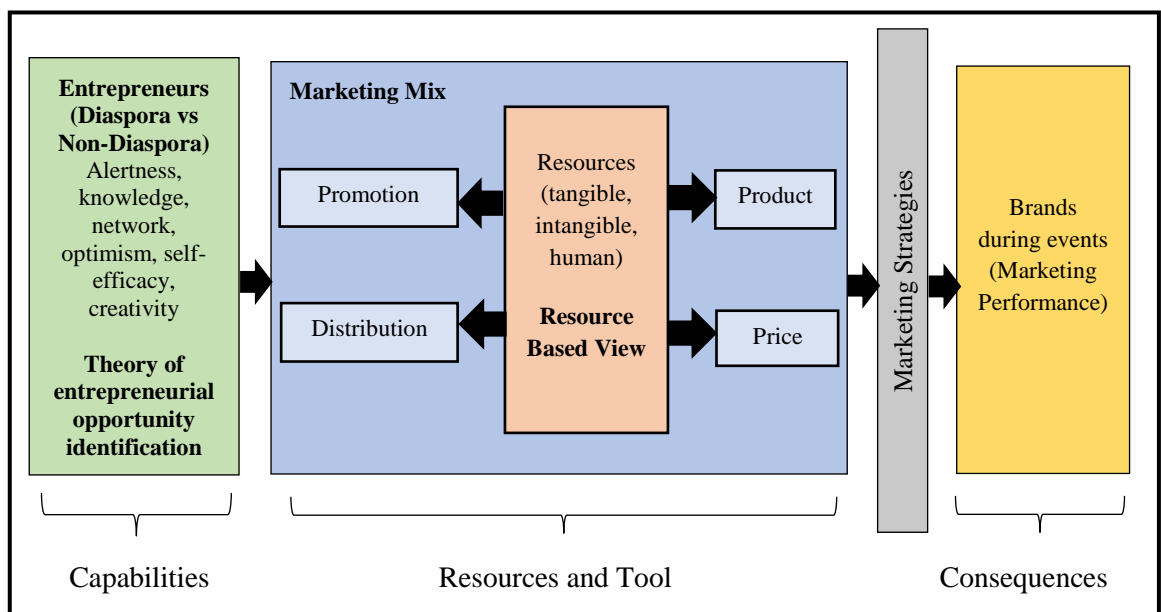


Figure 7: A proposed theoretical framework.

Source: Theoretical framework developed by the author, which combines entrepreneurial opportunity identification, the marketing mix and the resource-based view.

First, the capabilities of entrepreneurs are observed using theory of entrepreneurial identification. Following Venkataraman’s (1997) definition of entrepreneurial opportunity, diaspora entrepreneurs have a tendency to follow ‘*a set of*

ideas, belief, and actions that enable the creation of future goods and services in the absence of current markets for them' in identifying opportunities. This means that diaspora entrepreneurs have different life experiences, networks, processes, and abilities linked to prior knowledge and alertness (Mason and Harvey, 2013). This theory is used as a guide to examine entrepreneurs as individuals who recognise and exploit new business opportunities by founding new ventures. It identifies entrepreneurs' personality traits, social networks, and prior knowledge as antecedents of entrepreneurial alertness to business opportunities (Ardichvili, Cardozo and Ray, 2003). The major factors that influence this core process of opportunity recognition are entrepreneurial alertness; information asymmetry and prior knowledge; social networks; personality traits including optimism, self-efficacy and creativity; and the types of opportunities. Scholars widely assume that opportunity recognition involves cognitive events or processes occurring within the mind of specific individuals (Bhave, 1994; Herron and Sapienza, 1992). However, opportunity recognition is influenced by creativity and the other major factors identified. This is supported by Hills, Shrader and Lumpkin (1999) whose work found that creativity is significantly related to opportunity recognition.

Second, the marketing mix is used as a tool to identify resources available at the firm, which are assessed from the resource-based view. This strategy was supported by Jap (1999), and Palmatier, Dant and Grewal (2007) who highlighted that marketing researchers often couple resource-based theories with other theories. According to Kozlenkova, Samaha and Palmatier (2014) there are two main objectives in doing so: firstly, for firms to exploit the potential of its valuable, rare and imperfectly imitable resources, they must have effective managerial and organisational processes; and second, other theories can provide insights into its success or failure. Integrating the marketing mix and resource-based view identifies the ability of a firm to utilise its strengths as valuable resources that can drive its competitiveness in the marketplace, through marketing strategies (Barney, 2001).

Third, this theoretical framework is useful for research design and methods (see Chapter 3). It is used to interpret each case in three periods of study and will guide the entire process of the study, providing a sense of 'generalisation' for the case studies (see Chapter 7). In addition, the resource based view proposes that a firm can

be viewed as a bundle of resources, such as raw materials, finance, physical plant, reputation, its people and their capabilities (Wernerfelt, 1984). Historically, it has been applied most frequently in three domains in marketing: that is, marketing strategy, international marketing, and marketing innovation (Dutta, Narasimhan and Rajiv, 1999; Fang, Palmatier and Grewal, 2011; Ramaswami, Srivastava and Bhargava, 2009; Ruiz-Ortega and García-Villaverde, 2008). This study suggests that it can provide additional insights into the marketing mix, to examine the marketing strategies implemented in each periodization of study. The primary motivation for using the marketing mix coupled with resource based view, is the compelling framework it offers for integrating multiple and dissimilar resources to explain differential effects on marketing strategies performance and the contingencies associated with each (Fang et al., 2011).

2.6 Summary of Key Issues

There are three key issues derived from the literature review. First, diaspora entrepreneurship is a highly heterogeneous phenomenon, which previous research has not clarified successfully. In recent work, scholars recommended that further research on conceptualisation of the type, context, and generation of diaspora entrepreneurs should be carried out (Harima, Elo and Freiling, 2016). Second, diaspora entrepreneurship research illustrates a growth of interest from scholars to examine the phenomena from a business and management perspective. Since the majority of the research conducted is based on either single diaspora community or countries, to ascertain the contextual condition of diaspora engagement it is recommended to take a comparative approach (Aliaga-Isla and Rialp, 2013; Lin, 2010; Patterson, 2005). Third, no comparative study has been conducted on diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs in the cosmetic industry and in doing so, this study will provide new knowledge of how diaspora entrepreneurship scholars will consider phenomena through a different lens. There is room for this in business history, where it is considered respectable and intellectually justified (Gourvish, 1995).

2.7 Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter has explored entrepreneurship and diaspora concepts, diaspora in the US history, diaspora entrepreneurship, the cosmetic industry, marketing strategies and a theoretical framework. The chapter began by discussing the defining concepts of entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship. It provides the historical views and comparison of several studies before reaching the definition concept of entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship to be used in this thesis. Then, the literature review focused on diaspora and migration in the US between 1870 and 1920. It is important to give an overview of the US during this period because the selected cosmetic brands for case studies were created within this period. Therefore, critical examination of the trends and reasons for migration to the US during this period is crucial. Further, this chapter has attempted to conceptualise diaspora entrepreneurship and explore the complexity of the push and pull factors that encourage the diaspora into entrepreneurship, the role of diaspora entrepreneurs in business, diaspora entrepreneurship and global brands, and diaspora entrepreneurship in the cosmetic

industry. As marketing strategies are used for the analysis of the cosmetic industry, discussion of marketing strategy encourages ‘*conversation*’ to justify the significance of adopting it for this study. Finally, this chapter explains the proposed theoretical framework to be used.

Based upon the literature review conducted in this chapter, it is clear that differences in marketing strategies between diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs in explaining the development and longevity of their cosmetic brands could contribute to diaspora entrepreneurship studies and business history. The questions this thesis aims to address are:

- 1) Is there a consistency in the brand proposition and marketing strategies over time, including periods of crisis, between diaspora entrepreneurs and non-diaspora entrepreneurs in the development of their cosmetic brands?
- 2) How did the marketing strategies differ between diaspora entrepreneurs and non-diaspora entrepreneurs in the development of their cosmetic brands and to explain the longevity of the brands?

This chapter has shown the need for research to be conducted on how diaspora entrepreneurs are different in their marketing strategies from non-diaspora entrepreneurs in the same industry and country. In particular, it is going to explore whether comparative study approach is significant for this type of research and the implications of adopting this type of approach. The implication for diaspora entrepreneurship research will be that the comparative study may contribute new insights through studying the phenomena from a different lens, and for business history research it will close gaps identified within the general analysis of the cosmetic industry, particularly in marketing strategies. The next chapter is going to present the methodology and outline the approach taken.

Chapter 3:

Methodology

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses in detail the selected philosophical position of the study, ontological, epistemological and methodological beliefs. As a reminder, the previous chapter identified that there is a lack of qualitative research in this area, and limited literature is available on diaspora entrepreneurship; there is also a lack of research on the history of US cosmetics, particularly from other than the sociological perspective (e.g. business and management viewpoints). Therefore, this study emphasises research in this field using different research approaches and seeks to justify further the choice of research methods and data analysis, contributing to the literature and methodology of diaspora entrepreneurship studies. Therefore, to address the suggestion that diaspora entrepreneurs have contributed socio-economically (rather than ‘stealing’ native jobs, as discussed in Chapter 2), two main research questions were posed;

- 1) Is there a consistency in the brand proposition and marketing strategies over time, including periods of crisis, between diaspora entrepreneurs and non-diaspora entrepreneurs in the development of their cosmetic brands?
- 2) How did the marketing strategies differ between diaspora entrepreneurs and non-diaspora entrepreneurs in the development of their cosmetic brands and to explain the longevity of the brands?

In order to answer the questions posed, a qualitative approach was undertaken. This enables the study to explore the differences between the two groups of entrepreneurs implementing their marketing strategies in development of brand within three different periods. The objective of this chapter is *to provide rational arguments for, and overview of, the research design, in terms of choosing a research paradigm, the specific methods adopted, the technique for research inquiry and the limitations of these choices*. In order to explore this in detail, a multiple case study

approach was adopted so that the two groups of entrepreneurs could be compared. A thematic analysis approach was taken; data collection and analysis happened at the same time and was analysed using manual coding. This research relies on a combination of archival visits, documentary data from a variety of sources and open-ended unstructured interviews with brand industry experts and family members from the cosmetic companies.

This chapter is structured as follows. Section 3.1 discusses the research philosophy of this study. Section 3.2 explains in detail the research design and methods selected for this study. Section 3.3 covers the process of data collection and analysis. Section 3.4 problematises the research approach chosen in this study. Finally, Section 3.5 concludes this chapter.

3.1 Research philosophy

This section clarifies the research philosophy adopted for this study. The aim of this section is to provide a fundamental background of the research methodology chosen. The researcher's belief system refers to philosophies or paradigms that concern ontology, epistemology and methodology. The importance of this is that these ideas are linked to each other and deliver the whole picture of the research framework. First, ontology answers questions about the nature of knowledge and reality. Second, epistemology defines the links or relationships between the variables in the study. Third, methodology executes the possible ways to seek out better knowledge derived from this study. Therefore, this process assists this study to shape the nature of the investigation and how it is practised through research philosophy.

The primary research interest of this thesis is historical evidence relating to US cosmetic brands chosen as case studies, in order to accurately explore marketing strategies implemented within the periods of study. Therefore, qualitative research is the correct domain as it provides researchers with the best tools to explore a topic of this nature. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2005), the aim of qualitative research is to '*study things in their natural setting*' (p.3). Consequently, it is appropriate to the underlying focus of the thesis as its main aim is to explore diaspora entrepreneurship in its historical context. However, before making a case for qualitative research, it is important to discuss the various assumptions associated with the nature of knowledge and how it is obtained (Snape and Spencer, 2003).

Research Paradigm Identification

A research paradigm is the backbone of research before gathering and analysing data, and it depends on how the study is conducted. It guides the researcher to make decisions and carry out the research. However, before further discussing any methods and instruments to carry throughout the study, it is important to look at ontology, epistemology and methodology and the assumptions of this study. Every PhD relies on making an original contribution to theory and empirical knowledge; hence, the most crucial question is, '*what constitutes as 'good', proper knowledge?*' In order to

answer this question, the next section will discuss the relevant epistemological assumptions about the nature of knowledge and how it can be obtained.

Ontological Assumptions

Ontology is the starting point of all research, from which one's epistemological and methodological positions logically follow. Ontology is defined as '*the study of being*', which is concerned with '*what kind of world we are investigating, with the nature of existence, with the structure of reality as such*' (Crotty, 2003, p.10). In the same vein, ontological assumptions are those that respond to the question '*what is there that can be known?*' or '*what is the nature of reality?*' (Guba and Lincoln, 1989, p.83). In short, it is concerned with '*what we believe constitutes social reality*' (Blaikie, 2009).

This study uses an ontology in which reality is subjective, interpreted by humans as social actors according to the researcher's beliefs and value systems and asks '*what is there that can be known?*' (Blaikie, 2009; Darke, Shanks and Broadbent, 1998). The ontology of this research lies in the literature review (Chapter 2), discussing diaspora entrepreneurship and the cosmetic industry, which noted that there is limited research from other than sociological perspectives. Existing literature shows that diaspora entrepreneurs differ in their decision-making, motivations, roles, means of identifying and exploiting opportunities, and how they maintain their network, behaviours and characteristics. Therefore, the ontological assumption of this study at the outset is that diaspora entrepreneurs could also have different marketing strategies from non-diaspora entrepreneurs.

Epistemological Assumptions

Epistemology is defined as '*concerned with providing a philosophical grounding for deciding what kinds of knowledge are possible and how we can ensure that they are both adequate and legitimate*' (Crotty, 2003, p.8). In short, it means '*what and how can this study know reality/knowledge?*'. The position of epistemological assumptions lies in two contrasting perspectives, either '*positivism*' or '*interpretivism*', which assumption upon the view is required a strategy that respects the differences between

people and the objects of the natural sciences that entails the social scientist to grasp the subjective meaning of social action (Bryman, 2008; Grix, 2002).

The epistemological stance used in this study is *interpretivism*. *Interpretivism* focuses on ‘*meaningful social action and [...] in-depth understanding of how meaning is created in everyday life and the real-world*’ (Travis, 1999), and therefore assumptions can be interpreted at many points of entry into any given reality (VanWynsberghe and Khan, 2007). In this study, the epistemological assumption is to focus on a particular reality in three periods of study of relevance to the phenomenon under study.

Theoretical Perspective

The theoretical perspective is defined as ‘*the theoretical stance informing the methodology and thus providing a context for the process and grounding its logic and criteria*’ (Crotty, 2003, p.7). In addition, the theoretical perspective can be used to describe practices, but no attempt is made to contribute to the original theory or to examine anomalies or boundary conditions (Richardson, 2012). In short, it means ‘*what approach can this study use to get knowledge?*’

The theoretical perspective used in this study draws from three main theories: theory of entrepreneurial opportunity identification and development, resource-based view and marketing strategy. However, this study does not take an assertive view of each as a set of strict procedures to follow, but rather combines these theories as a guide to investigate the ontological assumptions made. The significance of multiple theoretical perspectives is simply to provide a re-interpretation or narration of a case, leading to theory-building that explains a phenomenon within a particular context of study (Richardson, 2012).

Methodology Assumptions

Methodology is logically linked to, and very often confused with, the research methods employed in research (Blaxter, 2010). Thus, it is important to define methodology before deciding on any research methods to be employed in this study.

Methodology is defined as, *'the strategy, plan of action, process or design lying behind the choice and use of particular methods and linking the choice and use of the methods to the desired outcomes'*(Crotty, 2003, p.3). In short, it means the *'techniques or procedures used to collect and analyse data'* or *'what procedure can this study use to acquire knowledge?'*(Blaikie, 2009).

The methodology for this study is case studies. There are different kinds of case studies, but a common definition of the case study is a research strategy (Yin, 2013). For example, the essence of a case study, the central tendency amongst all types of case studies, is that it tries to illuminate a *decision* or set of decisions: why they were taken, how they were implemented, and with that results (Yin, 2013). This definition thus has *'decisions'* as the major focus of case studies, where other case studies might regard the focus of case studies to be *'individuals'*, *'organisations'*, *'processes'*, *'programmes'*, *'neighbourhoods'*, *'institutions'* or *'events'*. The methodological choice of case studies is inextricably linked to the research questions posed in Chapter 1 on the *why* and *how* questions for the ontological assumption made, and sources of data collected.

Methods

Methods are defined as, *'techniques or procedures used to gather and collect data related to some research question or hypothesis'* (Crotty, 2003, p.3). Methods should be seen as free from ontological and epistemological assumptions, and the choice of *methods should be guided by research questions* (Grix, 2002). Methods for undertaking qualitative data analysis can be divided into three categories: 1) sociolinguistic, which includes discourse and conversation analysis; 2) grounded theory, and 3) content and thematic analysis (Smith and Firth, 2011). In sum, the methods assumption is *'what tools can this study use to acquire knowledge?'*.

The methods used in this study are mainly archive collections (both physical and digital) of selected companies. Additionally, interviews were used as a supporting tool. The archive collections and interviews were analysed using thematic analysis in which categories were coded, and then compared across similar and different contexts

in the same theme. The following sections discuss these particular method assumptions further.

Sources

Data in this study was collected from two sources: primary sources that provide direct or first-hand evidence about an event, object, person or work of art; and secondary sources that describe, discuss, interpret, comment, analyse, evaluate, summarise and process primary sources. *This study uses a triangulation of multiple sources* because qualitative research is often affected by the qualitative researcher's perspectives, and it is desirable to reduce bias and increase truthfulness (Denzin, 1978). This means that with *data collected through different methods and sources*, the researcher can corroborate findings across data-sets and thus reduce the impact of potential biases (Bowen, 2009). Triangulation is defined as '*a validity procedure where researchers search for convergence among multiple and different sources of information to form themes or categories in a study*' (Creswell and Miller, 2000, p.126).

Concerning the validity of the data sources, this study collected data from multiple sources such as academic journals, textbooks, advertisements, manuals, background papers, books, diary and autobiographies, letters, magazines and newspaper clippings/articles, press releases, industry reports, internal employee communication/newsletters, companies' annual reports, official government/corporate websites, government historical records, and various public records, both printed and digitised. These documents are found in libraries, newspaper archives, the companies' corporate archives and online archive database. The significance of using triangulated data is that it provides '*a confluence of evidence that breeds credibility*' (Eisner, 1991).

Qualitative Approach

In business and management studies, there are three types of research: qualitative, quantitative, and mixed-method. Qualitative research has been defined broadly as '*any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification*' (Straus and Corbin, 1990, p.17), and

instead uses a naturalistic approach that seeks to understand phenomena in context-specific settings and produces findings arrived at from real-world settings where the '*phenomenon of interest unfolds naturally*' (Patton, 2002, p.39). Quantitative research has been widely defined as any kind of research that uses logical positivism and employs experimental methods and quantitative measures to test hypothetical generalisations, and emphasises measurement and analysis between variables (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008; Hoepfl, 1997). Third, mixed-method research has been generally defined as any research that applies both qualitative and quantitative research methods, and the research strategy does not value one method over another in philosophical terms (Creswell, 2013; Morse, Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003). At the outset, the researcher planned to conduct a mix-method research, but upon synthesising and reviewing the existing literature this decision was revealed to be unsound. Therefore, the choice was made based on what is the most appropriate for the research rather than pre-determine the choice of research method, which Silverman (2005) emphasises is a good approach for a researcher.

This study chose qualitative research as the appropriate research method for this study to investigate the different marketing strategies amongst the US cosmetics brands created by diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs. This is because the focus is not only to look at '*how*' and '*why*' the marketing strategies differed between the two groups of entrepreneurs within the periodisation of studies, but also '*who*' in the organisation was involved in such changes. This is consistent with Easton's (2010) view, who argues that case studies are more suited to '*how*' and '*why*' questions which can be exploratory in nature, *because such questions deal with operational links needing to be traced over time, rather than mere frequency or incidence* (Yin, 2013). Also, Creswell (2007) argues that the approach of qualitative research is '*an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. The research builds a complex, holistic picture, analyses words, reports detailed views of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting* (p.15).

In addition, this study comes from a business history perspective and thus data may not be quantifiable and thus not appropriate for either mixed-method or quantitative research. On the other hand, this study not only examines the how, why

and who, but also scrutinise the context, helping to provide robustness and better knowledge on the phenomenon of study. Consequently, the type of knowledge required for this research cannot be reduced to a set of facts or measurable opinions, as commonly found in quantitative positivist research. Rather, it is an in-depth problem that requires exploring and understanding historical documents, and events within reality. In order to develop knowledge of that reality, it is vital when researching this phenomenon to critically understand the context and history of the periods of study.

In summary, this section gives an overview of the research paradigm that will be used throughout the study. A research paradigm is the set of common beliefs and agreements shared by social scientists about how problems should be understood and addressed consisting of ontology, epistemology, theoretical perspective, methodology, methods and sources, as below.

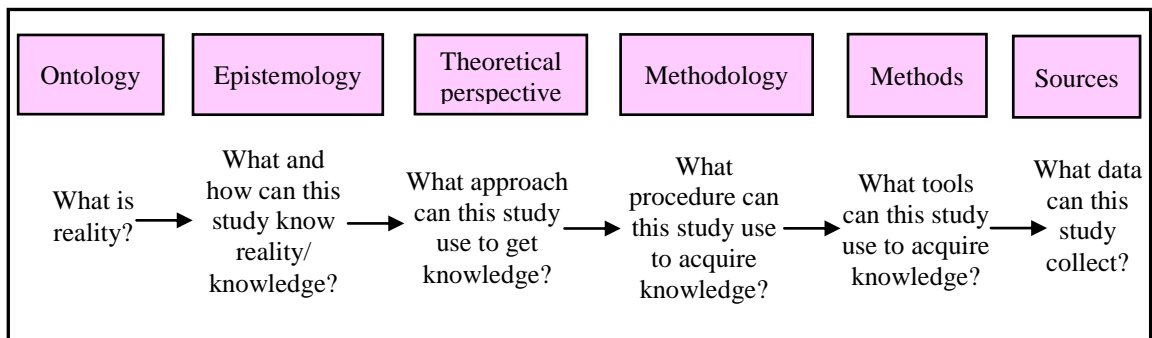


Figure 8: A summary of the research paradigm structure for this study.

Sources: Adopted (Crotty, 1998) p.256.

3.2 Research Design and Method

This section discusses in depth the research design and method, as well as the process of choosing multiple case studies. The significance of this section is that it provides explanations for the ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions outlined. It establishes links amongst the research paradigms identified earlier. As a result, a compelling research design and method are framed.

Research design is about the overall structure, process and orientation of the investigation. Research design is defined as ‘*a logical plan for getting from here to there*, where *here* may be defined as the initial set of questions to be answered, and *there* is some set of conclusions (answers) about these questions’ (Yin, 2013). In short, research design is a plan to ask what questions to study, what data are relevant, what data to collect and how to analyse the results (Philliber, Schwab and Samsloss, 1980). There are five types of research design. Two are for quantitative research (experimental design and cross-sectional design (surveys), and the other three are for qualitative research (longitudinal, case study and comparative research) (Bryman and Bell, 2015; Creswell, 2013). As outlined, a case study is appropriate for this study due to the ontological and epistemological assumptions discussed earlier. Before discussing the case study selection, it is essential to define which case study type is appropriate for this research. There are four types of case study defined by Yin (2013), as illustrated below.

Table 6: Case study type and definition

Case Study Type	Definition
Explanatory	This type of case study would be used if you were seeking to answer a question that sought to explain the presumed causal links in real-life interventions that are too complex for the survey or experimental strategies. In evaluation language, the explanations would be like program implementation with program effects.
Exploratory	This type of case study is used to explore those situations in which the intervention being evaluated has no clear, single set of outcomes.
Descriptive	This type of case study is used to describe an intervention or phenomenon and the real life context in which it occurred.
Multiple case studies	A multiple case study enables the researcher to explore differences within and between cases. The goal is to replicate findings across cases. Because comparisons will be drawn, it is imperative that the cases are chosen carefully so that the researcher can predict similar results across cases, or predict contrasting results based on a theory.

Source: Table developed and modified by author; content adapted from (Yin, 2013).

Table 6 compares the types of case study. Explanatory, Exploratory and Descriptive case study types are all likely to involve only single cases by definition as their objectives are looking at unusual or rare cases, critical cases and revelatory cases. In contrast, multiple case studies are for research looking at more than two cases. The research objectives, research questions, and ontological assumptions made are then matched with the multiple case studies to explore the differences within and between cases, and therefore this approach is appropriate for this research.

Multiple Case Studies Approach

First, the selection of multiple case studies for this research is relevant as it links to the main arguments and research questions discussed in Chapter 1. In general, this thesis conducts an exploratory study to identify significant differences in the marketing strategies between the diaspora entrepreneurs and the non-diaspora entrepreneurs in the development of cosmetic brands in the US for selected periods of study. However, in a specific context and by following business research rules (Yin, 2013), a multiple case study method is the most appropriate based on the objectives and research questions addressed. Indeed, it is extremely difficult to build a general theory from a study based on a small number of cases; this research, however, offers a significant contribution to a specific issue that answers the research questions, to meet the objectives, strictly in particular periods of study and a specific country, with recommendations from scholars in this area.

Apart from the nature of this research, a multiple case studies approach is appropriate for this study due to the lack of qualitative research in diaspora entrepreneurship studies the domination of a sociological perspective (see Chapter 2). A case study addresses these methodological issues, as well as emphasising the use of qualitative studies and mixed methods in this field to provide a more nuanced understanding of the phenomenon. Case studies, grounded theory, narrative, and/or phenomenology should be welcomed as methods to reach sensitive topics that cannot be quantifiable in empirical studies, and for creating theories that can explain the phenomenon from new perspectives (Aliaga-Isla and Rialp, 2013). The case study method therefore allows exploration and understanding of phenomena in this study, and examination of the ‘*how*’ of the cases and tracing the associations between the

marketing strategies, entrepreneur opportunity identification, and entrepreneurs' characteristics, in each period of study (Yin, 2013).

The significance of the multiple case studies approach used in this study is that it could verify the ontological assumption made with the number of cosmetic brands and with particular cases selected that diaspora entrepreneurs differ from non-diaspora entrepreneurs during the periods of study. A further reason for focusing on multiple case studies is that the evidence from these multiple cases is often considered more compelling, and could overcome some of the weaknesses of large quantitative evaluations without being limited by the particularism of the single case; the overall study would therefore be regarded as being more robust (Herriott and Firestone, 1983). In contrast, multiple case studies selection requires extensive resources, is time-consuming and expensive to conduct, and therefore a decision to undertake this approach cannot be taken lightly (Yin, 2013). In the same vein, suggestions of specific ways to minimise the problems of multiple case studies must be considered, such as increasing the number of cases, combining variables or categories, focusing on analysing comparable cases within a geographical area or the same sector, and restricting the analysis to the key variables and omitting those of only marginal importance (Lijphart, 1975). Following these suggestions, this study identified four cases, combined variables that contribute to the marketing strategies, selected cases based on similar geographical areas and the same sector, and focused only on marketing strategies. This technique is appropriate for business history case study as argued by Harvey and Jones (1990): '*comparative and thematic studies, drawing on material from several firms, several industries, or several countries [...] are seen by many scholars as a fruitful route to generalisation and a higher level of understanding of the forces stimulating industrial change*' (pp.15-16). In sum, Ramli (2014) summarises that case study approach is practical and unique that gained significant results especially for qualitative study, and made suggestions for future research. Each strategy will now be discussed.

Criticism of the Case Study Approach

The researcher believes that providing a criticism of the methods used in this study will reduce bias, keep the research balanced and realistic, and is good practice. Indeed, it is almost impossible to conduct a perfect research because there is always inertia while piloting the study.

There are two key frequent criticism aimed at the case study approach. First, low generalisability, due to the fact that research carried only used a small number of cases (Mills, Durepos and Wiebe, 2009; Verschuren, 2003; Yin, 2013). Stake (2005) disagrees with this, pointing out that this focuses too much on generalisability: damage occurs when the commitment to generalise or to theorise runs so strong that the researcher's attention is drawn away from features important for understanding the case itself. There is debate in the literature as to whether generalising within case study research is even appropriate, as it tends to relate to positivism, or findings from qualitative research that can be generalised to a wider population (Ruddin, 2006; Tripp, 1985). Flyvberg (2006) summarises five misunderstandings of generalisation in case studies, including theory, reliability and validity. Meanwhile, Lincoln and Guba (1985) are diplomatic, noting that '*the only generalisation is that there is no generalisation*' (p.110). Business historians provide more complex explanations that, '*before such challenges can be met, data are needed*' and '*only after the accumulation of the multitude of case-studies can generalisations and concepts which are not tied to a specific time and place be induced*' (Gourvish, 1995, p.5).

Second, there is criticism of how the knowledge gained through case study is applied, since the data collected is usually descriptive (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2010). Further, using archive documents has been criticized, as findings could be biased selectivity as it relies on document analysis, and therefore could generate insufficient detail, as documents were not produced to serve research purposes (Bowen, 2009; Yin, 2013). However, Eisenhardt (1989) and Yin (2013) warn that case studies are useful for narrow and idiosyncratic theories, therefore the knowledge and theory generated are indeed helpful for those in a similar research setting, which is testable, novel, and empirically valid. However, they admit that this lacks the sweep of theories, like resource-dependence and population ecology. They highlight that the

case study method is about specific phenomena (Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 2013). Indeed, in the business history research, Chandler has shown how case studies may be incorporated into general syntheses of business development in his three masterworks, *Strategy and Structure* (1962), *The Visible Hand* (1977), and *Scale and Scope* (1990), all of which are extremely useful for comparative institutional history (Gourvish, 1995, p.6). In these works, the case studies method was demonstrated for ‘*institutional processes, structure and functions*’ looking at groups of entrepreneurs or managers, and specific issues like technological innovation, labour processes and control, and government-industrial relations (Gourvish, 1995).

Consequently, the researcher believes that there are indeed differences between diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs. Marketing strategy is adopted as unit of analysis to study the phenomena. The researcher is interested to further extend this study to an embedded multiple case research in the future, comparing more complex multiple units of analysis simultaneously, such as organisational history, financial, supply chains, and corporate governance. However, for this thesis, the goal of employing this method is to replicate findings across the case study cosmetic brands. Employing replication logic to this multiple case study research design will ensure that external validation is established and therefore naturalistic generalisation of the findings can occur for this specific phenomenon (Yin, 2013).

Industry Selection

This thesis selects the US cosmetic industry because it is ranked third-largest industry dominated by diaspora entrepreneurs in the US, after the food and computer industries. The selection of the industry was based on the most valuable global brands 2012, which database was extended from this thesis by adding another new five columns (founder, country of origin of founder’s parents, founder’s country of origin, date of creation, and immigrant status). A sample of the first page of this database is illustrated below.

Table 7: Sample of database of global brands

Most Valuable Global Brand 2012									
<i>source:</i> Brand Finance (Brandirectory), Retrieved from http://brandirectory.com/league_tables/table/global-500-2012									
Rank 2012	Brand	Industry	Domicile	Region (s)	(new) Founder (s)	(new) Country of origin of parent(s) of founder (s)	(new) Founder(s) Origin	(new) Date of Creation	(new) Immigrant founder (s) / Child of Immigrant
1	Apple	Computers	United States	North America	Steve Jobs	Syria		1976	Yes
2	Google	Internet	United States	North America	Sergey Brin, Larry Page	Larry's mother (Jewish immigrant)	Sergey Brin (Russia)	1998	Yes
3	Microsoft	Software	United States	North America	Bill Gates, Paul Allen	Bill Gates (German, United Kingdom)	United States	1975	Partly
4	IBM	IT Services	United States	North America	Herman Hollerith, Charles Ranlett	Germany		1911	Yes

Source: Table developed by the Author. The original data adopted from Brand Finance (Brand Finance, 2012a), and this thesis expanded the other part of the dataset (highlighted in yellow).

Next, it filters the dataset by country and the US appeared the largest country with global brands in various industries. Figure 9 shows that the US has 178 global brands ranked among most valuable global brands.

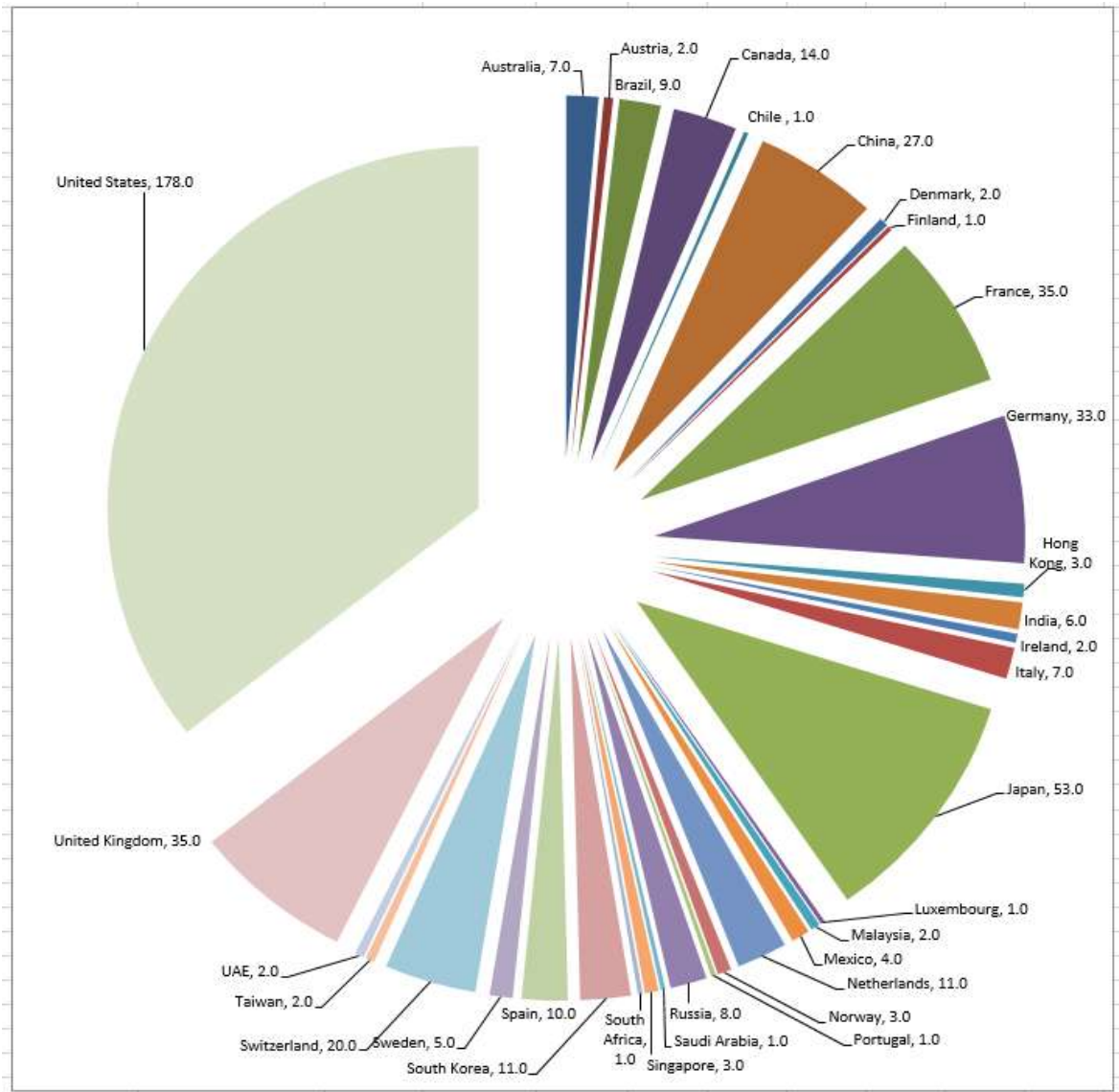


Figure 9: Global brands by country.

Source: Derived from Author's database.

Next, it identifies the industries dominated by the diaspora/immigrants; of which there are fifteen (see Table 8). Cosmetics appeared the third-highest at 62.5 per cent.

Table 8: Top industries among diaspora entrepreneurs

Top 15 industries that popular among the diaspora entrepreneurs

No.	Regions / Industries	North America*	Total by industry	Immigrant entrepreneur	Immigrant percentage	Ranking between industry
5	Automobiles	5	5	3	60	4
6	Banks	18	18	7	38.9	9
7	Beverages	9	9	3	33.3	12
10	Commercial Services	7	7	4	57.1	6
11	Computers	5	5	5	100	1
12	Cosmetics / Personal Care	8	8	5	62.5	3
19	Food	6	6	5	83.3	2
28	Insurance	7	7	2	28.6	14
29	Internet	10	10	6	60	4
36	Media	16	16	9	56.25	7
38	Miscellaneous Manufacture	5	5	2	40	8
43	Retail	24	24	9	37.5	10
45	Software	6	6	2	33.3	12
47	Telecommunications	11	11	4	36.4	11
49	Transportation	7	7	1	14.3	15
	Total brands	192				
	*include Canada					

Source: Derived from Author's database

The next step is to select the cases, using certain criteria to match the research setting.

Defining Case Studies and Case Selections

First, the process must define a 'case'. Defining cases in multiple case studies can be difficult and confusing. A case must be well-bounded, specific, complex, and a functioning '*thing*' such as people or a programme, and not a generality such as relationships between variables (Stake, 2005, pp.1-2). Following this definition, this study identified a cosmetic brand as a case.

Second, the cases need to be chosen. This study uses the Brand Finance (Brandirectory) database to identify the most valuable cosmetic brands between 2012 and 2014 which were already in existence during the three periods of study, created in the US before the Great Depression. The significance of the Brand Finance (Brandirectory) database is that its critical methodology calculates brand values using the Royal Relief methodology that consists of seven important steps. Favoured by tax authorities and the courts, the data measurement is based on publicly available financial information, and most importantly it is compliant with the requirements of the International Valuation Standards Authority and ISO 10668 to determine the fair market value of brands (Brand Finance, 2016). All of the cases selected must appear in the 2012, 2013, 2014 and 2015 databases, as this demonstrates their longevity (See Appendix 3). The past is seen as a foundation with important implications for the present and future company, its strategy, customers, and products (Blombäck and Brunninge, 2013). For example, advertising-evoked vicarious nostalgia is instrumental in building consumers' brand heritage perceptions (Merchant and Rose, 2013). In the same vein, scholars in management and marketing research emphasise how history is referred to, used and communicated by organisations over time (Balmer et al., 2006).

Third, all of the cosmetic brands in the databases were critically examined against the criteria below.

Table 9: Criteria of the case selection

List of Criteria	Main Criteria	Case as a Cosmetic Brand
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - same sector (cosmetic industry) - originated in the US at the date of brand creation - existed during both the Great Depression and World War II - well-bounded, specific, complex and functioning "thing" - combined variables that contribute as one result (marketing strategies) 	Created by Diaspora Entrepreneurs	Avon Estée Lauder
	Created by Non-Diaspora Entrepreneurs	Maybelline Johnson & Johnson

Source: Framework criteria developed by the Author.

Table 9 illustrates how the cases were selected for this research. Cosmetic brands were distinguished by country, filtering for only those that originated in the US before the Great Depression. Qualified cosmetic brands were cross-checked from multiple sources including historical records of the companies, autobiographies of companies' founders, digital archives of companies, companies' annual reports and the official corporate registered websites. Next, those that met the criteria were distinguished into two groups: those created by diaspora entrepreneurs and those created by non-diaspora entrepreneurs. This is the crucial part in order to proceed to the next criterion. Following the previous cross-checked sources, similar multiple sources were used to confirm which cosmetic brands were created by which type of entrepreneur, following the definitions of these two groups given in Chapter 1. Finally, combined variables such as brand investment, brand equity, and brand performance as a breakdown of brand strength contributed to a single result (marketing strategies). There were four cases that met all the criteria: Avon, Estée Lauder, Maybelline, and Johnson & Johnson.

Unit of Analysis

Once the general definition of a case has been established and the cases identified, then the unit of analysis becomes important. Defining the unit of analysis can be confusing in a case study research, but this confusion can be reduced by looking back at the research questions (Yin, 2013, p.22). In this study, the unit of analysis identified is clearly the marketing strategies. This is because both research questions specify

marketing strategies. Also, this study satisfies the requirement of conducting a case study within specific time boundaries (date of brand creation, the Great Depression, and World War II). Defining a unit of analysis and setting the specific time boundaries helps to determine the limits of data collection and analysis, and distinguishes data about the case study phenomenon from external broad data (Yin, 2013). Therefore, this research adopted a holistic design because only one unit of analysis was involved in all the cases and was appropriate for qualitative research, which contrasts with an embedded design. Figure 10 illustrates the holistic multiple case designs used in this research.

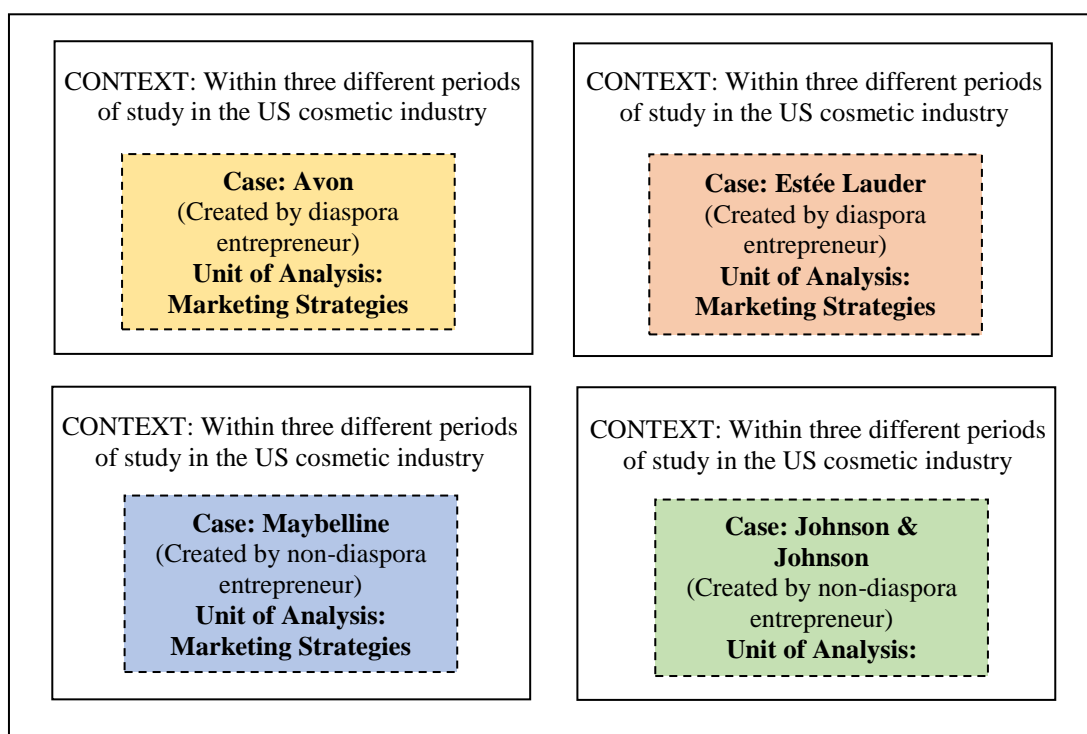


Figure 10: A holistic multiple case design.

Source: Figure developed and modified by the author using a design adopted from (Yin, 2013).

This study then scrutinised the unit of analysis (marketing strategies). The logic underlying each case is the same and therefore, it generates a ‘*whole*’ story for each case in a particular context. The similarities and differences in the case findings are addressed and more than two cases produced an even stronger effect useful for theory-building later (Yin, 2013).

Replication Logic

This study adopted replication logic for a holistic multiple case design. Replication logic covers only the phenomenon of interest and its context and does not look at a large number of potentially relevant variables, whilst sampling logic is commonly used in surveys to assess the phenomena of interest (Yin, 2013). Replication logic is analogous to that used in multiple cases and only with such replications would the original findings be considered robust (Yin, 2013). Therefore, this study keeps the original replication and uses the same logic for all cases. This is because the results from this replication predicts similar results (*a literal replication*) on marketing strategies within both groups of entrepreneurs, and also predicts contrasting results but for a predictable reason (*a theoretical replication*) between both groups of entrepreneurs. This is an important step in theory-building using case studies because it can state the conditions under which a particular phenomenon is likely and unlikely to be found. For example, from this study, diaspora entrepreneurs are likely to have innovative distribution and promotion strategies, whilst non-diaspora entrepreneurs had common distribution and promotion strategies amongst their group in the crisis periods. Contrasting results were found in certain conditions; for example, Johnson & Johnson converted its plant during World War II, when other brands within its group did not, for political reasons. Perhaps, similar results are more likely to be found in other crisis periods not covered in this study and therefore further studies need to be conducted as recommended in Chapter 7. This to some extent allows the claim from this study to become a driver for generalising to new cases for other industries, or the same industry in different geographical areas. The link between holistic multiple case design and replication logic is further discussed in the theory development diagram later.

Using Theory in Design Work

The role of theory in designing case studies is important as it assists narrowing the scope to consider which theory is appropriate for data collection and later helps to produce a ‘*whole*’ story of each case(s). This step in the research design method is one point of difference between the case studies and related methods such as ethnography and ‘*grounded theory*’ (Corbin and Strauss, 2014; Lincoln and Guba, 1985). This study used three theories classified into three groups, as listed in Figure 11 below.

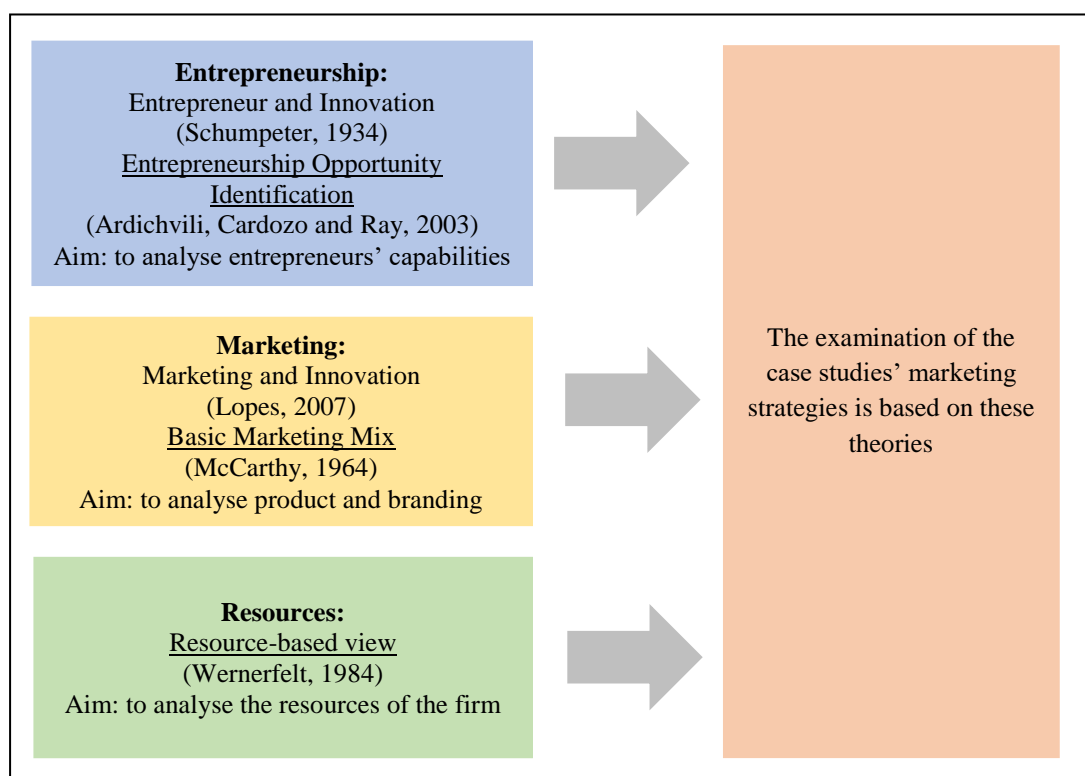


Figure 11: Theoretical framework as a guide for case studies examination.

Sources: Multiple sources from (Ardichvili, Cardozo and Ray, 2003; Lopes, 2007; McCarthy, 1964; Schumpeter, 1934; Wernerfelt, 1984)

Figure 11 identifies the theories relevant to the cases in this study. However, this study does not take an assertive view of each as a set of strict procedures of theories to follow, but rather combines these theories to use them as a guide to investigate the ontological assumption made for the marketing strategies. For example, this study emphasised the differences between diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs’ marketing strategies for products, prices, distribution and promotion. In the same

vein, it explains the exploitation of the resources available, the geographical market, the demands, and the ownership/governance of the firm that made these two groups differ in their marketing strategies.

Interpreting the Findings

The criteria in interpreting the findings are useful in the data analysis. A research design should lay a solid foundation for this analysis. However, this process is the least well-developed procedure for linking data and criteria for interpreting such findings (Yin, 2013). This is the most difficult task to do in any case study research, where interpretation cannot be satisfied simply by '*telling convincing stories*' in pursuit of '*authenticity*' over reliability (Ghauri, 2004; Silverman, 1989). This study follows Miles and Huberman (1994) in that it had inter-weaving data collection and data analysis from the beginning. As a result, this study produced on average six draft reports for one case and at least eight draft analysis chapters for one periods before proceeding to other periods of study, due to concern over the '*authenticity*' of the findings. Although this process took approximately 22 months from September 2014 to July 2016, it allowed a claim to develop alongside the growing volume of data, allowing the research problem to be formulated, and often led to new questions and new data collection (Ghauri and Grønhaug, 2005). One advantage derived from this process was that it reduced the risk of the sheer volume of data becoming overwhelming and irrelevant data was discarded.

Upon drafting individual case reports for the three periods, the next task is to develop claim from interpreting the findings. First, this study started with simple '*story-telling*' about how the situation and marketing strategies changed. Corporate history relies largely on narrative, which generally follows a chronological structure (Decker, Kipping and Wadhvani, 2015). Second, an analytically-structured history of the cosmetic industry was narrated within broader analytical concepts. Third, sorting data according to themes derived from reviewed related literature, the theoretical framework for designing a specific case study, and the relevant theories as a guide to data collection. This process illustrated how the themes were connected and influenced each other. For example, each case in this study was linked by themes such as product, price, distribution, and promotion. Fourth, the data sorted by themes were

clustered into common characteristics, while develops claim as analysis progresses. For example, each case that established a link between themes was then categorised into two groups by the common characteristics found. Fifth, a pattern-matching strategy was adopted to compare between a predicted and an empirically-based pattern derived from the case studies. These criteria in interpreting the findings are summarised in Table 10 below.

Table 10: Strategies undertaken for the case studies

Strategy for case study interpreting findings	Explanation
Corporate history/ chronologies	Narrative of the events that took place organised by period; relies largely on narrative generally following a chronological structure
Analytically structured history	Narrated within broader analytical concepts
Coding	Sorting data according to themes
Clustering	Categorising cases according to common characteristics
Pattern-matching	Comparison between the predicted and an empirically based pattern

Sources: Table developed and modified by the author based on research strategies for organisation history (Rowlinson, Hassard and Decker, 2014), chronologies (Ghuri, 1983), coding (Bernard, 1988), clustering (Lofland and Lofland, 1984) and pattern-matching (Boyd, Wesfall and Stasch, 1985).

These criteria in interpreting the findings overlapped with the data analysis process and can answer the two research questions raised, as well as modifying the preliminary claim built based on the literature and existing relevant theories.

Theory Development

The final part in the case studies research design and method is theory development. Theory development is essential in case studies for both theory-building and theory-testing. This takes time and can be difficult, but difficulties can be reduced through a rich theoretical framework for a specific case study (Eisenhardt, 1989). To overcome the barriers to theory development, this thesis reviewed the literature (see Chapter 2). This study also adopts a replication approach as discussed earlier. This illustrated that case selection and definition of specific measures are important steps in the design and data collection, where each individual case consists of a ‘*whole*’ study (Yin, 2013). Figure 12 illustrates the replication approach framework of this study.

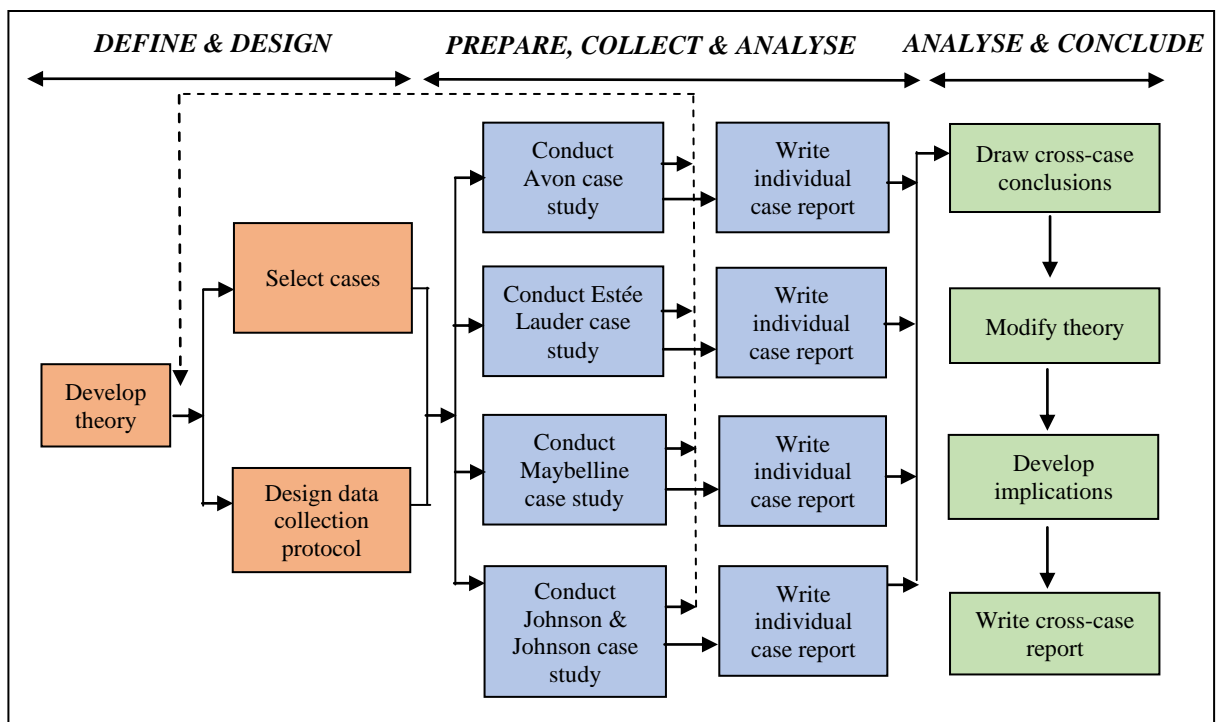


Figure 12: A replication approach framework.

Source: Framework adopted and modified by the author from (Yin, 2003), p.50.

Research Methods

As previously outlined, this study used mainly archived collections including documents from both physical and digital archives of selected companies, supported by interviews. The analytical procedure for the archive documents entails finding, selecting, appraising, and synthesising the data, while supporting interviews aid understanding of the subject.

Archival Documents

The research design method used for the archive documents in this study lies in the methodological and data triangulation discussed earlier. The significance of using documentations from archive collections for this study is the nature of study, exploring business history (Bowen, 2009). Below is the research design for the archives used in this study:

Table 11: Research design for the archival method

Case Studies	Types of Documents	Locations
Avon	Avon Outlook, Advertisements, Annual Reports, Autobiography, Pamphlet, Photographs, Company History	Physical archive at Hagley Museum, Library and Archive , 200 Hagley Creek Road, Wilmington, Delaware 19807, USA Avon digital archive public access: http://www.hagley.org/research/digital-exhibits/avon-historical-archive-hagley-library
Estée Lauder	Annual Reports, Autobiography, Newspapers, Advertisements, Photographs, Company History	Estée Lauder corporate registered website: https://www.elcompanies.com/who-we-are/the-lauder-family/the-Estée-story
Johnson & Johnson	Annual Report, Manuals, Newspapers, Autobiography, Advertisements, Employee Newsletters, Photographs, Company History	Kilmer House Johnson & Johnson digital archive public access maintained by Chief Historian Margaret Gurowitz: http://www.kilmerhouse.com
Maybelline	Annual Report, Newspapers, Autobiography, Advertisements, Photographs, Company History	Maybelline digital archive public access maintained by Sharrie Williams, the original descendant of the Maybelline family: http://www.maybellinebook.com/
Others	Industry Reports, Diary, Interview Transcriptions, US Government Historical Statistic Reports, US Government Census Reports	Physical archive at: 1) The New York Public Library , 5th Avenue at 42nd St, New York, New York 10018, United States of America. 2) The British Library , Boston Spa, Wetherby, West Yorkshire, LS23 7BQ, United Kingdom 3) University of York JB Morell , University Road, Heslington, York, YO105DD, United Kingdom Digital archive available at: US Government Census, http://www.census.gov/ US History and Historical Documents, https://www.usa.gov/history

Source: Table developed by the author. For more details, please refer to list of primary sources, p.342.

Table 11 illustrates the research design for the archival method used in this study. Archive documents are useful for this study because this provides broad coverage and covers a long span of time, many events and settings, where exactness and detail are guaranteed (Yin, 2013). Documents are stable sources as a consequence of being non-reactive i.e. the researcher's presence does not alter what is being studied (Merriam, 1988). As illustrated in Table 11, many of the documents used in this study are available in the public domain therefore are useful for a qualitative study that relies on historical documents. Since a multiple case study is expensive, using archive documents is one way to reduce costs, especially those available online.

Email Interviews

Interviews were conducted for additional support role in this study. These unstructured interviews used open-ended questions through emails to selected participants. The significance of conducting unstructured interviews with open-ended questions is the possibility of responses that individuals give spontaneously, thus avoiding the bias that may result from suggesting responses to individuals, as may occur in the case of closed-ended questions (Reja et al., 2003). Below is the research design for the interviews used in this study.

Table 12: Email interview details

Participants	Subject of interview	Date of response
Expert A	Cosmetic Industry	5 February 2016 at 22:27
Expert B	Cosmetic Industry	16 February 2016 at 09:52
Expert C	Diaspora	15 June 2016 at 18:24
Expert D	Diaspora	15 June 2016 at 21:36
Expert E	Diaspora	16 June 2016 at 15:40
Expert F	Diaspora	23 June 2016 at 05:34
Expert G	Diaspora	27 June 2016 at 20:02

Source: Table developed by the author.

This study conducted email interviews for two reasons. One was to add supporting information from cosmetic industry experts, and the other was to confirm the definition of 'diaspora' for this study. Thus, the interviews were not restricted to any timeframe and so the participants had time and freedom to respond to the questions. This is consistent with O'Connor et al. (2008): '*when email interviews means one-to-one, the ways questions and responses are balanced and flow, is something for study its own right, just as etiquettes of sitting down with respondents, table placement, and other contextual room cues, apply to face-to-face interview*' (p.272). Similar to the digital archives, email interviews were adopted as they do not require travel, and therefore no costs were involved (Burns, 2010). In terms of the richness and data quality of email interviews, this is very similar to that of face-to-face interviews; in fact the participants have more time to think and consider answers, can review responses and reflect on them, which helps them engage more carefully, and therefore this method can obtain richer data (Bowker and Tuffin, 2004; Ratislavová and Ratislav, 2014).

In summary, this section explains each of the research design and method processes from defining a case, case selection, criteria in interpreting the findings, theory development, and methods. The advantages and disadvantages of the processes were also discussed and justifications were provided for each design chosen.

3.3 Data Collection and Analysis

This section scrutinises the process of data collection and data analysis in this study. The importance of this section is that it justifies the relevance of the research design method in the previous discussion.

Data Collection Process for Archival Documents

This study relies primarily on data selected from archival documents and secondary literature, starting with the literature. The evidence was gathered from the history of the cosmetics market conditions and trends in society⁴. This secondary literature is important in understanding the background of research. Next, the cases were matched with the literature. This is important because it gives an overview of each case study from a historical context up to the current research being done, and allows the researcher to identify any gaps.

Second, the data collection process for documents was through fieldwork at physical archives and libraries. At the beginning, the author researched these potential physical archives and libraries through the internet from the corporate registered website of each cosmetic brand selected, assisted by the University of York librarian. The author wrote to the chief archivist of the archives and libraries of the companies involved. From four formal emails sent, only three companies replied (Estée Lauder gave no response until the third follow-up). For Avon, the archivist responded with the archive's catalogue, for an early review and to request archival boxes before the visit, and also provided a digital archive link for more options. Meanwhile, Maybelline, and Johnson & Johnson provided only digital archive links. The imbalance of data collection from the physical archives in this study drew the researcher to alternative sources. A suggestion from the University of York librarian was to visit to the British Library, and the New York Public Library while making an archival visit for Avon in the US. These libraries' access applications were made online in advance as a required procedure. The British Library and the New York Public Library visits were extremely helpful for the data collection as they granted

⁴ See example work of: Peiss (2011); Jones (2010); Koehn (2001b); Manko, (2001a).

access to industrial databases, companies' historical databases, government documents limited access, historical newspaper clippings, and a wide range of documents related to the case studies, which was restricted only to those registered for research purposes with the libraries and used at the library only. Due to limited financial constraints, visits to Hagley Museum, Library and Archive for Avon in Delaware and The New York Public Library in New York City were made only in September 2014. Additionally, a series of short visits to the British Library between January 2015 and July 2016 were made, with transport provided by the University of York.

Third, the digital archives of the companies and corporate registered websites of the companies were also tremendously useful as these platforms are open for public access, especially about the history of the companies, board of directors and organisation, minutes of meetings and annual reports. All of the case studies provided sufficient information, and data needed from these platforms for this study. Below is a list of the document sources used.

Table 13: List of document sources used in this study

Case(s) and Industry	Documents	Main Sources
Avon	Avon Outlook	Avon Digital Archives; Hagley Museum, Library and Archive
	Advertisement Collections	Avon Digital Archives; Hagley Museum, Library and Archive
	Avon Annual Reports	Avon Digital Archives; Hagley Museum, Library and Archive
	Autobiography	Avon Digital Archives; Hagley Museum, Library and Archive
	Pamphlets	Avon Digital Archives; Hagley Museum, Library and Archive
	Newspaper Clippings	The New York Public Library; The British Library
	Company History Photographs	Avon Digital Archives; Hagley Museum, Library and Archive; Avon Corporate Registered Website Avon Digital Archives; Hagley Museum, Library and Archive
Estée Lauder	Estée Lauder Annual Report	Estée Lauder Corporate Registered Website
	Autobiography	A Book by the Founder
	Newspaper Clippings	The New York Public Library; The British Library
	Advertisement Collection	The New York Public Library; The British Library
	Company History Photographs	Estée Lauder Corporate Registered Website; UK Government Website Estée Lauder Corporate Registered Website
Maybelline	Newspaper Clippings	Maybelline Corporate Registered Website The New York Public Library; The British Library
	Autobiography	A Book by a Family Member; Maybelline Digital Archive
	Advertisement Collection	Maybelline Digital Archive
	Company History	Maybelline Digital Archive
	Photographs	Maybelline Digital Archive
Johnson & Johnson	Johnson & Johnson Annual Report	Johnson & Johnson Corporate Registered Website
	Manuals	Kilmer House Johnson & Johnson Digital Archive
	Newspaper Clippings	The New York Public Library; The British Library
	Autobiography	A Book by a Former Employee
	Company History	Kilmer House Johnson & Johnson Digital Archive
	Advertisement Collection	Kilmer House Johnson & Johnson Digital Archive
	Employee Newsletters Photographs	Kilmer House Johnson & Johnson Digital Archive Kilmer House Johnson & Johnson Digital Archive
US Cosmetic Industry	Historical reports and statistics	The US Government Website; The New York Public Library; The British Library
	Newspaper Clippings	The New York Public Library; The British Library

Source: Table developed by the author.

Data Collection Process for Email Interviews

First, the author sent a formal email introducing herself and the purpose of the interview, with an attachment of the background of the study, informed consent, the participant's confidentiality and anonymity, and the use of data, to all identified individuals between February 2016 and June 2016 (see Appendix 4). This gives the interviewee time to decide on their participation and could resolve any ethical concerns. Second, upon receiving their positive reply, open-ended questionnaires were sent with a deadline. The interviews were divided into two groups: the first included brand experts in the cosmetic industry and the second scholars of diaspora entrepreneurship. Table 14 summarises the interviews.

Table 14: Summary of email interviews

Questionnaire Development: Guidelines for an open-ended interview	Intended Information
<p>Interview with brand experts in the cosmetic industry = 2 respondents</p> <p>Question 1 Could you please tell us a bit about the strategies used in the management of the cosmetics brand at present?</p> <p>Question 2 In relation to Question 1, do you have an idea of how that has changed in relation to when the brand was created?</p> <p>Question 3 In your opinion, what are the factors that influenced cosmetic brands becoming global?</p> <p>Question 4 What is your opinion about the fact that so many top cosmetics brands were created by diaspora entrepreneurs?</p> <p>Question 5 How do you think the strategies of the cosmetics brand changed in periods of crisis such as the Great Depression, World War II?</p> <p>Question 6 What were the marketing and branding strategies of cosmetic brands in these two periods? Do you have an idea of what it was like during these two periods and what changed substantially?</p> <p>Question 7 What is the motivation of cosmetic brands at present? In your opinion, do you think the motivation has changed from that on the date of the brand's creation and why?</p>	<p>To investigate the previous situation historically and the current situation of the marketing strategies of cosmetic brands in general with the aim and research objectives.</p>
<p>Interview with scholars in diaspora entrepreneurship = 5 respondents</p> <p>Question 1 In the US, Australia, New Zealand and Canada, for example, are the largest immigrant-receiving society. How did you define and distinguish between "diaspora" and "immigrant" for these countries, as they are widely known immigrant-receiving society? In terms of generations, how are these explained?</p> <p>Question 2 What are the basic features and until which generation, by theory, can we call these people "diaspora"?</p> <p>Question 3 Why does it matter to define and distinguish "diaspora" and "immigrant"?</p>	<p>To examine the definition of diaspora amongst well-known scholars in this area.</p>

Source: The author's database.

Table 14 illustrated the open-ended unstructured interview questions used in the email. The deadline given for each respondent was a month after they received the questions. Although there was a deadline set, in reality the interviews became a normal discussion as mutual trust between the author and interviewees developed throughout the process. The interviews on the cosmetic industry are used as supporting evidence for the empirical chapters, and the interviews on diaspora are used in Chapter 1 when defining terms.

Ethical Risks and Ethical Approval

There is a need to address ethical considerations when undertaking any research. According to Wallace and Sheldon (2015), much business and management research is informed by social science principles and methods, that no research is entirely value-free or exists in a completely risk-free context. In this study, a number of ethical issues arose during its course, particularly during the data collection and the use of data especially that collected from archive collections and interviews in the analysis and findings chapters. The key issues identified for archival documents includes documents '*written as a result of first-hand experience or from secondary sources, whether it was solicited or unsolicited, edited or unedited, anonymous or signed, and so on*', and also the permission for the use of primary sources like advertisements in this study (Hodder, 1994). Key issues that have been identified for interviews are lack of informed consent, maintenance of participants' confidentiality and anonymity, invasion of privacy, deception of participants and misuse of data (Saunders, 2011). In order to minimise the ethical risks arising from this study, ethical approval was required and granted by the Economics, Law, Management, Politics and Sociology Ethics Committee (ELMPS) of the University of York. This ethics committee reviewed the application made for this study for fieldwork and provided guidance on the proper way to carry out research. This study obtained ethical approval from the ELMPS committee on 30 April 2014 (see Appendix 5) and permission to use primary sources like advertisements from archive collections was obtained from the archivists in charge.

Data Analysis

This section discusses the approach and steps taken to analyse the data. Generating themes from data is a common feature of qualitative methods and a widely used analytical method. As previously outlined earlier in this chapter, *this study adopted thematic analysis as a method for the data analysis*. Thematic analysis is an interpretive process in which data are systematically searched for patterns to provide an illuminating description of a phenomenon, which is appropriate for this study, looking at similarities and differences in the patterns in the marketing strategies of the case studies (Tesch, 2013). Thematic analysis can provide rich insights into complex phenomena, as in this study the cosmetic market structure changed over time; also it can be applied across a range of theoretical and epistemological approaches and expand on or test existing theory (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Another benefit of thematic analysis is its flexibility, which is compatible with any research paradigm that can potentially provide a rich, detailed and complex account of data (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.78). However, thematic analysis is a poorly-defined and rarely acknowledged, yet widely-used qualitative analytical method that has been criticised for lacking depth (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Roulston, 2001). However, this study adopted multiple case studies, where the aim is to generate robustness and reliability and therefore rejects the criticism of lacking depth as this applies to a single case study objective (Yin, 2013). Thematic analysis is appropriate for multiple case studies as it offers flexibility for a complex phenomenon (Jones, Coviello and Tang, 2011).

The process of data analysis in this study is straightforward but difficult, as it required careful scrutiny and consistent analysis. This is because the analysis in this study consists of refining ideas, identifying conceptual boundaries, and pinpointing the fit and relevance of the categories (Charmaz, 2003). This means that only when all evidence from the appropriate sources created a consistent picture of the marketing strategies was the researcher satisfied the processes of data collection and analysis were complete.

Thematic analysis is used in data analysis because it helps to form pattern recognition within the data, with the emerging theme becoming the categories for analysis (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006). The review was based on the data's

characteristics such as accuracy, completeness, consistency, uniqueness and timeliness of data (Lee et al., 2002). In order to validate these characteristics, triangulation of multiple sources was used. This process was extremely time-consuming as it involved careful, focused re-reading and review of the data, which made it the longest process in this study. The data analysis process is summarised below in Table 15.

Table 15: Phases of the thematic analysis

Phase	Description of the process
1. Familiarising with the data collected:	Reading and re-reading the data collected from archives/supporting interviews.
2. Generating initial codes:	Coding the data in a systematic way for the entire data set.
3. Searching for themes:	Gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4. Reviewing themes:	Generating a thematic analysis.
5. Defining and naming themes:	Ongoing analysis to refine the specific themes and overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report:	Producing a report of the analysis with completing extract examples and evidence, a final analysis of the selected extracts, relating back to the analysis of the research question and literature.

Source: Adopted and modified from (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.87).

Manual Coding

This study used manual coding through a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet, because the author was very familiar with Microsoft Excel and its functions. Qualitative analysis software might be useful such as NVivo in transferring the coding and quotations into this study; however, it would have taken time to become familiar with the functions. Since a multiple case study limitation is time-consuming, the decision was to use a familiar tool, reducing the risk of technical problems that may occur when coding, analysing or retrieving the data.

In summary, this section emphasised data collection and data analysis. The processes in both data collection and data analysis were illustrated with step-by-step

explanations. A justification for manual coding rather than other qualitative software and ethical approval were also highlighted. The next section discusses some problems that may occur due to the methodological choice selected for this study.

3.4 Problematising the Research Approach

This section describes the limitations of the research approach and method used in this study, to understand any flaws that may be relevant for future recommendations.

The Limitations of Archival Documents

In this study, some data of the archival documents are produced for a purpose other than research and therefore did not provide sufficient detail to answer the research question in this study (Bowen, 2009). In order to minimise this limitation, triangulation of multiple sources is used for each theme in each case study. Apart from this, documentation is sometimes not retrievable or documents may be deliberately blocked, especially for digital archives (Yin, 2013). For example, there was a time in the middle of 2016 when the Avon Digital Archive was under maintenance and inaccessible for a month. While waiting for the digital archive to become available, other sources were used such as the Avon Annual Report that was available on the Avon Corporate Registered Website. Another limitation of documents is the researcher's decision of when to stop searching, since there are enormous collections in physical archives and large databases in digital archives (Platt, 1999). This limitation was minimised through the proposed research design discussed earlier in this chapter, focusing on a particular area for the data collections and the archival documents were referred to only by the identified themes.

The Limitations of the Email Interviews

As previously mentioned, all research designs and methods have limitations including email interviews. One of the main limitations of email interviews is that they are limited to individuals with access to the internet. However, since the participants are those working in the companies or institutions, this problem was not significant in this study. A more challenging limitation of using email interviews is that it may take several days or weeks before an interview is complete (Meho, 2006). For example, there was one participant in this study who did not meet the deadline. Although this method is flexible for busy people, it does not guarantee that they can meet the deadline required, due to human factors such as forgetting or emergencies. Another

limitation of email interviews is that it requires the questions to be more self-explanatory than those posed face-to-face or by telephone, to avoid miscommunication, and misinterpretation (Meho, 2006). This problem occurred while conducting email interviews and the author needed to explain further or provide examples.

Research Quality, Validity and Reliability

Another problem is issues of research quality, validity and reliability. Research reliability is a concept that is often used for testing or evaluating quantitative research, but can be applied to any type of research discussed earlier (Golafshani, 2003). Many studies had exposed the importance of research reliability as it is one of the factors to produce a good quality study. One study emphasises that validity and reliability are two factors which any qualitative researcher should be concerned about while designing a study, analysing results and judging the quality of the study (Patton, 2002). The validity and reliability of case study research is a key issue for both marketing research practitioners and academics, where these aspects provide not only confidence in the data collected but, most significantly, trust in the successful application and use of the results in managerial decision-making (Riege, 2003, p.84).

On the other hand, reliability in qualitative research needs to be specific such as '*dependability*' that closely corresponds to the notion of '*reliability*' in quantitative research, as addressed in the beginning of the discussion. An '*inquiry audit*' could enhance the dependability of qualitative research (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). In contrast, other studies indicate that research reliability has no relevance in qualitative research because of concerns about measurements, and irrelevant matter in the judgement of the quality of qualitative research, which, if it is used, the '*consequence is rather that the study is no good*' (Stenbacka, 2001, p.552). Similarly, some qualitative studies argued that the term 'validity' is not applicable to qualitative research, but at the same time realise the need for some kind of qualifying check or measure for the studies; for example, there is a suggestion that validity is affected by the researcher's perception of validity and his/her choice of paradigm assumption (Creswell and Miller, 2000).

Consequently, many studies produce some concepts of validity and often generated or adopted those that were more appropriate terms, such as quality, rigour, and trustworthiness (Campbell and Cowton, 2015; Cepeda and Martin, 2005; Chetty et al., 2014; Myers, 2013; Polska, 2013; Zivkovic, 2012). In addition, the concept of good quality research is when reliability is used to evaluate quality in a quantitative study with a '*purpose of explaining*', while the quality concept in qualitative research has the purpose of '*generating understanding*' (Stenbacka, 2001). One research limitation in this study is that the rationale disadvantage for single case designs can be satisfied by multiple cases, where these are apparent common disadvantages for multiple case studies (see Chapter 7). Therefore, this disadvantage continually judges the quality of case study design.

Considering all of the aspects in the validity, reliability, and quality debates for case studies, this study follows Yin's recommendation on research quality, validity and reliability for case study tactics (Yin, 2013), and also indicates how the research responded to these recommendations. Table 16 below shows the case study tactics and responses for this thesis. It illustrates the recommendation for case study research quality control with four different tests. This helps to mitigate the disadvantages discussed through four tests commonly used to assess if the study has *construct validity, internal validity, external validity* and *reliability* (Yin, 2013). Following this recommendation, the four tests should be applied throughout the case study process, particularly during design, data collection, data analysis, and reporting. The importance of these tests is that they will '*increase the quality of your case study tremendously, and overcome traditional criticisms of the weakness of case study research*' (Yin, 2013). The case study method is about theory-building, and it is based on the need to understand a real-life phenomenon while obtaining new holistic and in-depth understanding, explanations, and interpretations about previously unknown practitioners' rich experiences, which may stem from creative discovery as much as research design. Some studies suggest that design tests are not primary drivers of rigorous case study research and even could suppress the discovery of new meaningful insights, and as a result not maximise the quality of the research. However, following the four design tests of construct validity, internal and external validity, and reliability can improve the quality of this study (Riege, 2003).

Table 16: Case study tactics and responses

Test	Case study tactic	Research in which tactic occurs	Action taken in this research
<i>Construct validity</i>	Use multiple sources of evidence	Data collection	Use of interviews, documentation evidence
	Establish chain of evidence	Data collection	Data gathered from archival documents and interview data from multiple evidence sources were entered into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet
	Have key informants review draft case study report	Composition	Two conference papers and one journal article based on case studies reviewed by key informants before publication
<i>Internal validity</i>	Do pattern matching	Data analysis	Patterns identified across cases
	Do corporate history/chronologies	Data analysis	Narrative of events following a chronological structure
	Do analytically structured history	Data analysis	Narrative within broader analytical concepts
	Do clustering	Data analysis	Categorising cases according to common characteristics
	Do coding	Data analysis	Sorting data according to themes
<i>External validity</i>	Use rival theories within single cases	Research design	Use rival theories to compare with and judge against
	Use replication logic in multiple case studies	Research design	Multiple cases investigated using replication logic. This study adopts literal replication
<i>Reliability</i>	Use case study protocol	Data collection	Same data collection procedure followed for each case; consistent set of initial questions used in each interview
	Develop case study database	Data collection	Interview transcripts, other notes and links to digital archives into database

Sources: Table developed and modified by the author based on Yin's basic case study tactic recommendations (Yin, 2013), research strategies for organisation history (Rowlinson et al., 2014), chronologies (Ghauri, 1983), coding (Bernard, 1988), clustering (Lofland and Lofland, 1984), pattern matching (Boyd, Wesfall and Stasch, 1985).

3.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has presented a discussion of the research design and methods of this study. The choice of research methods for this study was determined by the research questions of the phenomena described in Chapter 1, which appropriate for a case study method. In the same vein, the ontological and epistemological assumptions were critically considered for the choice of methodology. As a reminder, this chapter used a holistic multiple case study approach with archival documents as its primary sources and email interviews as a supporting method. In addition, each process in the research design and method for these case studies was presented with figures and followed by detailed explanations. The advantages and disadvantages of each process were highlighted. Furthermore, the data sources and data collection methods employed in this research were presented, as well as the limitations of using these sources. This chapter has also discussed the need for ethical procedures as a compulsory procedure in conducting research.

The next chapter is the first of three empirical chapters in this study. It examines the marketing strategies at the date of brand creation in the US cosmetics industry from the four cases identified, namely Avon, Estée Lauder, Maybelline, and Johnson & Johnson.

Chapter 4:

Marketing Strategies at Date of Brand Creation

4.0 Introduction

The findings from this research have been split into three chapters. Chapter 4 will explore the marketing strategies at date of brand creation; Chapter 5 will explore marketing strategies during the Great Depression; and Chapter 6 will explore the marketing strategies during World War II. The rationale for presenting the findings this way was firstly to ensure each case was explored in detail, and also to allow pattern matching and contrasts between the four cosmetic brands. Then, following similar replication logic, this thesis will further distinguish patterns in the marketing strategies between diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs. In doing so, it hopes to generate compelling findings. The relevance of analysing the case studies in three periods of study including two periods of crisis namely at date of brand creation, during the Great Depression and World War II is that it will provide a better understanding of consistency in brand proposition and marketing strategies, which explains the longevity and the success of global brands.

Before analysing the case study cosmetic brands, I hoped to conduct interviews with the family members of the firms or their marketing managers to obtain a rough overview of the changes in marketing strategies for the periods of study. However, only family member from Maybelline agreed to participate and others were unavailable. Since this thesis is a historical qualitative research and its epistemological stance is *interpretivism*, archival documents are more appropriate, as recommended by Bowen (2009), Stake (2005), and Yin (2013) (see Chapter 3); therefore, the interviews conducted are only of a supporting nature for triangulation.

There are four cosmetic brands used as case studies: Avon, Estée Lauder, Maybelline, and Johnson & Johnson. Avon was formerly known as California Perfume Company (CPC) at date of brand creation in 1886 and founded by David H. McConnell Sr (McConnell, 1903, p.5). Estée Lauder was founded in 1925 by Estelle Mentzer with the help of her uncle John Schotz, but the business was not registered

until 1946 (Israel, 1985, pp.18-19; Lauder, 1985; New York State Census, 1925). Maybelline was founded in 1915 by Thomas Lyle Williams (Expert A, 2016; Williams, 2010; Maybelline Corporate Website UK, 2016). Johnson & Johnson was founded in 1886 by Robert Wood Johnson, James Wood Johnson and Edward Mead Johnson in New Brunswick, New Jersey (Foster, 1999; Johnson, 1949; Johnson & Johnson Corporate Website, 2016). As discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, there is no comparative study of the US cosmetic industry looking at diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs, but research on diaspora entrepreneurship from a business management perspective is most welcome. This chapter starts to examine marketing strategies in the US cosmetic industry between the late nineteenth and early twentieth century only, discussing the geographical markets and strategies relating to products, price, distribution, and promotion. In business history, research on rapid growth of capital-based industries like manufacturing is common, but unlike industries such as groceries, florists, booksellers, travel agencies, cosmetics have limited studies, as discussed in Chapter 2 (Peiss, 1998).

The chapter will be structured as follows. Section 4.1 discusses the geographical markets and the US cosmetic market condition at date of brand creation for each case. Section 4.2 analyses the product strategy; Section 4.3 explains the price strategy; Section 4.4 examines distribution; Section 4.5 investigates promotion; and Section 4.6 provides a conclusion, highlighting the differences in original marketing strategies between diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs at date of brand creation, and briefly outlining the potential implications. An overview of each case study key findings in this chapter is presented in Table 17 below.

Table 17: Overview of the key findings comparison at date of brand creation

Period 1: At Date of Brand Creation	Avon	Estée Lauder	Maybelline	Johnson & Johnson
Product	Multiproduct	multiproduct	eye product lines	medicated products
Price	affordable prices	reasonable prices for target customer, expensive prices for others	affordable and modest prices	reasonable prices
Distribution	direct from factory to sales representatives to customers (direct to customers)	from factory to face-to-face customers (direct to customers)	mail-order then changed to dime stores and drug stores	from factory to depot to hospitals, drugstores
Promotion	product demonstration by sales representatives, word-of-mouth, limited advertising	word-of-mouth, face-to-face <i>touch-the-customer</i> product demonstration, free sample	heavily relied on advertising (in popular magazines), featuring celebrities, persuasive slogan, <i>before and after</i> imagery	heavily relied on advertising (in popular magazines, multi languages), celebrities' endorsement

Source: Table developed by Author.

4.1 Geographical Markets and Motivation

The early developments of leading cosmetics companies in the US were inadequate in relation to Chandler's arguments on big business in the US, UK and Canada. According to business historians, these countries were early industrialisers; the first to create markets for corporate control; and the first to make widespread use of modern management practices, particularly in industries such as manufacturing, chemicals, steel, railways, and others (Chandler, 1962; Schmitz, 1995). In contrast, the cosmetics industry was different from those industries described by Chandler as capital-intensive. Therefore, the cosmetic industry highlights as noted by Lopes (2007) that marketing-based industries are different from those discussed by Chandler (1962, 1990), particularly in marketing strategies, in explaining the longevity of a brand.

In the nineteenth century, the US cosmetic industry was small but gradually growing, with products primarily produced and consumed at home. In the mid to late century, many US cosmetic brands started to produce their products in factories (Willett, 2010, p.70). This can be seen in the two case studies created in this century (Avon and Johnson & Johnson)⁵. Avon started its business at 126 Chambers Street in a little office of 20 x 25 feet. After twenty-four years of continuous growth, the production enlarged to two floors for offices and a shipping department, with a total of approximately 10,000 square feet (CPC, 1910). Similarly, Johnson & Johnson rented a 20 x 30 feet four-storey former wallpaper factory at date of brand creation and by the early 1890s it had outgrown the first building; by 1912 it had moved to a new building for production (The Daily Times, 1886, p.3). These changes in production building illustrates that their products were in demand; business grew steadily, and the advancement in other industries such as transportation and communication also helped the US cosmetic industry to develop (Chandler, 1990). In addition, the growth in population, particularly immigrants in big cities within the Northeast and the Midwest as revealed in Chapter 2 added to high demand in the industry. The historical record of Avon in the *Great Oak* recorded by David H. McConnell mentioned that the premises were near the main line of the Erie Railroad in Suffern (McConnell, 1903). Likewise, Johnson & Johnson had its premises close to

⁵ Although Avon was known as California Perfume Company (CPC) in this period, this chapter uses Avon as refer to CPC to synchronize the narrative from this chapter to the next following chapters.

the railroad; the city was on the Raritan River and Delaware-Raritan Canal, halfway between New York and Philadelphia (Gurowitz, 2016). These factors to some extent smoothed the business operation of these companies, particularly in distributing their products. This is consistent with Gordon (1999) who argues that the “*big four waves*” (invention of electricity, internal-combustion engines, rearranging molecules, and communications) were fundamental drivers of business productivity in this period.

In the early twentieth century, several factors helped to popularize commercially produced cosmetics and challenge the stigma associated with their use. One of them is migration that allowed people of diverse ethnicities, particularly from Europe, to reside in the US and demand particular products, like cosmetics (US Department of Commerce, 1920). Aware of this demand as a business opportunity, earlier immigrants or their children (i.e. the diaspora), started their businesses to meet these needs. This is where the diaspora connection can be expressed, as suggested by Expert F. Diaspora entrepreneurs do not necessarily return home to establish a psychological link with their homeland, but instead can do so by *helping home country or the people migrated in the same place through various projects or entrepreneurial activities* (Expert F, 2016). Also, the growth of national markets, the emergence of mass consumer cultures and the development of professional advertising industry led to the widespread acceptance of cosmetic use in the US among American women (Willett, 2010, p.71). Consequently, many new cosmetic brands mushroomed in the early twentieth century, including Maybelline and Estée Lauder.

Maybelline was created when Tom Lyle Williams identified an opening in the market for an eye-product line, the one feature on the face that had been overlooked (creams and powders were already fairly common) (Williams, 2011j). At the beginning, Williams worked with his friend Carl who had a chemistry set, surrounded by dozens of set tubes for hours in uncomfortable basement, mixing and testing different versions of eye-product. Failed experiments led him to visit a wholesale drug manufacturing company called Park Davis, which later provided a sample of his product to his preference (Williams, 2010). In contrast, Estée Lauder competed on a common product area (skincare) and the products were first produced at home by the founder and her uncle John Schotz, who was a Hungarian skin specialist (Lauder,

1985, pp.16-17). Maybelline and Estée Lauder identified the market opportunities in different ways to compete in the emerging market. Maybelline identified a product that did not exist in this period, whilst Estée Lauder competed with common products with a refined cream, with the help of a specialist. Although there were limited resources (for example Maybelline lacked human resources and skills to produce a product), they overcame these problem. Likewise, Estée Lauder was cognisant that it could face unsold product risk, and so enhanced the quality to gain customer's trust (Lauder, 1985).

Apart from identifying the opportunity as the US cosmetic industry emerged, changes in society due to mass migration between the late nineteenth and early twentieth century discussed in Chapter 2 increased demand for cosmetic products. Unfortunately, historical empirical statistics about changes in this industry at this time were difficult to trace, because cosmetics are 'only' for women, and therefore their impact on the economy was almost wholly ignored in historical analysis of consumption (Kay, 2005). However, it was noticed that the cosmetic industry was important to the US economy when '*according to manufacturing census data on toilet items, with which cosmetics were included, sales of cosmetics in 1900 stood at about \$100,000*' (Kay, 2005, pp.13-14). This shows that cosmetics sales grew incrementally until at the end of nineteenth century; at the beginning of the nineteenth century, popular products were creams, lotions and tonics, prized for their ability to soften the skin, protect against sunburn and remove freckles; later in the century, women were grinding chalk to make face powder and using beets to give their cheeks a reddish glow (Willett, 2010, p.70). As a result, some cosmetic brands were created to meet such demand, like Avon that had multi product offerings, and other cosmetic brands selling a particular cosmetic product, like Pond's specialising in creams, or Ivory in soap. The number of US firms manufacturing perfumery and toilet goods increased from 67 in 1880 to 262 in 1900, and the *value of products skyrocketed from \$2.2 million in 1880 to more than \$7 million in 1900* (Personal Care Products Council, 2016). This illustrates that although the cosmetic industry was a small market in this period, it was emerging and contributed to the whole beauty, perfumery and toilet goods sector.

In the early twentieth century, the US cosmetic industry rapidly expanded, as American women's "growing interest in beauty products coincided with their new sense of identity as consumers" (Peiss, 2011, p.50), which led to the introduction of the Federal Food and Drugs Act of 1906 (Daum, 2006). The definition of cosmetic products was expanded to include lipsticks, mascara, nail care, perfumes, and others, with concerns about safety, effectiveness, and desirability of mass-produced cosmetics (Willett, 2010). The emerging demand of the American women from the late nineteenth century onwards encouraged both new and existing cosmetic brands, and by the 1920s, retail cosmetics sales were estimated at \$125,000,000 per year (Kay, 2005, p.6). This amount illustrates an enormous difference from the industry in the late nineteenth. As well as waves of migrants entering the US in this period, different demands from customers encouraged US cosmetic brands to offer multiproduct offerings, and new entrants to either venture in a specialized product or improve on existing products (Hirschman and Mogford, 2009). This can be seen in the case studies selected: Estée Lauder offered an improvement on common products (creams), and Maybelline specialised in eye-products.

In terms of US cosmetic trends, between the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, trends varied from West and South, Midwestern and the North-East⁶. This can be seen from various sources collected. For example, in the West and South, the American women used powder to protect the skin from the climate, prevent tanning, and reduce perspiration and shine by using ground starch, rice or chalk (Peiss, 2011, p.40). However, women in the Midwest were sceptical about makeup, particularly the use of powder, as powdering was similar to 'charity balls, church fairs, corsets, décolleté gowns and other follies' that were often criticized. Such things were, however, so popular that some young women dared to pour 'some of [the coarse grained powder into paper envelopes]' and secretly applied it (Trollope, 2014, p.175). In contrast, the American women in the North-East, particularly in New York and Boston, preferred fresh clean faces, rather than using powder like those in San Francisco and Arizona (Frémont, Herr and Spence, 1993). This illustrates that cosmetic trends in the US within this period was different across the country and diversified into regional trends. Although cosmetics was not widely

⁶ Refer to Figure 5. Four parts of United States of America in Chapter 2, p.52.

used among the American women in the late nineteenth century, there was a demand for cosmetics when some American performers appeared in cosmetics advertisements, in testimonials, and even as product brand names (Peiss, 2011). This was the starting point for cosmetics becoming accepted among American women and it slowly began to be part of their everyday routines in the twentieth century. This opened opportunity for US cosmetic brands to meet this demands. Since cosmetic products were more conveniently available in big cities, there were also opportunities for companies whose business approach is different, like Avon (Peiss, 2011).

Avon started its door-to-door direct selling business due to the limited distribution in the US cosmetic industry, to help society by creating jobs and earnings, and also to support the US Government by providing affordable hygiene products to immigrants (Brackemyre, n.d.). David H. McConnell was cognisant of this problem and in order to compete in an emerging market, he started to experiment to find the best method to overcome the problem (McConnell, 1903). This is described in his autobiography, where he explained that direct selling from his past experience as a book agent became the idea to recruit travel agents for his business, which he thought was the best way to reach customers in rural areas (McConnell, 1903). Guided by the theory of entrepreneurial opportunity identification, the founder demonstrates his creativity and alertness to the environment to create a business opportunity. The founder experimented with the new sale method for six months by recruiting Mrs. P.F.E Albee as a general travel agent; upon the success of this experiment, he started to recruit more women as agents to meet demand across the country particularly in rural and small town areas (Klepacki, 2010; McConnell, 1903). At the beginning, other than Mrs Albee, there was only a stenographer and Lucy McConnell, David's wife, as his assistant to run the business (Klepacki, 2010; McConnell, 1903). This clearly illustrates that the company had 'personal' control and 'insider' ownership, managed by a traditional entrepreneur. However, there was a changed in organisation structure in the early twentieth century. There were 62 documents of California Perfume Company found in the Avon Digital Archive from 1900-1910 that published person responsible for 'managerial' control. The same names consistently appear in every California Perfume Company Outlook from April 1905 onwards: David H. McConnell, Alexander D. Henderson, A.M. Moore, George J. McConnell, J.D. Tiffany, William Sheele and Adolph Goetting (Mills, 2012). This illustrates that the

company had expanded entrepreneurs, shifting from ‘personal’ control at date of brand creation to ‘managerial’ control in the early twentieth century. This was done by these people, especially Alexander D. Henderson who helped to shape the company’s policies and assist in its growth, which resulted in the firm expanding (Mills, 2012). However, there was no evidence that the company remained under ‘insider’ ownership; there was some suggestion that the McConnell family dominated in ownership as family members took important positions in the firm (Mills, 2012). Avon’s aim was to provide individuals with opportunities to earn, especially women (McConnell, 1903).

Estée Lauder that was not formally established until 1946 but its roots go back to the 1920s with facial creams concocted over a gas stove in a modest kitchen in New York (Severo, 2004). Competition in a big city like New York was extremely challenging, especially for new entrants. Fortunately, due to her Hungarian-immigrant background, the products were associated with the mythmaking that is so much of the magic of the beauty industry, leading many American women to believe that Estée Lauder was born in Europe to an aristocratic family, when in fact she was the child of immigrant parents, born in New York and not an aristocrat at all (Severo, 2004). This shows the psychological link, consistent with Nurse’s (2015) argument in Chapter 2, between diaspora entrepreneurs and the myth associated with their diaspora background. This is, however, contradicted by Expert D’s (2016) explanation that *there is no necessary causal link for diaspora living in the US, Australia, New Zealand and Canada because most everyone could be diaspora*. This thesis disagrees with this explanation because we are talking about those diaspora living between the late nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries when mass migration occurred and the majority of diaspora were still emotionally tied to their communities, especially the Jews. Therefore, the view from Expert C (2016) that this diaspora psychological link could exist when *there is some consistent cultural unity and/or trait that remains a critical part of the diaspora community such as language, religion, cultural practice, and other* seems more likely. Indeed, in the case of Estée Lauder, the diaspora psychological link existed through beauty routine and ingredients inherited from both her Hungarian mother and her uncle, and also the common Jewish culture of business from her father (Pava, 1998). The founder received a better understanding of entrepreneurship and experience in business

through helping in her father's hardware store before starting the cosmetics business (Jewish Women's Archive, n.d.). Apart from entrepreneurial experience, Estée Lauder also obtained specialised skincare knowledge from her uncle Schotz, a Hungarian specialist skincare, and her mother's beauty routine from Eastern Europe tradition (Lauder, 1985, pp.16-17). The combination of skill, experience and diaspora background tied to Europe gave an advantage to Estée Lauder to compete in the US cosmetic market by offering a new improved skincare cream. Estée Lauder attracted women with free samples, who then bought the products afterwards. In general, Estée Lauder was indeed a small family-owned business that illustrated 'personal' control and 'insider' ownership, which relied on the capabilities of the founder as a traditional entrepreneur.

In contrast, Maybelline aimed at a large target market in US cosmetics. While the number of cosmetic brands mushroomed, Maybelline distinguished itself from others by focusing on eye-products. The founder confirmed that the market for eye beauty products was wide open when he did an observation for eye products at stores and a beauty book called *Homely Girls* introduced a recipe for a decoction of ground walnut hulls to enhance the eyes (Williams, 2010). The founder quickly requested a sample from a wholesale drug manufacturing company after several failed attempts to create an eye-product. The founder's knowledge of inventory management proved useful in ordering raw ingredients and product containers to launch *Lash-Brow-Ine*, which was later replaced with Maybelline (Williams, 2010, pp.30-31). Here, Maybelline's founder identified an opportunity in a different way: at the outset he intended to create a new product for a new market with a new process. Expert A (2016) described the founder as *an entrepreneur who didn't want to work for anyone. There was a need in the market place and he was there at the right time in history.* This illustrates that the founder ventured into business with an intention to create a market-leading product, and therefore adopted a brand-oriented business plan. Within the organisation, the founder started to hire family members only. These traditional entrepreneurs from the Williams family gave the firm 'personal' control and 'insider' ownership, reliant on each of family members' capabilities (Williams, 2013g, 2011e, 2011f).

Johnson & Johnson also started its business targeting a large market. This is evidenced by the New Brunswick Daily Times in 1886 mentioning that Johnson & Johnson started with just 14 employees with the help of \$10,000-worth of machinery contracted for production (The Daily Times, 1886, p.3). Additionally, in the year of brand creation, the brand new business was beginning to make the connections that could help it become a well-known brand trusted all over the world (Gurowitz, 2016). This illustrates that since at the beginning Johnson & Johnson aimed at a large market and therefore specialised in medicated-based product line such as baby powder, medicinal plasters, cotton for dressings, and corn and bunion plasters (Foster, 1999, p.43). The focus on medicated product was because the Johnson brothers had 25 years of experience in the medical product business (Foster, 1999, p.38). These entrepreneurs identified the opportunity through their experience and skills. Johnson & Johnson retained 'insider' ownership and 'personal' control until 1905, when it started to have executive 'outsider' ownership from acquired companies on the Board of Directors (Gurowitz, 2006).

From these four cases, the motivations of the entrepreneurs to start their businesses were clear. Avon and Estée Lauder started market-oriented businesses, evident from their target market. Maybelline and Johnson & Johnson started brand-oriented businesses, which can be seen from their product focus. These two strategies are consistent with an earlier discussion (Chapter 2) that market-oriented and brand-oriented businesses are common in this industry. In sum, regardless of the size of the cosmetic firms, the observable picture of cosmetic brands in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was divided into two groups: one with multiproduct offerings and another one with a focused product line. These are linked to the other specific strategies in their marketing such as product, price, distribution and promotion.

4.2 Product Strategy

The historical process of brand development at date of brand creation is crucial, especially in the complex US cosmetic industry. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Avon and Estée Lauder started their businesses with multiproduct offerings, whilst Maybelline and Johnson & Johnson remained focused. The advantages in multiproduct offering strategy could be to raise entry barriers when environment uncertainty is high, and greater in more unstable environments, whilst the advantages of product-focused strategy include lower variable cost per unit, lower but more specialized labour skills, easier production planning and control, and higher equipment utilization (Giarratana and Fosfuri, 2007; Lancaster, 1990).

At date of brand creation, Avon added shampoo cream, witch hazel cream, almond cream balm, and small household items including toiletries, and more in the following years (Appendix 6). It expanded into more specific cosmetics product such as rouge in liquid and powder form in 1906 (CPC Catalog, 1902, 1896). Although Avon offered many products, cosmetics were not part of the starting line-up at date of brand creation, as evidenced in the California Perfume Company's Outlook September 1905: '*our rouge is now ready for delivery, and can be ordered from now on*' (Outlook, 1905a, p.4). The evidence from California Perfume Company catalogue 1896 listed the products sold at that time, which include shaving cream, baby soap, baby powder, tooth tablet, shampoo cream, cough syrup, and perfumes (CPC Catalog, 1896). However, the motivation for Avon to venture into cosmetics was due to '*numerous requests have been made by our Depot Managers for a cosmetic or rouge of a pure and harmless character*' (CPC Catalog, 1896). This clearly shows that social trends in cosmetics were changing from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century, where certain prejudices ('*Puritan influence against the endowment of physical beauty being looked at askance as a dangerous gift*') held by and about women (especially in the Midwest as discussed earlier) were changing (Fletcher, 1901). Rouge in both liquid and compressed powder form introduced by Avon at the early twentieth century is used more and more every year among the American women (Outlook, 1905b). Having cosmetics in Avon catalogues expanded the business; demand steadily increased as discussed earlier in this chapter. Sales increased to \$200,000 in 1901, of which \$80,000 or approximately 40 per cent were

paid to the sales representatives (Klepacki, 2010, p.23). Additionally, the increase to 6,100 sales representative in 1901 scattered all over the US was another key factor that helped Avon grow (the sales force grew 50 per cent in 1911) (Outlook, 1936b). In this period, product strategy was extremely important as it positioned the brand among the American women nationally, with orders delivered direct to the door of practically every home in America, a complete assortment of the finest perfumes, toilet articles, and home necessities (CPC, 1910). In this period, the demand for cosmetic products was not specific, but demand was high for items such as perfume, powder and rouge (Willett, 2010).

Likewise, Estée Lauder started with four skincare products and a simple premise (Estée Lauder Corporate Website, 2016a; Israel, 1985; Lauder, 1985). In the late of nineteenth and early twentieth century, there were other popular brands that sold skin lotion, such as Pond's, Nivea, Olay and Jergens. Estée Lauder entered the same product category due to the founder's passion for beauty and making other women beautiful (Lauder, 1985). Estée Lauder products such as Cleansing Oil, Crème Pack, Super Rich All Purpose Crème, and Skin Lotion aimed to solve the customer's skin problems, making the skin feel pampered, soft and silky (Lauder, 1985, p.27). The reason that Estée Lauder started selling skincare products was not only due to the knowledge about skincare of John Schotz, but also her interest in the grooming rituals of her Hungarian mother (Estée Lauder Corporate Website, 2016e; Lauder, 1985; Severo, 2004). In her autobiography, the founder described European women bathing religiously, as evidenced by her mother visiting to spas at Carlsbad (Czechoslovakia), Baden-Baden (Germany) and Saratoga Springs in New York (Lauder, 1985, p.15). This had strongly influenced the founder to sell skincare with the help of her uncle. Since American women only became interested in cosmetics in the early twentieth century, venturing into this business was quite fascinating especially as the products offered by Estée Lauder were linked to the founder's European background (Israel, 1985; Lauder, 1985; Severo, 2004). As discussed in Chapter 2, New York had one of the highest populations of immigrants, creating a business opportunity for Estée Lauder. This correlates with the view of Expert A (2016) that *many diaspora entrepreneurs have old-fashioned beauty secrets handed down to them through the generations and are inspired to share them with other women*. As a result, the skincare cream by Estée Lauder was very popular among the local community,

particularly the founder's friends at school: the creams had clear results on sensitive blemished skin within a day (Lauder, 1985). This strengthened the mythmaking already set in the women's minds, and Estée Lauder creams are still associated with 'magical' Europe beauty.

In contrast, the original product strategy by Maybelline focused on eye-products line at date of brand creation in 1915 by introducing mascara (Expert A, 2016; Maybelline Corporate Website UK, 2016; Williams, 2010). Modern mascara was not invented until Maybelline created it and the earliest version was a dry cake that required water to make a paste-like consistency (Bowen, 2016). The first mascara created by Maybelline was called *Lash-Brow-Ine* in 1915, and early sales were very slow until Tom Lyle Williams changed the name of product to Maybelline a year later, in honour of his sister, who inspired Tom to discover this product (Williams, 2010). However, controversial evidence also supports the slow sale and change of brand name to Maybelline. There was a court case (Ansehl vs. Williams) in the Circuit Court of Appeals, Eighth Circuit, St. Louis, Missouri on 15 July 1920 and Tom Williams sued Benjamin Ansehl for copyright infringement as a defence of trademark and unfair competition (Ansehl v Williams, 1920; Williams, 2014d). Although wearing cosmetics was fairly new to the American women, at a time when *Lash-Brow-Ine* was introduced women started to fight to be recognized as individuals (Peiss, 2011; Williams, 2010). Without cosmetics, there was no real individuality, which in general the world was still very Victorian (Williams, 2011). Tom Lyle refused to sell existing popular products like perfumes, powders, creams, and lipstick. Maybel Williams his sister, inspired him to develop mascara, and consequently, a combination of demand from women, social change and an attempt to be different from other cosmetics companies that time, Maybelline strategized to focus on eye-products, particularly mascara (Williams, 2010).

Between the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Johnson & Johnson focused on medicated products such as powders, soap, medicated plasters sterile surgical products, first aid kits and toothpaste (Appendix 7). The demand for these products were high as can be seen from the emergence of production where the companies hired over 125 men, boys and girls a year after it started (Gurowitz, 2015a; Johnson, 1949). Apart from the high demand from customers, the production of

Johnson & Johnson products, particular mustard and porous plasters, were recorded large scale product donation two months before the company issued its first professionally printed price list and seven months before the companies was brought it to serve the poor citizens of New Brunswick (Foster, 1999; Gurowitz, 2015a). This strategy was extended to the railway workers when the railways industry became important in the American transport revolution. The work was very dangerous and surgeons often had to treat severe injuries to workers building the railroad and working on the steam locomotives (Gurowitz, 2011b; Johnson, 1949). As a result, the railway workers were given first aid kits by employers so that injuries could be treated and stabilised until medical help arrived (Foster, 1999; Gurowitz, 2013c). Johnson & Johnson positioned its brands relevant to the customers' needs, and this became important as demand for the products exponentially increased. This can be seen in the early twentieth century: Johnson & Johnson strengthen its brand by acquiring a company called Van Horn and Sawtell that made surgical products such as sutures, a surgical lubricant called K-Y and other items (Foster, 1999; Gurowitz, 2015f; Johnson, 1949). The union of two companies could offer more medical and surgical supplies in volume via well-equipped manufacturing. Additionally, Johnson & Johnson minimised the cost of production by dealing with a fruit jar manufacturer and a box manufacturer in New Brunswick, with factories located next to Johnson & Johnson's plant, to become its packaging supplier rather than contracting this out to manufacturers outside the area (Gurowitz, 2016; Lauder, 1985).

4.3 Pricing Strategy

This section analyses the pricing strategy of the US cosmetic industry at date of brand creation. Apart from quality of product, price is another important factor that influenced customers. Research in marketing has provided both theoretical predications and empirical evidence on pricing strategy for products, especially consumer goods, concerning the type of consumers that different pricing strategies are likely to attract (Lal and Rao, 1997). In the late nineteenth century, the price was always negotiated between buyer and seller until shops began setting ‘*one price for all*’ and pricing of cosmetic products changed in the early twentieth century where segment pricing was introduced, which was a sophisticated and modern way of managing competing brands (Cummins and Mullin, 2010).

In the earliest Avon catalogue in 1902, Avon emphasised the price and quality of its products: *drawing the perfume direct from the pomade enables us to guarantee the quality of our goods, and to sell them at a much lower price than if we dealt through many hands, as is the case with most perfumers* (CPC Catalog, 1902, p.10). This illustrates the nature of Avon’s business at date of brand creation. This affordable pricing offered through direct selling was novel at the time and started to attract consumers when American women became more conscious of cosmetics. This is supported by evidence from Avon company’s newsletter reporting that customers ‘*would much prefer buying this from you than from a druggist – the price through you is very much less*’ (Outlook, 1905b, p.3). This illustrates that the affordable price, which customer considered cheaper than drugstores, was not derived from lower-quality ingredients or cheap packaging materials, but rather in terms of distribution through door-to-door selling, which made the final product cheap but maintained the product quality.

The affordable price of Avon’s products not only benefited those American women in rural areas, but also managed to meet some basic needs such as soaps, powders, toothpaste and others for immigrants who arrived in the US in this period. California Perfume Company’s Outlook 1906 quoted the New York Tribute that *every 40 seconds an immigrant arrives*, which led the US Government into *drafting new laws of health and sanitation for the immigrants who come to our shore* (Outlook,

1922, 1906c). The affordable prices offered by Avon helped these immigrants with their hygiene care in order to meet the law drafted by the US Government upon their arrival in the US. Consequently, Avon spread out among the immigrants through word-of-mouth, particularly in New York and cities located in the Northeast and the Midwest (McConnell, 1903; Outlook, 1909). The affordable price strategy due to cutting costs in distribution was novel in positioning Avon brand at date of brand creation.

Estée Lauder was founded in 1925 when the US cosmetic market was emerging (Israel, 1985; Lauder 1985). The experience of operating the business in this period was different from that of Avon, due to an increased passion for beauty in society, industrial revolutions, immigration and globalisation (Jones, 2010; Peiss 2011). At date of brand creation, Estée Lauder was sold in small quantities and with free samples given to potential customers, mostly the founder's colleagues, neighbours and women living nearby (Lauder, 1985). Estée Lauder was unique in introducing the brand through giving free sample rather than setting a particular price, as it believed the power of word-of-mouth could attract consumers, especially in New York (Estée Lauder Corporate Website, 2016a; Israel, 1985; Lauder, 1985). The demand from women who had experienced the free sample had made Estée Lauder available at a hair salon called House of Ash Blonde when the owner Florence Morris offered Estée Lauder's founder the chance to demonstrate products to customers waiting to get their hair done (Lauder, 1985).

Since Estée Lauder products were created in the early twentieth century when the US cosmetic market was emerging, it was the best time to distinguish it from other brands. As a result, Estée Lauder marketing philosophy is based on product loyalty in specialty niches that recognise women's demographics, which project an image of high-class society. This is supported by one of the firm's strategies as mentioned in the Annual Report, which is to strengthen product categories founded at date of brand creation (Estée Lauder Inc., 2007, p.9). Additionally, some customers felt Estée Lauder's products were expensive whilst the target customers found it reasonable. This pricing strategy is associated with the product, and the myth about Europe beauty related to aristocratic society had strengthen in customers in New York at the time when many European immigrants arrived in the US between 1880 and 1920,

particularly French, Hungarian, Russian, and Irish with an association of traditional beauty routines originating in Europe (Litoff and McDonnell, 1994). This illustrates the beauty myth of a particular society associated with cosmetic brands changes customer behaviour.

In contrast, Maybelline succeeded at date of brand creation because it focused on a particular product (mascara) and having a quality product at a price every woman could afford (Expert A, 2016). Maybelline was created in 1915, where the US cosmetic market was in transition from a small market to an emerging market (Williams, 2010). In the early twentieth century, there were many new cosmetic brands emerging and also foreign brands imported to the US especially from France (Jones, 2010). The eye products offered by Maybelline became a phenomenon for American women and due to high demand, the products were available in two sizes (50 cents and one dollar) (Williams, 2015a). Likewise, Johnson & Johnson, created in 1886 had focused on its medicated-based products, which the Johnson brothers showed that they intended their business to be different than other firms in the late nineteenth century (Gurowitz, 2016). Although there were new entrants and competitors selling the same products such as powders and plasters, Johnson & Johnson distinguished itself by concentrating on medicated-bases for these products. In addition, the prices offered for Johnson & Johnson products in the late nineteenth century were reasonable because they were produced in volume to meet demand in a small but growing market. This original price strategy became the core principal for Johnson & Johnson: *we must be of high quality, we must constantly strive to reduce our costs in order to maintain reasonable prices* (Johnson & Johnson Annual Report, 2008, p.74). The evidence from Johnson & Johnson Price List in 1888 shows that all the products were affordable to customers, including those in high demand like baby oil, toothpaste, plasters, bandages, powders, and the first aid kits (Gurowitz, 2013c, 2012b). At date of brand creation, the price list was carried by the company salesmen and showed to doctors, surgeons, and druggists (Gurowitz, 2016).

4.4 Distribution Strategy

The decisions about distribution strategies for US cosmetics are linked closely to the other marketing strategies, such as those relating to product, price, promotion, and geographical markets. The importance of examining distribution strategies for the case studies at date of brand creation is because it helps to understand why the two groups of entrepreneurs chose such different channels in the same industry (Burns et al., 1985). In the late nineteenth century, druggists remained the primary distributors of beauty preparations; later in the early twentieth century, department stores brought cosmetic products into a new urban setting of promotion and demonstration, as well as other retail outlets (Peiss, 2011). These changes in cosmetics distribution was due to shifts in what customers wanted. Trends in pricing strategy were also affected, and price competition emerged. For example, at the lower end of market, new chain drugstores and variety stores aggressively pushed bargain brands (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1939b). Although this gave them a competitive advantage, by 1910 the nation's greatest industrial problem became that of selling the product: goods could not be sold as fast as they were produced, in spite of halving of wholesale production costs. High distribution costs made the consumer price too high to permit normal consumption (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1932b). This can be illustrated by a comparison between 1870 and 1930 by The Drug and Cosmetic Industry report 1932 (Figure 13) showing a gap in prices due to distribution costs.

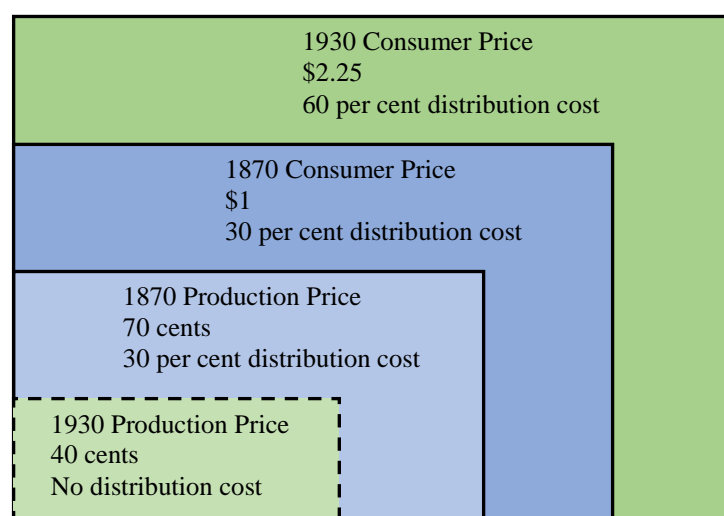


Figure 13: Consumer price and production price in 1870 and 1930.

Source: (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1939b, p.470).

Figure 13 illustrates that between 1870 and 1930, the cost of distribution doubled as a per centage. The rise in distribution costs was due to increasing demand, and new entrants to the industry. This can be observed from the changes in trends and demands of society discussed in the earlier section in each three analysis chapters: at date of brand creation (Chapter 4), during the Great Depression (Chapter 5) and in World War II (Chapter 6). Also, Tung and Chung (2010) in the literature review highlight that concerns about distribution costs could assist investors in differentiating their products for investment which distinguished their products from their competitors in order to gain greater competitive advantages, such as in home markets, department stores, discount houses, and a few others. This to some extent explains why some cosmetic companies changed their distribution strategies to reduce costs when demand was high. Therefore, it is important to compare the distribution strategies of the case studies selected in explaining their development of brands at date of brand creation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Avon started its product distribution through Avon representatives: a distribution strategy that consumed considerable time and labour costs, but that yielded considerable business (Outlook, 1906b). This strategy minimised the distribution cost and offered a business opportunity for women. Although customers got their products ordered individually, this strategy was different from direct shipping mentioned by Burns et al., (1985) involving *the costs of shipping separate loads from one supplier directly to each customers* (p.472), because Avon used sales representatives as the final means of distribution to the customers. The origin of door-to-door selling through sales representatives was inspired by the tradition Irish diaspora that commonly relied on direct selling in Liverpool in the mid-nineteenth century, which was tied to the founder's background (Belchem, 2007). The Irish door-to-door selling technique developed through continual movement between Ireland (the 'home country') and the more distant countries adopted by Irish emigrants (Belchem, 2007). In this context, although there was little correlation between the Irish diaspora and Avon's founder, there is suggestive evidence in the founder's autobiography. The psychological link of the Irish diaspora tradition of door-to-door selling can be seen in David H. McConnell's earliest experiences when he founded the California Perfume Company. He writes: '*My ambition was to manufacture a line*

of goods that would be consumed, used up, and to sell it through canvassing agents, and direct from the factory to the consumer' (McConnell, 1903, p.6).

This thesis again argues that it is not necessary to have direct contact with the first generation's homeland for the relevant psychological link to be relevant; it is sufficient for the diaspora to maintain some culture, belief, language or routine related to the homeland. To some extent, Expert F (2016) agreed with this argument: *[I have noticed that] African descendants living in the US in the present don't have [an] affective connection with African countries. However, only if these diasporas practice their culture, norm, behaviour and even myth, without have a tendency to return to the origin land, is still consider[ed that] they establish their psychological link.* In the case of Avon, it is clearly evident the founder practiced similar business techniques to the Irish diaspora in Liverpool (McConnell, 1903). Indeed, this distribution strategy not only minimised the distribution cost from factory to customers but also established networks among the local community and created jobs, particularly in rural areas.

In the early twentieth century, when Avon started to be known among the American women across the country, drugstores and other retailers inquired about selling Avon's products; however, the founder had prepared a diplomatic rejection (Klepacki, 2010). This was in line with the company's key principle at date of brand creation, *to provide individuals [with] an opportunity to earn in support of their well-being and happiness*, especially for women (Avon Corporate Website, 2016; Klepacki, 2010; McConnell, 1903). Avon continued with its product distribution through door-to-door direct selling by sales representatives (McConnell, 1903, p.18). This is the most important strategy for Avon that distinguished it from other cosmetic brands and the founder favoured the door-to-door direct selling method because it is *'the most economical way'* to get products to customers (Klepacki, 2010, p.23). The door-to-door direct selling strategy was significant in this period because *women built commercial networks through already existing social relations and noneconomic institutions*, through capitalizing upon female friendships and working at women's clubs, churches, and schools to promote sales (Peiss, 1998 p.235). This helped sales representative not only to strengthen relationships with women but also invite new customers to get to know Avon, essentially through recommendation by existing

customers. Avon gained and retained customers by contacting them directly (i.e. without an intermediary like those cosmetic brands placed in drugstores or supermarkets). Therefore, Avon had greater control over price and had no costs to pay intermediaries.

Estée Lauder started to distribute its product in a different traditional. At date of brand creation (1925) the US cosmetic market was growing handsomely and becoming competitive (Israel, 1985, pp18-19). In this period, Estée Lauder was distributed face-to-face via free samples at school where the founder was still studying; she also gave them out to friends and neighbours with Italian and Jewish heritage (Hyman and Moore, 1997). The effectiveness of the creams spread through word-of-mouth and made the founder's reputation among colleagues at New Town High School (Lauder, 1985). This face-to-face distribution (with product demonstrations on customers) created a circle of network and trust. It was also economical, especially for a new business in a growing industry, where there was competition from well-established brands like Avon, Coty, Pond's, Elizabeth Arden, Helena Rubinstein, Johnson & Johnson, foreign brands, and other new entrants. Face-to-face distribution allowed direct two-way communication between seller and buyer, advantageous to both parties: customers gained information and tips, and the seller gained had free advertising through word-of-mouth recommendations.

In contrast, Maybelline eye-products were initially available only through mail order at date of brand creation in 1915 (Williams, 2015a). Maybelline was created at a time when customers' demand for cosmetic products was steadily growing. Experiences at Montgomery Ward in 1912 working with a variety of mail-order ventures had encouraged the founder to adopt this distribution strategy (Williams, 2015a). Direct distribution to customers at date of brand creation was done solely by family members: Tom Lyle Williams and Noel Williams made several trips per week to the train station upon received the complete orders, carrying heavy mailbags themselves by trolley because the post office would no longer carry such weighty bags (Williams, 2010). Although the product orders were encouraging, the distribution strategy seem impractical when the product orders were growing, because of the cost of shipping separate loads from one supplier directly to each customer (Burns et al., 1985). Maybelline changed its distribution strategy from mail order to

drugstores and dime stores in 1929 when the business was successfully grown in the national market and planning to venture abroad (Williams, 2011g). There was also high demand from the market for products to be convenient and easily available and finally economies of scale in shipping (Burns et al., 1985; Maybelline Corporate Website UK, 2016). Thus, Maybelline started to sell its products in volume at drugstores efficiently and cheaply.

Johnson & Johnson started its distribution strategy through dispatching trucks, locomotive, and steam ships that deliver to more than one customer per load (Gurowitz, 2009b). This is one reason why the Johnson brothers built their factory in New Brunswick, very close to where the Pennsylvania Railroad steam locomotive huffed to a stop. The Raritan River was also just next to the Johnson & Johnson factory (Appendix 8). Distribution costs were reduced by locating the factory strategically. Upon the product shipment arrival at depots, Johnson & Johnson products were distributed to railway surgeons, particularly the first aid kits, which later became a standard in treating injuries for others; for example, in the home, for travellers, in workplaces and public buildings, in automobiles and airplanes (Gurowitz, 2013c). This distribution strategy was appropriate for Johnson & Johnson since it aimed to produce in a large volume and saved costs.

4.5 Promotional Strategy

According to The Drug and Cosmetic Industry report in December 1932, in the early twentieth century there was no broad trend in sales promotion (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1932c). This is because the cosmetic industry was considered new. Although there were impressive cosmetics sale between the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century in the US, the tough job in selling cosmetics in this period is to promote them both individually and collectively (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1932c, p.526).

In the nineteenth century, Avon was a pioneer of the business strategy of door-to-door direct selling in cosmetics, which the company engaging sales representatives to sell products on commission as illustrated in the Avon Outlook November 1905: *'we want your orders and we want you to receive the commissions'* (Outlook, 1905c, p.2). Many women recruited as Avon representatives successfully imitated this sales promotion strategy and their *'help wanted'* advertisement seeking working women in need of income appeared in magazines and circulars in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Peiss, 1998). However, Avon did not use advertising as its main promotion tool at date of creation; rather, it chosen to recruit Avon representatives. In later years in the early twentieth century it used advertisements to promote buying products through sales representatives (*'sold only by local representatives, never in stores'*) (Outlook, 1906a, p.1). There is compelling evidence from California Perfume Company Catalogue 1896 showing that Avon did not invest in advertising but capitalised on production such as *new and improved machinery, washers, chillers, and mixers that are able to make as fine goods as can be made, and with furnishing the product direct from the laboratory to consumers through sales representatives, which can furnish them cheaper than others who must first advertise to create a demand and then supply the demand* (CPC Catalog, 1896, p.4). This demonstrates that Avon reduced costs by advertising very little and making practical investment so as to produce quality products.

In the early twentieth century, Avon did not use advertising directly but a free gift calendar with a purchase of Avon's products for a certain amount. The Avon Newsletter 1909 mentioned that *'there can be no doubt at all that the right kind of*

advertising will increase sales [...] but it must be of the right kind, something will catch and then hold attention, provoke inquiry and arouse interest' (Outlook, 1909). Avon gave away free calendars with any order over \$1, which advertised the company and its trademark in a quiet, modest, refined way, reinforcing the dignity of the brand (Outlook, 1909). Consequently, a combination of Avon sales representatives and the calendar campaign strengthened customers' trust and interest in Avon brand. In addition, a visit from an Avon sale representative encouraged two-way communication where customers gained much information about Avon's products, product trials and demonstration before purchase, and personal beauty consultation advice from well-trained sales representatives.

In addition, Avon sales representatives could promote their products through catalogues and with product demonstrations (CPC Catalog, 1896). This direct promotional strategy allowed customers to experience and evaluate the quality of the products while getting advice and consultation from sales representatives (Wyckham, Fitzroy and Mandry, 1975). The power of word-of-mouth by these customers spread among their circle of friends, family members and neighbours, consistent with Groeger and Buttle's (2014) work on well-established sales promotion tools like product demonstrations, which are better and cheaper than marketing tools like advertising, particularly when introducing new products.

Likewise, Estée Lauder used word-of-mouth for promoting its product at date of brand creation because of its small size and to create a specialty niche. The Estée Lauder Corporate website stated that *decades before social media became mainstream promotional tool; Estée Lauder ran word-of-mouth campaigns in three important mediums such as Telephone, Telegraph and Tell-A-Woman* (Estée Lauder Corporate Website, 2016a). This is supported by the founder in her autobiography mentioned that these three mediums *are the secret of success in development of [a] brand* (Lauder, 1985, pp.28-30). As a result, Estée Lauder expanded the business to customers across cities, particularly in the Northeast from Miami to New York through salons and by applying this grassroots marketing approach (Estée Lauder Corporate Website, 2016a; Israel, 1985; Lauder, 1985). Estée Lauder was a small family-owned business at date of brand creation and had no budget allocated for

product promotion, but wanted its products to be recognised immediately by customers. Therefore, word-of-mouth was the most appropriate promotion strategy.

Since word-of-mouth was a common strategy adopted at that time, in order to distinguish itself from other cosmetic brands, the Estée Lauder founder used another appropriate strategy through *touch-the-customer* product demonstrations for customers to experience the products (Estée Lauder Corporate Website, 2016a; Israel, 1985; Lauder, 1985; Severo, 2004). This promotional strategy was built around the earliest business mission, '*Bringing the Best to Everyone We Touch*' (Lauder, 1985). At date of brand creation, the founder formulated this touch-the-customer marketing philosophy to provide high-quality service and products as the foundation for a solid and loyal consumer base (Estée Lauder Inc., 2007; Lauder, 1985). Although this strategy was similar to Avon in some ways, the difference offered by Estée Lauder was the *touch-the-customer* makeup demonstration done by the founder herself, whilst Avon was demonstrated by reps. This distinguished Estée Lauder from other cosmetic brands, targeted only a specialty niche with the mythmaking of Estée Lauder products tied to European beauty and aristocracy. As a result, the power of word-of-mouth about Estée Lauder spread among customers at hair and beauty salons where the founder did her demonstrations. Estée Lauder brand was created not for volume sales, but a specialty niche with products available at certain places only.

As well as these two promotional strategies, Estée Lauder invested in free samples rather than printed advertising because of the small size of the company and limited capital at that time (Israel, 1985; Lauder, 1985). Estée Lauder pioneered this strategy in the cosmetic industry, commonly used by other cosmetic brands in the present, aimed to convince a woman to try a product, which the founder highlighted in her autobiography: '*a woman would never have [left] empty handed. I did not have an advertising department [...] but I have a woman's intuition*' (Lauder, 1985, p.29). This illustrates that the power of word-of-mouth is vital with a free sample given, so that the positive feedback from customer to other customers was persuasive based on their product trial experiences. The combination of word-of-mouth, *touch-the-customer* and free samples strengthened the development of Estée Lauder brand, where it was likely to be distinguished from other existing brands. These three important strategies founded a fundamental business guideline for Estée Lauder in

positioning the brand distinctively (Kumar, Massie and Dumonceaux, 2006). Additionally, in order to minimise risk, the business practice at date of brand creation was cash before delivery (CBD)⁷. This business practice was appropriate for Estée Lauder at date of brand creation since the production was not in volume, and the target market was based on a certain niche. This is in contrast to Ng, Smith and Smith (1999), who suggest that cash before delivery of products or service could mean the buyer taking a risk on product quality, but this thesis in this case as the customers had already tried the product through free samples and *touch-the-customer* demonstrations.

In contrast, Maybelline used advertising which appeared widely through popular magazines in this period such as *Photoplay* magazine, *Pictorial Review*, *Delineator*, *the Police Gazette* and the *Saturday Evening Post* (Williams, 2010, p.25). This is because Maybelline targeted a large market, selling the product in volume and focusing on a particular product category. Therefore, due to its business aim at date of brand creation, advertising was the most appropriate promotional strategy that can create widespread nationwide demand in a short time; however, it was expensive. The importance of advertising as a promotional strategy played a crucial role in the development of Maybelline's brand, and over \$1,000,000 was spent on it between date of brand creation in 1915 and 1929 (Williams, 2010). This large expenditure on advertising include appearances in popular magazines (at high frequency and large sizes) and a lot of advertising featured actresses such as Phyllis Haver, Ethel Clayton, Viola Dana, and Natalie Moorhead (Williams, 2015a). Contracting these actresses to appear in Maybelline advertisements was of critical to the success of the brand, but was also important to the actresses and the movies they appeared in. Maybelline was opportunistic with this strategy because these actresses were well-known in this period, the film industry was on the rise and became a stepping stone for Maybelline to position its brand. In the same vein, Maybelline fully utilized the power of advertisement not only by featuring Hollywood actresses but also through its ads with the slogan, '*Maybelline Will Beautify Your Eyes Instantly*' (Appendix 9). Actresses

7 The different between CBD and COD is; Cash Before Delivery means payment method in which order is processed when received, but is shipped only upon receipt of full payment. Whilst, Cash On Delivery means a type of transaction in which payment for a good is made at the time of delivery, and if the purchaser does not make payment when the good is delivered, then the good will be returned to the seller.

appeared to be gaining increasing influence in society, and it seemed their success in the film industry could be transferred to products or brands (Choi and Berger, 2010; McCracken, 1989). American women wanted to be recognised as individuals within this period, were willing to try new products, and Maybelline responded using ‘*before and after*’ imagery to present its new product, Maybelline mascara (Williams, 2010b).

Likewise, advertising was the primary promotional tool for Johnson & Johnson since date of brand creation. Johnson & Johnson continuously produced advertising in up to fifteen languages to appeal to the huge wave of immigrants to the US from Italy, Ireland, Central and Eastern Europe, many of whom spoke little or no English (Foster, 1999; Gurowitz, 2007c). Since Johnson & Johnson is a brand-oriented business targeting a large number of consumers, this was an opportunity to reach those communities (Gurowitz, 2007c; Johnson, 1949).

In addition, Johnson & Johnson used advertising in 1917 to promote its first-aid products with some basic information about first aid and bandaging, which appeared in the *Nineteen Teens* and *Ladies’ Home Journal* (Gurowitz, 2013b). This early advertising was used to introduce the product and brand. Apart from encountering new customers from among immigrants using several languages, Johnson & Johnson was also in high demand from Latin America. This is because its target market at date of brand creation was selling in large volumes. When the brand penetrated the Latin American market, advertising in Spanish was crucial to deliver information to customers. For example, Johnson & Johnson publications were translated into Spanish for a sterile surgery manual entitled ‘*Modern Methods of Antiseptic Wound Treatment*’ published in 1888. There was enough demand from Spanish-speaking countries for Johnson & Johnson to create its Spanish Language Department (Gurowitz, 2015e; Johnson, 1949). In order to reduce costs, the translation and printing for such markets were done at Johnson & Johnson’s main office in New York, as highlighted in a letter by Fred Kilmer to the editor of *American Druggist Magazine* (Foster, 1999; Kilmer, 1898)⁸. This case study could add weight to a claim made by Roostal (1963) about the use of several languages in

⁸ See Appendix 10, p.301.

Western Europe at the same time in advertisements, instructions for pharmaceuticals and in tourist brochures, as evidence of standardization in advertising.

In addition, Johnson & Johnson was among the first brands to use celebrity endorsement for its promotional strategy. For example antiseptic Synol Soap received celebrity endorsements by Broadway and Vaudeville stars during the 1910s, and also a silent film cowboy, Fred Thompson, who was ranked the number two box office star in Hollywood, demonstrating first aid techniques to a group of Boy Scouts using Johnson & Johnson First Aid Kits (Foster, 1999; Gurowitz, 2015f; Johnson, 1949)⁹. This strategy clearly illustrates that some brands in this industry, particularly those aimed for a large market, relied on the thriving Hollywood film industry, as discussed earlier in the Maybelline case study.

⁹ See Appendix 11, p.302.

4.6 Conclusion

To conclude this chapter, it has introduced the four case studies, with data for each case collected through archival visits to the Hagley Museum, Library and Archive in Wilmington, Delaware; the New York Public Library, New York; the British Library at Boston Spa, North Yorkshire; and the University of York Library. Data also collected through email interviews. It has given an overview of the historical development of case study cosmetic brands, including their original marketing strategies for each marketing mix such as product, price, distribution, and promotion. The four cosmetic brands presented in this chapter are recently listed among the most valuable cosmetic brands in 2013, 2014, and 2015 (See Appendix 3). The two groups of entrepreneurs developed their brands differently at date of brand creation, particularly those created by diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs.

There are two interrelated capabilities that have been identified for marketing strategies implemented in the period. They are: the capabilities concerning individual marketing mix and capabilities concerned with people in the firm, including traditional entrepreneurs and expanded entrepreneurs. These entrepreneurs from the chapter discussed have a tendency to follow the original founder's imagery and vision for their business operation, especially for each strategy that deals with product, price, distribution and promotion. These capabilities may be rare, valuable, non-substitutable and unique sources of advantage that lead to the building of a firm's performance in creating a brand (Dutta et al., 1999).

The aim of this chapter is to present the findings and answer the two research questions posed in Chapter 1. The chapter has critically discussed and distinguished the differences in marketing strategies as expected from the literature review (Chapter 2). The findings indicate that the nature of marketing strategies for diaspora entrepreneurship at date of brand creation is based upon ontological assumption made in Chapter 3. As Chapter 2 identified, there are differences in marketing strategies among diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs in similar market structures, and this chapter presented that diaspora entrepreneurs have a tendency to run market-oriented businesses particularly aiming at niches, rather than non-diaspora entrepreneurs whose interest is in brand-oriented businesses targeted at high-volume sales.

Therefore, their original marketing strategies were different in this period due to the motivation of the business and the target market.

The next chapter will present the same case studies, investigating their marketing strategies during the Great Depression. As a way to assess consistency of brand proposition and marketing strategies over time that associated with success, it will use similar logic and theoretical framework to analyse and discuss the changes in the period of study and provide evidence from data collected.

Chapter 5:

Marketing Strategies during the Great Depression

5.0 Introduction

This chapter will present marketing strategies used during the Great Depression. As a way to address consistency and explain longevity and global brand success in the US cosmetics industry, a similar replication logic to that used in Chapter 4 will be employed in this chapter. As identified in Chapter 5, marketing strategies used during the Great Depression are expected to differ from earlier strategies, according to the literature review (Chapter 2), where Haluk Köksal and Özgül (2007) pointed out the four main elements in the marketing mix: product, price, place, and promotion. According to Jones (2010), there were major crises in most European countries and almost a cataclysm in South America, Australia and elsewhere as the price of primary commodities had fallen, but the impact on the United States remained amongst the most severe during the Great Depression (p.9). This crisis, however, tested the entire US cosmetic industry and the capabilities of entrepreneurs to exploit available resources. The findings from this chapter expand on Jones's findings on weak strategies like cheapening.

In Chapter 4, marketing strategies were developed by traditional entrepreneurs (this includes both diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs); however, expanded entrepreneurs (particularly non-family members) can also be seen in these organisations in the early twentieth century, in Avon and Johnson & Johnson. Also, the chapter indicates that diaspora entrepreneurs' businesses are more market-oriented, whilst non-diaspora entrepreneurs are more brand-oriented. This was the key difference between the two groups that led to differentiated marketing strategies, demonstrated in product, price, distribution and promotion strategy. This chapter examines how marketing strategies were applied within each case study between 1929 and 1939. The structure of this chapter is the same as in Chapter 4. First, this chapter demonstrates to what extent the original marketing strategies founded at the date of brand creation were used during the Great Depression. Then, it compares the

strategies between the two groups of entrepreneurs in explaining the development and longevity of brands.

Table 18: Overview of the key findings during the Great Depression

Period 2: The Great Depression	Avon	Estée Lauder	Maybelline	Johnson & Johnson
Product	Multiproduct	multiproduct	eye product lines (improved/new size/packaging)	medicated based products (improved/new size/packaging)
Price	affordable prices for low-to middle-end consumers	above average prices	price-cheapening	price-cheapening
Distribution	direct from factory to city and district managers to Sales representatives to customers (direct to customers)	from factory to face-to-face and at a counter in beauty salons (direct to customers)	from factory to depot to drugstores, department stores	from factory to depot to hospitals, drugstores
Promotion	word-of-mouth, limited advertising, sales representatives with selling tools (catalogue, sales portfolio, demonstration packages, order book, rubber stamp and pad)	word-of-mouth, face-to-face <i>touch-the-customer</i> product demonstration, free samples, saleswomen	advertising, celebrities' endorsement	advertising, expert and public figure endorsement

Source: Table developed by the Author.

5.1 Geographical Markets

Edith Thornton McLeod, a promotion specialist at Association Merchandising Corporation, summarised what buyers wanted during the Great Depression in the US by identifying four broad groups of women: the Midwest, the South, the West and the Northeast (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1936d, p.327). During the Great Depression, make-up still remained a simple matter of face powder, lipstick and rouge in the Midwest, due to 'dry skin' caused by the climate (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1936d). Women were becoming increasingly cosmetic conscious and there was tremendous interest in cologne in this region.

In contrast, it seems that no real cosmetics had ever been promoted or used in the South: women used a lot of make-up but not in the most attractive way. Evidence from The Drug and Cosmetic Industry (1936d) shows that women in this area were white-powder consumers of the country, which is typical of their old-fashioned approach. In the far west of the US, there was a tendency to follow New York, especially in cities such as San Francisco and Los Angeles, with a strong Hollywood influence. Similar to the South and Midwest, there are climatic and social conditions that govern the cosmetic requirements of consumers. There was a contradiction in product demands amongst women in the Northeast, who were conscious of skincare products (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1936d, p.336). Women in this part, especially in the New England area, insist on preparations which they feel accomplish something definite.

US market conditions during the Great Depression were amongst the most severe: a report shows that the market was growing and there was immense room for expansion in usage of practically every type of cosmetic and toiletry preparation (Market Studies International, 1981). In this period, even during the extremely difficult times of the downturn in the early 1930s, the demand for cosmetics grew steadily up to the late 1930s, when demand for most other goods declined (Market Studies International, 1981). The emergence of the industry was due to the influences of advertising and mass media that promoted a society in which women's lives were increasingly entwined with commodities (Peiss, 2011). This was a decade of growth for the US cosmetics industry, and also the period when the government became

interested in the industry, focused not only on the efficacy and safety of products, but also on unfair trade practices (Allen, 1981). Also, evidence from the newspaper archives of *The New York Times*, illustrates that cosmetics were known as a recession-resistant industry: many cosmetics brands were created a just before or during the Depression, such as Revlon (1932), Bonne Bell (1927), Helene Curtis (1927), and others (Bender, 1975).

By the mid-1930s, sales in the US cosmetic industry in general were moving upwards (Jones, 2010; Manko, 2001a). Avon, for example, remained profitable throughout the period, with sales increasing 10-15 per cent between 1930 and 1938, as reported in Avon Outlook 1931: ‘when most firms were glad to make two thirds of the profits they enjoyed the year before, our sales were greater than the previous year’ (Outlook, 1931b, p.2). The evidence in Figure 14 from *The Drug and Cosmetic Industry July 1936* illustrates the upward changes in sales of cosmetics between 1934 and 1936.

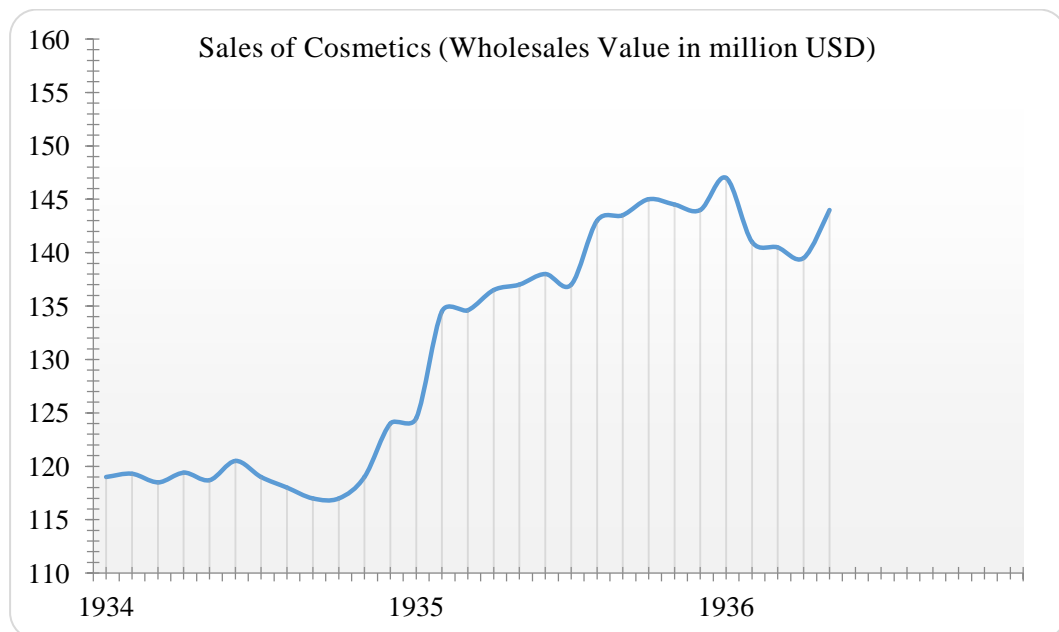


Figure 14: Sales of cosmetics (wholesale values).

Source: *The Drug and Cosmetic Industry* (1936a).

Figure 14 illustrates the sales of cosmetics (wholesale values in millions of dollars) in the US between January 1934 and May 1936. The wholesale values of sales for the

twelve-month period ending in May 1936 took a sudden rise, equal to approximately \$144,017,000. This represents an increase of 3 per cent to \$139,763,000 for the year ending April 1936, and is 5.4 per cent greater than the twelve-month period ending in May 1935. Consistent sales of cosmetics were due to rising customer demand (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1936a). For example, at the beginning of the Great Depression, cheap goods contributed to sales, but there was a small slump before 1935, whereby the competition for cheap goods was ruining the sales of standard-grade merchandise¹⁰. A few months after this slump, the increased, because the public decided that cheap, inferior goods were not the solution to their needs, and many cosmetics firms sensed that consumers always come back to quality goods (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1936a).

The size and structure of the US cosmetics market increased during the Great Depression, although there was a little effect on sales. The evidence from this study contrasts with Manko's (2001a) findings (Chapter 2) that there are depression-proof strategies. This thesis argues that the US cosmetics strategy in this period could be described as depression-resistant: evidence reveals little impact on the industry during the depression, which correlates with Jones's (2010) interpretation earlier that there was a small effect on business. Indeed, the US cosmetic industry survived due to some practical strategies, but the sales also show a small slump before gradually increased from 1935 onwards. This thesis suggests that it is not only the marketing strategy that matters, but also other factors such as resources and customer demand that discussed in Chapter 2. Therefore, it is not appropriate to consider the cosmetic industry as depression-proof in terms of strategy, and instead depression-resistant could, perhaps, be a more accurate description.

In term of raw materials and with the war raging in Europe at the end of this period, many cosmetic manufacturers and suppliers turned to Latin America as a market for increased exports from the US (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1936e). Due to the end of the Great Depression and the beginning of the war, chemicals, drugs, perfumes and cosmetics were shipped to Latin America in large quantities by Germany, France and England (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1936e). Likewise,

¹⁰ See Figure 14, p.163.

European manufacturers had in some instances established brand manufacturing factories in Latin America, but these establishments were cut off from their home countries for supplies of raw materials (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1936e). This was a significant reason for some of US cosmetic firms to venture abroad, mostly in Latin America.

Other than consumer demands, the upward changes in sales and trends in the US cosmetic industry in this period were caused by the marketing strategies launched by individual firms (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1936a). There were no further cross-border acquisitions or shifts of domicile within this period as the industry was slowly recovering from the crisis (Jones, 2010, p.111). In contrast, evidence from historical records, such as the Maybelline Digital Archive and the Kilmer House Johnson & Johnson Digital Archive, show that some US cosmetic brands had ventured abroad in this period (Gurowitz, 2008a; Williams, 2015b). Interestingly, from these comparative cases, the cosmetic brands created by non-diaspora entrepreneurs were more likely to expand abroad during this crisis, rather than brands created by diaspora entrepreneurs, which were more likely to focus on the domestic market. The following scenarios from company records and autobiographies illustrate this point.

In the case of Maybelline, the deal with Brazil was a result of Tom Lyle's first trip outside the US. Due to Europe's worsening war conditions that made most manufacturers move to Latin America, Maybelline sent a representative to investigate exporting Maybelline cosmetics there, following European firms (Williams, 2010). Upon returning from the trip, Maybelline decided to expand its business in Brazil due to the demand for affordable eye make-up expanding at an incredible rate there. The founder realised that '*Brazil has become the United States' most important trading partner and foreign investor*' (Williams, 2010). The entry mode for this international market was through exports from Chicago (Expert A, 2016). In this period, Maybelline was characterised by 'managerial' control and yet had 'insider' ownership structures when it hired a non-family member, Harold W. Ragland, a marketing genius who helped to skyrocket Maybelline's sales with his innovative and inventive thinking, illustrating the combination of traditional entrepreneurs and extended entrepreneurs (Williams, 2011k).

In the case of Johnson & Johnson, the first international venture of the firm was in Canada in 1919, ten years before the Great Depression, followed by the UK in 1924 (Gurowitz, 2011c). Johnson & Johnson continued its decentralised global expansion strategy founded at the date of brand creation in this period. Following this strategy, Johnson & Johnson ventured into other markets through sales agents as a mode of entry. Their oldest partnership was with the Gilmour brothers, who became Johnson & Johnson sales agents in Montreal, and similarly in the UK, through London Medical Exhibition and the sales agents John Timpson & Company (Gurowitz, 2011c). Evidence from the Kilmer House Johnson & Johnson Archive, illustrates that with the early partnership with the Gilmour brothers in 1892, the deal was equal to 50 per cent of total sales of Johnson & Johnson products¹¹. The cross-border business was done through Johnson & Johnson products shipped from New Brunswick to the Gilmour brothers, who then distributed them throughout Canada. After ten years, Johnson & Johnson purchased the Gilmour plant for its own manufacturing in Canada (Johnson, 1949; Gurowitz, 2009c). Following a similar international expansion entry mode via sales agents, Johnson & Johnson expanded to the UK, Egypt, India, and as far as Kobe, Japan. Johnson & Johnson opened an operating company in Australia in 1931, selling products that had been available since the 1800s (Gurowitz, 2011c). The motivation for these expansions in this period was due to high demand from consumers. Johnson & Johnson dramatically increased its production capacity to cater for employees' injuries at work, accidents, wartime and post-First World War demand for its medicated products (Gurowitz, 2007b). In addition, Johnson & Johnson had both 'managerial' control and an 'insider' ownership structure during this period. Marketing success was the brainchild of Fred Kilmer, a non-family member, the director of scientific affairs at Johnson & Johnson for a remarkable 45 years from 1889 to 1934, helping to build the Johnson & Johnson brand through invention and innovation in their medicated products (Foster, 1999).

In contrast, diaspora entrepreneurs focused on the domestic market to strengthen their businesses through multiproduct offerings. For example, Avon in the early 1930s, when few had moneys to spend, yielded astounding results with sales

11 See Appendix 12, p.303.

jumping to 70 per cent. This was due David McConnell Jr.'s decision to maintain the original ideological and managerial commitment to direct sales and its unique market niche in rural America, which he mentioned in a letter to a sales supervisor on business and work philosophy (McConnell, 1932). In the letter, McConnell Jr. encouraged supervisors to support their Avon representatives to achieve sales within local areas and rural parts of America, which he believed would introduce the Avon (CPC) brand and maintain business activity, even during the Great Depression. This illustrates that Avon was focused particularly on the market niche of rural America during the Great Depression. Avon's governance structure continuously had both a 'managerial' and 'insider' ownership structure, which illustrate that both traditional and expanded entrepreneurs were involved in running the business. In addition, Avon hired family member David H. McConnell Jr. in 1937 when the firm lost its President and Founder David H. McConnell, who was responsible for the marketing and sales of the firm (Outlook, 1939c). The other family member who helped Avon handle the manufacturing and purchasing department was W. Van Alan Clark, son-in-law of the founder (Outlook, 1931f). Under David McConnell Jr.'s leadership, the firm began a programme that would be its core sales model for at least four decades: the creation of sales territories (Outlook, 1931f, pp.3-12). Each representative was assigned a district and had exclusive authority over all sales in that area.

Meanwhile, Estée Lauder was still considered small and new in the industry. As the business was small, the brand struggled to penetrate the domestic market, particularly in New York, competing with almost 4,000 beauty businesses at that time (Peiss, 2011). Estée Lauder learnt that how a given product looked, including what its label said, communicated a range of information to consumers. As a result, Estée Lauder tailored their packaging, sales approach and makeover techniques to attract consumers (Lauder, 1985). Similar to Avon, Estée Lauder focused on the domestic market and made their products available in salons and resorts, particularly in the North East, where it was the most advanced in fashion and make-up, and therefore the demand for beauty products was high (Estée Lauder Corporate Website, 2016c; Israel, 1985; Lauder, 1985). In this period, Estée Lauder remained in 'personal' control and 'insider' ownership characterised the governance, reliant on the capabilities of the founder.

Developing a brand during the Great Depression relied on venturing into potential new markets, either domestic or international. In this period, diaspora entrepreneurs focused on the domestic market rather than cross-border, an industry phenomenon discussed by Jones (2010). The non-diaspora entrepreneurs in these case studies expanded into international markets during the Great Depression, which adds new knowledge to the existing literature of this study. This suggests that the cosmetic brands that only focused on the domestic market could have other strategies that work together, such as multiproduct offerings and novel promotional strategies. The cosmetic brands that expanded in international markets during the Great Depression had a high demand for a specific product outside the US market that led to this international market. The relevance of this will be discussed in the next section, to support the decisions made by the two groups of entrepreneurs for their geographical market strategy.

5.2 Product strategy

In the Great Depression, product strategies were predominantly derived from date of their brand creation, as discussed in Chapter 4. This is due to firms' business philosophy: diaspora entrepreneurs are more likely to venture into market-oriented businesses while non-diaspora entrepreneurs are more likely to invest in brand-oriented businesses (see Chapter 4). In this period, the historical records of the US cosmetic firms show that cosmetic brands created by diaspora entrepreneurs such as Avon and Estée Lauder had multiproduct offerings in various product categories and sizes, illustrating their efforts at market innovation, whilst cosmetic brands created by non-diaspora entrepreneurs such as Maybelline and Johnson & Johnson focus on product innovation for a particular product line that they are well-known for (eye products for Maybelline, medicated products for Johnson & Johnson) (Avon Products, 1938; Gurowitz, 2014b; Lauder, 1985, pp. 20-33; Williams, 2015a). Thus it can be seen that both groups of entrepreneurs were consistent in their marketing strategies; however, there were some changes in other strategies as this industry was in a period of economic uncertainty. This is supported by Expert B's (2016) claim that *indeed brands need to ensure that they do not deviate from their original DNA although the motivation during crises [may be] concern [about] profits.*

The cosmetic brands created by diaspora entrepreneurs had expanded horizontally in similar product lines, and vertically in different product categories; for example, Avon through a range of colours or sizes for one product line like Rose Cold Cream and Violet Nutri Cream, and brand extension to perfumes, Savona Bouquet Toilet Soap, and Powdered Cleaner (Outlook, 1931e, p.10, 1932a, p.4, 1932f, p.2), whilst Estée Lauder achieved this through its Super Rich All Purpose Crème and extending to Cleansing Oil, Crème Pack, Skin Lotion and make-up (Estée Lauder Corporate Website, 2016a; Lauder, 1985, pp.20-27). In contrast, cosmetic brands created by non-diaspora entrepreneurs had the opposite product strategy, focused on a particular product lines rather than expanding to other categories in order to strengthen their brands. The historical records of Johnson & Johnson and an interview with one of the Maybelline family are relevant here. For example, Maybelline launched several eye products to refine eye make-up during the Great Depression as highlighted in an interview (*Tom Lyle Williams put every dime back into the*

company to develop their product line focused on one idea: eyes'), while Johnson & Johnson continued to focus on medicated products such as baby oil and powder, antiseptic soap, maternity packets, first aid kits and so forth (Expert A, 2016; Gurowitz, 2007a). From this evidence, it is clear that both groups of entrepreneurs took risks in different directions in terms of their product strategy. For example, diaspora entrepreneurs like Avon and Estée Lauder risked themselves by venturing into other product categories when the US cosmetic market was down by about 19 per cent, and at the same time by expanding their lines of existing products. On the other hand, non-diaspora entrepreneurs like Johnson & Johnson and Maybelline confidently focused and continued their main product lines, without considering venturing into other product categories during the Great Depression. In other words, both types of entrepreneur retained their 'original DNA' principles, as highlighted by Expert B earlier.

Following the same pattern of venturing into multiproduct offerings discussed in Chapter 4 at date of brand creation, diaspora entrepreneurs continued this strategy in this period. However, in this period, the multiproduct offerings by the diaspora entrepreneurs were listed amongst products with the highest demand, competing with foreign brands sold in the US, and products offered by non-diaspora entrepreneurs did not appear amongst the top products. The Bureau of the Census announced that according to a preliminary tabulation of data collected during the Great Depression, the most important items were perfumes (\$10,306,714), toilet waters (\$4,908,281), creams other than shaving cream (\$25,016,367), lipsticks and lip rouges (\$4,792,412), other rouges (\$5,165,106), dentifrices (\$35,606,527), hair tonics (\$7,303,084), face powders (\$18,659,953), talcum powders (\$7,274,389), hair dressings (\$5,446,330), face lotions (\$5,638,498), and manicure preparations (\$4,501,743) (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1931b, p.452). This data explains why those diaspora entrepreneurs decided to enter other product categories, competing with foreign brands during the Great Depression, but the opportunity was always there as this is a marketing-based industry relying on consumers' needs, preferences, and behaviour. This evidence illustrates that diaspora entrepreneurs had market-oriented businesses compared to non-diaspora entrepreneurs, who tend to run more brand-oriented businesses in this period, as established at date of brand creation.

Apart from product offering, product quality is part of developing a brand. In the Great Depression, consumers inferred that when a brand was successful in making consistently high-quality products, it is likely to make more. This could be explained through a dramatic change between 1934 and the beginning of 1935 (see Figure 14), where many US cosmetic brands had quality concerns about their products (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1936a). A product strategy that increased perceived brand quality and expertise during the Great Depression was the introduction of multiple versions of a brand within a brand line, such as multiple shades of face powder, lipstick colours, and also sizes of products, for example, perfumes were sold in very small bottles (Jones, 2010). Quality concerns over the US cosmetic products were not only from consumers and cosmetic firms, but also from the US authorities. The US market structure and competition during the Depression encouraged the authorities to play an important role in product procedures and quality, such as the Good Housekeeping Bureau of Foods, Sanitation and Health, the Food and Drug Administration (FDA), and the US Government, especially when 107 people were killed in 1937 (FDA, 2016b). This can be traced back to 1938, when a newly enacted US Food, Drug and Cosmetics Act subjected new drugs to pre-market safety evaluation for the first time (FDA, 2016b). Due to this case, many cosmetics brands submitted applications for product approval, where this standardised system of identification describes products' quality and the *standard to be applied* (Medina and Duffy, 1998). *Standard to be applied* in this context refers to the process of extending and effectively applying domestic target-market dictated product standards to markets in foreign environments, for example like Maybelline and Johnson & Johnson, who sell their products in foreign markets and must reach the same standard as the products they sell in the US (Medina and Duffy, 1998). In the same vein, Avon had more than ten products approved by the Good Housekeeping Bureau of Food, Sanitation and Health, and also Maybelline products, where most of the US cosmetics brands applied this standardised system of identification, describing products' quality and *standard to be applied* became their brand standardisation strategy (Outlook, 1932b, p.7, 1931a, p.2; Williams, 2014c). This may explain increased cosmetics sales after 1935, as customers switched from wanting cheap products to wanting high quality.

Americans were spending around \$700 million annually on cosmetics and beauty services in 1929, as estimated by sociologist Robert Lynd, which shows that since the Great War, cosmetics had become affordable for American women within various socioeconomic ranges (Lynd and Hanson, 1933). This was caused by additions to cosmetics shades, new product lines, extensions to other product categories, products for men, and demand from consumers (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1936b). The trend in product strategy during the Great Depression was innovation in product lines and categories.

Many US cosmetic firms before World War II sold perfume, basic creams and lotions: staple items found in most bathroom cabinets (Peiss, 2011). Perfumers in the US, who saw themselves as skilled artists, disliked the prospect of selling to the masses because there were French firms who had out-competed many familiar American perfumeries of the nineteenth century (Hudnut, 1928). During this time, Avon obtained concentrated forms of flowers that had been used for two centuries in the Valley of the Var (southern France). Flowers growing between Cannes and Grasse were most often used in the manufacture of French perfumes (Scheele, 1924). Following the US trend at that time, Avon also adopted French-sounding names such as *Marionnette*, *Cotillion* and *Jardin d'amour* for its perfumes (Avon Products, 1938). This shows the beauty mythmaking of American women in this period as discussed in Chapter 2, for example the conception of France typically includes the best womanly qualities of its female citizens, known as a land of beauty, refinement, culture, art, elegance and style (Rosenthal, 1999). On the other hand, no brands created by non-diaspora entrepreneurs in the case study produced new scents during the Great Depression, and there was aggressive competition from foreign brands like *Houbigant*, *Lenthéric*, *Germaine Monteil*, *Lucien Lelong*, *Schiaparelli*, *Mary Dunhill* and others entering the US markets (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1939c, p.594).

Skincare was another interesting product trend in the US market during the Great Depression, especially bath luxuries and body cosmetics. Bath luxuries continue to grow in popularity, such as Helena Rubinstein's Pasteurized Milk Bath, which turned the water white and produced inches of foam and bubbles (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1936f). Similarly, skincare products such as all-purpose creams were on trend. For instance, Estée Lauder's Super Rich All Purpose Crème was

growing in popularity, particularly in New York City, not only benefitting female consumers who had a problem with their facial skin on their face, but also working for men; for example, Estée Lauder demonstrated their products on a male adolescent, whose skin improved considerably (Lauder, 1985). During the Great Depression, lack of money was a concern for consumers in terms of their purchasing activities (Mishkin, 1978). Some cosmetic brands, particularly those created by diaspora entrepreneurs, exploited the existing products and combined many purposes into single products, as in both products mentioned above, as a way to save consumers money.

In contrast, non-diaspora entrepreneurs like Maybelline and Johnson & Johnson concentrated on their main and particular product lines as discussed in Chapter 4. In this period, their strategy was to improve and extend their existing product lines by introducing new, improved products, such as eye shadow for Maybelline and Talcum Powder Sterilized and Johnson & Johnson Band-Aids for Johnson & Johnson (Gurowitz, 2013a, 2015f; Williams, 2015a). Consequently, the rivalry in the US cosmetic industry during the Great Depression in terms of product innovation was different firms producing different products. This means that although diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs had different strategies in product innovation, competition was always high.

It is clear that the US cosmetic industry was emerging and growing, although it was a tough time during the Great Depression. Diaspora entrepreneurs seemed more likely to engage with products demanded by consumers and continued to be market-oriented businesses, whilst non-diaspora entrepreneurs were more likely to strengthen themselves as market leaders and remained brand-oriented, as described by Urde (1999) in Chapter 2. These different strategies had advantages and disadvantages in terms of future brand development. Diaspora entrepreneurs developed their brands by competing in high-demand product categories with other brands including foreign brands. However, this could risk their brands eroded over time and disappear to be worst, if they considered weak strategies like price cheapening strategy or less quality materials to produce their products with aggressive market competition (Magazzini, Pammolli and Riccaboni, 2004). In contrast, the non-diaspora entrepreneurs as market leaders attained superior market shares, achieved higher profitability, established

superior reputations and gained cost advantages over later entrants; however, the high cost and risk of pioneering usually require long-term rewards in order to be successful, including persistence, commitment and innovation, or otherwise could lead to failure and have lower performance than those who follow (Golder and Tellis, 1993; Robinson, 1988; Tellis and Golder, 1996).

Additionally, data from multiple sources highlights another important part of the product strategy during the Great Depression: packaging. Product innovation in perfumes had been characterised by ‘trading up’, and many new perfume brands appeared in the market, presented as luxurious (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1936g, p.591). In terms of perfume packaging, conservative packaging remained; the products now included a base to prevent sunburn, and the bottles were large, attractive and extremely inviting (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1936g). Sales were boosted during this period, especially at Christmas, where many US cosmetic brands had special Christmas sets in attractive and luxurious combinations (Outlook, 1939b).

However, miniature perfume packages continued to fascinate the US consumers and cute and faithful replicas of the larger-sized packages were dangerous competition for the larger sizes (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1936c, p.197). This is because they even those who do not care about the convenient of smaller bottle were tempted to buy them simply because they were so pretty. This strategy became the trend in the mid-1930s within the US cosmetic industry, aiming to compete with foreign brands, especially from France. In these case studies, non-diaspora entrepreneurs were not involved in selling perfumes, whilst the diaspora entrepreneurs in the US followed this trend to compete with foreign brands such as Avon, as evidenced by the Avon Digital Archive on Gift Boxes (CPC, 1913).

In this period, Avon and Estée Lauder continued with their multiproduct offering, which most of the products are the same as those founded at the date of brand creation. Avon increased its product offerings either by creating new products or improving existing products in term of quality and package size during economic uncertainty (Outlook, 1930, p.2). In contrast, Estée Lauder expanded its product offerings into other product lines in skincare, and categories such as eye shadow and lipstick (Lauder, 1985). Avon and Estée Lauder then ventured with other marketing

innovations, particularly in promotion and distribution. In contrast, non-diaspora entrepreneurs were less interested in these particular product categories and remained focused on their core product categories. Although it appeared beneficial to be monopolistic in the market, the intervention of the US Government Act to not allow such monopoly businesses became a big challenge for Maybelline; near the end of the Great Depression some raw materials such as petroleum and alcohol were controlled by the government and thus became rationed, limited and expensive (Williams, 2011b)¹².

¹² See Appendix 25, p.318, for the reason why alcohol became one of the raw materials that was limited due to the Second World War.

5.3 Price strategy

Price strategies were crucial in the development of US cosmetic brands, especially during the Great Depression. Price is an important competitive weapon. Cosmetic firms need to adopt pricing strategies that rely on either price premiums or step-up and step-down pricing in order to retain the longevity of the brands. Price premium refers to the amount consumers are willing to pay for a product as compared to another product with the same set of benefits (Aaker, 2009). The US cosmetic industry went into shock and production dropped from \$193 million in 1929 to \$97 million in 1933, and sales fell from \$378 million to \$300 million (Jones, 2010 p.109). This changed the market conditions and weak strategies were clearly exposed, particularly price wars and brand-cheapening strategies. Almost 50 per cent of US cosmetic firms disappeared within four years due to using this pricing strategy (Peiss, 2011). Some of the remaining brands continued this strategy, but the case studies show that brands created by diaspora entrepreneurs did not; however, brands created by non-diaspora entrepreneurs like Maybelline and Johnson & Johnson did. These brands survived because of the strong brand association with their particular products established at date of brand creation, for example, Johnson & Johnson was a market leader in medicated-based products and Maybelline was the market leader in eye products with no competitors (Expert A, 2016; Johnson, 1949). The findings in this section suggest three important points influenced firms' price strategy: (1) the quality of product; (2) pricing policies; and (3) competitors.

For diaspora entrepreneurs, pricing strategy in the development of their brands during the Great Depression was different from non-diaspora entrepreneurs. For example, Estée Lauder offered a few products only, targeted exclusively at high-end consumers. Its founder visited several salons such as The House of Ash Blondes, Albert and Carter Beauty Salon and others in the Northeast region, which allowed the firm to compete in the market with the highest level of price (Lauder, 1985). Although Estée Lauder was considered new, the brand was sold with above average prices, selling to middle-income earners who are willing to pay premium prices for products and services that were higher quality and that matched their taste and aspirations (Lauder, 1985). The uniqueness of Estée Lauder's products came from a Hungarian skin specialist and in-house extensive R&D led by John Schotz (Lauder, 1985, pp.17-

19). This made it difficult for competitors to imitate their products because Estée Lauder's expertise and knowledge was different from other US brands.

In addition, administration and distribution capabilities enabled Estée Lauder to try its price premium strategy, which influenced how it perceived the market and consumers. Israel (1985) confirms that Estée Lauder was handled and managed by the founder herself as the decision-maker, marketer, distributor, and promoter direct to consumers. The products were delivered fresh to them, and the founder established what consumers actually wanted by following demand and trends. This shows that the firm was market-oriented rather than brand-oriented. The firm's rationale for this was that the harsh economic climate of the Great Depression meant that women would give up luxuries to reduce home expenses, but not beauty products (Koehn, 2001b).

Avon took a different approach from Estée Lauder, offering consumers with quality products approved by Good Housekeeping Approves, and maintaining affordable prices for low- to middle-end consumers (Outlook, 1932e, p.1, 1931a, p.2). Avon followed a competitive pricing strategy inherited from the date of brand creation, as initiated by its founder David McConnell, which checks competitors' prices and then focuses on lowering the product costs and increasing the value to consumers (Outlook, 1932d, p.2). The success of this strategy also relies on a niche strategy, as discussed earlier in the geographical market section, where Avon's brand focused on the domestic market and rural areas in the US. These different pricing strategies between Avon and Estée Lauder were due to the sizes of the firms, the firms' principles and policies, and the target market. For example, Avon was larger than Estée Lauder during the Great Depression; one of Avon's principles is *to provide individuals an opportunity to earn*, whilst one of Estée Lauder's principles is *to enhance our reputation of image, style and prestige*, and therefore the target markets of these two brands are different (Avon Corporate Website, 2016; Estée Lauder Corporate Website, 2016b; Israel, 1985; Lauder, 1985; McConnell, 1903). The competitive pricing strategy launched by Avon during the Great Depression relied on production efficiency, administration, and distribution capabilities that were influenced by demand and trends. Avon Outlook in June 1931 confirmed that the firm's sales representatives were instructed by district supervisors and department managers to direct consumers towards the products that the firm could manufacture

efficiently with safe door-to-door delivery service, integrity and fair dealing. The laboratory in Suffern, New York contributed to the efficiency of production (Outlook, 1931f, p.2). As a consequence, we can see that the firm was market-oriented rather than brand-oriented (similar to Estée Lauder) during the Depression.

In contrast, non-diaspora entrepreneurs experienced severe difficulties arising from price wars and brand-cheapening. This is one of the weak strategies discussed by Jones (2010). This strategy slowed the creativity of the firms in developing their brands and proved catastrophic in the new market conditions. As a result, many US cosmetic brands disappeared; some were large enough to survive, like Helena Rubinstein, Maybelline, Johnson & Johnson, Coty and others (Jones, 2010, p.110). Helena Rubinstein managed to refocus to its prestige market after it bought back a majority of its lost stock; meanwhile, Coty shrank its business, resulting in the firm being controlled by two firms, a US-registered firm and a Panama-based Coty International firm. Maybelline and Johnson & Johnson retained their price cheapening strategy. The firms' rationale was to reach as many consumers as they can, offering low prices for their products and taking advantage of being pioneers in eye products and medicated products respectively.

During the Great Depression, *the price of Maybelline dropped to 10 cents from the original price of 75 cents, almost an 87 per cent drop* (Expert A, 2016). Although the cheapening strategy was risky, Maybelline reduced the production cost for its products such as packaging and the 10 cents boxes were much smaller than the original size. The significance of this strategy is that *every woman could afford a box of Maybelline and have beautiful eyes although it's a tough time* (Williams, 2010, 2013e). Maybelline survived during the Great Depression because the brand remained focused on its established eye products brand, with great trust and brand loyalty evident from its annual sales rise to \$510,000 in the mid-1930s with no competition at all (Williams, 2010, p.134). Rags Ragland, a hired professional marketing manager from outside the family suggested that the larger 75 cents Maybelline should be stocked in smaller quantities, in favour of racks displaying more of the 10 cents trial sizes of mascara, eye shadows or eyebrow pencils (Williams, 2010). The rationale for having both the two sizes was *when the economy is down, cosmetic sales are up because women will give up a lot of luxuries, but they won't give up their beauty*

products (Expert A, 2016). This shows that whether the price of cosmetics is high or low, there is still demand for cosmetics, regardless of the consumers' socio-economic background. Offering small, cheap products allowed consumers to try the product before they purchase, which was attractive during economic uncertainty.

During the Great Depression, both sales and growth slowed at Johnson & Johnson (Johnson, 1949). However, Robert Wood Johnson continued to exploit opportunities, including sales production and geographical markets, as discussed earlier. Also, Johnson & Johnson had invested in its R&D and revised the products' prices to cater to consumers' demands in that period (Foster, 1999). The economic crash was not the only factor that encouraged the firm to adopt these entrepreneurial activities, but also close competitors like Kimberly-Clark. Kimberly-Clark embarked on a debilitating price war with Johnson & Johnson and attempted to compete through product refinement and innovation. Johnson & Johnson maintained profitability throughout, despite the price war with Kimberly-Clark (Heinrich and Batchelor, 2004, p.79). Although Johnson & Johnson lowered their prices, the objective was not to undercut competitors, but to exploit internal resources, and stimulate sales through special promotions. Also, evidence from the production side shows that while competing with Kimberly-Clark, Johnson & Johnson lowered its product design costs, for example by reducing the overall size of a product (Heinrich and Batchelor, 2004, p.64). This means that Johnson & Johnson had both reduced the prices of its products and cut costs of production without losing employees through shortening work shifts, eliminating Saturday working and asking production employees to take three-day weekends twice a month (Gurowitz, 2009a; Johnson, 1949). These were mild decisions compared to other firms that laid off employees or went out of business. Johnson & Johnson followed their established policy of focusing on the long-term, bigger picture (Gurowitz, 2009a; Johnson, 1949). The costs saved by this internal strategy were used to continue careful and judicious global expansion in Mexico, South Africa, Australia and Europe during this period; for example, in 1934 the company opened a large manufacturing plant in Chicago, the first domestic facility outside New Brunswick, linked to the geographical market strategy discussed.

5.4 Distribution strategy

As far as the discussion goes in this chapter, cosmetic firms were growing, becoming national and international, and thus the challenges of reaching consumers grew as well. Access to the distribution channels was not as easy as at the date of brand creation described in Chapter 4, and cosmetic firms learnt from this. As a reminder, the previous chapter discussed how the distribution channels of US cosmetic brands to their consumers were direct through mail order or face-to-face. However, as the industry grew, the cosmetic brands bourgeoned and economic conditions deteriorated, creating changes in distribution too.

During the Great Depression, the retail environment was an important context in which the brands were exposed to consumers, where, not surprisingly, many department stores or drugstores became locations for highly aggressive sales techniques, particularly for established brands (Jones, 2010). Cosmetic firms carefully selected their sales locations to best reinforce their brand's image. This is, however, not only for the main brand: a high-status brand that appears in a discount store may be perceived negatively. In a department store, lower-priced brands may be viewed negatively, whereas non-owners of the brands may view the lower-priced extensions as a way to achieve designer-brand status (Loken, Ahluwalia and Houston, 2010). This shows the importance of distribution for both parent brands and their brand extensions. However, placing different versions of a brand in different sales outlets is a strategy sometimes used, with the assumption that different consumers are exposed to each of the brand variants (Loken, Ahluwalia and Houston, 2010). On the other hand, smaller cosmetic brands also had a little change in their distribution channels, and some consumers were more comfortable with direct selling by brand representatives. This demonstrates that diaspora entrepreneurs like Avon and Estée Lauder were more innovative in their distribution channels compared to non-diaspora entrepreneurs' brands like Maybelline and Johnson & Johnson, who were complacent about common distribution channels like drugstores.

In the case of Avon, there are two basic concepts in the business: distributing products through Avon representatives directly to consumers, and providing women with independent earning opportunities (Outlook, 1931b, p.2). Avon focused on

consumers since the date of brand creation in 1886, focusing on rural American towns and targeting women (Outlook, 1931b). The relevant women were mostly recruited during the Great Depression, as Avon representative women commanded more respect as sales agents, symbolised stability and were more visible in their communities and their social networks, which could be exploited for selling purposes, especially regarding repeat sales (Manko, 2001a). By recruiting these women as Avon representatives, Avon's products were carried to rural parts of the US and the brand was introduced earlier in those places compared to other US brands like Maybelline, Coty, Elizabeth Arden, Helena Rubinstein, Max Factor and others that were more competitive in urban areas.

From the Avon management perspective, the rationale for venturing into the niche market of rural areas is because of competition from department stores and other retail outlets in urban areas (Manko, 2001a). Direct selling as a method of distribution was widely used amongst the Irish diaspora in England until the Great Depression. As a reminder from Chapter 4, the Irish diaspora in Liverpool between 1800 and 1939 relied on direct selling, and this was the earliest direct-selling business method. The men chopped up old boxes, the women tied the chips into bundles and the children were sent out to sell them on streets, embracing '*the commercial element without the commercial principle*' (Belchem, 2007, p.37). In this period, Avon strengthened their distribution strategy because of economic uncertainty: women were keen to earn money to support their family and thus it was the right time for Avon to recruit female employees. Avon's founder had been poor, living in a rural part of the US and had sold books (and then perfume) door-to-door, similar to the Irish diaspora in Liverpool as mentioned. According to Avon Outlook in January 1907, New York contained more Irish people than Dublin, and so the distribution network amongst the Irish diaspora in the US was promising (Outlook, 1907, p.1). Ancien, Mark, and Rob (2009) findings suggest that the Irish diaspora took a rather different approach, seeking to create and maintain a wider base of participation in less targeted networks, similar to that of Avon, focusing on the rural parts rather than the urban market. Indeed, this thesis argues that when there are dense populations that share the same background in a place, diaspora networks is stronger, which is good for business.

Direct selling was a unique approach amongst US cosmetic brands at that time. Products demonstrations gave the consumer a chance to actually see and test the quality of the products (Outlook, 1931c, p.2). This evidence from Avon Outlook in March 1931 strengthens Delgado-Ballester and Munuera-Aleman's (2001) claim that the process of developing trust in a brand is based on consumers' experience of that brand, which will be influenced by the consumers' evaluation of any direct trial, usage, or indirect contact through word-of-mouth, for example. Ferrell and Ferrell (2012) claim that products sold directly were diverse, ranging from perfumes, cosmetics and home products. Avon sales grew through use of these distribution channels and multiproduct offerings, from just under \$2.8 million in 1929 to \$3.6 million in 1933 and reached \$6.5 million at the end of this period in 1939, where the new representatives recruited between 25,000 and 30,000 annually (Outlook, 1932c, p.2, 1931d, p.7; Manko, 2001a, p.156). Therefore, it is clear that Avon's face-to-face selling during the Great Depression made it stand from other US cosmetic brands, particularly in its niche market. As a result, both profits and sales increased, benefiting both the firm and Avon representatives and developing the Avon brand.

Estée Lauder had expanded her business by 1933, with the business being listed as Lauter Chemists, a home-based business in the New York telephone directory (Israel, 1985). In this period, the business operated from an apartment, but most of the revenue was earned in Manhattan beauty salons. Women owned the majority of the beauty businesses in New York City during this period, which operated primarily as hair salons (Israel, 1985). Taking advantage of being a regular customer at the House of Ash Blonde at 72nd Street Manhattan Upper West Side, Estée Lauder was first publicly introduced there (Estée Lauder Corporate Website UK, 2016a; Israel, 1985; Lauder, 1985). The distribution channels for Estée Lauder during the Great Depression were face-to-face at small counters in beauty salons (Lauder, 1985). Evidence from the Estée Lauder Archive illustrates that the Estée Lauder brand was delivered through the '*three-minute beauty*' technique, which the entrepreneur eagerly demonstrated on women at every salon that had a counter for the brand, while riding on a train or an elevator, or simply walking down the street (Estée Lauder Corporate Website UK, 2016b; Lauder, 1985; Severo, 2004). This technique was a combination of distribution and promotion, where the Estée Lauder brand was promoted, and could be purchased afterwards with cash before delivery (CBD), a

business practice applied by Estée Lauder in this period (Lauder, 1985, p.40). The significant choice of CBD as a business practice is that this made the company more competitive, as they had very low risks of being left with unsold products. Investment in production was maximised according to the orders made and payment received from the consumer. Ng, Smith and Smith (1999) claimed in an empirical study that in CBD, the buyer assumes product quality risk and must arrange for financing before receiving the product. However, the evidence from Estée Lauder on face-to-face demonstrations (Appendix 13) shows that potential consumers had the opportunity to try the product before purchasing and therefore the assumption of product quality risk could be rejected, as consumers could attend demonstration sessions, try the product, and seek advice directly from the founder. This was supported by other sources from New York Magazine that, *at the beauty salon, a woman would have to pay for merchandise with cash; this precluded impulse buying that is, making a spontaneous purchase* (New York Magazine, 1985, p.33). To this evidence then, we could add another example to strengthen the integrated information-response model proposed by Smith and Swinyard (1988), that information sourced through direct experience will earn high information acceptance of a product, and confidence in product-related belief increases as the quantity of information about the product increases. This combination creates a higher order affect, and finally establishes a correlation on commitment of the product upon gaining all these attributes.

In contrast, non-diaspora entrepreneurs again followed the trend in distribution during the Great Depression. Jones (2010) claimed that the distribution in chain stores and drugstores which sold mass toiletries and cosmetics brands were prominent in this period, and in the US particularly, drugstores were the main outlet for such products and relatively few were sold in grocery stores. Evidence from The Drug and Cosmetic Industry shows that there were around 562 brands that were sold at 16 department stores, which was approximately 70 per cent or 381 US cosmetic brands relying on these distribution channels (Appendix 14), competing with foreign brands (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1939d, p.310). Many of these entrepreneurs preferred to distribute their brands at department stores because this distribution channel carried some consumer goods that lasted many years such as clothing, shoes, linen and cosmetics (Romer, 1990). Historical records available from the digital archives of

Maybelline and Johnson & Johnson show that they were part of this distribution strategy.

Maybelline distributed its products at department stores and drugstores in the 1930s, which made the brand convenient for consumers. Expert A (2016) emphasised that, *during the great depression, Maybelline moved from being a product women ordered from the classified section of magazines and newspapers, to being a dime store product*. This brought an influx of young customers into drugstores, hoping to be discovered in Hollywood. *Tom Lyle Williams was a visionary always ahead of the curve ... [he] targeted the youth market, who were going to the movie theatres to see Hollywood stars, and wanted to look like them* (Expert A, 2016). As a result, Maybelline was distributed and sold in *volume as part of its strategy, to dime stores with new products that even teenage girls could afford, where the product price was as low as 10-cent*, as discussed earlier (Expert A, 2016; Williams, 2010). The importance of Maybelline creating a relationship with Hollywood at that time was due to the success and potential of the Hollywood film industry. Miskell's (2009) work shows that the leading US firm companies derived approximately 30 to 40 per cent of their revenues from foreign markets; for example, the US firms which did the most to adapt their product to the British market generated higher revenues. According to this finding, the film industry opened doors as a stepping stone for US cosmetic brands to international markets; for instance, in the British market, by sponsoring motion-picture (theatre) make-up for celebrities in films. As Maybelline aggressively distributed its brands in department stores and drugstores throughout the US, the product placement in these places was strategically located. For example, Maybelline was positioned at the front door of the stores, by the lunch counter and near the cash register to encourage impulse buying (Williams, 2013e). Maybelline was competing intensely with other cosmetic brands that adopted a similar distribution strategy (see Appendix 14) and needed to make its products visible and accessible to consumers. This correlates with Nord and Peter's (1980) claim that department stores display products in high traffic areas such as at the end of an escalator to increase the likelihood that consumers will observe the product on display, which also has a similar purpose to supermarkets that used to display particular items at the ends of aisle to increase interest.

Johnson & Johnson continued to provide medicated products to hospitals and drugstores during the Great Depression (Foster, 1999; Johnson 1949). It was the same distribution strategy as at the date of brand creation discussed in Chapter 4. The maintenances of this distribution strategy appears in the company records as: *combined with the demand for the Company's medical and consumer products, which had changed the way surgery was practiced and gave consumers a growing number of safe, reliable products they could use in the home* (Gurowitz, 2009d; Johnson, 1949). This compelling evidence illustrates that Johnson & Johnson's products were highly demanded by surgeons who worked in the hospitals and product availability in drugstores had increased the number of consumers using the products at home. This gives vibrancy to the current literature on the relevance of relationship marketing in healthcare, which has been widely recognised, raised by several scholars (Dunn and Thomas, 1994; Naidu et al., 1999) . In terms of branding, Johnson & Johnson played a special role in the development of the brand during the Great Depression because when products exceed consumers' expectations, the repurchase rate will be high. This is aligned with Javalgi et al. (1992) pointing out that a hospital's image can be used to help to improve competitive position through strategic marketing activities.

In sum, during the Great Depression, the cost of distribution in the US cosmetic industry cost rose steadily. By 1930, the Department of Commerce's data showed 55 cents of the dollar paid selling-costs only, with production costing only 31 cents (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1931a, p.434). This illustrates that distribution had grown to cost 60 cents of the average consumer dollar. This shows that distribution's high costs made consumer prices too high for normal consumption. This is what happened to cosmetic brands created by non-diaspora entrepreneurs. Both Johnson & Johnson and Maybelline relied heavily on transportation costs such as steamboats, trains and the company's trucks for their distribution end-points such as drugstores, hospitals, department stores and others (Foster, 1999; Johnson, 1949; Williams, 2010). In contrast, cosmetic brands created by diaspora entrepreneurs such as Estée Lauder and Avon minimised transportation costs through different strategy approaches to distribution such as direct selling by representatives, and face-to-face selling at the counter. Other cosmetic brands created by diaspora entrepreneurs in the US such as Elizabeth Arden, Kiehl's, Max Factor, and others also reduced the distribution costs by selling products through their own premises (Allen, 1981).

5.5 Promotional strategy

In the previous analysis and discussion, some strategies were either high-risk or high-cost. According to Pearce and Michael (2006), promoting a business in a recession is costly as marketing expenses come in all shapes and sizes. However, this section demonstrates that due to monetary constraints, especially in this period, many US cosmetics firms found alternative strategies to promote their cosmetic brands other than advertising, in order to compete with foreign brands. As a reminder, the previous chapter discussed the promotional strategies of the US cosmetic brands, which differed between those created by diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs. Maybelline and Johnson & Johnson, for example, relied heavily on advertising promotion, rather than Avon and Estée Lauder, which chose the power of word-of-mouth promotion at their date of creation and maintained this strategy (Steinberg, 2015).

Recessions are likely to increase the returns on the marketing activities; for example, advertising, which Pearce and Michael (2006) also claimed became cheaper during this time as newspapers, radio and television networks sought to fill their timeslots, despite a decrease in demand. In contrast, evidence from the Drug and Cosmetic Industry in 1932 illustrates that some US cosmetic brands abandoned advertising during the Great Depression to a far greater degree than other forms of sales promotion (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1932a, p.216). This clearly shows that during the different economic and financial crises periods, promotion strategies changed. To further analyse and compare the case studies, this section provides supporting evidence from the historical records of the firms and interviews. This section argues that diaspora entrepreneurs are more interested in marketing innovations than non-diaspora entrepreneurs, who stick with common promotion channels such as magazines and newspapers. During the Great Depression, Maybelline and Johnson & Johnson maintained the same promotional strategies as at the date of brand creation, while Avon and Estée Lauder exploited and expanded new promotion strategies.

This section argues that diaspora entrepreneurs were more innovative in their marketing strategies than non-diaspora entrepreneurs. Indeed, there was consistency

in terms of the imagery of the founder and vision of the companies even though there was a change in promotion strategy among cosmetics brands created by diaspora entrepreneurs. Most of them applied a low-cost promotion strategy such as selling at others' beauty salons, approaching face-to-face, giving samples, word-of-mouth and make-up demonstrations, rather than investing in expensive advertising. Some diaspora entrepreneurs that used advertising to promote their cosmetic brands like Avon, Helena Rubinstein, Elizabeth Arden, but it was not their main promotion strategy.

For Avon, advertising was used in this period to inform consumers about new products with emphasis on how to purchase the products from Avon representatives. Evidence from the Avon national advertising in 1939 entitled *Shopping Comes to Your Door* illustrates that consumers could purchase Avon cosmetics and toiletries in a convenient way in the comfort of their homes through a visit by a trained Avon representative, where the products were equal to the most expensive sold anywhere, but at reasonable price (Avon Products, 1939a). In this advertisement, Avon briefly described the products, noting the tested formulas, manufacturing methods, quality, approval by Good Housekeeping and prices. However, the more important part of this advertisement was how to get the products, and why consumers chose this method. Also, this advertisement emphasised that buying products from Avon representatives helps consumers make the correct selection.

Interestingly, Avon accentuated that buying cosmetic products through an Avon representative was similar method to how women in Paris, famous for their beauty, purchased cosmetics (Avon Products, 1939a). Thus, contrary to Nelson's (1970) assertion, this study claims that Avon used advertising to promote buying through Avon representatives, rather than using it to promote the products which was mostly practised by brands created by non-diaspora entrepreneurs, like Maybelline, Johnson & Johnson, Cutex, Pond's, and others in this period. This claim is supported by Schmalensee's (1978) finding that advertising does not necessarily provide correct information about quality, since quality and market share are positively related in the absence of advertising. Therefore, the empirical findings and this study intersect to some extent, suggesting that the purpose of advertising is not necessarily to focus on products but may instead indicate how and where consumers can purchase products. It

also shows that these entrepreneurs are creative and have more marketing innovations, in contrast to Tellis and Fornell's (1988) review of advertising in which they stated that advertising is commonly associated with product promotion and quality. Other diaspora entrepreneurs adopted the same strategy as Avon, such as Helena Rubinstein and Elizabeth Arden, who advertised their products with brief descriptions and emphasised getting a beauty treatment using products promoted at their salons.

Further analysis shows that Avon representatives were the backbone of their promotion strategy during the Great Depression. This promotion method was inherited from the date of brand creation discussed in Chapter 4, but had been improved in some ways; for example, reps now came equipped with the gift-like catalogue, sales portfolio, four full-size demonstration packages and the order book, which all came in a good-looking hand bag, alongside the rubber stamp and pad which enabled the representative to stamp her name, address and phone number on the booklets and packages (Outlook, 1936b, p.9). This represents competence and good intentions to build trust with the consumers, especially in this period when money was limited. This is consistent with Andaleeb and Anwar's (1996) empirical findings that expertise, intention and salespersons' characteristics influence a customer's belief in whether the salesperson can and will deliver the expected outcomes. Also, this evidence from the Avon representatives' success in the development of the Avon brand during the Great Depression illustrates the conceptual model of variables influencing consumers' trust proposed by Andaleeb and Anwar (1996), particularly on the relationship between salesperson variables (expertise, intentions and likeability) and trust.

According to Avon Outlook in February 1936, Avon representatives deliver not only products but also services: *it is that little extra thought or favour which the customer does not expect, but which makes her think you and the Company you represent are just the best ever* (Outlook, 1936a, p.8). Avon representatives enabled firms to create an emotional bond with consumers and enhance the likelihood that salespersons would provide excellent customer service (David, David and David, 2014). This was promoted in the advertisement discussed earlier, in which Avon representatives helped consumers in selecting the most suitable products for them. The significance of the Avon representatives during the Great Depression in the

development of the Avon brand correlated with a claim made by Hill, Still and Boya (1991) that presenting consumer goods to buyers directly would normally not be thought of as an area where head office help would be useful. Therefore, Avon encouraged women to become Avon representatives as they could reach more places, including rural areas, focusing on their own 'patch' and learning about local demand needs in a particular established network.

The power of word-of-mouth was also a strong promotion strategy for Avon during the Great Depression. According to Buttle (1998), word-of-mouth is more influential on behaviour than other marketer-controlled sources because it can influence awareness, expectations, perceptions, attitudes, behavioural intentions and behaviour. Evidence from Avon's 53rd Birthday Campaign explains this: *a personalized service that comes to your home campaign* (Avon Products, 1939b). Through the power of word-of-mouth, new consumers were attracted to Avon by existing consumers who shared information, experiences and perceptions about the products, causing the brand to become familiar (Avon Products, 1939b). This campaign shows three different pictures of women in different years: *back in 1886, method of shopping by 1912 and today in 1939*, showing how the Avon brand grew over time through promotion activities by both Avon representatives and the power of word-of-mouth. This shows that Avon considered word-of-mouth more important than advertising and campaigns (Sheth, 1971). This promotion strategy in this period was significant because the loyal customers network had probably been informed about the product for some time such as regular customers of Avon representatives; therefore, it is consistent with Godes and Mayzlin's (2009) claim that the incremental word-of-mouth created by a campaign or other methods may have little impact until a loyal customer network has been established.

Aware of the high potential of word-of-mouth as a promotion strategy, Avon management supported Avon representatives to widen the target market to the whole family rather than focusing on women, which let Avon representatives talk with mothers that had children, talk with men about shaving soap, approach older men and women, while offering new products to regular customers, all through direct selling (Outlook, 1939a, p.10). This evidence from Avon Outlook February 1939 demonstrates that Avon continued to believe that word-of-mouth was an effective

promotion strategy in this period, and therefore broadened its target markets so that more people could spread the word about Avon's products. Consequently, in this period, word-of-mouth through Avon representatives and amongst consumers accelerated the trends within the US cosmetic industry; for example, in product categories like new shades for face powders or lipstick colours, and new product lines for men.

During the Great Depression, Estée Lauder sold creams and also gave them away as free samples as part of the brand promotion, which was founded at the date of brand creation. According to several interviews with tenants in the West End Avenue apartment house where Estée Lauder operated and an interview with Aida DeMaris on 8 April 1985, cited in Israel (1985), Estée Lauder promoted products by giving them as free samples at beach clubs, Hadassah lunches and other charity functions, confident that the quality of the merchandise would cause women would come back to purchase more (p.153). The thinking behind this was to convince women to try a product. This means every woman who attended Estée Lauder's demonstrations would get free samples that would encourage them to ask for products. According to Raghubir (2004), promotions are not just cutting prices: they are a source of information that consumers use to make judgements about products. This aligns with Estée Lauder's free sample strategy. These non-price promotions were believed to be more effective for building brand equity during the Great Depression, as claimed by Palazon-Vidal and Delgado-Ballester (2005).

In the same vein, the Estée Lauder brand was promoted through face-to-face demonstrations, which was the same strategy used at the date of brand creation discussed in Chapter 4. However, in this period, brand promotion by face-to-face demonstrations was frequent and aggressive, which is evident from the founder's autobiography, who believed that to make a sale, touching the consumer is important because it is necessary to show the results on the consumer's face (Israel, 1985; Lauder, 1985). The rationale of this is that when satisfactory results are achieved, consumers will purchase the product and it will become part of their beauty routine. Cash and Cash (1982) claimed that this satisfaction reflects the psychological boost many women experience after enhancing their physical appearance as a motivation during the Great Depression. In the development of this brand during the Great

Depression, it is then suggested that both consumer satisfaction and Estée Lauder's reputation were important antecedents of brand and product loyalty. The effect of consumer satisfaction through face-to-face demonstrations on loyalty appears to be conditional in this context, which is aligned with Selnes's (1993) claim that satisfaction will only have a direct effect on loyalty when consumers are able to evaluate product quality through their own experience of a product. As a result of face-to-face demonstrations, word spread about Estée Lauder products up to Philadelphia, and customers were beginning to call department stores asking for the products.

Further analysis shows that Estée Lauder's clientele grew due to its free sample promotion and face-to-face demonstrations. The founder could not be everywhere at once to make sales and hired saleswomen as another promotional strategy (Lauder, 1985). This was a new promotional activity introduced in this period. The importance of saleswomen in beauty salons lies in the fact that consumers have already decided to spend money on self-improvement while getting their hair done, and demonstrating cosmetic products while they are waiting for their hair to get done could allow a woman to purchase a complete beauty 'package' before they leave the salon (Israel, 1985; Lauder, 1985). Therefore, locating saleswomen in beauty salons and demonstrating the products gives more exposure to both the woman being demonstrated on and other consumers who see the final effect. Similar to Avon representatives, these saleswomen were viewed as reserved, humble, apprehensive, imaginative, and home-oriented, as observed by Robertson and Hackett (1977). The innovativeness of this strategy also caused consumers to spread the word amongst themselves i.e. cost-free word-of-mouth promotion.

Word-of-mouth was the earliest promotional activity used by Estée Lauder at the date of brand creation. As described in Chapter 4, Estée Lauder was promoted through word-of-mouth in high schools, on the street, in elevators, and on trains whenever the founder was travelling, alongside demonstrations and gift promotional activities. In this period, however, word-of-mouth promotion was continuously effective, especially when Estée Lauder hired saleswomen in beauty shops, and organised lunches and meetings with women outside New York; for example, many women asked the founder to teach them about skincare and cosmetics (Israel, 1985).

This demonstrates how Estée Lauder produced effective, appealing and trusted goods that consumers cared about. This supports Koehn's (2001a) claim that understanding US cosmetics did not come through formal training but was a result of trial and error, day-to-day experience, customer input and entrepreneurs' instincts, shaping early offerings, and selling models during the Great Depression.

In contrast, cosmetic brands created by non-diaspora entrepreneurs, for example, Maybelline and Johnson & Johnson, retained with their main promotion strategy of advertising during the Great Depression. In the case of Maybelline, there were several promotional activities identified in this period, such as advertising through magazines, radio and newspapers, celebrity appearances and new packaging (Expert A, 2016; Williams, 2010). Maybelline was already known for its range of eye products; to increase sales, the marketing and production department designed new packaging, such as a case with a modern metal Maybelline box in red and gold and a leather pouch holding a tube of cream mascara and a tiny red brush (Williams, 2012a). This new packaging distinguished Maybelline products; using unique shapes and labels that reached an almost iconic status due to the familiarity and consistency of the design. Similarly, Underwood's (2003) findings on cosmetic products suggested that unique package shapes to convey experiential and/or symbolic benefits like sexual and sensual messages, femininity, masculinity and others were used throughout history. This also illustrates how Maybelline's positioning was achieved in this period through new product packaging (Appendix 15). According to Ampuero and Vila (2006), colour, typography, graphical forms and images were key variables that combined to influence the perception that the product was targeting a specific consumer group (women).

Advertising was the main promotion strategy for Maybelline during the Great Depression (Williams, 2011c). Tom Lyle started Maybelline's most ambitious advertising campaign through mainstream newspapers and magazine (Appendix 16), which was widespread when the stock market crashed in 1929. Maybelline was a pioneer in the US cosmetic industry, venturing into advertising at the date of brand creation; however, there was a small change during the Great Depression in their advertising strategy as Expert A (2016) discovered that Maybelline *went from black and white small ads in movie and fashion magazines to full page colour ads*. The

importance of this change is that Maybelline could offer confidence to consumers. This is consistent with Kumar, Massie and Dumonceaux (2006) claim that cosmetic companies have to consider advertisement presentation, attractive colours, message delivery and celebrity appearances, because brand name recognition could carry a company through a time when people are being more careful with their money, such as the Great Depression.

Maybelline actively advertised its brand in magazines and radio during the Great Depression. For example, Maybelline advertised in *True Confessions* magazine, one of the top sales charts amongst teenage girls in the US (Williams, 2012b). Additionally, during the Great Depression this magazine made a deal, with Paramount and Maybelline to do an extensive marketing campaign to attract an even larger youth market, by holding a *Miss Typical America* contest, where the winner would win \$500 and a trip to Hollywood (Williams, 2012b, 2010). The significance of collaborating with this magazine was that Maybelline's brand had exposure to a wide range of readers throughout the US. In this advertisement, Maybelline manipulated the opportunity as its marketing campaign for the brand by congratulating the winner in magazines with full-page colour photos, stressing the role of beautiful eyes, fringed in romantic lashes, and suggesting that this attractiveness could belong to anyone instantly with a few simple brushstrokes of Maybelline Mascara (Williams, 2011d). This correlates with Edell and Burke's (1987) findings that assessing the effectiveness of advertising relates to the representation of feelings, as shown by the Maybelline advertisement in *True Confessions* magazine. This is also supported by Zajonc (1980), who argues that feelings are generated by the ad itself and can occur very quickly; Edell (1988) similarly highlighted that feelings are stimulated by nonverbal elements of advertisements.

Further analysis of advertising demonstrates not only that there was an incredible number of sales through promotion in popular magazines like *True Confessions* as a platform, but also that Maybelline boosted its sales at the end of the Great Depression to strengthen the brand through celebrity endorsements (Williams, 2014c). For example, one of Maybelline's most popular stars in their advertisements was Betty Grable (Reading Eagle, 1973). The significance of celebrity endorsement is that it captures the attention of a larger, younger audience (Williams, 2011d).

Celebrities needed Maybelline's strong brand status for their career advancement and Maybelline needed them to attract and influence female consumers to purchase their products (a win-win relationship). This is fairly consistent with the social influence on the endorser effectiveness theory, where Friedman and Friedman (1979) theorised that celebrities would be more effective in endorsing products that '*demonstrate the presence or lack of good taste*', and as a result, the celebrity was effective in convincing consumers to buy the product. This strategy helped Maybelline's internalisation process, where consumers were more likely to purchase complex and/or expensive products that were endorsed by experts rather than by typical consumers and also, according to Daneshvary and Schwer (2000), the importance of acceptance of influence is the credibility of the source of influence/information.

Additionally, the difference between advertising during this period and the previous period was the transformation from black-and-white to colour and the use of celebrities. Both are evident in the first colour advertisement in 1937 (Williams, 2012c). Maybelline was the first brand in the US cosmetic industry to use carded merchandise promotion (Williams, 2012c, 2010). According to Expert A (2016), *Maybelline was the first to create carded merchandise in the 1930s and also the first to create swirling displays*. Carded merchandise was a product mounted on a card (Appendix 15), such as Maybelline Eye Shadow, and placed on display racks for easy accessibility. This kind of promotion was launched in 1935, a brainchild of Rags Ragland (Williams, 2014b). This promotion technique was important because when Maybelline's products were on a shelf together with other brands; they were easily identified (and therefore chosen) by consumers. As a consequence, this promotion technique extended the promotional impact of Maybelline, increasing impulse buying, attracting consumers' attention, organising products and driving sales to a higher bottom line. This promotion strategy is supported by Bogart and Lehman's (1973) claim, particularly for brands with stock merchandise and prominent displays, that product display is a significant source of brand familiarity. This correlation explains Maybelline's positive brand development and it became the world's top brand for eye products in this period.

On the other hand, Johnson & Johnson continuously developed its knowledge in this industry and provided better care for hospital patients, which allowed it to gain

a broader understanding of how hospitals in various parts of the world functioned (Foster, 1999; Johnson, 1949). This was important for the company to improve the products according to its main consumers' demands and systems (in this case, hospitals and drugstores). Johnson & Johnson produced a summary report entitled '*Service to the Patient*', describing the company as years ahead of their time for general hospitals across the nation (Foster, 1999, p.192). This summary report offered assurance and confidence to consumers and potential consumers about the effectiveness of the products. This strategy was fairly similar to Maybelline's strategy of celebrity appearance and endorsement discussed earlier. However, for Johnson & Johnson, endorsement by experts, such as surgeons, pharmacists and people working in hospitals or in drugstores, played an important role in consumers' purchasing decisions, particularly on health and cost-effectiveness.

Similar to Maybelline, advertising was used as the main promotion strategy by Johnson & Johnson during the Great Depression. Advertisements were distributed in hospitals, drugstores, newspapers and on the radio (Gurowitz, 2010). Johnson & Johnson also applied a win-win promotion strategy, where Johnson & Johnson ran a series of company advertisements backing President Roosevelt and the National Recovery Administration, but shrewdly asking customers for the sale in an advertisement that carried a banner headline with Roosevelt's famous rallying cry '*Together We Cannot Fail*', and under the President's picture the message continued, '*Johnson & Johnson has been doing, and will continue to do, its part. [...] When you need merchandise such as we manufacture, you will be aiding the common cause of recovery if you specify Johnson & Johnson products*' (Foster, 1999, p.209; Gurowitz, 2010). This advertisement strategy was similar to Maybelline's celebrity endorsement of eye products. In contrast to Maybelline, Johnson & Johnson did not use an influential person to endorse its products, but promoted the brand in the same advertisement as the President's campaign, as a platform to promote its business and gain support from citizens. Brand trust could be achieved via the influence of the President's image. Practically, this shows that Johnson & Johnson supported the President, and the President '*endorsed*' Johnson & Johnson's products indirectly, a win-win strategy for both parties.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has continued to analyse the case studies from Chapter 4 during the Great Depression. Data for each case was collected from similar sources used in Chapter 4. This chapter has compared the marketing strategies for each case between the Great Depression and date of brand creation; and also between diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs. As a reminder, this chapter discussing the case studies during Great Depression illustrates that the survival of the US cosmetics brands relied on the consistency of their brand proposition and marketing strategies. To some extent, this shows that even in the periods of crisis, there was a consistency in brand proposition through marketing strategies that were rooted in the original imagery and founder's vision.

The two interrelated capabilities, i.e., capabilities concerning individual marketing mix and capabilities concerned with the people in the firm, continued for marketing strategies during the Great Depression. As indicated earlier, these capabilities may be rare valuable, non-substitutable and unique sources of advantage that lead to strengthening of the firm's performance and its survivability during crisis.

The aim of this chapter is to present findings drawn from evidence collected during the Great Depression. The aim of this thesis is to answer the two research questions posed in Chapter 1. The chapter has critically discussed and analysed the differences in marketing strategies between diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs in developing their brands. The findings from this chapter indicate that the nature of marketing strategies during the Great Depression for diaspora entrepreneurship is again based upon ontological assumptions made in Chapter 3. As Chapter 2 identified, there are differences in marketing strategies between these two groups of entrepreneurs: diaspora entrepreneurs venture into marketing innovation and non-diaspora entrepreneurs continue to improve their products through product innovation, retaining the same product lines and target market.

The next chapter will investigate the marketing strategies of the case studies during World War II. It will use a similar replication logic and theoretical framework

as Chapters 3 and 4 to analyse and discuss the changes in the periods of study, providing evidence from the data collected.

Chapter 6:

Marketing Strategies during World War II

6.0 Introduction

This chapter will present marketing strategies used during World War II. It will utilise similar replication logic to that used in Chapters 4 Chapter 5. It explores changes made to the original marketing strategies and how they were exploited in the development of US cosmetic brands. The chapter will provide a rich insight into the US cosmetic industry during World War II, when raw materials were rationed, imported ingredients disrupted, the market steadily expanding and demand increasing. The findings indicate that cosmetic brands created by both diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs continued the marketing strategies from the Great Depression. However, there were some significant changes made to ensure the survival of their businesses in wartime, contributing to a strong pattern distinguishing diaspora entrepreneurs from non-diaspora entrepreneurs.

Chapter 5 discovered that the original marketing strategies founded at the date of brand creation discussed in Chapter 4 evolved, and some abandoned during the Great Depression in the US. Findings on product, price, distribution, and promotion strategy indicate that diaspora entrepreneurs are more likely to venture into marketing innovations, whilst non-diaspora entrepreneurs are more likely to focus on product innovation. Also, this chapter illustrates that there is consistency in brand proposition, founder's vision and imagery, and marketing strategy. The origin of these elements, founded at date of brand creation, and which appeared during the Great Depression, can be continuously traced during World War II. Although there are innovations in marketing, cosmetics brands created by diaspora entrepreneurs remained as per their original founder's vision and principles.

This occurred because both of the entrepreneurs' groups had different business drivers at brand creation: diaspora entrepreneurs had a market-oriented business, whereby non-diaspora entrepreneurs had a brand-oriented business. This also expands on Jones's findings on weak strategies during the Great Depression.

The structure of this chapter is the same as Chapters 4 and 5. First, this chapter demonstrates to what extent the original marketing strategies founded at the date of brand creation were used in World War II. Then, it compares the apparent strategies between the two groups of entrepreneurs in explaining the development and longevity of brands. Table 19 gives an overview of each of the cosmetic brand case study key findings.

Table 19: Overview of the key findings comparison in World War II

Period 3: World War II	Avon	Estée Lauder	Maybelline	Johnson & Johnson
Product	multiproduct (lipstick segment)	multiproduct (lipstick segment)	eye product lines (improved/new size/packaging)	medicated based products (improved/new size/packaging)
Price	price unchanged	price unchanged	price dropped	price reduced
Distribution	direct from factory to city and district managers to Avon reps and then to customers (direct to customers)	face-to-face at a counter in beauty salons and premium department (direct to customers)	from factory to depot to drugstores, dime stores and supermarkets	from factory to depot to hospitals, drugstores, retail outlets, supermarkets, discount houses
Promotion	word-of-mouth, more usage on advertising, popular magazines, Avon reps with selling tools (catalogue, sales portfolio, demonstration packages, order book, rubber stamp and pad)	face-to-face demonstration, word-of-mouth <i>Tell- a-woman campaign</i> , invite female editor of women magazine (networking), saleswomen, free sample	heavily relied on ads, most outstanding celebrities endorsement	relied on ads (new method and technology), catchy slogan, sponsor TV show, celebrities' endorsement

Source: Table developed by the Author.

6.1 Geographical Markets

The cosmetics industry played an important role during World War II, which writers, Government officials, and others debated when the US joined the war in 1941 (Koehn, 2001b, p.223). The US cosmetics industry was once again experiencing a difficult time. Interestingly, although it was wartime, the cosmetics industry was impacted less than other sectors: between 1940 and 1945 retail sales of make-up, fragrances, and toiletries rose from \$450 million to \$711 million (Koehn, 2001b). This contributed psychologically to morale (Allen, 1981). This can be seen in sales recovering in 1942 through war productions and approval from the Government for petroleum production to produce makeup for women as a morale booster for both sexes, as necessary as tobacco for men (Lawrence, 2015). The industry had become too important in sustaining civilian morale to suppress it (Jones, 2010). American servicemen were expected, as a component of military discipline, to keep their hair neat and short, their faces clean-shaven, and their clothes and shoes pressed and polished, and with this emphasis on fastidious male grooming came a dramatic expansion of the men's shaving and skincare industry (Willett, 2010). Conversely, the 1940s saw the arrival of the new teenage market, when items designed for the upper class became necessary essentials for the 1940s teenage girl (Willett, 2010).

The outbreak of war in Europe had little effect on retail sales of the US cosmetics, which resulted in brand representatives like Avon continuing to be optimistic about increasing demand in the US market. In particular, the West and the South received the bulk of business, alongside the Northeast, led by New York city (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1939d, pp.439-440). The emergence of these areas can be seen from the high demand for perfume, a trend that persisted with more customers requesting better grades (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1939d, p.440). As a result, a shift in buying a variety of products began, not only in perfume but also in other cosmetics items, and long-lasting quality is noticeable, particularly in lipsticks and make-up items. As stated in the previous chapter, women from the South were deemed to be less fashionable in cosmetics compared with those in the Northeast, particularly in New York, and in the West, especially in Los Angeles, due to Hollywood's influence. In this period, however, American women had upgraded their cosmetics information, beauty style, and demand due to the power of print and

radio advertising, alongside the rise of television advertising and film-industry glamour that relied on make-up (Koehn, 2001b). Women may know a product through advertising; however, in a highly competitive cosmetic field, product demonstrators or saleswomen at cosmetic department stores provided an edge. This ensured they could easily make a sale as consumers discussed and tried out the products, allowing some cosmetics companies to expand their brands across the US (Peiss, 2011).

The cosmetics trend hit not only big cities, but also hundreds of small towns in this period. Small town drug and department stores began to feel demand upon the return of ex-servicemen and out-of-work war workers at the end of the war in 1945 (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1945d, p.635). For example, soldiers and civilians were stocking up with both necessities and luxuries. In smaller towns, men buying for themselves chose brands known for quality or heavily advertised, while women demanded the better grade soaps, hand and face creams, foot aids, perfumes, lipsticks, and a wider variety of make-up (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1945d, p.635). This evidence suggests that, geographically, beautifying had evolved from an everyday grooming habit (as discussed in Chapter 5) into an assertion of American national identity.

In this period, Johnson & Johnson strengthened its international market using the same mode of entry as in the Great Depression, as discussed in Chapter 5, through a sales agent in foreign markets and they also opened affiliate companies in Portugal, France, and Colombia (Gurowitz, 2009c). Also, Johnson & Johnson and its domestic companies were frantically gearing up for what would be record-setting production of a broad range of medical and hospital products to be used by the American and Allied forces (Foster, 1999, p.252). Therefore, demands for Johnson & Johnson products, particularly medicated-based products such as bandages, cottons, first aid kits, and others were high. In this period, Johnson & Johnson was led by extended entrepreneurs through Robert Wood Johnson II, who was the largest stockholder of the company (Foster, 1999). Although the change of ownership occurred in 1944, the company's management philosophy would not change under public ownership. This demonstrates that the expanded entrepreneur continued the original strategy, and before the company became public. Under Robert Wood Johnson II's leadership, the

business continued to grow and further decentralise, until he retired in 1963 (Gurowitz, 2012a). This demonstrates that in this period although Johnson & Johnson had ‘managerial’ control from both family and non-family members, ‘insider’ ownership structures was dominated by family members.

Similarly, Maybelline saved its beauty business when petroleum was rationed. According to Expert A, the founder went to the Pentagon upon hearing the rumor that petroleum was to be rationed and explained the potential consequence if the US Government proceeded with this plan: ‘*You stop us from producing Maybelline and the morale of our soldiers will go down*’ (Expert A, 2016). In spring 1942, the Pentagon warned the White House that the war should not create a shortage where loss of beauty ‘*might lower national morale*’ (Williams, 2010, p.218). Moreover, it virtually saved the entire cosmetic industry for this period, whereby demand for the products was continuously met domestically and internationally. The product specialisation by these brands also contributed to high demand, not only in the US but also outside the country. Therefore they built factories and created distribution companies abroad (Jones, 2008). In addition, the ‘managerial’ control consisted of family members and outsiders served in high positions at the firm, but ‘insider’ ownership was strongly under family control. The roles of family members were demonstrated clearly by traditional entrepreneurs through a war advertisement contract handled by Tom Lyle Williams, who produced a series of advertisements related to the war effort (Williams, 2010). Whilst there was limited evidence that Rags Ragland was still working with Maybelline during WWII, there was some evidence (see Appendix 17) in the form of a letter from Tom Lyle Williams to Rags Ragland about his contribution to Maybelline before the company merged in 1967. In this letter, Tom notes that Rags has been working at Maybelline for 35 years, including during WWII from the date of the letter (Williams, 1967). This clearly shows that Rags continued to hold a portfolio in the marketing department from the Great Depression and continued to help the firm in WWII, until Maybelline merged with Plough in 1967 (Williams, 2013f).

In contrast, diaspora entrepreneurs continued to focus on the US market, as they had during the Great Depression. In general, the ownership and control of cosmetic brands in this case studies were unchanged. In this period, Avon had six

directors in 1941, seven directors in 1942, and nine directors from 1943 to 1945, led by McConnell family members such as David H. McConnell Jr. (son of the founder), and W. Van Alan Clark (son-in-law of the founder) (Avon Allied Products, 1945, 1944, 1943, 1942, 1941). The combination of ‘managerial’ control and ‘insider’ ownership improved Avon’s financial conditions during wartime, maintained its trade position, contributed to the war effort, and limited the use of packages and raw materials (Avon Allied Products, 1942).

Likewise, Estée Lauder remained focused in the domestic market. All business decisions were controlled and owned by a traditional entrepreneur and the business remained under ‘personal’ control and ‘insider’ ownership that relied on the abilities of the founder. During WWII, Estée Lauder was the anchor for her firm, assisted by Joseph Lauder: *‘he would deal with the economic and practical aspects of the business, I would do the selling’* (Lauder, 1985, p.38). This clearly shows that the marketing strategy of the firm was handled and managed by the founder herself, explaining the lack of change from the Great Depression period.

Although the US cosmetic industry was affected by the World War II, high demand for cosmetics was continuous because the industry was competitive. Using the 1940 census, the total population of the US was 131,600,000 and the distribution of females by age group and the target market groups is illustrated in Figure 15.

Figure 15: Female population in the United States 1940

Age Group	Number in Age Group
15-19	6,240,000
20-24	5,910,000
25-29	5,330,000
30-34	4,880,000
35-39	4,880,000
40-44	4,160,000
45-49	3,640,000
50-54	3,060,000
Total	38,100,000

Source: (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1941a, p.26).

In 1940, about 71 per cent of women under forty bought cosmetics and demanded a range of products, led by teenagers between 15 and 19 years old. However, only 29 per cent of women over forty purchased cosmetics. This demonstrates clearly that a growing number of women who took clerical and military jobs had raised the demand for cosmetic production. Moreover, a new market for teenagers emerged in this period (Goldin, 1991). A 1942 survey of Baltimore consumers shows that women over forty declared that most beauty preparations were inessential because they had come of age before cosmetics became a mass industry. Meanwhile, younger women viewed cosmetic products such as powder, rouge, cold cream, and lipstick, as necessities (Peiss, 2011).

In addition, the US Government, through the federal War Production Board, was charged with restricting the manufacture of consumer goods to conserve metals, petroleum, alcohol, chemicals, and other materials needed for the war effort (Peiss, 2011). This affected US cosmetic production: the most affected products were lipstick, and mascara. Figure 16 compares durable and non-durable goods in retail sales between 1941 and 1942, including cosmetics as non-durable goods.

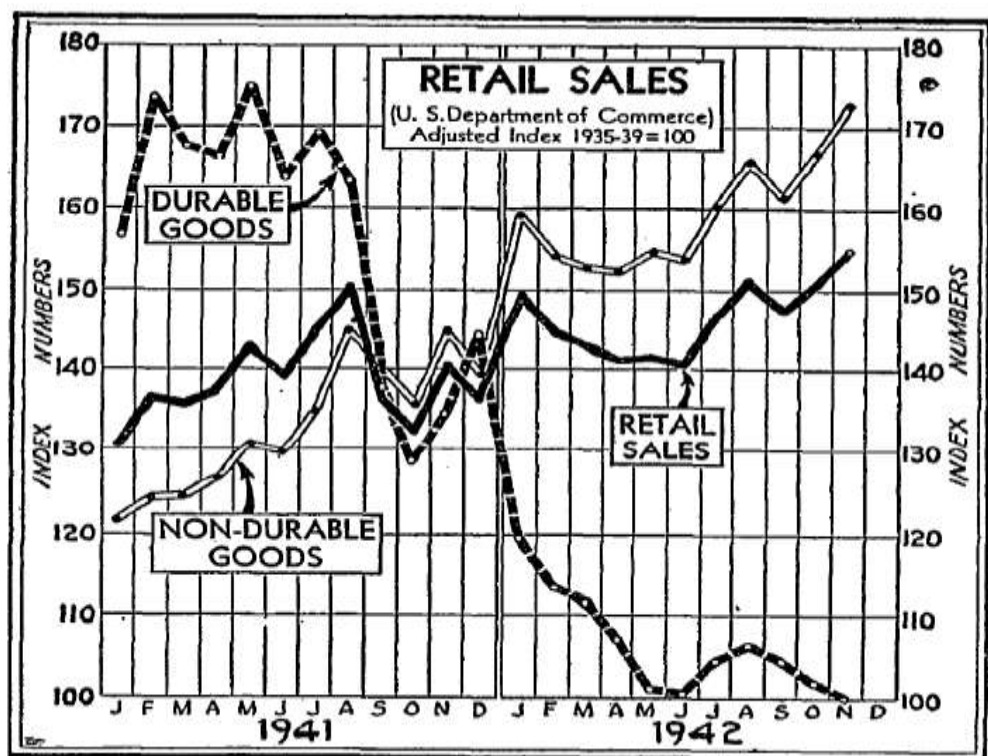


Figure 16: Comparisons between durable goods and non-durable goods to retail sales 1941 – 1942.

Source: *The New York Times*. (1943). *Cosmetics Industry Faces Obstacles*, 3 January, 1943, p.1.

According to Figure 16, durable goods like refrigerators, cars, household items, and bricks were severely affected during WWII compared with non-durable goods, like cosmetics, food, beer and clothing. Sales of non-durable goods were rocky during this period, although there was rationing of commodity products during WWII. There were unstable sales for durable goods, non-durable goods, and retail sales between August 1941 and January 1942. The reason for this was due to WWII reaching full force when the European Axis powers invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941, and Japan attacked the US and European territories in the Pacific Ocean in December 1941 (May, 1955). This triggered an economic shift to war production where the list of non-food goods included gasoline, metal, rubber, and petroleum: these were strictly rationed, and civilians relied heavily on synthetic production (Mason, 1949). This explains the sales of cosmetics products, which in general had reduced by about 20 per cent during the war (Peiss, 2011). The following sections discuss how the US cosmetic industry survived during the war through marketing strategies, by scrutinising the product, price, distribution, and promotion using available resources at the firms.

6.2 Product strategy

In the US, although the cosmetic industry faced challenges in production, some US cosmetic companies shifted entirely to wartime production. Yet, the war also provided new opportunities for this industry, including high demand for particular products, such as perfume and lipstick (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1941c, p.32). However, some cosmetic companies contributed some part of their manufacture for the war effort programme, while continuing to make products. For example, perfume sales increased from \$45 million in 1940 to \$86 million in 1946, as working women had more disposable income, and partly as wartime rationing limited spending possibilities on other consumer goods such as clothes and cars (Jones, 2010, p.136). Therefore, some cosmetic firms saw this as an opportunity in time of war to make such products. Indeed, wartime austerity, mainly clothes rationing, had the effect of increasing the demand for make-up and hairstyles to counterbalance the limitations of the wardrobe (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2000).

In World War II, the cosmetic industry, like other consumer industries, began to produce a limitless array of goods, colours, and styles (Peiss, 2011). For example, in 1942, the make-up line was so lucrative that cosmetics were second only to food in sheer volume of post-war advertising in the US (Gavenas, 2002, p.32). The trend in product strategy between diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs underwent significant change, particularly in production. Demands for cosmetics products categories and lines were encouraging in this period; however raw materials were a hindrance for bulk productions when petroleum was rationed (Daily Telegraph, 1939). Although other product categories did not use petroleum, they relied on metal for packaging, which was also controlled by the US government (Cuff, 1990). US cosmetic firms countered this problem by producing only those products for which there was strong demand like lipstick, mascara, perfume; used alternative raw materials to replace those ingredients rationed; and supported the US Government through war effort programs. In this period, Johnson & Johnson, Avon, Maybelline, and Estée Lauder took different approaches, but retained their main product strategy as in the Great Depression. As stated in Chapter 5, Avon and Estée Lauder offered multiproduct offerings, whilst Maybelline and Johnson & Johnson concentrated on their signature product lines.

The advantage of having multiproduct offerings is that it helps to identify unique products that meet the demands of consumers, which are not addressed by the competitors, and for those that joined the war effort program they could also express a sense of patriotism (March, 1991). Market segmentation can easily be created by market-oriented businesses rather than brand-oriented businesses. The intervention of the US government in this industry continued from the Great Depression, when they encouraged cosmetic firms to join the war effort. Later, the US Government declared the production of lipstick a wartime necessity, which created opportunities for many cosmetics firm to produce lipstick, as it was declared a '*morale booster*' during this period (Scott, 2006, p.222).

Despite raw material limitations, the US Government felt it essential that some cosmetics still be produced to help boost morale. Although multiproduct offerings strategies in cosmetics continued in this period, there were differences in relation to the Great Depression. In 1941, there was nowhere near the multiplicity of shades and promotions due to the war. However, sales of lipsticks, for example, had appeared to be a rising market, demonstrating it was not necessary to have a lot of shades (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1941c). This reveals that the cosmetic firms managed to reduce costs by cutting down shades in their products, and focusing instead on meeting the high demand for particular colours. Avon, for example, had appeared in its Avon Outlook issues with women wearing red lipstick in this period showing support for the US Government morale effort, and also spreading a confident message about red lipstick through advertisements (Outlook, 1942c)¹³. The morale boost and patriotism of red lipstick did not apply only to women, but also the morale of men. For example, magazines suggested that a Red Cross Woman in a war camp wearing a flash of red lipstick, a smile and saying cheery '*hello, soldier, where you from?*' could raise morale (Madison, 2007).

Lipstick became a phenomenon in the US cosmetic industry: most of the cosmetic brands sold and promoted red lipstick, and most of the top brands of lipsticks that time were created by diaspora entrepreneurs such as Elizabeth Arden,

¹³ See Appendix 18, p.310.

DuBarry, Max Factor, Dorothy Gray, Tangee, and Helena Rubinstein (Willett, 2010). Surprisingly, Maybelline and Johnson & Johnson were not following the trend to sell this product and continuously focused on their specialised products (Johnson, 1949; Williams, 2010). However, the new entrant in the industry, Estée Lauder, also joined the lipstick competition: it sold only one shade of lipstick called 'Just Red', a colour that flattered most faces in New York City (Koehn, 2001b; Lauder, 1985). However, the trend in colours and shades were changed from various ranges in the previous cycle to a particular focus on red and bright colours. Following the same pattern in Great Depression, diaspora entrepreneurs preferred to compete in this existing product category compared to non-diaspora entrepreneurs. This is consistent with the work of Nkongolo-Bakenda and Chrysostome (2013), who find that diaspora entrepreneurs identify entrepreneurial opportunities and scan host country markets for entrepreneurial opportunities. Diaspora entrepreneurs continued to compete in existing markets, and according to the theory of entrepreneurial opportunity identification, the personality traits of diaspora entrepreneurs (optimism and creativity) drove such competition (Ardichvili, Cardozo and Ray, 2003).

In this period, alongside lipstick, there were three other items in demand in the cosmetic industry: perfume, men's toiletries, and teenage cosmetics (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1945d, 1945c, 1942, 1941a, 1941b; Peiss, 2011). Firstly, perfume, older than any other product in this old industry, underwent so sudden and complete rejuvenation that it held, for the first time in many years, centre stage. Due to the war in Europe, many perfumes imported from Europe (particularly France) were in very short supply (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1945d). This was the period when the American perfumes exploded: one of the fashion magazines said, '*be patient, yet a little longer, imported perfumes will not be coming over for some time to come...*' (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1945d, p.633). Many US cosmetic companies competed in producing their perfumes using limited resources available since alcohol was listed among controlled raw materials (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1941e). Several American cosmetic firms successfully branched into perfumes, marketing scents at prices affordable to a larger number of Americans, selling them in department stores and even drug stores rather than just exclusive boutiques (Willett, 2010, 2000).

Apart from the war effort programme, American advertising firms and agencies had shops or salons in Paris, such as Helena Rubinstein, and Elizabeth Arden, which caused the spread of American cosmetic brands (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1945d). This is the first step of Americanisation, when American influence has been felt strongly in Paris not only in matters pertaining to home life, but also in art, literature, music, fashions, beauty preparations and perfumes. Although it was wartime, perfumes created economic opportunities for many successful US entrepreneurs, particularly those created by diaspora entrepreneurs like Avon, Elizabeth Arden, Helena Rubinstein, and Estée Lauder with their multiproduct offerings.

In the same vein, sales of men's toiletries increased in this period. One reason for this was a noticeable trend among the leading perfume houses to incorporate men's sets and toiletries in their lines and feature them in certain seasons (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1941b). Due to the war, the US Government encouraged cosmetic firms to produce more men's product lines, such as shaving cream, deodorant, and soap (Willett, 2010). The military expectations of short hair, a clean shave, and pressed and polished clothes and shoes, the men's shaving industry and the market for attendant skincare products expanded dramatically (Willett, 2010). From this point, men became big consumers of aftershave products, skin lotions, and deodorants to live up to new standards of male cleanliness. For example, apart from the basic hygiene kit distributed with US Government support, a lot of toiletries were bought as gifts for men in training and away from home in defence work (Outlook, 1943c).

Conversely, although Estée Lauder was considered a new entrant, a family-owned business in the industry, the venture into men's product line moved slowly but followed the same strategy. The firm would '*rather fight than switch*' and Estée Lauder launched Aramis in 1965 offering fragrance, cologne and aftershave lotion for men (Estée Lauder Inc., 2007; Lauder, 1985). These two examples from brands created by diaspora entrepreneurs show competition in this product line. Responding to high demand for this product line and support from the US Government, many brands added necessary hygiene items, such as shaving soap or cream, shave lotion, talc, hairdressing, toilet soap, mouthwash, cologne, deodorant, bath preparations, and

pre-shave lotion (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1941b). These diaspora entrepreneurs created varieties of men's products that increased interest in buying in products such as deodorants, cologne, and bath preparations. Following the trend in lipstick and perfumes, men's toiletries became competitive, and companies that had formerly only made women's items had begun to develop lines directed at men by the late 1950s (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1941b).

The success of teenage cosmetics illustrates (as with men's toiletries, perfumes and lipsticks in this period) the essential importance of timing. Cosmetics for teenagers are not new, and in this period children have to be treated as three separate groups namely, babies, children, and teenagers (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1945c). However, not all US cosmetic brands encountered each of these groups. For example, Johnson & Johnson produced medicated-based baby products that helped alleviate diaper rash, baby oil, cream, soap, and products to ensure the health and safety of infants and mother at birth, but did not yet extend to specialise teenage products (Gurowitz, 2007a). In this period, items designed for the upper-class in the teen market between the 1920s and 1930s were becoming rudimentary essentials for 1940s teenager (Willett, 2010). Considering this trend and demand, Avon ventured into both baby and teenager products particularly soaps, dentifrices, and shampoos (Outlook, 1945a). The youth came of age in terms of grooming and became are eager customers for everything that will make them look better.

Consequently, Avon produced a kit for teenage girls containing tooth powder, liquid shampoo, rose cold cream, cream deodorant, face powder, lipstick, nail polish, and hand cream that cost \$4.80 (Outlook, 1945b). For teenage boys, the kit included tooth powder, liquid shampoo, cream deodorant, brushless shaving cream, talc for men, hair dress, elite powder, and hand cream, and cost \$3.76 (Outlook, 1945b). Maybelline stayed focused on its eye-product line, but targeted the teenage market as well. For example, Maybelline sold a small 10-cent box of mascara that teenage girls could afford (Expert A, 2016). Furthermore, due to the high demand for eye-product lines, Maybelline also produced a more glamorous line of products that young women enjoyed carrying in their purses, thereby boosting morale in wartime, Estée Lauder was also interested in the teenage market (Williams, 2013f). However, following its entry into men's toiletries, Estée Lauder ventured late into this market. It

finally launched its legendary Youth Dew, a bath oil with skin perfume, in 1953, popular among young women (Estée Lauder Inc., 2004, p.3; Lauder, 1985).

During this period, Avon divided its business into two: normal production, and production dedicated to the war effort programme (Avon Allied Products, 1945). In term of its own products, Avon focused on products that have been discussed already, such as lipstick, perfumes, men’s toiletries, and teenage products. However, more than 50 per cent of facilities of Avon’s factory and laboratories in Suffern, New York, were made available to the US Government for the production of war items for the armed forces: it entered into eleven prime contracts and one subcontract for the manufacture of war materials and manufactured such items as pharmaceuticals, insect repellent, paratrooper kits, and gas mask canisters (Avon Allied Products, 1943). Apart from producing war items, through the Payroll Allotment Plan, approximately 90 per cent of Avon employees had purchased \$98,380 redemption value of war bonds in 1942, and Avon increased the use of War Savings Stamps as prizes to its sales representatives from 31 December 1941, with \$68,467 face value of stamps purchased and distributed (Avon Allied Products, 1942). Although Avon set aside 50 per cent of its facilities for war production, sales during this period was consistently positive as illustrated in Table 20 below.

Table 20: A summary of consolidated net sales of Avon 1940-1945

Year	Net Sales (in USD)	Sales under War Contracts (in USD)	Net Sales exclusive of Sales under War Contracts (in USD)
1940	8,357,775	....	8,357,775
1941	10,814,352	....	10,814,352
1942	11,741,341	53,581	11,687,760
1943	14,214,228	749,701	13,464,527
1944	15,824,754	1,098,210	14,726,544
1945	15,797,548	574,771	15,222,777

Source: (Avon Allied Products, 1945, p.8).

This table shows that, apart from Avon normal productions; its war effort programme helped the business during wartime. This war effort plan was considered part of Avon’s product strategy during the war, because it also produced products that either has not been produced before (such as insect repellent, paratrooper kits, and gas mask canisters), or products to be manufactured in large quantities (such as men’s

toiletries), distributed to the US army. Avon exploited wartime as an opportunity, consistent with discussion of diaspora entrepreneurs in Chapter 2, in which Elo and Riddle (2016) argued that the purpose of investing is constructed economically, culturally, politically, socially, and emotionally. Thus, this thesis argues that diaspora entrepreneurs like Avon, when operating during crisis, showed commitment to both country and the government. This is connected to work by Drori, Honig and Wright (2009) in Chapter 2, that the role of diaspora entrepreneurs influences the creation of business opportunities and can act as a catalyst for the evolution of global production networks, demonstrated by Avon in this case through support for the government; the Avon brand indirectly expanded abroad in various countries where the Allied Forces were located.

Conversely, since Estée Lauder was a small, family-owned business, it was involved only indirectly in war business. There are no records of that Estée Lauder being directly involved in the war effort programme. However, Estée Lauder joined the other US cosmetic brands to sell lipstick alongside its original products as a morale booster (Alacra, 2012, p.7). As WWII came to an end, Estée Lauder's products were popular in New York City beauty parlours. The significance of Estée Lauder's success during wartime when it was a small family-owned business is that American women had more power over their income. The rising numbers of women in workforce was a result of US Government propaganda that encouraged women to take over men's jobs while they were fighting, such as in the defence industry, and therefore they earned income steadily during this period, as shown in Figure 17.

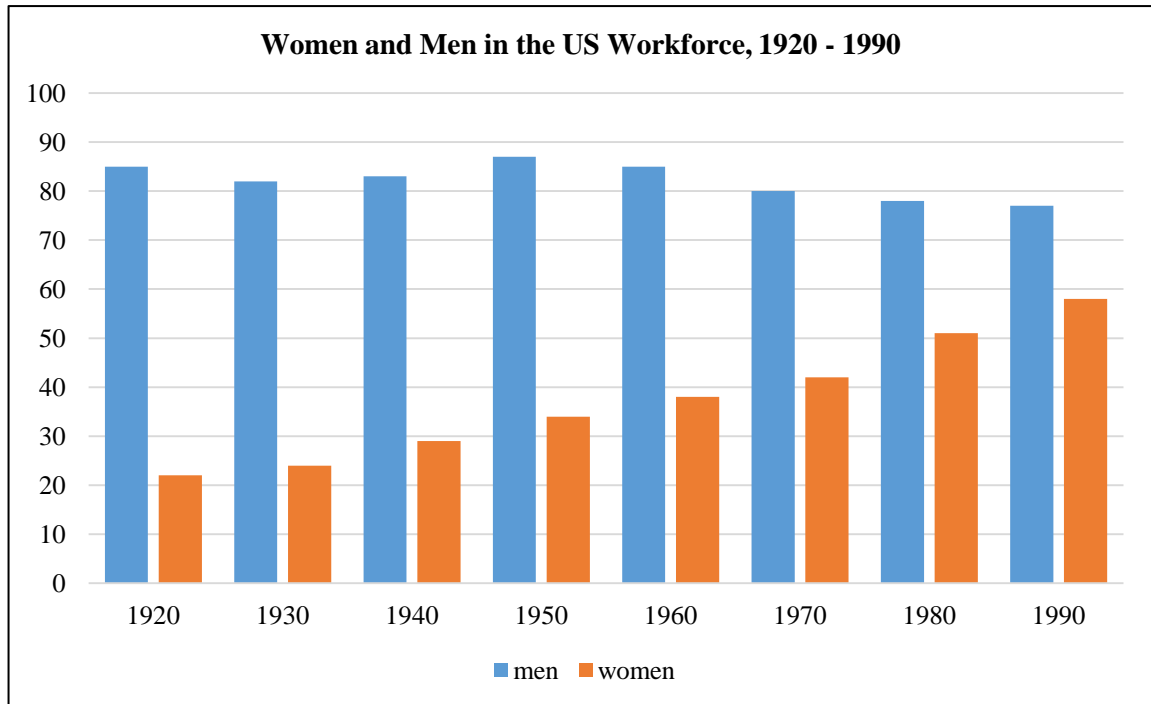


Figure 17: Women and Men in the US Workforce, 1920 to 1990.

Sources: Government Publications. (US Department of Commerce, 1998, p.408, 1995, p.399, 1976, p.132).

Figure 17 illustrates consistent growth in the proportion of American women in the workforce between 1920 and 1990. Apart from boosting morale, these working women purchased beauty products, to help define their public identities, assert their independence, enjoy themselves, and spend some of the money they earned (Koehn, 2001a). Estée Lauder took the opportunity to build a national brand in this period. Estée Lauder indirectly supported the war effort by giving red lipsticks to women as part of the company principle of charity, according to the interview with Estée Lauder's founder by Marilyn Bender of *The New York Times*: 'I gave them a \$3 lipstick. It was a time during the war when you couldn't get metal cases' (Israel, 1985, p.31). Thus, Estée Lauder encouraged the used of red lipstick to boost morale during war, and at the same time promoted the brand among women (no competitors copied this strategy).

Surprisingly, non-diaspora entrepreneurs strengthened their businesses by continuing their product strategies adopted during the Great Depression. Johnson & Johnson continued its product strategy of multiproduct offerings, focused on the same medicated product line only, because the drug manufacturing industry became a

particularly fast-moving one under the stimulus of war (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1945a). The company quadrupled its natural domestic product of medical supplies, but also converted some facilities to produce combat equipment for the US Government (Foster, 1999; Johnson, 1949). Thus wartime gave opportunities to Johnson & Johnson as well, to provide its products and war effort products that benefited for not only the US armies but also those armies in Allied forces. This to some extent helped Johnson & Johnson to expand its business abroad, and strengthen its brand in foreign markets. As a result, in Johnson & Johnson Annual Report 1944, it notes that Johnson & Johnson had 31 subsidiary companies, with profits exceeding \$11,000,000 and more than 1200 different medicated products (Foster, 1999; Johnson & Johnson Annual Report, 1944, pp.4-5).

In the same vein, Maybelline continued its eye-product line in this period, although at the beginning of the war the US Government restricted and rationed petroleum (fortunately not for the cosmetic industry after an urgent memo sent by the Pentagon to White House). Following Johnson & Johnson, Maybelline did not rely wholly on its eye-products in this period to sustain the business, but contributed to the war effort programme by selling war bonds using the Maybelline logo (*'to the girl with a soldier overseas... how much do you really want him back?'*) (Williams, 2014a). Since Maybelline was well-known in advertising among the US cosmetic brands, it took opportunities to encourage the public to support the US Government through advertisements encouraging people to buy US war bonds regularly (Appendix 19). This advertisement explains in detail the benefit of buying the war bond, and information about bonds endorsed by the Government agencies. The significance of war bonds is when full employment collided with rationing, and war bonds were seen as a way to remove money from circulation and reduce inflation. This war bond campaign was a unique fusion of nationalism and consumerism because it provided a way in which patriotic attitudes and the spirit of sacrifice could be expressed and became the primary way those on the home front contributed to the national defence and war effort.

Additionally, product quality continued to be important to consumers when some raw materials were rationed. Due to limited resources, the FDA had tightened the rules and regulations for US cosmetic manufacturers that produced drugs and

cosmetics products in this period, mainly to display information and ingredients to consumers (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1939a, p.42). The FDA required cosmetic manufacturers and firms to appear on two or more panels of the label, each of which has sufficient space therefore, and each of which is so designed as to render it likely to be, under customary conditions of purchased, the part or panel displayed (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1939a). However, this new regulation was objected to by many cosmetic manufacturers because bottom labelling is quite common from a desire to maintain beautiful packaging (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1939a). The cases in this study, however, followed the FDA rules and regulations. Avon improved its labelling following this new FDA regulation, where the electrically-operated labelling machine was used to turn out 1500 jars an hour with front and back labels in the correct position (Outlook, 1942a)¹⁴. This resulted in product quality and cleanliness. Johnson & Johnson maintained product quality following the appropriate labelling as required by the FDA, with labels placed on the sealed inspected containers boring the signature and title of a graduate nurse (Gurowitz, 2014a, 2015c). This increased trust among doctors and nurses for the company's products. Maybelline used a small private label contractor called Munk Chemical Company. Julius Wagman, the Chief Chemist, had set up the arrangement and increased production from 60 packages a minute to over 100 packages per minute (Williams, 2013a, 2013b). Although Estée Lauder was a small family-owned business, the products were still subject to regulation by the FDA; such regulations principally relate to the ingredients' manufacture, labelling, packaging, marketing and product safety, and the whole business from production to delivery was done by family members in this period (Koehn, 2000). However, from the consumer's point of view, the labels' position was not a problem: what mattered was the quality of the product (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1941c).

The new regulations show that the FDA had the power of factory inspection in this period. Therefore, the easiest way for cosmetic companies to survive is to comply with the law. Many manufacturers of cosmetic do not seem to realise the strictness of the requirements in the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Law calling for the declaration of alcohol content on the labels of cosmetics, perfumes, or toilet water (a controlled

14 See Appendix 20, p.313.

ingredient) (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1939f). This full enforcement of the laws will aid, cosmetic businesses, and the cosmetic brands in this study had to conform fully with the law to get the benefit of the law to maintain and survive in the industry.

Wartime encouraged discovery and product innovation, providing opportunities for US cosmetic firms to expand into new areas. This is due to the rationing of raw materials, and the strictness of the US law and regulation in producing cosmetics; thus, the search for new alternative resources is extremely crucial. Avon shifted its packaging for lipstick, face powders, and several other products, from metal cases to paper cases. This not only helps to reduce the usage of controlled raw material but also reduce costs (Outlook, 1944c). Interestingly, this paper case in the form of a sachet has many uses; it leaves a lasting fragrance on the skin, so that Avon representatives suggested the consumers use it as a cologne or perfume, while it also acts as a case for lipstick or face powder (Outlook, 1944c). This illustrates that the innovation was not only in product packaging. The innovation attracted customer to buy the product for its good value, too: they have two products in one.

Conversely, Estée Lauder in this period was refining and selling its high demand products such as skin creams, cleansing oil, face powder, turquoise eyeshadow, and lipstick (Koehn, 2001b). Although the four original products were sold in the Great Depression, they were refined in this period for better quality. Also, high competition in particular cosmetic products like lipstick, perfumes, men's toiletries and teenage products Estée Lauder to innovate with Youth Dew. Youth Dew broke the stereotype of how to sell a fragrance and what it could do. Youth Dew acts as a bath oil before doubling as a perfume: a pillar of innovation that set the standard for Estée Lauder's approach to fragrance development (Estée Lauder Inc., 2004, p.17). This innovation again saved customers' money (two products in one).

Similarly, Johnson & Johnson continued to innovate, using more advanced designs and materials, including the new band-aid (brand adhesive bandages) (Gurowitz, 2015b). The advertisement in Appendix 21 promotes how to use the new polished band-aid product with sulfathiazole. The new product innovation was

valuable: the packaging was repurposed as sewing boxes, workshops and toy chests to hold a variety of items that people wanted to protect and keep safe. This product was in high demand in this period because it can act as dressing for small wounds, which no other brand offered. This product innovation continued from the previous period, arising from other medicated product lines such as sterile surgical dressings, sterile sutures and medicated plasters (Gurowitz, 2015f). This encouraged customers to rely on Johnson & Johnson products, particularly in wartime.

The evolution of Maybelline eye-products line can be seen throughout its vintage packaging between 1915 and 1960, where there was an innovation of mascara, which changed from a round plastic case with a separate brush to an elegant hard box, putting together the mascara cake and a brush (Williams, 2011k). There was also a product innovation in the texture of mascara, which changed from jelly petroleum to liquid and cake texture in this period, making it easier to carry in a purse (Williams, 2013d). This product innovation strengthened Maybelline's brand at the time, as no other brands were as well-established as Maybelline. The product innovation changed rapidly, although both Johnson & Johnson and Maybelline focused on their specialised product lines, and had fewer competitors.

Apart from product offerings, quality and innovation, product packaging was also important. In the early twentieth century, cosmetics were sold in general-use jars or boxes. However, competition from firms and manufacturers in Paris led Amsterdam manufacturers, like Weeks, to reconsider how products were packaged (Willett, 2010). Later, because of the exigencies of war, some unusual problems arose in the manufacture of cosmetics, or cosmetic packaging, which encouraged cosmetic companies to consider alternative materials (Williams, 2013d). Packaging emerged as a major component of advertising and branding in the development of US cosmetics brands. The cosmetic trends in packaging in this period changed from the Great Depression, when increasing difficulties in obtaining metals for containers and metal stampings for cosmetic gift specialities brought glass and plastics to the fore (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1941d, p.405). Avon shifted its cosmetic packaging, when metal was one of the raw materials that controlled by the US Government. It reduced the used of metal in its packaging by introducing new packages (Appendix 22), with paper cases for *Single Loose Powder Compact*, *Compact Rouge* and

Lipstick. The results are remarkably pleasing (Outlook, 1942c). Surprisingly, wartime packages present no difficulties; customers accepted it as long as it was practical (Outlook, 1944a). In contrast, Estée Lauder in 1944 when most post-war lipsticks were packaged in plastic, continued to present lipsticks in an elegant metal case, which made Estée Lauder outstanding among other competitors with its luxury identity, competing with other big cosmetics firms (Levine, 2004). Following Avon, Johnson & Johnson had mixed product packaging, but made an effort to reduce the use of metal. For example, Johnson & Johnson used fruit jar bottles for sterile surgical dressings and sterile sutures, and sealed them hermetically to avoid contamination (Gurowitz, 2012b). Cigar boxes were used to package some products such as medicated plasters, alongside square metal tins for medicated-based baby powder because they would not roll away when being used, and tooth cream (paste) was packed in collapsible metal tubes (Gurowitz, 2012b). Maybelline retained dainty hard boxes for mascara that contain mascara cake and a brush, but metal cases were used for a smaller product such as 10-cent-trials (Williams, 2011k).

6.3 Price strategy

Price strategy plays a significant role in businesses, particularly in an economic downturn. For example, in highly competitive markets during a recession or economic slowdown, and with foreign competition, only those companies which have the ability to adapt will be able to compete (Cunningham and Hornby, 1993). However, this depends on how the companies perceive the economic downturn to impact their businesses; it is possible that financial crises on a national level may affect different companies differently, and may, in fact, indicate various economic environments, including those of growth and inflation (Shama, 1993). These factors affect the pricing of the product: higher costs involved with the pricing of individual production tend to reduce firm's propensities to adopt piece rates.

In this period, approximately 350,000 women served in the armed forces, while 19 million women held jobs at home supporting the war effort (Collins, 2003). As a result of women's participation in the war, the US Government permitted the production of cosmetics, as it contributed to boosting the morale of women at war which mushroomed hundreds of cosmetic companies in the US (Delano, 2000). In the previous section, the most important cosmetic product discussed was lipstick, and this section investigates how lipstick became widely available across the nation in term of pricing. The evidence from Crouter's (1944) diary during the war suggests that lipstick was a necessity and many branches of the military had specific requirements for make-up (e.g. lipstick had to be red). This shows that when a product became a necessity, the price could be reasonable and affordable, especially in wartime when finance was restricted. Similarly, good drugs should be available as necessities during war, and the industry has a duty to supply communities with the product at an affordable price and provide reliable information (Dukes, 2002). The need for lipstick can be seen across the nation when evidence shows there was national concern for make-up, announced dramatically through the *New York Times* on December 21, 1941, through an article by Kiley Taylor: '*Experts tell you to choose one that is strong and red*', and the *New York Times* on December 30, 1941, illustrates a make-up kit to boost self-confidence and morale for American women, including cleansing cream, lotion, make-up base and powder, lipstick, rouge and mascara (Taylor, 1941a, 1941b). As a result, many cosmetic companies competed on price to establish their brands.

In the previous section, diaspora entrepreneurs were more likely to be dominant in lipstick sales rather than the non-diaspora entrepreneurs. Non-diaspora entrepreneurs focused on their specialised product lines associated with their brands, such as Maybelline for eye-product lines and Johnson & Johnson for medicated-based products. In terms of lipstick, the cosmetic brands created by diaspora entrepreneurs tended to leave prices unchanged. In comparison, lipsticks produced by non-diaspora entrepreneurs were at least three times cheaper than those by the dominant brands created by diaspora entrepreneurs, for example, Hot Lips Lipstick by Mar-O-Mist Inc. Chicago. The price comparison between brands created by diaspora entrepreneurs and non-diaspora entrepreneurs between 1940 and 1946 are illustrated in Appendix 23.

The lipstick market shares in the US cosmetic industry between 1940 and 1946 was dominated by brands created by diaspora entrepreneurs such as Avon, Helena Rubinstein, Estée Lauder, Tangee, Max Factor, and Elizabeth Arden, together with Hot Lips Lipstick by Mar-O-Mist Inc. Chicago, a brand created by non-diaspora entrepreneurs. From the price comparison shown in Appendix 23, diaspora entrepreneurs tended to price lipsticks at \$0.59-\$2.50 per unit, while non-diaspora entrepreneurs around \$0.25 per unit. Although the price was unbeatable, Helena Rubinstein was chosen to be an official supplier to the US Army, followed by its rival Elizabeth Arden, which introduced different lipstick colours in strong red, due to their product quality, sales performance, and market demand (Brandon, 2011). Non-diaspora entrepreneurs continued to compete using a price war strategy, which was a weak plan as revealed by Jones (2010); evidence from the Great Depression in this study correlates with this finding. This is connected to a discussion by Shama (1978) in Chapter 2 that the crisis period forced significant change in prices to increase sales volume in the short term. This is also supported by Expert B (2016), who noted that *the key focus of some cosmetic firms during crisis has been to offer greater for the price paid by offering consumers better value for money*. This thesis disagrees with Shama (1978) and Expert B (2016), because when the firm reduced the price of the cosmetics, it makes customers suspect the quality of the product (as discussed in Chapter 5) and if the firm adopts the same strategy in this period, it could possibly affect the sales and repeat the plummet. This is supported by empirical studies by Bennett (2005); Haluk Köksal and Özgül (2007); and Ang, Leong and Kotler (2000),

who agreed that reducing prices during crises to increase sales volume could harm the brand image and later the customers might resist moves to return to former price levels when the crisis is over. Therefore, it indeed highlights a potential risk to the sales immediately after the crisis, which can cause lost profits as well as the disappearance of the brands, as the firms need to cover the production cost. This is somewhat true of cosmetic brands that disappeared due to unsustainable price reduction, like Hazel Bishop and Hot Lips Lipstick by Mar-O-Mist Inc. Chicago. Therefore, maintaining the same prices for higher quality products may be safe and more practical.

In contrast, Avon survived because low prices were offered only at certain times of the year. For instance, two red lipsticks were sold at a special price as part of its pricing strategy that encouraged women to use lipstick to boost morale while attracting more orders within the period of campaign (Outlook, 1942b). Similarly, other cosmetic brands created by diaspora entrepreneurs like Max Factor and Tangee were also popular, competing with other non-diaspora entrepreneurs' brands like Hazel Bishop and foreign brands. We can observe this through advertisements for lipstick by these cosmetics brands (Bennett, 2005; Reed, 2014). Estée Lauder was not among those aggressively using advertisements to promote its products, but the sales of lipstick locally were impressive, especially after each charity luncheon where Estée Lauder distributed red lipstick for free, as part of its direct selling to customers (Israel, 1985).

In contrast, Johnson & Johnson embraced the pricing war trend in its business and also focused on war production items (Foster, 1999; Johnson, 1949). Although it offered lower prices, the customers' purchasing was high (Foster, 1999). Likewise, during the war, Maybelline continued its *reduced price in this period*, lower than the original price so that every woman could buy its product (Expert A, 2016). There was some evidence that Maybelline tried to venture another multiproduct offering in a different product category (lipstick), but it was dropped due to unremarkable sales (Williams, 2015a, 2010). According to the New York Times, a study conducted by the Milwaukee Company highlighted that '*Since World War II, sales of cosmetics have grown at a compound rate of about 9 per cent annually [...] Profit margins continue favourable*' (The New York Times, 1962, p.3). This suggests that the US

Government endorsement of rationed and controlled raw materials for cosmetics helped keep sales steady; the selling of lipstick, for instance, skyrocketed in the US cosmetics industry. Red lipstick became both necessary and affordable, and was a saviour of the industry alongside with the other war effort productions, war stamps and war bonds.

In general, the average sales of the other toilet goods and cosmetics in this period were high compared to average sales in the Great Depression. According to the Drug and Cosmetic Industry figures assembled each year, in 1939, when total sales amounted to \$56,700,000, volume grew steadily, culminating in a total of \$707,449,000 in 1944 (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1945a, p.436). Since the total sales are assumed to be approximately double, it is estimated per capita consumption of perfumes, cosmetics, and toilet preparations, by average such as, perfumes \$0.90, toilet waters \$1.39, all creams \$1.62, and lipsticks \$0.54 (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1942, p.26). From the price comparison of lipstick in Appendix 22, cosmetic brands created by diaspora entrepreneurs placed their prices above the per capita consumption for a lipstick at \$0.54, whereby cosmetic brands created by non-diaspora entrepreneurs put the prices well below the estimation per capita consumption. Here, the weakness of the price cheapening strategy is easily seen. Therefore, this thesis again argues that when the cosmetics brands replicated the similar price cheapening strategy in other products, to some extent it caused a loss in production costs rather than profit, especially when there are other trusted and attractive cosmetic brands offering the same products at only slightly higher prices. This explains the brands that disappeared. In sum, low pricing was not a favourable strategy in this period for the cosmetic brands in case studies in development of their brands, although it was a difficult time where access to finance was limited. Therefore, this study rejects Shama's (1978) interpretation discussed in Chapter 2 that the crisis period forces a significant change in prices of product to reduce price and increase sales volume.

On the other hand, the common unit price picture of the industry remained virtually undisturbed through the war. Although it was wartime, the price of cosmetics products was stable, which resulted from demands and consistent buying. At the end of this period, the consumer was buying practically twice as much as at the start of the

war, which the total per capita cosmetics consumption by average was \$2.69 in 1939 and reached \$5.43 in 1944 (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1945a, p.437). From this evidence, this thesis disagrees with Expert B that firms *offer greater for the price paid by offering consumers better value for money* (Expert B, 2016), referring to price reduction. This is because evidence demonstrates that consumers were able and willing to pay for the products despite increased prices due to economic uncertainty in the war. Indeed, this is supported by a study by Colvin (2009) discussed in Chapter 2 that some smart companies have been able to raise prices during the crisis period, exploiting the uniqueness and necessity of their products. For example P&G and Colgate increased prices during the crisis to protect their profit margins from the effect of declining sales, whilst focused aggressively on product and promotion strategies (Colvin, 2009). Apart from this, growing consumer income in this period was responsible for the continued prosperity and consequence purchase of cosmetics. Apparently, toilet goods and cosmetics sales, and customer rate of consumption followed a course of their own, becoming part of the higher living standards and living needs during the war period.

6.4 Distribution strategy

In Chapter 5, we saw that drugstores and department stores were among the top distribution channels for US cosmetic brands in the Great Depression. In this period, department stores and drugstores were becoming increasingly important to US cosmetics brands for distribution. Moreover, they had another advantage, in that retailers allowed consumers to buy on credit, such as Marshall Field's, which issued a store charge card to loyal consumers (Olney, 1991). However, stores in less-populated cities had fewer needs for new trends and sales discounts than those in the larger ones, where there was always demand for improved products, such as long-lasting lipstick (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1945b, p.323). This was because they were dealing with a less sensitive-to-change customer who continued to absorb items that had become unseasonal in the bigger cities; for example, summer demand continues in the small town when it has ended in the metropolitan centres, which led sales to grow at a faster rate in smaller cities (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1945b). Drawing from this trend, there were demands on saleswomen to give added sales support to small city stores. In theory, they offered the best chance for future expansion or provide an even stronger boost to their big city markets, and especially for the US cosmetic brands to be widespread nationally. This imbalance between stores in big cities and small towns was advantageous to cosmetic brands that did not choose this distribution channel; for example, Avon used its Avon representatives, which allowed it to introduce new products through demonstrations directly to customers. This could explain why some cosmetic companies preferred different distribution strategies in the development of their brand, rather than following the common channels. Overall, the distribution network of US cosmetics during the WWII was similar to that in the Great Depression period; however, there were some significantly different strategies in distribution between diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs in some ways.

In this period, the leading US global cosmetics brands distributed their products through a number of channels. Avon employed thousands of representatives to sell its offerings directly to consumers (Manko, 2001b). The primarily female sales force travelled door-to-door to demonstrate Avon's products, particularly make-up and fragrances, not only in big cities but also rural parts of the US (Manko, 2001b; Outlook, 1944b). As the suburbs expanded after the war, this approach was hugely

effective, and Avon's annual net sales skyrocketed from \$8,357,775 in 1940 to \$15,797,548 in 1945 (Avon Allied Products, 1945). Avon's distribution strategy remained unique, as most other US cosmetic brands sold their products through existing retail outlets, including drugstores, supermarkets, department stores, beauty parlours, discount houses, and groceries shops. The significance of selling cosmetic products through a number of existing retail outlets was measured the most important channel during this period, which the industry grew at an average of 26 per cent in 1943 (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1945b, p.323). Indeed, the distribution channel has played important role in the emergence of the US cosmetic market, as in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5. It expanded from homemade to manufacturing, and also the creation of drugstores and department store chains.

Although the distribution strategy at micro-level through Avon representatives was successful, the macro-level distribution played an important role in Avon's success in this period. The evidence indicates that immense manufacturing power lies in Avon Laboratories at Suffern, New York, the largest cosmetic laboratory in the world in 1944, equipped with the most modern machines and skilled and trained personnel (Outlook, 1944b). Avon could supply an unlimited number of customers placing which orders with North and Eastern representatives (Outlook, 1944b). The Avon brand office in Kansas City serve the Midwest region, where products are shipped to Kansas City from the Avon Laboratories at Suffern New York, and are in readiness to fill orders for all Midwestern representatives and the brand has a large and well-trained staff to support the representatives. Meanwhile, the Avon brand office in Los Angeles, California served the Western territory and products manufactured at Suffern New York were sent for quick shipment. The integration of business link chain between macro and micro distribution at Avon in this period was encouraged by a strong group of City and District Managers who help to connect macro and micro distribution. Consequently, Avon distributed more than 5,100,000 boxes of face powder, 6,400,000 lipsticks, 12,500,000 cakes of soap, 4,300,000 dentifrices, and 3,500,000 shaving preparations (Outlook, 1944b).

Estée Lauder was commercially innovative in many ways, including distribution. From the first it chose to bypass chemists' shops and to retail its products directly to the customer, first through beauty salons and later through department

stores (The Telegraph, 2004). In this period, Estée Lauder continuously ruled out drugstores and supermarkets in contrast to Johnson & Johnson and Maybelline, but focused on premium department stores and beauty salons (Koehn, 2001b; Lauder, 1985). This demonstrates that Estée lauder's distribution channel had evolved from the Great Depression, where products were sold face-to-face upon demonstration to hair salon customers and at small counters in beauty salons, to this period where it extended to premium department stores. Estée Lauder targeted specialty stores, such as Saks Fifth Avenue, Berdorf Goodman, and Bonwit Teller, where only the most elegant fashions and cosmetics were sold, without the distraction of unrelated products like furniture and houseware (Lauder, 1985). This evidence illustrates that Estée Lauder maintained its distinctiveness from other cosmetic brands: premium department stores attract a different type of clientele, and women may choose a store whose overall image best fits the image they aspire to.

In addition, a similar original distribution strategy was adopted, such as face-to-face demonstrations by salesperson, and touching the customers to allow them to experience the products (Israel, 1985; Lauder, 1985). The significance of distributing products in premium department stores is that Estée Lauder is not particularly interested in middle-market department stores or drugstores that compete on prices: it was clearly defined in Chapter 4 as a market-oriented business (Lauder, 1985). Moreover, it extended its distribution through this channel because it became a platform to find opportunities in a large sales force (Koehn, 2001b; Lauder 1985). This is consistent with the study conducted by Rich and Portis (1964), who found that high-fashion images and status are located in particular department stores, which the style, quality of products, sales, services, brand reputation, and reliability place them above department stores and drugstores. Therefore, Estée Lauder's distribution strategy capitalised on the appeal of specific stores, particularly premium department stores, to help build the brand in this period. Apparently, Estée Lauder could not afford the large sales force necessary to service such outlets like chain store in this period due to the war, limited capital and lack of resources, but premium department stores were a way to approach other large distribution channels (Israel, 1985). Although premium department stores normally carry premium price brands, in the case of Estée Lauder, the products were bought in small quantities (Lauder, 1985). After the war, Estée Lauder began to envision the family business as a wholesale

manufacturing operation with a compelling reputation (Estée Lauder Corporate Website, 2016d; Israel, 1985; Lauder, 1985).

In contrast, cosmetic brands created by non-diaspora entrepreneurs like Johnson & Johnson and Maybelline continued with the popular distribution trend through department stores and drugstores (Foster, 1999; Williams, 2010). The Drug and Cosmetic Industry report reveals that department stores and drugstores experienced another 14 per cent rise in the sale of cosmetics in 1944, as consistent growth continued from sales of cosmetics and toilet goods in 1943 (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1945b, p.322). Due to the war, women did not shop only in 1944 for members of their family but also for friends, due to the gasoline shortage and restrictions upon travel (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1945b). This is one reason that many cosmetic brands chose department stores and drugstores for their product distribution.

Similarly, Johnson & Johnson continued its product distribution through drugstores, hospitals, and surgeons in this period, which is similar to during the Great Depression. Robert Wood Johnson noted that, *'not only were these operating companies better able to anticipate and meet local needs, they did make a difference for the company's supply chain and for the people who needed the products during World War II'* (Foster, 1999; Johnson, 1949). Due to the war, the product distribution in large amounts became frequent deliveries to these channels, especially when Johnson & Johnson had a contract on war items for the US Government to supply the US armies and the Allied Forces (Foster, 1999; Gurowitz, 2014c). As a result, *first aid* and *Johnson & Johnson* became inseparable in the minds of consumers, as its products were used by people worldwide. This was caused by the trust of consumers in hospitals, surgeons, druggists, and medical experts of Johnson & Johnson products. This is different from a salesperson's approach at department stores, because of their expertise. This could be an example of Aaker's (2009) definition of brand associations as anything linked in memory to a brand: this has been researched conceptually and measured empirically and includes brand image, brand attitude, and perceived quality. Johnson & Johnson also evolved its product distribution. Alongside drugstores, hospitals, and through surgeons, Johnson & Johnson distributed its products at retail outlets, supermarkets, discount houses, and through war contracts

(Foster, 1999; Johnson, 1949). Although the brand is synonymous with medicated-based cosmetic and consumer products, Johnson & Johnson continued to promote its brand through these distribution channels. For example, Robert Wood Johnson II travelled to ‘*check the store[s]*’ selling Johnson & Johnson products, and ‘*instruct[ed] our sales force to remove these old, discoloured, unsightly [dental floss] displays and replace them with fresh ones...[.] Then design a display that will retain its appearance*’ (Foster, 1999, p.315). An interview by Robert Wood Johnson II quoted in *Robert Wood Johnson: The Gentleman Rebel* reveals that Johnson & Johnson relied not only on its strong distribution channel through war contract, hospitals, drugstores or surgeon, but also on retail stores and supermarkets, competing with hundreds of brands (Foster, 1999, p.315).

On the other hand, Maybelline stuck to its signature eye-product line and dominated at drugstores, dime stores, and supermarkets in this period (Expert A, 2016). In contrast to Estée Lauder, Maybelline’s target market was the average middle-class women, representing fashion, glamour, and style at affordable prices (Williams, 2011i). Maybelline never paid commissions for salespersons to promote and demonstrate the products, as they rested on their quality (Williams, 2010). Expert A (2016) noted that *Maybelline controlled over 75 per cent of the eye beauty market and never experienced competition from any other cosmetic brands between 1915 and 1967*. This illustrates that even during WWII, Maybelline had the largest market share and dominated sales in drugstores and supermarkets. During this period, although Maybelline distributed its products in drugstores and supermarkets, it expanded product distribution to other countries, where until this time, Maybelline products were distributed only in Canada, Europe and South America (Williams, 2010). Similarly, throughout these regions, Maybelline products were distributed continuously in drugstores, dime stores, and supermarkets. Consequently, the Maybelline brand replaced the product noun: women said ‘*I need to order Maybelline*’, instead of ‘*I need to buy mascara*’, similar to Johnson & Johnson’s association with first aid kits (Williams, 2011h). This resulted from the product strategy, where both cosmetic brands focused only on their specialised product lines; also their products are easily available through common distribution channels, which strengthened the brands. This partly explains what Beverland, Napoli and Farrelly, (2010), and McDermott and O’Connor (2002) mean by brands implementing this

strategy to become industry leaders (see Chapter 2). In contrast, the other cosmetic brands created by diaspora entrepreneurs such as Elizabeth Arden, Helena Rubinstein, and Max Factor distributed their products through company-owned salons, that distinguished their distribution strategy from cosmetic brands created by non-diaspora entrepreneurs.

6.5 Promotional strategy

In this period, the promotional strategy of establishing niches was observed to be successful in some industries; for example, in the clothing industry, specialty stores prospered during the recession in 1991 (Jacob and Neumeier, 1991; Mitchell, 1992). At this time, brands such as The Limited, Donna Karan, and Liz Claiborne profited from differentiation strategies promoted by specialty retail shops that appealed to consumers who desired a particular style of clothes (Jacob and Neumeier, 1991). Moreover, specialty chemical companies served niches, allowing them to pass along cost increases to customers, while commodity chemicals experienced slowing demand and higher costs (Jacob and Neumeier, 1991). This analysis of the US cosmetic industry on differences in promotional strategy during WWII between diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs could contribute to debates in the existing management research that crisis periods require turnaround strategies (Hambrick and Schecter, 1983; Hofer, 1980; Schendel, Patton and Riggs, 1976; Wild and Lockett, 2016). Studies show that companies that made moderate cost cuts during crisis periods not only survived, but realised more favourable long-run sales and market share growth than their competitors who made more severe cuts (McLaughlin, 1990). This point will be furthered scrutinised in this section by looking at the promotional strategy of US cosmetic brands.

In Chapter 5, advertising was the main promotional tool used by the US cosmetic brands, particularly large manufacturers like Pond's, Coty, Johnson & Johnson, Maybelline, and others (Jones, 2010, p.54). In this period, cosmetics brands continued to advertise heavily, spending about 20 per cent of industry sales on print and radio messages; Estée Lauder was not yet among them, but planning to be (Koehn, 2001b, p.224). Similarly, US cosmetics industry developed a closer relationship with the film industry in this period, whereby many American women from diverse backgrounds learned how to style themselves by mimicking the actresses they saw on television and in the cinema, beginning in the 1940s (Willett, 2010). Taken together, print, film, radio, and television advertising were popular media that pushed cosmetics use into mainstream American culture between 1940 and 1945 (Willett, 2010). This made the targets of cosmetic marketing wider, further increased the marketing of cosmetic products to American men and female adolescents. In order

to draw these target markets into stores, entrepreneurs worked with advertising managers. In Chapter 5, cosmetics firms, particularly small firms like Estée Lauder, reported they could not afford large mass-media campaigns. However, in this period, mass-media campaigns were important and many cosmetics brands were promoted this way. Thus, mass media tied cosmetics ever more closely to notions of feminine identity and self-fulfilment, proliferating images of flawless female beauty (Peiss, 2011).

In addition, advertising in this period continued steadily from the Great Depression, the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency worked for Pond's, Unilever, and many beauty firms, in a worldwide convergence in consumer markets (Jones, 2010, p.129). As described in Chapter 5, the promotional strategies of the US cosmetic brands were different in those created by diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs. For example, such as Maybelline and Johnson & Johnson relied heavily on advertising, whereas Avon and Estée Lauder used low-cost promotion strategies such as selling at beauty salons, approaching face-to-face, giving samples, word-of-mouth, and make-up demonstrations, alongside the less used but optimum advertising (Foster, 1999; Koehn, 2001a, 2001b; Manko, 2001a, 2001b; Williams, 2010). However, in this period, advertising emerged as an important marketing tool for the US cosmetic brands. This was due to US Government propaganda to encourage women to participate in the war manpower, which in this period is marked by massive recruitment campaigns aimed at women. Through war agencies such as Bureau of Campaigns, War Manpower Commission, Office of War Information, and its Magazine Bureau, and the War Advertising Council, the government required the close cooperation of media, particularly women's magazines, to attract women to defence industry jobs (Yesil, 2004). Cosmetics played an important role in attraction and integration between American women at war, the US Government and advertisers.

Avon launched a new advertising campaign in March 1943, at the same time as the European Axis powers invaded the Soviet Union, and Pearl Harbour was attacked by the Japanese (Outlook, 1943a). In support of the US Government, the new Avon advertising campaign focused on morale-building that encourage the participation of all Americans, particularly women. In addition, J.A. Ewald, the Vice

President and General Manager said, ‘*Our advertising programme is definitely in line with national morale-building*’ (Outlook, 1943a). In relation to the product strategy discussed earlier, Avon focused on the development of red lipstick that the US Government declared a tool to boost morale for American women during wartime, selling it at affordable prices with a series of sales campaign as part of its price strategy. Avon investment in advertising doubled in 1943 to \$111,803 from \$45,502 in 1942, illustrating that advertising became important at the height of the war (Avon Allied Products, 1942). The increase in sales reflects the success of this strategy, which increased purchasing power throughout the country among American women (Avon Allied Products, 1943).

Chapter 5 illustrates that Avon advertised in *Good Housekeeping* for only two years in 1936 and 1937. *Cosmopolitan* was added in 1941, and here Avon made its bid for the interest of more than 2,000,000 younger women, followed by advertising in *Vogue* in 1942, and *Better Homes and Gardens* in 1943 (Outlook, 1944b). The emergence of Avon positioning its market was positive in this period because the total circulation of these magazines carrying Avon advertisements was more than six times as great as the circulation of *Good Housekeeping* in 1937 (Outlook, 1944b).

Additionally, Avon continued to strengthen its Avon representatives’ roles and the use of catalogues to meet the customers directly in making sales (Avon Allied Products, 1944). This was the original promotion strategy used at brand creation (Chapter 4) and in the Great Depression (Chapter 5). Avon recruited representatives in this period to give job opportunities to women for their financial aid during wartime (Outlook, 1943b). Avon representatives sold Avon’s products, and at the same time convinced their customers to support the US Government in war, for example through selling war stamps for the purchase of US war saving bonds (Outlook, 1944d). Advertising and Avon representatives integrated well in this period, where the Avon representatives made the greatest possible use of advertising in talking with regular customers, and in giving themselves and Avon products greater prestige when making new customers calls; for example, telling the new customers that Avon advertising appears in women’s home magazines such as *Good Housekeeping*, *McCall’s*, *Ladies’ Home Journal*, *Woman’s Home Companion*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Vogue*, *Parents*, *Holland’s Better Homes and Gardens*

and *Cosmopolitan* (Outlook, 1944c). To a certain extent, this convinced both new and regular customers that Avon's products were trusted, in demand and endorsed by these prestige magazines. This evidence is consistent with research that emphasises trust as confidence in the honesty and integrity of the other party, such as a salesperson (Crosby, Evans and Cowles, 1990). The Avon representatives carried the Avon brands as their product to sell, therefore trust in an organisation was also captured as part of customer confidence in the quality and reliability of the product offered (Garbarino and Johnson, 1999). Therefore, this thesis argues that the creativity of diaspora entrepreneurs', like Avon sales representatives, led to marketing innovation in promoting products during the crisis period. This could, perhaps answer the question raised in Chapter 2 on the push and pull factor of diaspora entrepreneurs entering entrepreneurship. The push factor for Avon during wartime is hoping that the business will survive, and so it exploited the resources available, such as human capital (Avon representatives).

Estée Lauder did not use commercial advertising during or just after the war, as it was too expensive; only very low-cost advertisements (direct mail and print) were used (Koehn, 2001b; Lauder, 1985). There was a problem with their advertising budget; a representative from BBD&O, which handled accounts for Revlon, Campbell's Soup, and Lucky Strike told Estée Lauder that their \$50,000 dollar budget was too little to finance an effective advertising campaign (Lauder, 1985). Consequently, Estée Lauder invested this budget into free samples in developing the brand. A huge quantities of cosmetics packaged in small sizes (lipstick, rouge, eye shadow, and creams), creating a more direct and personal connection with consumers (Israel, 1985; Lauder, 1985). This free sample strategy during wartime when there were financial restrictions, supported both Estée Lauder and customers, aligning with Roselius's (1971) suggestion that customers felt free samples were helpful in relieving threats of time and money loss. Apparently, this promotion strategy was developed at product creation and succeeded in the Great Depression, and continued in this period with a wide range of products, having proven its effectiveness as a success promotional tool, *copied by many cosmetics brands worldwide and currently a standard industry practice* (Estée Lauder Corporate Website, 2016a; Israel, 1985; Koehn, 2001b; Lauder, 1985). This to some extent explains the role of diaspora entrepreneurs discussed by Expert G (2016): *diaspora entrepreneurs may face steep*

learning curves in term of understanding how to successfully do business there. Indeed, by exploring the marketing innovation using available resources in the firm, it became apparent that there was a demand for Estée Lauder products, evident from a line of people across Park Avenue and Fiftieth Street into Saks asking about the red lipstick given out during a charity lunch (Lauder, 1985).

In addition, the power of word-of-mouth among American women of the free sample strategy encouraged many new customers to ask for the free sample (Lauder, 1985). This basic relationship between word-of-mouth and acceptance were related to probability of purchase, such as deal-proneness, general innovations of the products, brand loyalty and light versus heavy usage of the product category (Arndt, 1967). Since cosmetics became a necessity during wartime, Estée Lauder needed to distinguish itself from other cosmetic brands illustrate by product improvement, for example through its popular creams that were refined in this period (Lauder, 1985). Consequently, due to the power of word-of-mouth among the customers and the ‘*Tell-a-Woman*’ campaign with free samples, Estée Lauder made its first appearance in a premium department store at Bonwit Teller on Fifth Avenue, followed by Saks through a small order of approximately USD800 made by Robert Fisk, the cosmetic buyer, in 1946 (Israel, 1985, p.30; Lauder, 1985, p.44). Additionally, Estée Lauder spent less on promotion, using direct mail and print, encouraging women to visit the small Estée Lauder counters at the premium department stores (Koehn, 2001a). Also in this period female editors of ‘*service departments*’ of women’s magazines and home journals played an active role in forging a consumer-goods market (Koehn, 2001a, p.227). Estée Lauder invited female editors of well-known magazines for product launches and gave out free samples, so that they could write good reviews of the products and promote the brand (Lauder, 1985). Thus, this thesis argues that diaspora entrepreneurs like Estée Lauder identify entrepreneurial opportunities through local community networks, which could be the cheapest promotional strategy alongside the power of word-of-mouth. Having an advantage of European diaspora background commonly associated with the myth of beauty magic discussed earlier is indeed beneficial for Estée Lauder to establish its brands. According to Expert B (2016), *consumers aspire for better quality of life, which is also associated with using foreign brands*; indeed, the foreign background of the company founders could establish trust in cosmetic brands created by diaspora entrepreneurs. This connects to

the literature review in Chapter 2, demonstrating that diaspora entrepreneurs tend to be associated with myth and quality.

Likewise, the premium department store became a new target for Estée Lauder in the 1940s. The *Tell-a-Woman* campaign had already resulted in hundreds of telephone calls from women asking for products, which made the targeted premium department stores begin to wonder about Estée Lauder (Dallas Times Herald, 1950, p.5). To maintain a close connection with customers, Estée Lauder continued to display saleswomen at counters in beauty salons selling the products, and this also caused the customers to call department stores asking for products (Lauder, 1985). In this period, salespersons also played an important role in promoting the products. For example, in men's toiletries, salespersons promoted the products sold in mass drug and syndicate stores to both men and women, persuading the women to persuade the men to use a particular product (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1941b). Estée Lauder hired saleswomen who informed customers demonstrated products with touch-the-customer techniques, and providing guidelines about what should be expected during the acquisition process and use of a product (Lauder, 1985), which according to Grewal and Sharma (1991) influences customer expectations concerning the product and thereby reduces the likelihood of dissatisfaction.

This thesis argues that local women had the mythmaking of European beauty in mind when considering beauty products created by diaspora entrepreneurs, and saleswomen and product demonstration helped these customers believe that Estée Lauder is effective. Expert B (2016) to some extent supports this argument, saying *greater connectivity with consumers create[s] familiarity with the brands especially by demonstrating beauty practices*. This is indeed different from cosmetic brands created by non-diaspora entrepreneurs like Maybelline, Johnson & Johnson, Cutex, Pond's, Hazel Bishop, and Hot Lips Lipstick by Mar-O-Mist Inc. Chicago, which sold their brands at drugstores, discount houses, dime shops, and supermarkets where customers have no further exposure to the product unless they read the label. This illustrates the missing piece in the role of diaspora entrepreneur literature (see Chapter 2), particularly their roles in a host country or country of residence. In short, diaspora entrepreneurs' role in a host country is as a change agent in the industry, which is demonstrated by their ventures into new marketing innovations.

In contrast, Johnson & Johnson was far more advanced in promotional strategy than Avon and Estée Lauder: advertising campaigns in magazines continued in this period, followed by the emergence of TV advertising (Gurowitz, 2013b, 2011a). The slogan *'Your Druggist is More than a Merchant'* skyrocketed sales success but became controversial because too many people were completing it by adding their own ending (for example, *'he is a bootlegger'*, which was prohibited and illegal). Later Johnson & Johnson added an ending (*'Your Druggist is More Than a Merchant. Try the Drug Store First'*) (Gurowitz, 2008c). This acted as shorthand identification for the brand and provided information on important brand benefits; for example the association between Johnson & Johnson and first-aid kits (O'Guinn, Allen and Semenik, 1998). The Johnson & Johnson Advertising Department achieved even greater success with *'an easily remembered sentence that tells a big story'*. Pharmacy associations across the US adopted it as their official slogan, and Johnson & Johnson businesses abroad in England adapted it (*'Your Chemist is More than a Merchant'*) and in Canada translated it into French (Gurowitz, 2008c).

Persuasive advertising slogans boosted sales of Johnson & Johnson products, not only in the US but in its foreign countries operations (Foster, 1999). Johnson & Johnson also used paintings by Gladys Rockmore Davis, which appeared in their classic advertisements in the 1940s and 1950s (Gurowitz, 2015d)¹⁵. This helped Johnson & Johnson products to be recognised not only by adults but also young children were able to correctly identify products associated typically with health, such as bandages, first-aid kits, and sterile dressings (Gurowitz, 2015d). The example in Appendix 24 shows two young children communicating each other while one demonstrates the use of Johnson & Johnson product, with a tagline, *'Mommy always says you're safe when you use Johnson & Johnson'*, thus introducing the Johnson & Johnson brand to the community at an early age. This product introduction instilled trust in consumers, through brand equity and product association, which later benefited any new product categories introduction by Johnson & Johnson, such as skincare and cosmetics in later periods. This is consistent with Lassar, Mittal, and Sharma's (1995) findings that the measurement of brand equity may aid in the

¹⁵ See in Appendix 24, p.317.

evaluation of the marketing mix elements of a brand; such promotion is critical in developing brand equity. For example promotion can be used to develop performance expectations, increase trustworthiness, social image, commitment, and value, as Johnson & Johnson demonstrated.

Johnson & Johnson made its commercial television debut in 1939, but this promotional method was less used than printed ads because television really did not take off until the early 1950s (Gurowitz, 2013d). Interestingly, many cosmetic firms initially were cautious about taking advantage of this new medium, but Johnson & Johnson made an early decision to become one of television's first major sponsors where it sponsored a British-American television show, *The Adventures of Robin Hood*, designed to appeal to every generation of the family (Gurowitz, 2013d). Between 1939 and 1950s, Johnson & Johnson introduced its products through television. The sponsorship of an early television show proved to be an excellent decision for Johnson & Johnson to strengthen its leadership position in its heritage consumer products, such as bandages. Apart from printed and radio advertisements to reach potential consumers, television was a powerful medium to deliver the message and benefit of the products. The attractiveness of moving images in television advertisements appeals to emotional, psychological, and behavioural aspects, which play a crucial role during buying decision-making and there is significant positive relationship between television ads and consumer buying behaviour (Malik et al., 2013). For example, as the sponsor of *The Adventures of Robin Hood*, Johnson & Johnson was introduced in the title sequence and acknowledged at the end of each episode. In its TV ads for band aids and plastic bandages for kids, they used kids in their ads, explaining injuries and then introducing the right products for those injuries (Gurowitz, 2013d). This shows that television improves the product introduction in terms of usage and effectiveness of the product to consumers (Wasson, 1960).

Maybelline also continued strengthening its brand using advertising during the wartime (Williams, 2011a). As a stated in Chapter 5, during the Great Depression, Maybelline splashed magazines with glamour celebrities as it was the '*Golden Age of Hollywood*', in which Jean Harlow, Joan Crawford and Merle Oberon appeared (Williams, 2016). In this period, women everywhere were earning as they filled in for men serving overseas, opening up prospects for cosmetics businesses (Peiss, 2011).

Further analysis suggests that Maybelline aggressively promoted its product through advertising using celebrities in the period such as Bettie Grable, Elyse Knox, Hedy Lamaar, Rita Hayworth, Jane Russell, Linda Darnell, Maria Montez, Susan Hayward, Virginia Mayo, Barbara Stanwyck, and Lana Turner, contracting all of them to appear in full colour Maybelline magazine advertisements (Williams, 2010, p.232). This evidence, however, contradicts the views of Costanzo and Goodnight (2006), Martín-Santana and Beerli-Palacio (2013), who argue that celebrities in magazine advertisements did not increase consumer recall of the brand endorsed by the celebrity. To explain this contradiction, Maybelline did not choose celebrities randomly, but carefully selected the most outstanding celebrities in Hollywood that match the brand. Fleck, Korchia, and Le Roy (2012) illustrate a correlation between when celebrity appearance is congruent with the brand and when the celebrity is appreciated or popular. Also, this study could perhaps suggest that this contradiction occurred due to the period of study. Both studies used quantitative methods in the present period, whilst this study obviously examined the historical context using qualitative methods. The key difference between this study and the other two is globalisation. At present we are used to celebrity endorsement, but in the past they were strongly influential figures. The selection of glamorous celebrities for Maybelline's ads in this period was significant in terms of increased sales because, these celebrities were an important credibility factor, which correlated highly with the attractiveness for Maybelline brand, the largest eye-product manufacturer worldwide (Friedman and Friedman, 1979).

The other compelling pieces of evidence support this. Firstly, during the war women in the US and armies overseas pinned up these advertisements. This huge advertising campaign helped to sell both Maybelline products and war bonds (Expert A, 2016). As a result of this advertising campaign, Maybelline was also shipped to all the Army and Navy Barracks stores, which carried cigarettes, beer, candy, and chewing gum. Secondly, when the war ended, these stores closed, and women all over Europe who had been able to shop at the stores demanded access to Maybelline (Expert A, 2016). This demonstrates clearly that celebrities require consideration (Kamins, 1990). Following Avon and trends in advertising in this period, Maybelline too came out with a series of advertisements featuring officers from all branches of

the services, wearing their dress uniforms, smiling at beautiful, elegant women in formal attire with faces made-up to look like movie stars (Williams, 2010, p.233).

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter has continued to scrutinise the case studies from Chapters 4 and 5 during World War II. Data for each case in this chapter was collected through the similar sources and methodology used in Chapters 4 and 5. This chapter has compared the marketing strategies for each case between the World War II, the Great Depression, and at date of brand creation; and also between diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs. The resource-based view for this chapter confirmed that the two interrelated capabilities were important during the World War II, which led to superior firm performance and competitiveness in a high-competition market.

The aim of this chapter is to present the research findings from evidence collected on each cosmetic brands history during World War II. The aim of this thesis is to answer the two research questions posed in Chapter 1. The chapter has critically discussed and analysed the differences in marketing strategies between diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs in developing their brands during wartime. The findings from this chapter indicate that the nature of marketing strategies during World War II for diaspora entrepreneurship is again based upon ontological assumptions made in Chapter 3. As Chapter 2 identified, there are differences in marketing strategies between these two groups of entrepreneurs: diaspora entrepreneurs started to implement market segmentation, evident from their clear focus on lipstick during wartime, while non-diaspora entrepreneurs ventured into vertical product differentiation, strengthened their quality with product improvement through the Great Depression to this period, which increased consumer trust by associating their brands with particular products.

These three analysis and discussion chapters have argued that indeed there are differences in marketing strategies between diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs over the three periods of study in the development of their brands. These findings strengthen the pattern drawn; which there is a consistency in brand proposition and marketing strategies as well as the founder's vision among the US cosmetics brands created by diaspora entrepreneurs.

This contribution to knowledge is explored further in the last chapter of this thesis, which will summarise the key findings of this research before identifying the empirical, theoretical, and practical contribution to knowledge this thesis has made. It will discuss the limitations of the research before recommending future research areas. Finally, it will discuss my journey across the PhD process and outline the values I had during the research process.

Chapter 7:

Conclusion

7.0 Introduction

This thesis aimed to arrive at a better understanding of the significance of diaspora entrepreneurship studies on entrepreneurship and marketing, particularly in marketing strategies from a historical context. It examined the different marketing strategies of diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs in development of their cosmetic brands from date of brand creation, during the Great Depression and during World War II. Using a holistic multiple case study approach, four US cosmetic brands (Avon, Estée Lauder, Maybelline, and Johnson & Johnson) were examined by researching their marketing strategies and the impact of these strategies in the development and sustained success of their brands. As discussed in Chapter 1, there were two main research questions this thesis aimed to answer:

- 1) Is there a consistency in the brand proposition and marketing strategies over time, including periods of crisis, between diaspora entrepreneurs and non-diaspora entrepreneurs in the development of their cosmetic brands?
- 2) How did the marketing strategies differ between diaspora entrepreneurs and non-diaspora entrepreneurs in the development of their cosmetic brands and to explain the longevity of the brands?

The two specific objectives laid out in Chapter 1 were:

- 1) To explore the US cosmetic industry from the business history and marketing perspective in the three periods of study.
- 2) To compare differences in marketing strategies between diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs in development of their cosmetic brands that explain the longevity of the US cosmetic brands created by diaspora entrepreneurs and those brands created by non-diaspora entrepreneurs in the three periods of study.

To address this research problem, a comprehensive literature review of diaspora and migration in the US between 1870 and 1920, conceptualising diaspora entrepreneurship and marketing strategies as unit of analysis, was performed in chapters 1 and 2.

There were three research gaps that this thesis aimed to fill. Firstly, the literature review in Chapter 2 conceptualised the concept of diaspora entrepreneurship, identifying from previous studies what and how each one constitutes a diaspora entrepreneurship; it considered push and pull factors in relation to diaspora entrepreneurship, the role of diaspora entrepreneurs in businesses, diaspora entrepreneurship and global brands, and diaspora entrepreneurs in the cosmetic industry. It then argued that there is no comparative study of this kind examining the marketing strategies of diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs in developing their cosmetic brands from brand creation to the end of World War II.

Secondly, the literature review in Chapter 2 presented a combination of existing research on marketing strategies used by the US cosmetic industry in the past that resulted the longevity of current US cosmetic brands. It then argued that there is a link between those US global cosmetic brands that persist today, many of which were created by diaspora entrepreneurs, and ranked among the most valuable global brands. Therefore, it is crucial to conduct this research, as it linked current global cosmetic brands created by diaspora entrepreneurs with a suggestion as to how their success may be associated with consistency are timing, extent, and social changes over time as highlighted by business historians. This has closed the gap on how these global cosmetic brands differ in their marketing strategy from brands created by non-diaspora entrepreneurs.

Thirdly, within diaspora entrepreneurship research, there has been very little qualitative research, and very little from non-sociological perspectives. It is argued that, as evident from the literature review, empirical studies are dominant, and quantitative approaches are the trend. This creates imbalance and bias in diaspora entrepreneurship research. Instead, this thesis offers a study that examines phenomena from a business history perspective, taking marketing strategies as the unit of analysis,

and used a combination of theories from business management to shed light on the processes, and identify marketing strategies from historical perspectives in the periods of study.

As this research aimed to be comparative nature, a qualitative multiple case study approach was deemed most appropriate. Chapter 3 discusses the ontological, epistemological and theoretical perspectives, and methodological decisions made during the research. The data was collected primarily from archival documents of the cosmetics firms, library collections, consultancy agencies, and government records, with additional supporting open-ended unstructured interviews and case studies coupling findings and discussion together in Chapter 4, 5 and 6. Using thematic analysis, the findings were analysed by manual coding through a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. The findings were discussed in relation to the literature in Chapter 2 and alongside the research questions identified in Chapter 1. The next section of this conclusion chapter will draw together a brief overview of the findings in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 into one coherent framework.

The remainder of this chapter is structured as follows. In the next Section 7.1, a summary of the three analysis chapters and pattern matching is presented, illustrating how the key findings of these chapters complement each other in explaining the differences between diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs in their brand development. Section 7.2 emphasises the contributions to knowledge, followed by Section 7.3, which discusses the limitations of this thesis. Section 7.4 recommends future research, and finally, Section 7.5 concludes with a reflection on my research development through the PhD process to meet the subjective nature of qualitative research.

7.1 Summary of the Key Research Findings

From the outset, this thesis argued that there are differences in marketing strategies between diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs in developing cosmetic brands. The findings from four case studies indicated that marketing strategies were being utilised in different ways by cases from the two groups of entrepreneurs at brand creation, during the Great Depression, and during World War II. The analysis chapters illustrated how the marketing strategies were implemented by the two groups of entrepreneurs were different in product, price, distribution, and promotion.

This thesis does not take an assertive view of each theory of entrepreneurial opportunity identification and development, marketing mix, or the resource-based view as a set of strict procedures to follow, but rather combines these theories to use them as a guide to investigate the differences in the marketing strategies of US cosmetic brands created by diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs. In each analysis chapter, first, the theory of entrepreneurial opportunity identification and development is used to analyse the two types of entrepreneurs' personality traits, social networks, and prior knowledge as antecedents of entrepreneurial alertness to business opportunities (Ardichvili, Cardozo and Ray, 2003). Then, the marketing mix is employed together with the resources-based view to analyse the marketing strategies implemented by both groups of entrepreneurs and their exploitation of available resources (McCarthy, 1964; Wernerfelt, 1984).

From the resource-based view, the findings indicate that marketing mix capabilities offer economies of scope benefits for firms' investments in their marketing knowledge resources for their marketing strategies. It summarizes that the application of resource-based view with marketing mix in each period of study was aided considerably, when the cosmetic firms identified resources in the firm with marketing specifically related to product, price, distribution, and promotion, for their marketing strategies (Srivastava, Fahey and Christensen, 2001). This study is supported by Chandler's viewpoint cited in Teece (2007), that the marketing capabilities of product, price, distribution, and promotion seem to be fundamental elements in enabling firms to acquire and deploy resources in ways that reflect market environment, argued it pronged strategy of success in the late nineteenth century, and

much of the twentieth century. In addition, this explains what Lopes (2007) means by innovation relying on marketing knowledge and branding rather than technology in marketing-based industries.

In sum, two cases from diaspora entrepreneurs and two cases from non-diaspora entrepreneurs provided more predictive power in the three periods of study to raise the level of confidence in the robustness of the method, and supported the existing literature on diaspora entrepreneurship, which has highlighted that diaspora entrepreneurs are different in venturing into international business, as institutional change agents, and in how they identify opportunities (Lin, 2010; Riddle and Brinkerhoff, 2011; Riddle, Brinkerhoff and Nielsen, 2008; Riddle, Hrivnak and Nielsen, 2010)¹⁶. The key research findings are divided into two, as follows.

Findings in a General Context

First, the **empirical evidence** from the US cosmetic industry found that it is the third-highest industry in terms of domination by diaspora/immigrant entrepreneurs in the United States. The significance of this empirical evidence is supported by literatures from different industries. Saxenian (1999) argued that immigrants contributed to the development of the computing, technology, and engineering industry at the national level, generating new jobs and wealth for the state economy. This includes the top global brands in industry such as Apple, Google, Amazon, Dell, eBay, Yahoo!, Blackberry, YouTube, Sandisk and others (Brand Finance, 2012a, 2014a)¹⁷. Koehn studied Heinz, a German immigrant-founded brand, and its creation in the late nineteenth century. The firm's ability to make use of supply-side innovations, such as improved transportation and continuous canning technology, is argued to have led to the brand's longevity (Koehn, 1999). Other valuable global brands founded by diaspora/immigrants in the food industry are Heinz, Kraft, and Hersheys (Brand

16 The Author had a follow-up Skype meeting with Expert G upon the email interview on for data collection. The follow up Skype interview discussed issues of diaspora entrepreneurship in the international business area. Expert G is a specialist in diaspora entrepreneurship and international business at The George Washington University School of Business, Washington D.C, USA.

17 From the Author's database. See empirical evidence sample in Appendix 31 (computer industry), p.336.

Finance, 2012a, 2014a)¹⁸. Based on the collected empirical evidence, diaspora entrepreneurs have made a significant contribution to the US cosmetics industry. This thesis shows that diaspora entrepreneurs were a significant driving force in the creation of new markets, and their contributions to the country and US Government have increased over more than half a century in this industry, particularly in the crisis periods of the Great Depression and World War II.

Second, the US cosmetic brands created between 1886 and 1925 by diaspora entrepreneurs were unevenly located in the Northeast, especially the New York area, a city *highly populated by immigrants and their children* (Carpenter, 1927, p.13). This is to some extent intersecting with the work of Hirschman and Mogford (2009), who argue that mass migration occurred between 1880 and 1920 in the US, particularly in cities located in the Northeast and Midwest, which now have high immigrant populations that led the US Government to draft new laws of health and sanitation for these immigrants¹⁹. Historical qualitative data suggests that Avon prepared its products to be reasonable in prices in order to target consumers, whereas American women in New York City associate Estée Lauder products with aristocratic society and the myth of beauty and ‘magical’ routines or ingredients originating in Europe. This thesis argued that diaspora entrepreneurs were creative in identifying entrepreneurial opportunities by utilising their diaspora background and the psychological links of their first generation’s culture and characteristics with their homeland and country of residence. Therefore, this thesis suggests that diaspora, immigrant and ethnic entrepreneurs play an important role in the US economy, and in this research context they are important in the US cosmetic industry, as customers who can change cosmetic trends, and as entrepreneurs pioneering marketing strategies, particularly in promotion and distribution. Some of these were copied by other cosmetic firms such as direct selling, and Gift-With Purchase or free samples (Estée Lauder Corporate Website, 2016a; Lauder, 1985; Koehn, 2001b).

18 From the Author’s database. See empirical evidence sample in Appendix 31 (food industry), p.337.

19 See Chapter 4, Section 2.2 Diaspora and Migration in the United States between 1870 and 1920, p.51.

Findings in a More Specific Context

First, the findings in Chapter 4 at date of brand creation indicated that the marketing strategies of diaspora entrepreneurs tend to focus on market-oriented businesses through niches, and marketing strategies by non-diaspora entrepreneurs have a tendency to create brand-oriented businesses tied to certain products in developing their cosmetic brands. This is related to the mass migration to the US, creating demand for cosmetics, and influencing local society with beauty trends from their homelands, particularly Europe. Chapter 4 presented the emergence of demand for products such as creams, lotions and tonics in the nineteenth century; and products that soften the skin, protect against sunburn and remove freckles in the later period, which attracted many diaspora entrepreneurs. These findings support Ardichvili, Cardozo and Ray (2003), who argue that entrepreneurs identified business opportunities through recognition, and opportunities are made not found, within the demographic of their entrepreneurial activities. This contrasted with Krueger, Reilly and Carsrud (2000), who suggest that entrepreneurship relies on behaviours, and illustrates that diaspora entrepreneurs had unique marketing strategies, different from those of non-diaspora entrepreneurs (Alpert, Wilson and Elliott, 1993; Chelekis and Mudambi, 2010; Kumar, Massie and Dumonceaux, 2006; Willett, 2010). There were also differences in their product, price, distribution, and promotion strategies, as summarised in Table 21 below.

Second, the findings in Chapter 5 during the Great Depression indicated that diaspora entrepreneurs ventured more into marketing innovation, particularly in promotion and distribution, and non-diaspora entrepreneurs continued to improve their products through product innovation as they retained the same product line and target market. Historical evidence in Chapter 5 illustrates that diaspora entrepreneurs created new products and new promotional strategies to target niches, whereas non-diaspora entrepreneurs continued to improve their existing product line and heavily invested in R&D and advertising through celebrities and target large markets. These findings correlate with Pearce and Michael (2006) discussed in Chapter 2, that strategies during crisis periods include promoting the firm's products, maintaining advertising, introduce new products, attracting new customers, and that price cuts may not be the best strategy.

Third, the findings in Chapter 6 during World War II indicate that diaspora entrepreneurs started to implement market segmentation, evident from their clear focus on lipstick during wartime. Non-diaspora entrepreneurs ventured into vertical product differentiation, strengthening their quality from product improvement done during the two earlier periods, which increased consumer trust by associating their brands with particular products.

In summary, these findings had closed gaps addressed in Chapter 1:

- 1) There has previously been no comparative study of this kind, examining the marketing strategies of diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs in developing cosmetic brands.
- 2) Brands created by diaspora entrepreneurs emphasise the uniqueness of their marketing strategies, with a suggestion to look at timing, extent and social changes over time.
- 3) There is a very little qualitative work conducted from a non-sociology perspective, as evident in the literature review. Therefore, the relevance of this thesis perspective is its focus on the US cosmetic companies' marketing strategies rather than on the consumer.

Pattern-Matching

The pattern-matching is drawn from the summary of the key research findings identified. Table 21 illustrates the pattern-examination of case studies.

Table 21: Summary of key research findings

Marketing Strategy (McCarthy, 1964)	Period	Diaspora Entrepreneurs		Non-Diaspora Entrepreneurs	
		Avon	Estée Lauder	Maybelline	Johnson & Johnson
Product Strategy	Date of Brand Creation	multiproduct	multiproduct	eye product lines	medicated based products
	Great Depression	multiproduct	multiproduct	eye product lines (improved/new size/packaging)	medicated based products (improved/new size/packaging)
	World War II	multiproduct (lipstick segment)	multiproduct (lipstick segment)	eye product lines (improved/new size/packaging)	medicated based products (improved/new size/packaging)
Price Strategy	Date of Brand Creation	affordable prices	reasonable prices to target customer, expensive prices to others	affordable and modest prices	reasonable prices
	Great Depression	affordable prices for low- to middle-end consumers	Above-average prices	price-cheapening	price-cheapening
	World War II	price unchanged	price unchanged	price dropped	price reduced
Distribution Strategy	Date of Brand Creation	direct from factory to sales reps, and then on to customers (direct to customers)	from factory to face-to-face customers (direct to customers)	mail-order then changed to dime stores and drug stores	from factory to depot to hospitals, drugstores
	Great Depression	direct from factory to city and district managers, and then on to sales reps to customers (direct to customers)	from factory to face-to-face and at a counter in beauty salons (direct to customers)	from factory to depot to drugstores, department stores	from factory to depot to hospitals, drugstores
	World War II	direct from factory to city and district managers to Avon reps to customers (direct to customers)	face-to-face at a counter in beauty salons and premium department (direct to customers)	from factory to depot to drugstores, dime stores and supermarket	from factory to depot to hospitals, drugstores, retail outlets, supermarkets, and discount outlets
Promotion Strategy	Date of Brand Creation	product demonstration by sales reps, word-of-mouth, limited advertising	word-of-mouth, face-to-face <i>touch-the-customer</i> product demonstration, free sample	reliant on ads in popular magazines, featuring celebrities, persuasive slogans, <i>before and after</i> images	reliant on ads in popular magazines, multiple languages, celebrity endorsement

	Great Depression	word-of-mouth, limited advertising, sales reps with selling tools (catalogue, sales portfolio, demonstration packages, order book, rubber stamp and pad)	word-of-mouth, face-to-face <i>touch-the-customer</i> product demonstration, free sample, saleswomen	advertising, celebrity endorsement	advertising, expert and public figure endorsement
	World War II	word-of-mouth, more use of ads in popular magazines, Avon reps with selling tools (catalogue, sales portfolio, demonstration packages, order book, rubber stamp and pad)	face-to-face demonstration, word-of-mouth <i>Tell-a-woman campaign</i> , invite female editor of women magazine (networking), saleswomen, free samples	reliant on advertising, most outstanding celebrities endorsement	relied on advertising (new method and technology), catchy slogans, sponsor TV shows, celebrity endorsement

Source: Developed by the Author and extracted from Chapters 4, 5 and 6 of Analysis and Discussion.

In summary, this thesis draws the above patterns to distinguish between diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs in terms of marketing strategies in developing their cosmetic brands, derived from twelve individual cases rooted in four cosmetic brands across three periods. First, Table 21 clearly illustrates that the cosmetic brands created by diaspora entrepreneurs like Avon and Estée Lauder were market-oriented businesses, through niches such as Avon for low-to-middle-end customers living across the US, including immigrants and rural areas, whereas Estée Lauder products were for customers at beauty salons and those that believed the myth-making of European magical beauty. We can compare this to cosmetic brands created by non-diaspora entrepreneurs like Maybelline and Johnson & Johnson, which are brand-oriented businesses tied to certain products, such as Maybelline for eye-product lines and Johnson & Johnson for medicated-based products (see Chapter 4).

Second, diaspora entrepreneurs ventured more into marketing innovation, particularly in promotion and distribution as the strategies evolved, compared to the non-diaspora entrepreneurs, which consistently used the same or similar strategies in their promotion and distribution. In addition, non-diaspora entrepreneurs continued to improve their products through product innovation, as they retained the same product line and target market (see Table 21 and Chapter 5).

Third, diaspora entrepreneurs endeavoured to exploit market segmentation, particularly in lipstick during wartime as part of the war effort to boost morale. In contrast, non-diaspora entrepreneurs continuously improved their products through investment in the R&D and implemented vertical product differentiation. This vertical product differentiation obtained when one decisive feature appeared, such as in this thesis, Johnson & Johnson was strongly associated with medicated products whilst Maybelline was associated with eye-product lines by the consumers and society. In addition, it is the way through which the quality of goods is improved over time resulted from R&D and innovation. Also, non-diaspora entrepreneurs produced their product in volume, as opposed to in response to pre-orders that applied by the diaspora entrepreneurs.

Finally, diaspora entrepreneurs did not compete on price or reduce their prices in either the Great Depression or World War II. Non-diaspora entrepreneurs competed on price and relied on economies of scale by cheapening the original price at their product introduction. Table 21 clearly illustrates the differences between these groups of entrepreneurs in developing of their brands. To conclude, indeed diaspora entrepreneurs differ from non-diaspora entrepreneurs in development of their brands at date of brand creation, during the Great Depression and during World War II through their marketing strategies (see Chapters 4, 5 and 6).

Addressing the Research Questions

In Chapter 1, the following research questions were asked;

- 1) Is there a consistency in the brand proposition and marketing strategies over time, including periods of crisis, between diaspora entrepreneurs and non-diaspora entrepreneurs in the development of their cosmetic brands?

There are three identified reasons for the diversity in the US cosmetic industry during the periods of study. First, at brand creation between 1886 and 1925, the US cosmetic industry changed from small but evolving at the end of the nineteenth to a national growth market in the early twentieth century (see Chapter 4). This is due to mass migration between 1880 and 1920 influencing market demand and change in the

industry, particularly in the Northeast and Midwest, which created new markets in remote regions (Hirschman and Mogford, 2009). This also explains why women in the Northeast and Midwest were advanced in terms of trend when compared to those in the South (see Chapter 4). Historical data presented in Chapter 4 illustrate that the American women tend to associate brands created by diaspora entrepreneurs like Avon and Estée Lauder, alongside Helena Rubinstein, Max Factor, and Elizabeth Arden, with their origins, especially those from Europe, which is synonymous with beauty myths associated with aristocracy and tradition in high European art (Mazur, 1986; Willett, 2010).

Second, during the Great Depression, the US cosmetic industry became stronger than before and the growing US cosmetic industry started to attract the US authorities' intervention. Demand for specific products such as skincare, face powder, lipstick and perfumes were created (see Chapter 5). In this period, many cosmetic brands offered products to various markets, promoted their businesses and brands, distinguishing their brands through marketing strategies particularly in promotion, pricing wars, and in some cases focusing on a particular product category to associate it with their brands as a development strategy. The findings from this chapter correlate with Pearce and Michael (2006), who suggest that entrepreneurs should position their firm in multiple markets and geographies, and plan for the contingency of sharply declining sales.

Third, during World War II, the US cosmetic industry had much greater growth and competitive advantage than previously during the Great Depression. This can be seen from a combination of US Government intervention in the war effort campaign, other US authorities' involvement in product safety and controls, demand from customers to boost morale during war, and demand from new market segments such as men, teenagers and ethnic groups (see Chapter 6). In this period, the case study brands were established, with loyal customers demanding improved products, products with new features, and even new products. To some extent, this relates to Pearce and Michael's suggestion that during crisis periods the behaviour of consumers changes, and declines in resources available to firms encourage them to focus on particular high demand markets such as lipstick (Pearce and Michael, 2006).

In sum, this thesis argued that there is a consistency and differences in marketing strategies between diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs in development of their marketing strategies within these three periods was due to mass migration, and changes in market structure, trends and demand were due to changes in the environment and government interference. The findings from this thesis also suggest that diaspora entrepreneurs had limited access to capital when they made smaller investments in their marketing strategies as evidenced by their target niches and related marketing activities. In contrast, the non-diaspora entrepreneurs could possibly have had wider access to capital as evidenced by the large amounts they invested into advertising, celebrity endorsement, and the production of their products in volumes. Another compelling piece of evidence that supports this suggestion is that diaspora entrepreneurs relied on the existing network they built: for example, Avon, through Avon representatives and Estee Lauder through the spread word-of-mouth of beauty mythmaking among the target niche. To some extent, this had brought marketing innovation to the industry for the first time, introducing smaller investment into marketing activities rather than launching new products requiring significant R&D and advertising as marketing tools.

- 2) How did the marketing strategies differ between diaspora entrepreneurs and non-diaspora entrepreneurs in the development of their cosmetic brands and to explain the longevity of the brands?

The marketing strategies of diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs in the three periods of study explain the consistency, success and longevity of their brands mainly in terms of brand proposition, product, price, distribution, and promotion strategies.

At Date of Brand Creation

First, in development of a brand, diaspora entrepreneurs start their businesses by offering many products, whereas non-diaspora entrepreneurs start by focusing on particular products, such as Maybelline with the eye-product lines and Johnson & Johnson with medicated products. Second, in pricing strategy, there was no difference between diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs. Third, diaspora entrepreneurs distributed their products directly to customers, whilst the non-diaspora entrepreneurs did not. Avon distributed from factory to sales representatives and handed the product

face-to-face to customers, and Estée Lauder delivered products ordered from home direct to the customers. In contrast, Maybelline used mail-order then changed to dime stores and drug stores when sales increased and product produced in volumes. Johnson & Johnson delivered its products in volume from factory to depot and later distributed to hospitals and drugstores. Fourth, in promotion, Avon used demonstration by sales representatives, word-of-mouth, and limited advertising, while Estée Lauder used word-of-mouth, face-to-face *touch-the-customer* demonstrations, and free samples. In contrast, Johnson & Johnson relied on advertising in popular magazines and multiple languages and celebrity endorsement; likewise, Maybelline relied on advertising in popular magazines, celebrities, persuasive slogans, and *before and after* imagery.

During the Great Depression

First, both diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs do not deviate from their original product strategy, whereby Avon and Estée Lauder maintained their multiproduct offerings and Maybelline and Johnson & Johnson continued to focus on particular products. Second, in pricing strategy, Avon and Estée Lauder did not get involved in price wars: Avon retained affordable prices for low to middle-end consumers and Estée Lauder retained its above average prices, which target customers that considered these prices reasonable. However, both Maybelline and Johnson & Johnson got involved in price wars. Third, in distribution, Avon minimised distribution costs through going direct from factory to city and district managers, to sales reps and then to customers; and Estée Lauder from its home factory to face-to-face at counters in beauty salons. The distribution strategies of non-diaspora entrepreneurs were unchanged from brand creation because they produced their product in bulk and using large transportation was appropriate at the time. Fourth, Avon had evolved its promotional strategy through word-of-mouth, limited advertising, sales representatives with selling tools (catalogue, sales portfolios, demonstration packages, order books, rubber stamps and pads). Also, Estée Lauder expanded its strategy to word-of-mouth, face-to-face *touch-the-customer* product demonstrations, free samples, and saleswomen; while, Maybelline and Johnson & Johnson heavily relied on advertising and celebrities' endorsement.

In World War II

First, in product strategy, diaspora entrepreneurs continued their multiproduct offerings that were in high demand only. This is because some raw materials were rationed. To survive, most diaspora entrepreneurs focus on lipsticks, because it is the highest demand of all products. During this period, the US Government declared lipstick a product that would increase morale. Surprisingly, non-diaspora entrepreneurs did not venture into this segment, and remained focused on the same product lines. In addition, both diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs converted part of their production to produce war-related items for the US Army. This is a strategy that helped these cosmetic brands survive wartime. Second, in pricing strategy, diaspora entrepreneurs had a similar pattern in the Great Depression, which they tended to retain unchanged product prices. In contrast, non-diaspora entrepreneurs continued the price war in this period. Third, in distribution, diaspora entrepreneurs retained their original distribution strategy. Avon delivered direct from factory to city and district managers, and from then to Avon representatives and customers. Estée Lauder delivered face-to-face at counters in beauty salons and premium department stores. Meanwhile, non-diaspora entrepreneurs retained almost the same strategy as during the Great Depression, delivering from factory to drugstores, dime stores, and supermarkets. Fourth, in promotional strategy, Avon used word-of-mouth, advertising in popular magazines, Avon representatives with selling tools, and Estée Lauder used face-to-face demonstration, word-of-mouth *Tell-a-woman campaigns*, networking, saleswomen, and free samples. In contrast, Maybelline and Johnson & Johnson relied on advertising, and celebrities' endorsement, as in the Great Depression.

In sum, this thesis argued that there are differences between diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs in development of their brands through marketing strategies, particularly in product, price, distribution and promotion, due to changes in trends, increasing demands and resources available at their firms within the three periods of study.

Theory building from the case study findings that can be ‘generalised’

There is a critical issue for the generalisability of results in interpretive case studies (Yin, 2013)²⁰. Despite the fact that case studies cannot be representative, this thesis can provide more than simply idiosyncratic understanding. This thesis prefers not to call the claim built ‘*generalisable*’, because of the connotations of that term for statistically significant large-scale surveys. However, the case study findings in this thesis can be generalised in a number of ways, such as the scope of study and certain conditions, such as choosing particular periods. There are three points that explain the ‘*generalisations*’ generated by this thesis, as follows.

1) Theory can be transposed beyond the original sites of study

This thesis generates new thinking, which has a validity that does not entirely depend upon the cases from which it is drawn, as it could possibly be applied to other marketing-based industries. Therefore, the claim that diaspora entrepreneurs have different approaches in marketing strategies during crises can be judged in other contexts and research settings, which is highlighted in the recommendations section. However, similar groundwork on this claim has already been used in other research fields, such as diaspora entrepreneurs, widely used in sociology, and also in other industries such as IT and food industry with statistical and empirical findings (Constant and Zimmermann, 2006; Lonier, 2010; Riddle and Brinkerhoff, 2011; Saxenian, 2002). On the other hand, it can also be compared with and judged against other rival theories, such as middle-man theory (Bonacich, 1973), and entrepreneurial behaviour theory elsewhere in the literature (Kautonen, Van Gelderen and Tornikoski, 2013; Krueger, Reilly and Carsrud, 2000).

2) Case studies can provide provisional truth

This thesis argued that diaspora entrepreneurs have different approaches in marketing strategies during crises, and establishes a provisional truth. It is

²⁰ See Chapter 3 on Criticisms of the Case Study Approach, where scholars note that this issue is often raised, p.100.

arguably the best account of such marketing strategy differences by diaspora entrepreneurs in the current literature, and should stand, until contradictory findings or better theorising has been developed from business and management perspectives (Hodkinson and Hodkinson, 2001). The empirical evidence from other industries in the global ranking (see Chapter 3) illustrates that the similar research settings on global brands and diaspora entrepreneurs such as in Europe have a potentially similar pattern as outlined in this thesis (see the recommendation section).

3) Case studies provide robust and reliable insight

The multiple case studies in this thesis show numerous sources of evidence through replication logic techniques. This means that the same methods are applied in each case so that findings can be compared. According to Yin (2013), this is an important step because it is useful in the development of a rich theoretical framework to provide robust and reliable insight of the study. In doing so, this thesis enables us to explore differences and similarities within and between the cases selected, and replicate findings across cases that can provide robust and reliable insight. The case studies were chosen carefully from a particular research setting (see Chapter 3), which can predict similar results across cases, or predict contrasting results based on a theory (Yin, 2013). The findings in this thesis are robust with a combination of both suggestive and compelling evidence from case studies and pattern-matching by comparing three periods of study. Therefore, when a pattern from one data source is corroborated by evidence from another, the finding is stronger and provides a stronger base for theory-building (Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 2013).

7.2 Contributions to Knowledge

First, this thesis contributes to empirical knowledge by adding new data into extensive original data gathered from Brand Finance (Brandirectory) on the 500 Most Valuable Global Brands 2012. There are five additional new columns and data added, such as founder, country of origin of founders' parents, founder's country of origin, date of brand creation, and diaspora/immigrant status. The additional data collected for these columns derived from multiple sources (primarily the Corporate Website of the brands/firms, and digital annual reports available online). It provides new evidence on global brands and the contribution of diaspora entrepreneurs in various industries, and detailed empirical data, particularly for the cosmetic industry. This updated database is useful to examine firms created by diaspora or immigrants that initiate internationalisation earlier and/or, perform better over a longer period of time as recommended by Qui and Gupta (2015). This sample of database can be found in Appendix 31.

Second, this thesis contributes to theoretical knowledge in two key ways. First, the research has identified the appropriateness of theorising the differences between diaspora entrepreneurs and non-diaspora entrepreneurs, using a holistic multiple case study approach as suggested by Yin (2013), in which a theoretical replication technique is used to generate findings, provide '*generalisations*' between the two group of entrepreneurs, and build a claim. Drawing from the claim built, the thesis envisages pattern recognition among diaspora entrepreneurs in that they are able to identify specific opportunities and implement different marketing strategies. This claim is consistent with other scholars (see Chapter 2), who also argue that diaspora entrepreneurs access different sources of information, have experiences, unique resources, and encourage foreign direct investment (Drori and Honig, 2010; Gillespie et al., 1999; Harima and Vemuri, 2015). This thesis provides evidence from marketing strategies to add vibrancy and contribute to research on diaspora in business activities. Second, the claim built from this thesis considered theory of entrepreneurial opportunity identification by Ardichvili, Cardozo and Ray (2003) on community, and tested proposition 8 on *the opportunity identification process results in enriching the entrepreneur's knowledge base and increase in alertness* of that theory, through qualitative in-depth case studies, suggesting the need for using multiple method as

demonstrated in this thesis. This thesis shows that people link diaspora entrepreneurs to myths of beauty products, which increases the likelihood of successful entrepreneurial opportunity in the market for diaspora entrepreneurs when competing with the non-diaspora entrepreneurs. The different experiences and backgrounds of diaspora entrepreneurs make them able to exploit the resources of the firm in a host country, create a niche market, and apply different marketing strategies, supported by which evidence from two crisis periods. This is in stark contrast to entrepreneurial behaviour theory discussed in Chapter 2, which tends to overemphasize outcomes, business strategy created due to routine, and decisions about strategy and investments based on short and long time-spans. This contradiction correlates with the results of a number of existing studies in this research stream (Busenitz and Barney, 1997; Gillespie et al., 1999; Kolb, 1984; Wei and Balasubramanyam, 2006).

Third, this thesis contributes to the body of knowledge in understanding diaspora entrepreneurship research through business history and marketing. First, this thesis uses a combination of theories from three identified groups: entrepreneurship, marketing and resources (see Chapter 3). These theories are combined to provide a richer explanation of the differences between diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs in various aspects, such as how these two types of entrepreneurs see opportunity, and the consistency of these two types of entrepreneurs created their different marketing strategies. However, this thesis did not take a narrow view of each theory as a set of strict procedures to follow, instead use them as a guide to shed light on the processes and identify marketing strategies from historical perspectives in three periods of studies. This strategy was supported by Jap (1999), and Palmatier, Dant and Grewal (2007). According to Kozlenkova, Samaha and Palmatier (2014), there are two main objectives in doing so: first, for firms to exploit potential of its valuable, rare and imperfectly imitable resources, they must have effective managerial and organisational processes; and second, the other theories can provide insights into its success or failure. In addition, this thesis contributes to the literature of marketing, particularly on branding and corporate identity. The historical perspective from multiple case studies in this thesis can enrich the existing literature in the branding and corporate identity areas that are critically highlighted by management scholars. It provides interesting findings on the relevance of studying the consistency of marketing strategies at the date of brand creation and during crisis periods for

understanding the development of a brand. In the same vein, it illustrates that corporate identity and brands are associated and are two of the important fundamental attributes in brand development. Thus, this thesis contributes to the body of knowledge in understanding why diaspora entrepreneurs have distinct marketing strategies from non-diaspora entrepreneurs.

Fourth, this thesis contributes to methodological knowledge for diaspora entrepreneurship research. It presents evidence of different research methods that diaspora entrepreneurship lacks, particularly in qualitative research, towards historical perspectives of marketing strategies, rather than in quantitative research and a sociological perspective commonly used in this research stream (Aliaga-Isla and Rialp, 2013). Although there are studies on business history in the cosmetic industry as discussed in the literature chapter, such as the work of Jones (2010, 2008), Manko (2001a, 2001b, 1997), Koehn (2001a, 2001b), Peiss (2011, 2002, 2000, 1998) and so on, studies that distinguish between diaspora entrepreneurs and non-diaspora entrepreneurs in this industry were very limited. Therefore, this thesis uses a holistic multiple case study approach, focusing on marketing strategy. This methodology has been highly recommended by the recent systematic review of the diaspora entrepreneurship literature (see Chapter 3), as the research stream is dominated by quantitative methods (Aliaga-Isla and Rialp, 2013). In doing so, this thesis contributes to the methodological knowledge of diaspora entrepreneurship research.

Fifth, this thesis contributes to debates in existing management research for practical implications for an entrepreneur or a firm during a crisis period requires a turnaround strategy (Hambrick and Schechter, 1983; Hofer, 1980; Wild and Lockett, 2016). A study suggested that companies enacting moderate cost-cutting during crisis periods not only survived but realised more favourable long-run sales and market share growth than their competitors who made more severe cuts (McLaughlin, 1990). This thesis is helpful as a guide for entrepreneurs involved in marketing strategies in marketing-based industry during crisis periods as the characteristics of resources in a firm may have weaknesses that may hinder and prevent a sustained shift, ultimately leading to business demise (Arend, 2004; Wild and Lockett, 2016). Therefore, it is worth reconsidering basic marketing tools match available resources in a firm, before implementing marketing strategies that rely on other resources during crisis periods.

This thesis disagrees with Pearce and Michael (1997) that firm-facing performance problems should be solved by focusing on growth through strategic alliances, reposting the firm's products and primary market, distinctive competencies and technologies (Pearce and Robbins, 1993). This is because the advice is practical for the technology manufacturing industries, but in marketing-based industries, companies rely on innovation in marketing knowledge and branding (Lopes, 2007). It is more realistic and practical to focus on the core marketing mix, particularly responding to changes in customer behaviours during crisis, and maintaining firm and brand value through investment in innovation and advertising (O'Malley, Story and O'Sullivan, 2011).

Finally, this thesis has some small impact on new start-up diaspora entrepreneurs in their marketing strategies through the dissemination of the research findings. According to the Research Council UK (RCUK) research impact is defined as '*the demonstrable contribution that excellent research makes to society and the economy*', whether it involves academic impact, economic and societal impact or both (RCUK, n.d). Illustrated by historical analysis in this thesis, it is hoped that diaspora entrepreneurs in the present day, particularly those living in nations of immigrants like the United States, Canada and Australia, and also those living in countries of immigration such as France, Great Britain, Germany, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, and Switzerland could perhaps fully utilize their diaspora background capability in entrepreneurial identification of opportunities, and maintain their psychological links with their first generation's homeland, heritage or diaspora network, for either new start-ups or expanding businesses (Hollifield, Martin and Orrenius, 2014). On the other hand, the host country and its government generate incomes from these entrepreneurs through taxes and encouraging foreign investors, amending new rules and regulations to benefit the country, increase job creation, and contribute to foreign direct investment (FDI) in the country (Elo, 2016; Huang and Khanna, 2003; Nkongolo-Bakenda and Chrysostome, 2013; Wei and Balasubramanyam, 2006). For example, diaspora entrepreneurs can support the investment promotion agencies' (IPA) objectives in a variety of ways (Riddle, Brinkerhoff and Nielsen, 2008). As evident from the World Bank study of the US FDI abroad, diaspora entrepreneurs play important intermediary roles between potential investors and the country they reside in, either as interlocutors between similar heritages and/or honest brokers who

can facilitate trust (Javorcik et al., 2011). Other examples can be seen in Chapter 5 during the Great Depression and Chapter 6 during World War II, where diaspora entrepreneurs persistently made investments based on government rules and restrictions.

7.3 Research Limitations

This study is cognisant that some omissions could exist, although extensive consideration and effort was invested in the methodological choices made, particularly related to methods that might have been time-consuming or expensive (Baxter and Jack, 2008; Yin, 2013). Although the evidence created from these multiple case studies is considered to be robust and reliable, it is extremely time-consuming for data collection and even more time-consuming to analyse, as cutting corners on these processes is likely to weaken the value and credibility of any findings produced (Baxter and Jack, 2008; Yin, 2013). This process took approximately 22 months from September 2014 to July 2016 (see Chapter 3). This allowed claim to develop within this period alongside the growing volume of data. This to some extent relates to the research budget, where a longer time for data collection that requires a series of archival visits can be very expensive. Concerning the tight budget for this research, a series of short archival visits was made tailored to the themes presented, which had raised the following limitations in this study. In order to balance this thesis, it is necessary to examine briefly three principal points of the inevitable limitations inherent in this study, as follows.

The complexity examined is difficult to represent simply

The choice of a multiple case study as the study format generated stronger '*generalisability*' of the findings. This is because each individual case in this thesis consists of a '*whole*' study, in which facts are gathered from various sources and conclusions drawn from those facts. However, when case studies are successful in revealing some of the complexities of a phenomenon, there is often a problem of representation, where it is difficult to present accessible and realistic pictures of this complexity in writing (Baxter and Jack, 2008; Yin, 2013). According to Yin (2013), writing is predominantly linear communication starting with an introduction, content and conclusion, but this thesis it is simply not like that. For example, when writing about a finding for a theme like product strategy, other aspects of it are unintentionally concealed and linked with another sub-topic which appears irrelevant to the research question, such as sustainability issues in cosmetics, but highly important to brand development as published in company reports (Ramli, 2015).

However, there are often several different ways to present the same set of themes, each subtly different in approach and emphasis. For example, in data collection some cases required library and archival visits; some used digital archives; and some used interviews. This can make the findings of such research very difficult to summarise.

There is too much data for easy analysis

Since this thesis relied on triangulation of multiple sources, it provided much data for each point or theme that emerged. Therefore, it is conscious of being swamped with data. The data collection in this thesis was generated from more than a hundred historical documents from both physical and digital archives, and much has to be omitted. This is because it is difficult to avoid some data that is a significant simplification of even the most detailed of case study stories. As a result, the overflow of data for the main analysis theme in this thesis did not emphasise individual case studies in detail, but rather analysed the themes that emerged.

Limited availability of data

As well as being swamped with data for easy analysis, in general multiple case study analysis, this study faces the limitation of data availability, resulting from a tight budget that shortened the series of visits to firm and industry archives. Attempts to access Johnson & Johnson's, Maybelline's and Estée Lauder's physical archives were ignored after several emails sent, thus depriving this research of valuable information, such as historical records of internal communication and minutes of board meetings during the periods of study. This lack of internal information was ameliorated in two ways. First, a broad collection of documentary evidence was collected from the online library public access and firms' digital archives, including official company publications, newspapers and magazine clippings, advertisement collections, diaries and autobiographies, commentaries and reports on the companies and industry. However, not all of the evidence required for these case studies was available online, resulting in some journeys to the New York Public Library in New York City, Hagley Museum and Library in Delaware and the British Library in Boston Spa for more data collection. Therefore, it is possible that some relevant documents were missed. Second, interviews with field experts, an industry expert and a family member of the

firm in the case studies were sought and conducted, thus additional supportive information had confirmed the narrative for the case studies in the view of the academic and practitioners.

7.4 Future Research Recommendations

The thesis recommends a number of future research directions, crucial to draw a more convincing ‘*generalisation*’ on the claim built from this thesis. The following recommendations are suggested for both a broad context and the specific context of study.

Broad context of recommendations

First, the evidence from the three analysis chapters suggests that the organisation history of the cosmetic firms in the case studies need to be critically explored, in particular the impact of traditional and expanded entrepreneurs for both groups of entrepreneurs, in making decisions on the marketing strategies of the companies within the periods of study. For example, this study identified that the organisation in Avon, Johnson & Johnson, and Maybelline changed between the date of brand creation and the Great Depression, from small organisations dominated by family members to organisations with outsider ‘managerial’ control. These changes in organisation history for each case study are crucial to understand the marketing strategies applied. This raises another question: *who is responsible for the idea of strategies and was there a board of directors involved in making decisions?; why were such strategies adopted?; and how was the consistency of strategies irrespective of ownership and management?*

Second, this study is a holistic study that investigated only one unit of analysis: marketing strategies. This multiple case study allowed analysis within each setting and across settings, such as marketing strategies as a whole, followed by a division of strategies that formed marketing strategies like product, price, distribution, and promotional strategy. Therefore, this study gives general insight into marketing history, particularly in the marketing strategies in development of US cosmetic brands. Embedded multiple case studies are an interesting method of research, using more than one unit of analysis, comparing a more complex multiple unit of analysis simultaneously, such as organisational history, financial, supply chain, and corporate governance, where findings from comparison of firms’ performance during the

periods of study are more robust and reliable²¹. Using embedded multiple case studies to examine more than one unit of analysis would strengthen the generalisability of the claim built from this thesis, emphasising the differences between diaspora and non-diaspora entrepreneurs in the development of their brands.

Third, this thesis had explored the history of the marketing strategies of current global leading cosmetic brands, but it would be worth researching other cosmetics brands that were popular in the periods of study that disappeared in the present, such as Tangee, Peggy Sage, Kissproof, Tussy, Dorothy Gray and others. Another idea could be to support the claim from this thesis by highlighting the weak strategies used by these brands during the periods of study, and how they affected future brand development.

Specific context of recommendations

First, the concepts used to conduct this study can be adopted to look at other geographical areas, such as Europe. In this thesis, there is very limited explanation about the European market conditions during the periods of study. For example, during World War II, the US cosmetic industry relied on raw materials imported largely from Europe, particularly from the UK, Italy, Germany and France (The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1936e). Europe is another important geographical area to study using a similar research setting. At present, there are a number of popular cosmetic brands located in Europe, some of which were created by diaspora entrepreneurs, such as L'Oréal, Dove, Lux, Redken, Rexona, Yves Saint Laurent, Kiehl's, and others (Brand Finance, 2014a, 2014b). The existing literature discusses the cosmetic industry either in global context or focused on a single country, particularly the US; however, limited studies have been conducted outside these settings, especially comparative studies. For example, although the European cosmetic industry collapsed during World War II, in the market share for 2014, the industry performed strongly, with approximately 20 billion Euros more than the US

21 The author would like to thank Dr. Lynne Baxter, the head of the OBTT group, for recommending the corporate governance perspective during the Joint CEGBI-Corruption Network Cluster PhD Workshop in July 2016; and Prof. Peter Scott from Henley Business School and Prof. Stephanie Decker of Organization Studies and History at Aston Business School, for a recommending the financial and organisational history perspective during the Tony Slaven Doctoral Workshop at Humboldt University, 26-28 May 2016.

market share (Euromonitor, 2015). This clearly shows a positive change between World War II and 2014 in the European cosmetic industry, a period that could be considered as a whole or broken up, such as from the reconstruction of Europe after the war between 1945 and 1957; through the establishment of the European Common Market between 1958 and 1973; the European economic miracles between 1950 and 1963; the oil shocks in 1973-1974; the fall of the Iron Curtain between 1945 and 1989; Economic and Monetary Union from 1990 to the present; the Eurozone crisis between 2002 and 2008 and the financial crisis in 2007-2008; and the Great Recession in 2008-2012 (Crafts and Toniolo, 1996; Schmidt, 2010; Tuori and Tuori, 2014). The relevance of examining these periods is that it will examine the impact and implications of a series of crises in the European cosmetic industry over time, particularly in marketing strategies, and differences between diaspora entrepreneurs and non-diaspora entrepreneurs during such crises. As a result, the findings from the European cosmetic industry could add to the claim made from this thesis.

Second, the claim made from this thesis can be tested in the other marketing-based industries, such as in drink beverages, food and fashion, where the empirical evidence identified in Chapter 3 found that many brands in these industries were also created by diaspora entrepreneurs and listed in the global rankings. Some of the global brands in such industries were created more than fifty years ago. Apart from conducting similar research in different geographical areas, it is highly recommended to test the claim made in other industries, to cover different theoretical conditions through replication. However, it is important to emphasise the claim to a particular industry for each future study because the nature and characteristics of industries are varied, for example, technology-based industries, capital-based industries and marketing-based industries (Ramli, 2016).

In summary, these future research recommendations will open opportunities to explore diaspora entrepreneurship studies, where limited research has been conducted from non-sociology perspectives. This thesis draws a fundamental claim from the evidence gathered and analysis made, that diaspora entrepreneurs are different in their marketing strategies in the development of brands in marketing-based industry, particularly cosmetics, rather than non-diaspora entrepreneurs, and further research investigation is needed to strengthen this claim made from this study.

7.5 Personal Reflection on the Research Process

Writing this thesis was a long learning process with a rocky and gradual learning curve towards the end, but a valuable life-time experience. I was extremely unfamiliar with qualitative research and business history when I started this project, because I came from a computer security and network background in which the nature of work was dealing with experiments, breaking codes for testing purposes, and writing algorithms with black or white results. When I shifted to learn qualitative methods focusing in multiple case studies with an *interpretivism* epistemological stance, this proved extremely challenging but also rewarding. Also, I learnt the basic fundamentals of business history and marketing, as well as a better understanding of research methods for a qualitative study. However, along this research process, I faced difficulties that I considered a valuable experience.

First, my proposal entitled '*Factors that influence the survival of Malaysian immigrant entrepreneurs in the UK between 1990 and 2012: The case of the Jimmy Choo Brand*' was rejected after three months of my PhD journey. I was advised to consider research in a global context, which will receive wider attention and impact. Then, I read more relevant literature on diaspora entrepreneurship, marketing strategies, and global brands for both historical and current context; identified gaps and issues debated; and attended appropriate research training. As a result, I managed to produce a convincing proposal, which I presented at the York Management School during Research Week and obtained an Honourable Mention Award. I was also represented the York Management School as a finalist at the University of York 50th Anniversary research event (see Appendix 26).

Second, the industry I investigated changed from food and the computer industry to the cosmetic industry, because a comparative study by period between the two industries was inappropriate, as one has a long history and another one a short history. I decided to look at the cosmetic industry after a comprehensive review of the literatures, books, and the database I created. I found the cosmetic industry had been under-researched using comparative studies, and I obtained approval from my supervisors. Consequently, I built contacts and networked with archivists, librarians, academic and colleagues within the fields of business history, the cosmetic industry,

diaspora entrepreneurship and marketing. From the literature review process, I managed to publish three book reviews in ABS 2* journal, 2 papers, and a book chapter (see Appendix 27), as part of a learning process.

Third, as I highlighted in this thesis, my analysis took me approximately 22 months. It was a long process, and I decided not to use software because I would rather use a familiar spreadsheet tool to minimise risks such as loss of data and technical errors, and it was also allowed creative thinking for me while writing case reports. It was a practical decision because of the limited number of interviews conducted, and data collected from archives were accessible online.

Fourth, the thesis was a time and task management challenge. As well as being a fulltime PhD student, I also have teaching responsibilities as a Teaching Assistant, a role as Research Assistant for other projects, a PhD Representative for two academic years, and a Postgraduates Who Teach representative for the Graduate Student Association. In addition, I was also excited to share my research finding with others, so I participated in various research dissemination channels such as newspapers, public engagement events, and collaboration projects with other departments such as chemistry and biology, to bring out the importance of business history to society and integrate with other fields (Appendix 28). These combinations required good time management. My four years of PhD research have taught me to schedule and prioritise tasks and work to deadlines, which I demonstrate in a Gantt chart (Appendix 29).

To conclude, my PhD journey was full of surprises in each phase, but I never regretted the decision I took because I finally found my passion to be in research career. I hope upon completion of my PhD, I can further my career in academia or research, and hope to find research opportunities in business history and interdisciplinary studies (e.g. a plan for which I have proposed in Appendix 30 to test a claim made from this thesis). In addition, I plan to polish and publish three chapters from this thesis in suitable management journals with guidance from experts in this field.

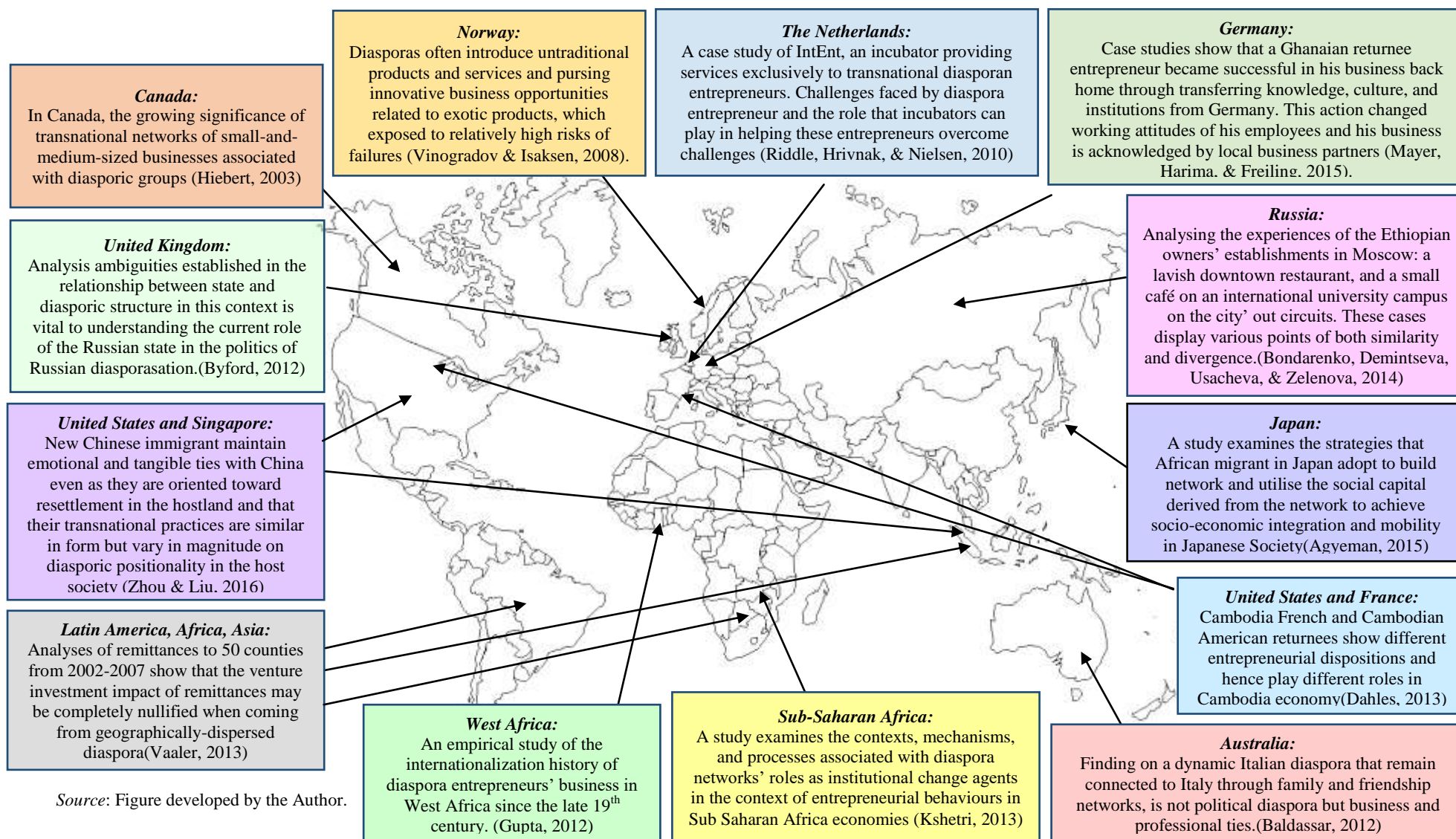
APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Hollywood directors who received two or more academy of motion picture arts and science awards for directing during the twentieth century, by immigrant generation and place of birth for the first generation

Generation	Director	Place of Birth	Year	Film
First Generation	Frank Capra	Italy	1934	<i>It Happened One Night</i>
			1936	<i>Mr. Deeds Goes to Town</i>
			1938	<i>You Can't Take It With You</i>
	William Wyler	Germany	1942	<i>Mrs. Miniver</i>
			1946	<i>The Best Years of Our Lives</i>
			1959	<i>Ben-Hur</i>
	Lewis Milestone	Russia	1927/1928	<i>Two Arabian Knights</i>
			1929/1930	<i>All Quiet on the West Front</i>
	Frank Lloyd	Scotland	1928/1929	<i>The Divine Lady</i>
			1932/1933	<i>Cavalcade</i>
Elia Kazan	Constantinople	1947	<i>Gentleman's Agreement</i>	
		1954	<i>On the Waterfront</i>	
Billy Wilder	Austria	1945	<i>The Lost Weekend</i>	
		1960	<i>The Apartment</i>	
David Lean	England	1957	<i>The Bridge on the River Kwai</i>	
		1962	<i>Lawrence of Arabia</i>	
Fred Zinnemann	Austria	1953	<i>From Here to Eternity</i>	
		1966	<i>A Man for All Seasons</i>	
Milos Forman	Czechoslovakia	1975	<i>One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest</i>	
		1984	<i>Amadeus</i>	
Second Generation	John Ford		1935	<i>The Informer</i>
			1940	<i>The Grapes of Wrath</i>
			1941	<i>How Green Was My Valley</i>
			1952	<i>The Quiet Man</i>
	Frank Borzage		1927/1928	<i>7th Heaven</i>
			1931/1932	<i>Bad Girl</i>
Leo McCarey		1937	<i>The Awful Truth</i>	
		1944	<i>Going My Way</i>	
Joseph L.Mankiewicz		1949	<i>A Letter to Three Wives</i>	
		1950	<i>All About Eve</i>	
Third and Higher Generations	George Stevens		1951	<i>A Place in the Sun</i>
			1956	<i>Giant</i>
	Robert Wise		1961	<i>West Side Story (with Jerome Robbins)</i>
			1965	<i>The Sound of Music</i>
	Oliver Stone		1986	<i>Platoon</i>
			1989	<i>Born on the Fourth of July</i>
Steven Spielberg		1993	<i>Schindler's List</i>	
		1998	<i>Saving Private Ryan</i>	

Source: Adopted from Hirschman (2005).


































































Appendix 2. Map of diaspora entrepreneurship studies worldwide.



Source: Figure developed by the Author.

Appendix 3. Cosmetics ranking in 2012, 2013, 2014 and 2015

Cosmetics brands 2012 from Brandirectory ranking































































































Rank						Brand Value  (USD \$ Millions)		Brand rating	
2012	2011	Logo	Name	Country	2012	2011	2012	2011	
1	➔ 1		Olay		11,756	11,066	AA	AA	
2	➔ 2		Avon		7,901	10,171	AA+	AA+	
3	⬆ 4		L'Oréal		7,744	7,630	AAA-	AAA-	
4	⬆ 6		Neutrogena		6,248	6,350	AAA-	AAA	
5	➔ 5		Nivea		5,574	6,569	AA+	AA+	
6	⬆ 7		Lancôme		5,095	5,685	AAA-	AA+	
7	⬆ 8		Dove		5,045	4,517	AA	AA	
8	⬆ 9		Estée Lauder		3,716	3,037	AA	AA	
9	⬆ 10		Biore		3,336	3,014	AA-	AA-	
10	⬆ 11		Shiseido		2,907	2,972	AA+	AA+	
11	⬆ -		Schwarzkopf		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒	
12	⬆ 13		Pantene		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒	
13	⬇ 12		Lux		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒	
14	⬆ 18		Christian Dior		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒	
15	➔ 15		Aveeno		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒	
16	⬇ 14		Garnier		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒	
17	➔ 17		Natura		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒	
18	⬇ 16		Chanel		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒	
19	➔ 19		Clarins		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒	
20	⬆ 23		Maybelline		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒	
21	➔ 21		Clean & Clear		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒	
22	⬇ 20		Rexona		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒	
23	⬇ 22		L'Occitane		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒	
24	➔ 24		Axe/Lynx		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒	
25	⬆ 27		Oriflame		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒	
26	➔ 26		Biotherm		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒	
27	⬆ 29		M.A.C.		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒	
28	⬆ 32		Vichy		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒	
29	⬇ 28		Johnson's		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒	
30	⬆ 34		Kérastase		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒	
31	⬇ 24		Sunsilk		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒	
32	⬆ 36		Redken		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒	

Source: (Brand Finance, 2012b)

Note: Maybelline was acquired by L'Oreal (France) in 1996 (Expert A, 2016; Williams, 2010). As a reminder, this thesis focuses between date of brand creation and the World War II.

(continued from Appendix 3) Cosmetics ranking in 2012, 2013, 2014 and 2015

Cosmetics brands 2013 from Brandirectory ranking


































































Rank		Logo	Name	Country	Brand Value  (USD \$ Millions)		Brand rating	
2013	2012				2013	2012	2013	2012
1	 3		L'Oréal		8,696	7,744	AAA-	AAA-
2	 12		Pantene		5,974	2,643	AA	AA
3	 5		Nivea		5,843	5,574	AA+	AA+
4	 6		Lancôme		5,508	5,095	AA+	AAA-
5	 2		Avon		5,169	7,901	AA-	AA+
6	 7		Dove		4,242	5,045	AA	AA
7	 1		Olay		3,955	11,756	AA+	AA
8	 8		Estée Lauder		3,870	3,716	AA+	AA
9	 -		Head & Shoulders		3,138	-	AA-	-
10	 14		Christian Dior		2,952	2,540	-	AAA-
11	 18		Chanel		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
12	 15		Aveeno		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
13	 16		Garnier		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
14	 11		Schwarzkopf		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
15	 20		Maybelline		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
16	 19		Clarins		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
17	 10		Shiseido		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
18	 21		Clean & Clear		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
19	 4		Neutrogena		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
20	 17		Natura		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
21	 23		L'Occitane		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
22	 29		Johnson's		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
23	 13		Lux		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
24	 27		M.A.C.		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
25	 30		Kérastase		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
26	 32		Redken		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
27	 22		Rexona		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
28	 26		Biotherm		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
29	 28		Vichy		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
30	 25		Oriflame		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
31	 36		Matrix		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒

Source: (Brand Finance, 2013)

Note: Maybelline was acquired by L'Oreal (France) in 1996 (Expert A, 2016; Williams, 2010). As a reminder, this thesis focuses between date of brand creation and the World War II.

(continued from Appendix 3) Cosmetics ranking in 2012, 2013, 2014 and 2015

Cosmetics brands 2014 from Brandirectory ranking


































































Rank		Logo	Name	Country	Brand Value  (USD \$ Millions)		Brand rating	
2014	2013				2014	2013	2014	2013
1	2		L'Oréal		10,766	8,696	AAA+	AAA-
2	6		Avon		6,384	5,169	AA	AA-
3	11		Pantene		6,163	5,974	AA+	AA
4	4		Nivea		6,079	5,843	AA+	AA+
5	7		Dove		5,885	4,242	AAA-	AA
6	15		Garnier		4,809	2,632	AAA	AAA-
7	9		Estée Lauder		4,589	3,870	AA+	AA+
8	5		Lancôme		4,088	5,508	AAA	AA+
9	1		Olay		4,083	3,955	AA+	AA+
10	23		Johnson's		3,603	1,513	AAA	AA+
11	12		Christian Dior		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
12	11		Head & Shoulders		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
13	13		Chanel		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
14	17		Maybelline		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
15	18		Clarins		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
16	19		Shiseido		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
17	21		Natura		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
18	2		Neutrogena		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
19	25		M.A.C.		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
20	22		L'Occitane		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
21	28		Rexona		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
22	16		Schwarzkopf		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
23	36		The Body Shop		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
24	31		Oriflame		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
25	-		Cover Girl		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
26	-		Sunsilk		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
27	34		Rimmel		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
28	-		SK-II		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
29	30		Vichy		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
30	24		Lux		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
31	-		Kanebo		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
32	-		Max Factor		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒

Source: (Brand Finance, 2014b)

Note: Maybelline was acquired by L'Oréal (France) in 1996 (Expert A, 2016; Williams, 2010). As a reminder, this thesis focuses between date of brand creation and the World War II.

(continued from Appendix 3) Cosmetics ranking in 2012, 2013, 2014 and 2015

Cosmetics brands 2015 from Brandirectory ranking

Rank		Logo	Name	Country	Brand Value  (USD \$ Millions)		Brand rating	
2015	2014				2015	2014	2015	2014
1	➡ 1		L'Oréal Paris		11,218	10,766	AAA+	AAA+
2	↕ -		Gillette		8,988	8,409	AAA	AAA-
3	↕ 5		Dove		5,821	5,885	AAA-	AAA-
4	↘ 3		Pantene		5,364	6,163	AAA	AA+
5	↘ 4		Nivea		6,565	6,079	AAA	AA+
6	↕ 13		Chanel		4,921	4,509	AAA-	AAA
7	➡ 7		Estée Lauder		4,328	4,589	AAA-	AA+
8	↘ 6		Garnier		4,630	4,809	AAA	AAA
9	➡ 9		Olay		3,986	4,083	AAA-	AA+
10	↘ 8		Lancôme		2,602	4,088	AAA	AAA
11	↘ 2		Avon		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
12	↘ 10		Johnson's		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
13	↕ 15		Clarins		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
14	↕ 17		Natura		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
15	↘ 11		Christian Dior		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
16	↘ 14		Maybelline		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
17	↘ 12		Head & Shoulders		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
18	↘ 16		Shiseido		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
19	↘ 18		Neutrogena		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
20	↕ -		Palmolive		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
21	➡ 21		Rexona		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
22	↘ 20		L'Occitane		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
23	↘ 19		M.A.C.		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
24	↘ 22		Schwarzkopf		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
25	↕ 31		Kanebo		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
26	➡ 26		Sunsilk		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
27	↕ 30		Lux		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
28	↕ -		Clairol		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
29	↘ 23		The Body Shop		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
30	↘ 1		L'Oréal (Corporate)		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
31	↘ 29		Vichy		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒
32	↘ 28		CZ II		🔒	🔒	🔒	🔒

Source: (Brand Finance, 2015)

Note: Maybelline was acquired by L'Oreal (France) in 1996 (Expert A, 2016; Williams, 2010). As a reminder, this thesis focuses between date of brand creation and the World War II.

Appendix 4. Interview package

THE UNIVERSITY *of York*



The York Management School
The Law and Management School,
Freboys Lane
University of York
Heslington, York, YO10 5GD, UK
Telephone (01904) 325032
Website: www.york.ac.uk/management

Date: DD/MM/YYYY
Reference number: ARC/CS/06

Archive Address.....
.....
.....

To Whom It May Concern,

May I introduce myself as Nur Suhaili Binti Ramli, a doctoral researcher at the York Management School, University of York, United Kingdom. I am writing this letter to request for your participation in a study entitled ‘**A Comparative Study of Marketing Strategies: The Development of Cosmetic Brands Created by Diaspora Entrepreneurs and Non-Diaspora Entrepreneurs in the US Cosmetic Industry**’. Diaspora entrepreneurs in this research context is defined as those immigrants or children of immigrants who came to a host country to operate a business. The aim of this study is to explain why and how brands created by diaspora entrepreneurs have become leading brands in the cosmetics industry.

For this aim, I would like to request a permission and access to the historical archival of the _____brands for this academic research. Before you decide and grant the access, it is important to understand why the research is being undertaken and what we intend to do, so please take the time to read the information on the following pages carefully.

I greatly appreciate your help with this research and believe that you and the company can grant access to the historical archival for this important topic. Should you have any queries, or questions, please do not hesitate to contact me any time at **nbr500@york.ac.uk**. If you provide your contact details, I will be more than happy to provide you with the summary of findings once the study is completed.

Your response will be highly appreciated.

Thank you,
Yours sincerely,

.....
Nur Suhaili Binti Ramli
Mobile: (+44) 07940717517
Email: nbr500@york.ac.uk

(continued from Appendix 4) **Interview package**

THE UNIVERSITY *of York*



**INFORMATION SHEET FOR A RESEARCH PROJECT:
PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET FOR A RESEARCH PROJECT:
'A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF MARKETING STRATEGIES: THE
DEVELOPMENT OF COSMETIC BRANDS CREATED BY DIASPORA
ENTREPRENEURS AND NON-DIASPORA ENTREPRENEURS IN THE US
COSMETIC INDUSTRY'**

Introduction

You have been invited to participate in this research project on the '**A Comparative Study of Marketing Strategies: The Development of Cosmetic Brands Created by Diaspora Entrepreneurs and Non-Diaspora Entrepreneurs in the US Cosmetic Industry**' topic. The study is being carried out by **Nur Suhaili Binti Ramli** from the **University of York, UK**, for the award of PhD under the supervision of **Professor Teresa Da Silva Lopes** and **Professor Bob Doherty**.

What is the study about?

This study compares the evolution of cosmetics brands in the US between those created by the diaspora entrepreneurs and those created by the non-diaspora entrepreneurs over time. The comparison attributes will be strategies in ownership and governance, location, internalisation, and innovation. The innovation in this study relies on other activities, such as branding and marketing knowledge rather than technology. In sum, this study is looking at any stage of the evolution that is different between the two groups of entrepreneurs.

What is the aim of this study?

The aim of this study is to explain why and how cosmetics brands created by diaspora entrepreneurs have become leading brands in the cosmetics industry in comparison to those created by the non-diaspora entrepreneurs. The scope of strategies includes marketing, branding, and going international, in three different periods, namely 1) at the date of brand creation, 2) during crises, and 3) at present. The crises in this research context refer to the Great Depression, World War II and the Recession.

How are you going to involve in this study?

You will involve in granting access of the historical archives for _____ brands to the researcher and provide the location address for the visit.

(continued from Appendix 4) **Interview package**

How does the study to be conducted?

This study pulls on both quantitative and qualitative sources. The quantitative sources include data from the Brand Finance (Brand directory) databases on the Most Valuable Global Brands. Unstructured interviews, business history archives of firms, and other secondary sources such as companies' annual reports, newspapers, biographies and industry reports are used for the qualitative part as primary and secondary sources.

How much time will the study take?

The historical archival visit to your company will take approximately _____ days (weekdays) from time: _____ to gather the information in ___(date)___.

Is there any cost compensation?

Participation in this study will involve no costs or payments to you.

What are the risks associated with this procedure?

There are no risks involved in participating in this study. The researcher will cross check with you to confirm which data to be used for this academic purpose.

How will the information be used?

The information gathered from the archival will be analysed and used to support the quantitative part of this study and form conclusions on the subject area. The information from historical archival is a part of qualitative study.

Who will see the study results?

The data gathered from your company's archive will be analysed to support the current findings. The results of the study will be seen academically through conferences, viva presentations, congress, the dissertation and any academic-related means.

Will the information be kept confidential?

Yes, all the information collected during the study period will be kept strictly confidential until such time as you sign a release waiver. The researcher and the University of York will comply with the Data Protection Act (UK) 1998 (see link: <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1998/29/contents>).

(continued from Appendix 4) **Interview package**

What should I do if I want to discuss this study further before I grant access to the achieve?

When you have read this information, the researcher, Nur Suhaili Binti Ramli, will discuss it with you and answer any queries you may have. If you would like to know more at any stage, please do not hesitate to contact her using the contact details provided.

Contact details for Further Information:

Researcher Details:

- 1) Name: Nur Suhaili Binti Ramli
Email: nbr500@york.ac.uk
Phone: +44 7940717517

Supervisors Details:

- 1) Name: Professor Teresa Da Silva Lopes
Email: teresa.lopes@york.ac.uk
Designation: Professor of International Business and Business History at the Management School, Head of Marketing Group, Director of the Centre for Evolution of Global Business and Institutions
- 2) Name: Professor Bob Doherty
Email: bob.doherty@york.ac.uk
Designation: Professor of Marketing at the York Management School, Deputy Dean

Thank you for taking the time to consider this study.

(continued from Appendix 4) **Interview package**



The York Management School
The Law and Management School,
Freboys Lane
University of York
Heslington, York, YO10 5GD, UK
Telephone (01904) 325032
Website: www.york.ac.uk/management

Date: DD / MM / YYYY

Reference number: INT/SUP/01

To

Dear Participant,

May I introduce myself as Nur Suhaili Binti Ramli, a doctoral researcher at the York Management School, University of York, United Kingdom. I am writing this letter to request for your participation in a study entitled '**A Comparative Study of Marketing Strategies: The Development of Cosmetic Brands Created by Diaspora Entrepreneurs and Non-Diaspora Entrepreneurs in the US Cosmetic Industry**'. Diaspora entrepreneurs in this research context is defined as those immigrants or children of immigrants who came to a host country to operate a business. The aim of this study is to explain why and how brands created by diaspora entrepreneurs have become leading brands in the cosmetics industry.

Please take the time to read carefully the information sheet attached. The participation is **voluntary** and your view will likely reflect one of the following positions in relation to brands: you are a **founder or family member (ancestor) of a firm that created a successful brand, or you are a regional manager, brand manager, marketing manager of a brand of a firm, or you are a brand expert in the cosmetics industry**. Your participation would be valuable and greatly appreciated. If you would like to participate in this study, I would request you to fill the reply slip and return it back by email to me at nbr500@york.ac.uk, confirming your willingness to participate anonymously or not. It is possible for you to withdraw your participation at any time prior to the report writing and there would be no need for you to provide any reasons.

I greatly appreciate your help with this research and believe that you can provide valuable perspectives on this topic. Should you have any queries, or questions, please do not hesitate to contact me at any time. Your response will be highly appreciated.

Thank you.
Yours faithfully,

.....
Nur Suhaili Binti Ramli
+447940717517

(continued from Appendix 4) **Interview package**

THE UNIVERSITY *of York*



**PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET FOR A RESEARCH PROJECT:
'A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF MARKETING STRATEGIES: THE
DEVELOPMENT OF COSMETIC BRANDS CREATED BY DIASPORA
ENTREPRENEURS AND NON-DIASPORA ENTREPRENEURS IN THE US
COSMETIC INDUSTRY'**

Invitation

You have been invited to participate in this research project entitled '**A comparative Study of Marketing Strategies: The Development of Cosmetic Brands Created by Diaspora Entrepreneurs and Non-Diaspora Entrepreneurs in the US Cosmetic Industry**'. The study is being carried out by **Nur Suhaili Binti Ramli** from the **University of York, UK**, for the award of a Doctoral degree (Ph.D.) under the supervision of **Professor Teresa Da Silva Lopes** and **Professor Bob Doherty**.

Before you decide whether or not you wish to participate in this study, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take the time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish.

If you have any questions or queries, please do not hesitate to contact the researcher. Contact details are provided at the end of this information sheet. If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to sign the attached participant **Informed Consent for Interviews**. Finally, before the results and information release for the written dissertation, the interviewer will again send a draft to the interviewee for review, corrections or modifications. The **Final Consent Form** will be signed by both the interviewer and interviewee to release the information and results for a written dissertation.

What is the study about?

This study compares the evolution of cosmetics brands in the US between those created by the diaspora entrepreneurs and those created by the native entrepreneurs over time. The comparison attributes will be strategies in ownership and governance, location, internalisation, and innovation. The innovation in this study relies on other activities, such as branding and marketing knowledge rather than technology. In sum, this study is looking at any stage of the evolution that is different between the two groups of entrepreneurs.

(continued from Appendix 4) **Interview package**

What is the aim of this study?

The aim of this study is to explain why and how cosmetics brands created by diaspora entrepreneurs have become leading brands in the cosmetics industry in comparison to those created by the native entrepreneurs. The scope of strategies includes marketing, branding, and going international, in three different periods, namely 1) at the date of brand creation, 2) during crises, and 3) at present. The crises in this research context refer to the Great Depression, World War II and the Recession.

How will the study be conducted?

This study pulls on both quantitative and qualitative sources. The quantitative sources include data from the Brand Finance (Brand directory) databases on the Most Valuable Global Brands. Unstructured interviews, business history archives of firms, and other secondary sources such as companies' annual reports, newspapers, biographies and industry reports are used for the qualitative part as primary and secondary sources.

How am I going to be involved in this study?

You will be involved in an unstructured email interview session of this study with seven (7) open-ended questions. The interview session will be conducted solely between the researcher and you. The session will be an email interview, which will depend on your preferences and time availability, but with a deadline to consider. The deadline to submit your answer is at **any time on Monday, 15th February 2016**.

How much time will the study take?

The interview session will take less than an hour, approximately between 30 and 45 minutes. Times will vary according to your experiences and opinions on the questions.

How much should I write when answering the questions?

You can write as much as you want based on your opinions and ideas on the subjects. The email interview session has no maximum word limitation.

What type of questions will be asked during the interview?

There are seven (5) open-ended questions in the unstructured email interview session. The format is subjective. You can write and express your opinions and ideas independently without being bound to any restriction or format. The interview questions cover the following topics:

1. Ownership and governance.
2. Factors influencing the cosmetics brands.
3. Evolution of marketing and branding strategies.
4. Internationalisation strategy over time.
5. Motivation in business.

(continued from Appendix 4) **Interview package**

How will my information be used?

The information you provide will be analysed and used to support the findings derived from the multiple historical sources and form conclusions on the subject area. All information will be strictly used for academic purposes such as in conferences, academic papers and the dissertation only. When the dissertation is submitted all information will be destroyed.

Who will see the study's results?

Your responses will be recorded and only the researcher will have access to the raw data. The raw data will be analysed to support the current findings. The results of the study will be seen academically through conferences, viva presentations, congress, the dissertation and any academic-related means.

How will the data be kept?

All recorded data, including audio, video and written, will be located at the researcher's workstation at all times. There are two locked doors with strict access to the researcher's workstation. Moreover, the electronic raw data and results will be stored in the researcher's personal computer located at the workstation. The electronic raw data and results will then be kept in locked data files with strong passwords. Although the data can be accessed through email, there will still be strict access with a strong password to the emails, and also the access for the platform. In sum, all the data will be kept confidentially, even though the interview will be unstructured with open-ended questions.

What are the risks associated with this procedure?

There are no risks involved in participating in this study. Although during the interview you may provide figures or data on a company/firm/brand, the researcher will cross check with you to confirm whether you would like to let it be part of the interview data.

Will my information be kept confidential?

All the information collected during the study period will be kept strictly confidential until such time as you sign a release waiver. No publications or reports from this project will include identifying information on any participant without your signed permission, and after your review of the materials. If you agree to join this study, please sign your name on the following page. The researcher and the University of York will comply with the Data Protection Act (UK) 1998 (see link: <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1998/29/contents>).

(continued from Appendix 4) **Interview package**

Who will benefit from the study?

It is hoped that this study will benefit both parties, academic and the public, through providing greater insight into the most valuable global brands in the cosmetics industry.

(continued from Appendix 3) **Interview package: Invitation Letter, example of Informed Consent for Interviews and Final Consent Form**

Is there any cost compensation?

Participation in this study will involve no costs or payments to you.

What should I do if I want to discuss this study further before I decide?

When you have read this information, the researcher, Nur Suhaili Binti Ramli, will discuss it with you and answer any queries you may have. If you would like to know more at any stage, please do not hesitate to contact her using the contact details provided.

Contact details for Further Information:

Researcher Details:

- 2) Name: Nur Suhaili Binti Ramli
Email: nbr500@york.ac.uk
Phone: +44 7940717517

Supervisors Details:

- 3) Name: Professor Teresa Da Silva Lopes
Email: teresa.lopes@york.ac.uk
Designation: Professor of International Business and Business History at the Management School, Head of Marketing Group, Director of the Centre for Evolution of Global Business and Institutions
- 4) Name: Professor Bob Doherty
Email: bob.doherty@york.ac.uk
Designation: Professor of Marketing at the York Management School, Deputy Dean

**Thank you for taking the time to consider this study.
If you wish to take part in it, please sign the attached consent form.
This information sheet is for you to keep.**

(continued from Appendix 4) **Interview package**

02/03/2016 19:58 FAX

001

REPLY SLIP

Date: / /
Reference Number: INT/SUP/02

“Diaspora Entrepreneurs and the Most Valuable Global Brands in the Cosmetics Industry”

Name: SHARRIE WILLIAMS

E-mail: MAYBELLINEHOOK@gmail.com

Please tick these boxes:

- I am interested in participating in the above study and willing to be contacted by email to discuss possible participation.
- I would like to participate anonymously in this study. Providing anonymity of the information collected from the research participants means that either the project does not collect identifying information from the individual subjects (e.g. name, address, email address, etc.) in the interview questions, or the project cannot link individual responses with the participants' identities.
- Maintaining confidentiality of the information collected from the research participants means that only the investigator(s) or individuals collecting/analysing the data can identify the responses of the individual subjects; however, the researchers must make every effort to prevent anyone outside of the project from connecting individual subjects with their responses.

Please return to the email address below:

Nur Suhaili Ramli
Email: nbr500@york.ac.uk
Phone: +447940717517

THE UNIVERSITY *of York*



INFORMED CONSENT FOR INTERVIEWS

One copy of this completed form should be given to the participating interviewee and the other retained by the interviewer.

Please be informed that this participation is **voluntary** and the participant has the right to decide not to participate as well as to withdraw their participation from the study without any detrimental effects on them or their organisations at any point in time.

I agree to take part in the above study and am willing to:

- 1) Be interviewed
- 2) Have my written interview answer recorded
- 3) Have the results of this study be published for academic purposes only, as described on the participant information sheet.

I understand that my information will be held by the York Management School and the Centre for Evolution of Global Business and Institutions (CEGBI), and agree to it being used for academic activities and research in the proposed PhD research project:

- 1) In the production of a written dissertation or critical write-up of the research.
- 2) In live or recorded performances or presentations of practical project work to an audience within an academic context.

I agree that any information obtained from this research may be used in any way thought best for this study as mentioned above.

I, SHARIE WILLIAMS consent to participate in the *'Diaspora Entrepreneurs and the Most Valuable Global Brands in the Cosmetics Industry'* research project, conducted by Nur Suhaili Binti Ramli. I have understood the nature of this project and wish to participate. I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this form. My signature below indicates my consent.

Signature Sharie Williams **Date** 2-3-16
Participant

Signature [Signature] **Nur Suhaili Binti Ramli** **Date** 02 February 2016
Researcher

THE UNIVERSITY *of York*



FINAL CONSENT FORM

One copy of this completed form should be given to the participating interviewee and the other retained by the interviewer.

Dear Participant,

This form gives us final authorisation to use material from our last interview for *'Diaspora Entrepreneurs and the Most Valuable Global Brands in the Cosmetics Industry'*. A draft of these materials should have been presented to you for your review, correction or modification. You may grant use rights for this draft "as is", or with the modifications you specify, if any. See "Conditions" at the bottom of the form.

I, SHARRIE WILLIAMS hereby grant the right to use information from recordings (written) and or notes taken in interviews with me, to **Nur Suhaili Binti Ramli from the University of York and as presented to me as a draft copy**. I understand that the interview records (written) will be kept by the interviewer and the project, and that the information contained in the interviews may be used in material to be made available within the academic context.

Sharrie Williams Date: 2-3-16
Signature of Interviewee

[Signature] Nur Suhaili Binti Ramli Date: 02 February 2016
Signature of Interviewer

The following conditions limit the release of information, as agreed between the interviewer and the interviewee:

- None needed
- The material may be released once the corrections I have specified have been made
- The material may be released once it has been edited by a third party (please specify)

Appendix 5. ELMPS ethical committee's compliance declaration, ELMPS decision and permission to use archive materials

Compliance Declaration

This declaration must be returned, fully completed, along with each submission made to ELMPS.

On completion, please return **two copies** of this form: one by email to elmeps-ethics-group@york.ac.uk, and a second, hard-copy, signed by the Applicant, the Applicant's Head of Department, and – if applicable – the Applicant's PhD Supervisor.

Those making a resubmission **must also complete section 6, on page 3.**

Return Address: Caroline Hunter, York Law School (internal mail).
Or: Caroline Hunter, York Law School, University of York, Law and Management Building,
Preboys Lane, York YO10 5GD.

1. The Applicant:

Name: Nur Suhaili Binti Ramli
Position: PhD Student
Centre/Department: The York Management School
Contact details: email address: nbr500@york.ac.uk Telephone number: +447940717517

2. Supervisors:

Doctoral Supervisor: Professor Teresa Da Silva Lopes
(if applicable)
Head of Research: Professor Andrew Pendleton
Head of Department: Professor Jill Schofield

3. The Project:

Project Title: Immigrant Entrepreneurs on World's Successful Global Brands
How is the project funded?: Self-Funded External funder
Funder (if applicable): The Government of Malaysia (MARA Agency)

4. Other Jurisdictions:

Please indicate whether your proposal has been considered by any other bodies:

- External Sponsor
 Another University of York Ethics Committee
 NHS Research Ethics Committee

(continued from Appendix 5) **ELMPS ethical committee's compliance declaration, ELMPS decision and permission to use archive materials**

Page 2 of 3

5. Declaration:

I confirm that I have read and understood:

- the ELMPS guidelines on consent; and
- the ELMPS information sheets for researchers working with human subjects; and
- the University of York data protection guidelines.

Signature of applicant:
(Type name if submitting electronically)

Nur Suhaili Binti Ramli

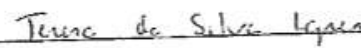


Date: 2 April 2014

I confirm that the applicant and myself have read and understood the ELMPS guidelines on Consent and Data Protection)

Signature of Research Supervisor (if appropriate):
(Type name if submitting electronically)

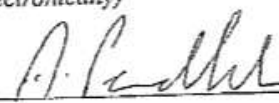
Professor Teresa Da Silva Lopes



Date: 2 April 2014

Signature of Head of Research Centre or Head of Department:
(Type name if submitting electronically)

Professor Andrew Pendleton



Date: 10 April 2014

6. Additional Declaration for Resubmissions:

I have read and understood the ELMPS response to the initial application, and consider that the attached response deals appropriately with its recommendations.

(continued from Appendix 5) **ELMPS ethical committee's compliance declaration,
ELMPS decision and permission to use archive materials**

Page 3 of 3

Signature of applicant:

Date:

Please attach an additional sheet/file with a point-by-point response to the recommendations issued by ELMPS.

I have read and understood the ELMPS response to the initial application, and consider that the attached response deals appropriately with its recommendations.

Signature of Research Supervisor (if appropriate):

Date:

I have read and understood the ELMPS response to the initial application, and consider that the attached response deals appropriately with its recommendations.

Signature of Head of Research Centre or Head of Department:

Date:

(continued from Appendix 5) **ELMPS ethical committee's compliance declaration,
ELMPS decision and permission to use archive materials**

ELMPS decision



Inbox x



Lucia Quaglia <luca.quaglia@york.ac.uk>

30/04/2014

to Nur ▾

Dear Suhaili

I am writing in my position as chair of the ELMPS committee, which has met today and has approved your ethics application.

You are asked to consider the following [advisory comment](#) (there is no need to come back to me on this)

Check point 3 on page 11: The questionnaire attached is quite comprehensive. It is not clear how long an interview will take, based on the semi-structured interview guide attached an interview will take between two and three hours. Make clear to the interviewees how much time they are expected to allocate for the interview (especially when you expect open-ended answers)

kind regards

Lucia

--

Professor Lucia Quaglia
Department of Politics
University of York
York YO 10 5DD
The UK

(continued from Appendix 5) **ELMPS ethical committee's compliance declaration,
ELMPS decision and permission to use archive materials**

Nur Suhaili Ramli <nur510@york.ac.uk>

7 Dec

to Licensing

Thank you very much for your quick reply. I attached the only image I will use in my thesis. I wrote the source where I took the image. Kindly be informed.

Thank you
Suhaili

[REDACTED]



Licensing

7 Dec

to Nur

Hello again,

I am sure you are safe to use this for your thesis.

Please proceed.

Kind regards
Chris Rawlings
Licensing assistant



Picture Library – Images
Online

T: 0207 412 7014
imagesonline@bl.uk

The British Library

96 Euston Road
St Pancras
London
NW1 2DB

(continued from Appendix 5) **ELMPS ethical committee's compliance declaration,
ELMPS decision and permission to use archive materials**

Seeking a permission to use materials for study purposes

Read X



Nur Suhaili Ramli <nrb500@york.ac.uk>

08: 5 Dec



to Lynn

Dear Lynn Catanese,

My name is Nur Suhaili Ramli, a PhD student at the University of York, UK. I am writing you to seek for your approval and permission to use the materials from Avon Digital Archive. The purpose to use images in the attachment is strictly for my PhD research only. A short abstract is as follows:

The purpose of this research is to explore *disruptors* entrepreneurship study from business history and marketing perspective, and compare the differences in marketing strategies between *disruptors* entrepreneurs and the non-*disruptors* entrepreneurs in development of their cosmetic brands. It has focused those cosmetic brands in three periodization such as at date of brand creation, during the Great Depression and in the World War II. A case study methodology relies heavily on the historical archives of the companies supported by data from open-ended structured interviews, and thematic analysis was used.

Your consideration of your permission approval for this study purpose will be highly appreciated.
Thank you.

Best wishes,
Nur Suhaili Ramli
The University of York, UK



Lynn Catanese

5 Dec



to Nur

Hello Nur Suhaili Ramli,

The Avon Digital Archives is available and open for research and permission is not necessary to use it.

Best, Lynn

Lynn Catanese
Chief Curator, Library Collections
Hagley Museum and Library
P.O. Box 3630, 298 Buck Road East
Wilmington, DE 19807
302-658-2400, ext. 317
hagley.org/library

Appendix 6. List of Avon's products (CPC) in 1906

INDEX AND PRICE LIST	PRICE	PAGE
Almond, Buttermilk and Cucumber Complexion Soap, per box (3 cakes).....	\$.40	33
Almond Cream Balm, 2-oz tube.....	.25	49
" " " 4-oz ".....	.50	49
Antiseptic Talcum Powder (Violet).....	.25	42
Atomizers and Atomizer Boxes.....		15
Atomizer and 3 bottles 40c. odors.....	1.35	15
" " 2 " 40c. and one 50c. odors.....	1.45	15
" " 2 " 40c. and one 60c. ".....	1.55	15
" " bottle, 40c. odor.....	.80	15
" " " 50c. ".....	.90	15
" " " 60c. ".....	1.00	15
Baby Powder, per box.....	.25	38
Baby Soap, per cake.....	.15	30
Bandoline, per bottle.....	.25	27
Bay Rum, XXX, 4-oz bottle.....	.40	26
" " 8-oz ".....	.75	26
Carpet Renovator.....	.35	56-57
Cold Cream, per jar.....	.25	47
Colognes, Eau de Cologne, 2-oz bottle.....	.35	17
" " 4 oz ".....	.65	17
Sweet " 2-oz ".....	.35	17
" " 4-oz ".....	.65	17
Cream Shaving Soap, per cake.....	.20	34
Cure-a-Cough, small bottle.....	.25	54
" large bottle.....	.75	54
Cutaneous Soap, Dr. Zabriskie's, per cake.....	.25	31
Eau de Quinine Hair Tonic, per bottle.....	.65	23-24
Extracts (see Flavoring Extracts).....		61-62
Extract of Witch Hazel, 4-oz bottle.....	.25	52
Face Lotion.....	1.00	45
Flavoring Extracts:		
Almond, Lemon, Pear, Raspberry,		
Banana, Nutmeg, Peppermint, Rose,		
Blood Orange, Onion, Pineapple, Strawberry,		
Celery, Orange, Pistachio, Vanilla,		
Cinnamon, Peach, Quince, Wintergreen,		61-62
Jamaica Ginger		
2-oz bottle, \$.25	1 quart, \$3.25	
4-oz " .45	1/2 gal., 6.25	
16-oz " 1.75	1 gal., 11.50	
Floral Odors (see Perfume Price List).....		5-11
Florida Water, 2-oz bottle.....	.35	16
" " 4-oz ".....	.65	16
" " 8-oz ".....	1.25	16
French Odors (see Perfume Price List).....		10-11
Hygienic Face Powder.....	.50	41
Lavender Water 2-oz bottle.....	.35	16
" " 4-oz ".....	.65	16
" " 8-oz ".....	1.25	16
Lavender Salts, per ".....	.35	53
Lait Virginal, 2-oz bottle.....	.65	19
" " 4-oz ".....	1.25	19
Perfume Price List.....		11
Powders:		37-43
Baby Powder, per box.....	.25	38
Hygienic Face Powder.....	.50	41
Sweet Sixteen Face Powder, per box.....	.25	39

[63]

Source: "For Beauty, Health and Home", Catalog 1906, Record Group II: Historical Files; Series 3: California Perfume Company; Box 113. Manuscripts and Archives Department, Hagley Museum and Library, Wilmington, DE 19807, p.63

(continued from Appendix 6)

INDEX AND PRICE LIST	PRICE	PAGE
Sachet Powders, per box	\$.25	43
Violet Antiseptic Talcum Powder.....	.25	42
Root Beer, per bottle.....	.25	55
Sachet Powders, per envelope .....	.25	43
" " " bottle.....	.25	43
Savona Soap, per box, (2 cakes).....	.50	35
Shampoo Cream, per jar.....	.35	22
Silver Plate Polish.....	.25	58
Soaps:		29-35
Almond Buttermilk and Cucumber, per box (3 cakes).....	.40	33
Baby Soap, per cake .....	.15	30
Cream Shaving Soap .....	.20	34
Savona Soap, per box, 2 cakes .....	.50	35
Dr. Zabriskie's Cutaneous Soap .....	.25	31
Sweet Sixteen Face Powder, per box .....	.25	39
Tooth Tablets, per box.....	.25	50
Tooth Wash, per bottle .....	.25	51
Toilet Waters.....		16
Travelers' Bottle, with 4oc. odor.....	.50	13
" " " 50c. " .....	.60	13
" " " 60c. " .....	.70	13
" " " French Odor.....	1.10	13
Treatment of the Hair.....		21
Vegetable Colorings, per box (8 colors).....	.50	59
Violet Almond Meal.....	.50	36
Violet Antiseptic Talcum Powder.....	.25	42
Violet Water, 2-oz bottle.....	.35	16
" " 4-oz " .....	.65	16
" " 8-oz "	1.25	16
Witch Hazel Extract, 4-oz bottle.....	.25	52
Witch Hazel Cream (2-oz tubes).....	.25	48
" " " (4-oz ").....	.50	48
XXX Bay Rum, 4-oz bottle... ..	.40	26
" " " 8-oz " .....	.75	26
Dr. Zabriskie's Cutaneous Soap.....	.25	31

Source: "For Beauty, Health and Home", Catalog 1906, Record Group II: Historical Files; Series 3: California Perfume Company; Box 113. Manuscripts and Archives Department, Hagley Museum and Library, Wilmington, DE 19807, p.64

Appendix 7. The earliest Johnson & Johnson products

Protect Your Home From Disease




LISTER'S Improved Perfumery, shown at the left, and Carbolic Acid, at the right, have won the title of *Protectors of the Household*. They guard the home against disease.

The Perfumery not only affords an easy method of disinfecting every house and every body after a case of communicable disease, but safeguards health when used for purifying odors and removing and raising provisions of social and final care.

Lister's Improved Perfumery are extensively used by health officers during epidemics of smallpox, diphtheria and in consumption and other contagious diseases and are also widely used in schools, railroad buildings, hotels and other public places as a ready means of destroying foul odors and preventing contagion.

Carbolic Acid is a reliable destroyer of disease germs with a wide range of usefulness in the kitchen. It is non-corrosive, will not destroy clothing, fabrics or furniture and leaves no stain. An eight-ounce bottle upon dilution furnishes from three to six gallons of disinfecting solution.

The application of a solution of Carbolic Acid will destroy mould growth and prevent foul odors and keep away disease.

Household Handbook

Suggestions for the Prevention of the Spread of Disease and the Care of the Sick. Hygiene and Sanitation in the Household Toilet Hints

The Prevention of Accidents. First Aid to the Injured in Accidents, Emergencies, etc. Compiled from the Latest and Best Authorities.

Illustrated

FRED H. KILMER, Editor

Johnson & Johnson
NEW BRUNSWICK N. J., U.S.A.

Fill out blank below with address of:

Nearest Doctor _____

Nearest Druggist _____

Nearest Hospital _____

Nearest Police Station _____

Nearest Fire Alarm _____

In all accidents send a quick message for assistance needed. Write a message to the doctor clearly describing the accident, injury or illness, to let him know what remedies to bring.

Your Teeth Need Constant Care





Dental Floss cleans the vital spaces—the narrow spaces between the teeth.

Zonas Adhesive Plaster is a pure preparation that will keep the mouth in a healthy condition.

Dental Thread is permeated the narrow spaces with cutting action.

Zonas Mends Everything

JOHNSON & JOHNSON Adhesive Plasters are used for wound dressing in every country in the world. Zonas is one of them. In small injuries it is often the only application needed. It takes the place of bandages or cast plaster. It is applied without heat or moisture.

Zonas Adhesive Plaster is also most useful in the household and shop for mending clothing, furniture, glassware, tools, tin work—anything made of rubber, wood, glass, leather or paper. It is waterproof, strong, very adhesive, always ready and will conform to any shape. Always ask for Zonas.

Source: Johnson & Johnson and the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals: The Early History of Commitment to Women, Children and Diseases Prevention, Kilmer House Johnson & Johnson Digital Archive

Johnson & Johnson ad for Mustard Plasters, late 1800s

Mustard Plasters

Improved



A TEST AND COMPARISON WILL SHOW THAT THE MUSTARD PLASTERS PREPARED BY JOHNSON & JOHNSON ARE OF GREATER STRENGTH AND GENERALLY SUPERIOR TO OTHERS. THEY DO NOT DECOMPOSE OR CHANGE WITH AGE. ARE IN VERY HANDSOME CONTAINERS.

PRICE 10 LEAVES ON CLOTH	Doz.	\$ 2.00
100	Box	1.50
YARD ROLLS	Doz.	2.00

Johnson & Johnson, NEW YORK.

Source: April 1887: The Johnson & Johnson Traditional of Helping the Community, Kilmer House Johnson & Johnson Digital Archive

Appendix 8. Johnson & Johnson factory next to Raritan river



Source: Fruit Jars, Shaker Tops, Metal Tubes and Cigar Boxes: Some Early Johnson & Johnson Suppliers, Kilmer House Johnson & Johnson Digital Archive

Appendix 9. The earliest Maybelline advertisement in 1917



Viola Dana, Beautiful Photoplay Star, recommends Maybelline

“EYES THAT CHARM”

Maybelline

WILL BEAUTIFY YOUR EYES INSTANTLY

A touch of MAYBELLINE works beauty wonders. Scant eyebrows and lashes are made to appear naturally dark, long and luxurious. All the hidden loveliness of your eyes—their brilliancy, depth and expression—is instantly revealed. The difference is remarkable. Girls and women everywhere, even the most beautiful actresses of the stage and screen, now realize that MAYBELLINE is the most important aid to beauty and use it regularly. MAYBELLINE is unlike other preparations, it is absolutely harmless, greaseless and delightful to use. Does not smear and does not stiffen the lashes. We guarantee that you will be perfectly delighted with results. Each dainty box contains mirror and brush. Two shades: *Black and Brown*. Get AT YOUR DEALER'S or direct from us, postpaid. Accept only genuine MAYBELLINE and your satisfaction is assured. Tear out this ad NOW as a reminder.

Maybelline Co., 4750-94 Cheridan Road, Chicago



Source: What is a Maybelline Slogan? Maybelline Digital Archive

Appendix 10. A copy of a letter from Fred Kilmer to Editor of American Druggist Magazine

Sept. 30th, 1898

Mr. Caswell Mayo
New York City

My dear Mr. Mayo:

Responding to your letter of Sept. 28th, would say that the Jersey City Printing Co., J.C. can do Spanish composition, in fact, any good English printer can set up from Spanish copy, provided the copy is accentuated; much of our Spanish printed is done in our composing room with no difficulty. Our translations are done in our New York office, by Mr. O'Neil who has charge of this department and can give you the name of a physician who can do very fair work.

Trusting the above information may be of service to you, I remain,

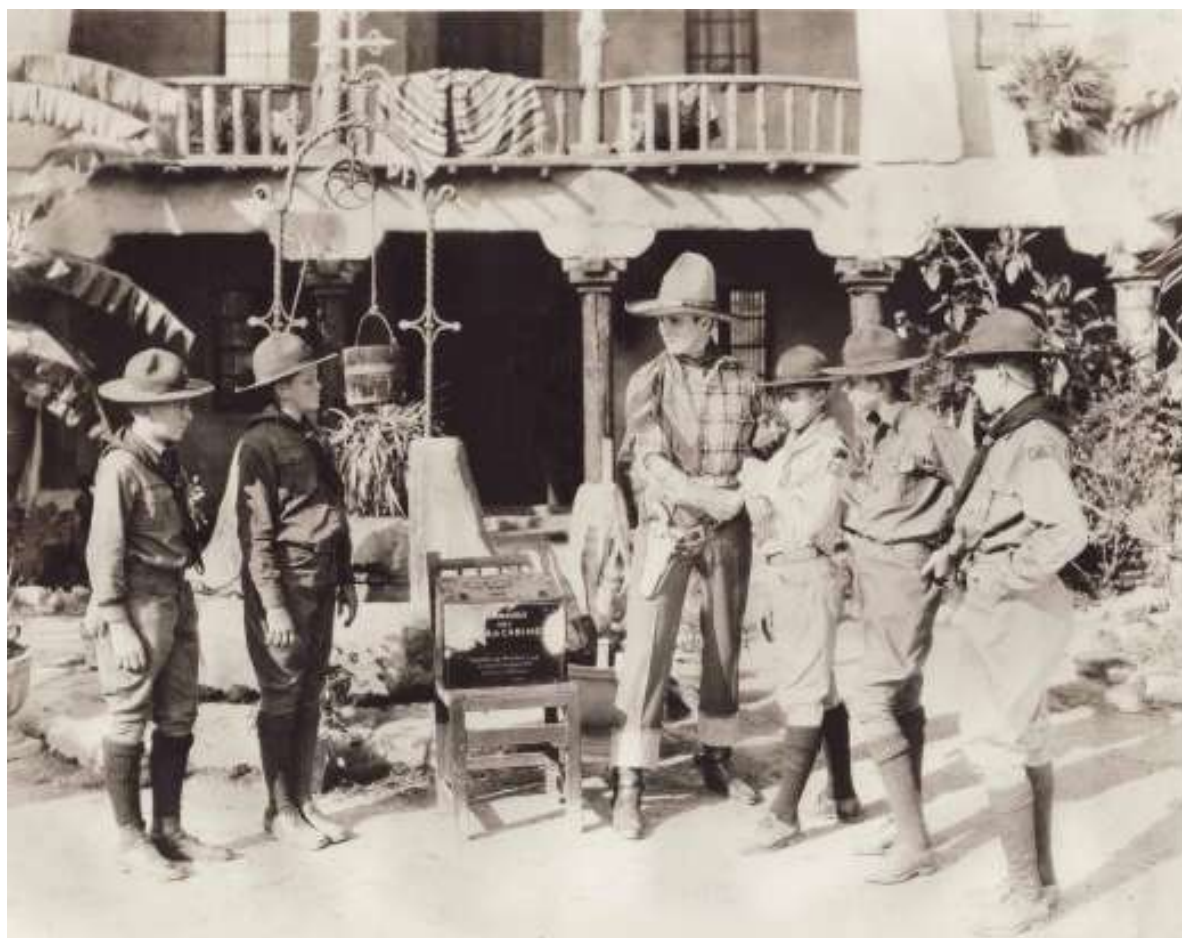
Respectfully yours,

F.B. Kilmer

Dict. by F.B.K.

Source: More than 100 Years Ago: Hola from the Johnson & Johnson Spanish Language Department, Kilmer House Johnson & Johnson Digital Archive

Appendix 11. Fred Thompson Promote Johnson & Johnson product in a silent film



Source: Five Things from the Johnson & Johnson Archives, Kilmer House Johnson & Johnson Digital Archive

Appendix 12. Page from a ledger book belonging to the Gilmour brothers Canada

March 1st 1892

A letter from Messrs Johnson & Johnson of New York authorizing the
managing director to ^{deposit the proceeds of} ~~sell~~ if found advisable and
necessary to be so, a sum of money, in advertising and
other working expenses, salary of equal to 50 percent
of the total sales of each time was approved by the
meeting and agreed by the Chairman -

The Secretary read a letter from Mr Jas Macdonald
dated 26th Feb 1891. Stating his resignation as a
Director of the Company cease to take effect at the
expiration of 30 days from Feb 26 1891 - which was
accepted by the meeting

The meeting adjourned

J. H. Gilmour
Chairman
March 1892

J. H. Gilmour
Secy

Source: Page from a ledger book belonging to the Gilmour brothers, 1892, from Kilmer House Johnson & Johnson Archive

Appendix 13. Face-to-face demonstration at a counter



Source: Estee Lauder Archive published in EsteeLauder.com, Available online at <http://www.esteelauder.co.uk/est%C3%A9e-edit-brand-story-chapter-3-beauty-breakthroughs>; [Accessed 15 February 2016]

Appendix 14. Majority of Brands in Leading Stores

Store	City	No. Brands	Local Brands
Bloomingdale's	New York, NY	54	38
Bullock's	Los Angeles, CA	21	15
Burdine's	Miami, FL	15	10
Carson, Pirie & Scott	Chicago, IL	56	23
Filene's	Boston, MA	55	33
Hale Bros.	San Francisco, CA	59	35
Higbee's	Cleveland, OH	41	37
J.L. Hudson's	Detroit, MI	59	45
Hutzler Bros.	Baltimore, MD	25	13
Kaufmann's	Pittsburgh, PA	38	26
Marshall Field's	Chicago, IL	25	21
May's	Cleveland, OH	43	37
Nieman Marcus	Dallas, TX	9	6
Robinson's	Los Angeles, CA	19	14
Saks-5th-Ave	New York, NY	18	12
Shillito's	Cincinnati, OH	25	16
Total 16 Stores		562	381

Source: The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, Sept. 1939, 45 (3), British Library, p. 310

Appendix 15. Example of Maybelline eye shadow and mascara
Maybelline Eye Shadow in 1935 – Example 1



Source: Maybelline Digital Archive. See post entitled “*Maybelline Queen of the Drugstore in 1930s*”, posted on Monday, 25 November 2013. Available online at <http://www.maybellinebook.com/2013/11/maybelline-gained-national-attention.html>; accessed on 6th May 2016

Maybelline Mascara in 1935 – Example 2



Source: Maybelline Digital Archive. See post entitled “*Maybelline Queen of the Drugstore in 1930s*”, posted on Monday, 25 November 2013. Available online at <http://www.maybellinebook.com/2013/11/maybelline-gained-national-attention.html>; accessed on 6th May 2016

Appendix 16. Maybelline ads in Cosmopolitan during the Great Depression

Cosmopolitan for October, 1929



*When Eyes
must be exceptionally
Charming...*

... only genuine Maybelline Eyelash Beautifier will do; for Maybelline not only makes the lashes appear dark, long and luxuriant, as they must be, but preserves a lovely note of naturalness so essential to real charm. That is why we say "only genuine Maybelline will do," and why millions of beautiful women in all parts of the world look for the Maybelline Girl on the box when purchasing an eyelash beautifier... Maybelline does its magic beauty work *instantly*, and is perfectly harmless, of course. You will be agreeably surprised at the manner in which Maybelline will make *your* eyes appear larger and more brilliant.

 *Solid Form*

Solid or Waterproof
Liquid Maybelline,
Black or Brown, 75c
at all Toilet Goods
Counters.
MAYBELLINE CO.
CHICAGO

*Liquid Form
(Water-
proof)*



Maybelline
Eyelash Beautifier

Source: Maybelline ad hits the stands as stock market crashes, October 1929, Cosmopolitan, cited in Maybelline Digital Archive available at <http://www.maybellinebook.com/2011/03/maybelline-ad-hits-stands-as-stock.html>; accessed on May 5th 2016

Appendix 17. Partial letter written by Tom Lyle Williams to Rags Ragland on Dec 24, 1967

- 3 -

Rags, I really don't know how to begin to tell you how very grateful I am to you for all the many devoted years of superb work you have contributed in helping us make Maybelline the great success it has been.

I remember, about 35 years ago, when you did a great sales job in selling yourself to me when I said that, at that time, we didn't need a sales force. Then you did quite well for a number of years as your own lone sales force and later really made a showing with a real sales force which you have managed so successfully. Your unusual ability in building sales and good-will in your fine letters and in your personal contact with the important buyers has been remarkable.

You have also contributed greatly by creating and writing the hundreds of very clever and productive trade ads that have appeared through the many years.

And, of course, the many unusual and attractive store displays you have created have done so much to increase sales.

There seems to be no end, Rags, to all the fine things you have done to help us build Maybelline and we shall always be grateful to you. But with it all, I will most treasure our wonderful friendship and how well we all got along together during the many fine years.

I wish that you were staying on with Plough for a while in order to familiarize them with the excellent way you have managed the sales department, but I don't blame you a bit in your wanting to check out at the same time as Tom and I.

Source: Maybelline Cosmetic King Tom Lyle Williams letter to Rags Ragland after the sale of the Maybelline Co., Maybelline Digital Archive.

Appendix 18. Cosmetics advertisements

Miss America 1944



Every day, all over the world American Red Cross overseas workers are supplying soldiers and sailors with food, American style, and a "home away from home" atmosphere that is most important to our fighting men.

"I consider the Red Cross an auxiliary of my Army, and we simply couldn't get along without it. It is doing a perfectly magnificent job in every way."

This statement by General Dwight Eisenhower puts into a few apt words a volume of praise for the Red Cross and the important work it is doing for the fighting Sons and Daughters of America.

As our Army has grown the work of the Red Cross has become magnified and the needs for added funds critically increased. Nothing must prevent the American Red Cross from being at the side of the American soldier. And the fathers and mothers, sisters and brothers, friends and neighbors of each of our fighting men will not let anything stop it. This is why the raising of over \$200,000,000 by the Red Cross in 1944 will be accomplished — and topped! So, GIVE THE RED CROSS MORE IN '44.



© 1944 Avon Products, Inc.

Miss America

Source: *Miss America 1944*, Record Group I, Series 7 A, Box OS 18 A, ' National Advertising, 1944-1952, Avon Products, Inc. records (Accession 2155), Manuscript and Archival Department Wilmington, DE: Hagley Museum and Library

(continue from Appendix 18)

double
dare
red

Throw caution to the winds! Wear Avon's thrilling Double Dare Red on your lips and finger tips.
It's a challenge in color... intriguingly packaged to double-dare you to look your loveliest.
Your Avon Representative will bring it directly to your home. Welcome her when she calls.

Avon
cosmetics
AT RADIO CITY • NEW YORK

THIS ADVERTISEMENT APPEARS IN THE SEPTEMBER, 1946 ISSUES OF VOGUE, McCALL'S, LADIES' HOME JOURNAL, WOMAN'S HOME COMPANION, BETTER HOMES & GARDENS, PARENTS', HOLLAND'S, AND SUNSET

Double Dare Red

Source: *Double Dare Red*, Record Group I., Series 7 A, Box OS 18 A, ' National Advertising, 1944-1952, Avon Products, Inc. records (Accession 2155), Manuscript and Archival Department Wilmington, DE: Hagley Museum and Library

Appendix 19. Buy US war bonds regularly



To the girl with a soldier overseas... How much do you really want him back?

Just how much do you miss your soldier—far across the ocean?

Do you miss him so much that you'll pass up that jeweled bracelet you've set your heart on?

Do you love him so much that you'll make your old suit last another spring?

Do you want him back so badly that you'll walk to the office and to the stores when you could take the bus—and sit home in the evenings when you might go to the movies?

You do? Of course you do!

So start saving, start denying yourself little "extras" and luxuries right now. And buy United States War Bonds with every single cent that you save!

War Bonds will help bring your soldier back!

War Bonds mean reinforcements for him right now—a reserve for you both in years to come.

War Bonds mean American bombers over Germany and submarines under the China Sea—they really mean a shorter war!

War Bonds are your ballot against inflation—your insurance policy for freedom—your savings bank book after the Armistice is signed.

And over and above all that, they're the most careful and cautious, the safest and most productive investment into which you—or anybody else—could possibly put your money. Start buying War Bonds for your soldier. And start buying them today!

Here's what War Bonds do for You!

- 1 They are the safest place in all the world for your savings.
- 2 They are a written promise from the United States of America to pay you back every penny you put in.
- 3 They pay you back \$4 for every \$5 you put in, at the end of ten years... pay you interest at the rate of 2.9 per cent.
- 4 You may turn them in and get your cash back at any time after 60 days. The longer you hold them, the more they're worth.
- 5 They are never worth less than the money you invested in them. They can't go down in price. That's a promise from the financially strongest institution in the world! The United States of America.

SAVE YOUR MONEY THE SAFEST WAY—BUY U. S. WAR BONDS REGULARLY

Published in cooperation with the Drug, Cosmetic and Allied Industries by:

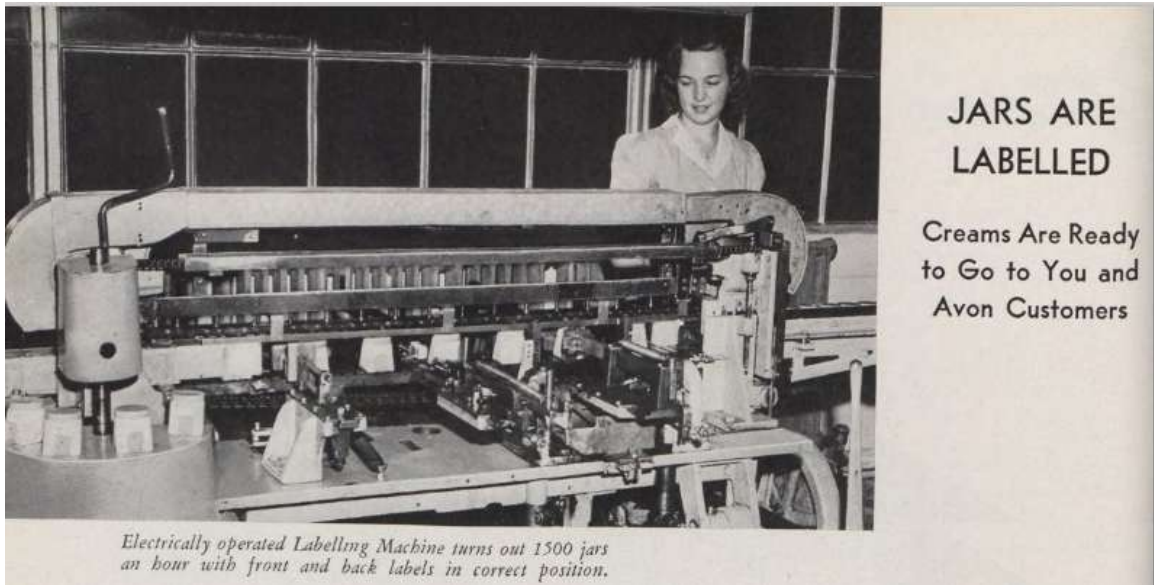
Maybelline

WORLD'S LARGEST-SELLING EYE BEAUTY AIDS

69

Source: Maybelline Digital Archive, available online at <http://www.maybellinebook.com/2012/08/amelia-earhart-first-female-to-attempt.html>

Appendix 20. Jars Are Labelled



Source: *What Knowing All About Avon's Creams Means to You!*, Outlook (February, 1942), Manuscript and Archival Department Wilmington, DE: Hagley Museum and Library, p.12

Appendix 21. New band aid in the World War II

An old family friend  in a new form —

Sulfa-thiazole *BAND-AID!



Sulfa-thiazole! It's one of the famous Sulfa Drugs, 'The drugs every body's talking about'—that help so wonderfully to prevent infection of war wounds!



You can now get your old stand-by, BAND-AID, with Sulfa-thiazole (sulfadiazole) mixed just... to give you extra protection when caring for small cuts, scratches, and blisters.



Listen to Edwin C. Hill in the "Warren Side of the News" every Tuesday night.

• Sulfa-thiazole BAND-AID is the newest member of the famous BAND-AID family. It's the new way to protect small wounds from dirt, germs, trouble!

Never take a chance with a cut, scratch, or blister. Don't let infection get started—don't let even the smallest injury go unguarded. Treat it quickly and properly. Then, for added protection, apply a Sulfa-thiazole BAND-AID.

Sulfa-thiazole BAND-AID—36 adhesive bandages for only 25¢.

Johnson & Johnson
NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J. KENILWORTH, N. J.

**Band-Aid is the Reg. Trademark of the adhesive bandage made exclusively by Johnson & Johnson.*

41

Source: Life Magazine ad for BAND-AID® Brand Adhesive Bandages, 1943, from Kilmer House Johnson & Johnson Digital Archive.

Appendix 22. Avon new packaging for lipstick and face powders in wartime



Source: *Colours Flying – Avon Sachets*, Outlook (August 1944), Manuscript and Archival Department Wilmington, DE: Hagley Museum and Library, p.8

Appendix 23. Price comparison between brands created by diaspora entrepreneurs and non-diaspora entrepreneurs for their dominated products

Brands created by diaspora entrepreneurs (price in US\$ / per unit)	Brands created by non-diaspora entrepreneurs (price in US\$ / per unit)
<p>Avon</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lipstick, regular = \$0.59 Special 2 for = \$0.95 • Mascara = \$0.59 <p>Helena Rubinstein</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lipstick, = between \$0.75 to \$2.50 <p>Estee Lauder</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lipstick, = \$ 1.50 each <p>Tangee</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lipstick, = \$1.00 <p>Max Factor</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lipstick, = \$1.00 <p>Elizabeth Arden</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lipstick, = \$1.50 	<p>Maybelline</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mascara, = \$0.75 <p>Hot Lips Lipstick by Mar-O-Mist Inc. Chicago</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lipstick, = \$0.50

Sources: Avon see Hagley Museum and Library, Delaware, “Independence Special”, Avon Outlook, Independence Campaign, (June 15th to July 3rd 1942), p.5; Helena Rubinstein see advertisement “*Everything your Lips desire*” in 1942, also see “*Be faithful to these and they’ll be faithful to you*” in 1943; Estee Lauder see Estee Lauder Cosmetic Co. Invoice, Date: Nov 12, 1946, Dept. No P 6177, Illustration after p. 69, Estee A Success Story, Estee Lauder, (1985), pp.68-69; Tangee see an advertisement “*Tangee Nature’s Loveliest Colour*” in The History of the Tangee Company – The Druggist, His Daughter and The Power of Three, Collecting Vintage Compacts, 15th June 2014, Available online at <http://www.collectingvintagecompacts.blogspot.co.uk/>: accessed on June 2, 2015; Max Factor, see a two-page advertisement “*Hollywood’s Sensational New Lipstick in a New Rainbow of Lipstick Reds*”, November 1946; Elizabeth Arden, see “*Elizabeth Arden Montezuma Red Lipstick*” created for United States Marine Corps Women’s Reserve (USMCWR), 1943-1946, Available online at http://www.vanityfair.com/dam/online/beauty/old_ads_2.2.jpg: accessed on June 2, 2015; Maybelline, see an advertisement “*Learn Betty’s Secret for Beautiful Eyes*”, Betty Grable in a cross promotion for the 20th Century Fox picture Down Argentine Way, 1940; Hot Lips Lipstick by Mar-O-Mist Inc Chicago, see an advertisement “*Exciting! New! Alluring!*” Available online at <https://uk.pinterest.com/pin/564990715726113790/>: accessed on June 2, 2015.

Appendix 24. Johnson & Johnson advertisement in 1940s



The illustration shows a young boy in a blue sweater and brown pants kneeling on a paved path, applying a white bandage to the leg of a young girl. The girl is wearing a red jacket, a white dress, white socks, and dark shoes. She has a blue bow in her hair. They are standing in front of a black metal fence. In the background, there is a house and trees. The artist's signature 'GFD' is visible in the bottom right corner of the illustration.

"Mommy always says you're safe when you use Johnson & Johnson"

				
<p>New exclusive formula: New Red Cross® Adhesive Tape gives better sticking qualities and greater freedom from skin irritation.</p>	<p>Red Cross® Cotton comes in one style. This long fiber cotton is the whitest, softest, most absorbent surgical cotton available.</p>	<p>Sealed in individual envelopes, Red Cross® Sterile Gauze Pads are soft, absorbent, absolutely sterile. Ideal for First Aid and Baby Care.</p>	<p>Five mesh, pliable gauze with clean-cut edges, Red Cross® Gause Bandages cover lacerations, burns, cuts, abrasions, and other wounds.</p>	<p>Individually wrapped and sterile, BAND-AID Adhesive Bandages are convenient protection for small cuts, blisters, and abrasions.</p>

The most trusted name in surgical dressings... Johnson & Johnson

Source: See Gladys Rockmore Davis: The Artist Behind the Classic Johnson & Johnson Ads, Kilmer House Johnson & Johnson Digital Archive

Appendix 25. Alcohol – rationed raw materials



U.S.I. ALCOHOL NEWS

December ★ A Monthly Review of Technical Developments for Chemists and Executives ★ 1941

ALCOHOL ESSENTIAL IN DEFENSE





Large Quantities Needed in Many Vital Phases of Current Program

Ethyl alcohol – always one of industry's essential raw materials – has taken on even greater importance as a result of the requirements of the defense program.

Because of the extraordinary diversity of alcohol's uses, enormous quantities are being consumed for defense purposes, with a consequent limitation of the amounts available for non-defense uses.

In Smokeless Powder

The manufacture of munitions represents one of the more important phases of alcohol's utility. Alcohol is employed as a dehydrating agent in the manufacture of the nitrocellulose needed in munitions; as a wetting agent in treating nitrocellulose for safe storage and shipment; and as a solvent in making gelatin dynamites and smokeless powder. It has been estimated that every time a 16-inch shell is fired, a 55-gallon drum of alcohol is indirectly consumed.

In Torpedo Propulsion

Firing a torpedo calls for alcohol. Here the alcohol is used directly, to furnish the motive power for propelling the torpedoes.

Another important application of alcohol in its use as a flushing fluid for propellers, carburetors and windshields in addition to its employment in indicating devices for aviation and marine services: compasses, gauges, thermometers, barometers, and other instruments.

Medical Applications

The antiseptic properties of alcohol naturally lead to many medical uses. Not only is it used directly for such purposes as the sterilization of instruments and supplies, but it serves also as one of the most important raw materials in the production of anesthetics and of many types of drugs and pharmaceuticals. Ether and ethylene, for example – two of the most widely used anesthetics – are both produced from alcohol, while injections of alcohol itself are used as a therapeutic nerve block for the relief of pain.

Other Typical Applications

Many of the other phases of alcohol's importance result from its utility as a raw material in the manufacture of other chemicals. Ethyl acetate, an extremely important solvent in the manufacture of airplanes "flopers," is an alcohol-derived chemical, which is used also in the formulation of many of the lacquers now needed in large quantities for finishing defense products.

These applications represent only a few of the outstanding phases of alcohol's vital role in carrying out the defense program, but they serve to indicate the extent to which alcohol is consumed for emergency needs.

TECHNICAL DEVELOPMENTS

For further information, write U.S.I.

A new colloid mill adapts a simple process for the production of heavy colloidal dispersions, depending on the viscosity of the materials. It is for use in the manufacture of emulsions, inks, sprays, and many other products. (See 520a)

A new aromatic compound has been developed for use in all types of hydrocarbon fuels in all types of engines in which the fuel atomizer and atomizer is used according to the manufacturer. (See 521a)

Cleaning of painted walls is facilitated by a new type of transparent film that can be applied over wall paper. When the film is torn off, the wall paper is left in place and it is easy to clean and free from any dirt or residue that may have accumulated on the wall. It can be removed by clean water, leaving no dirt or residue. (See 522a)

A new preservative for wood has been developed for use in the manufacture of airplane fuselages. It is a powerful alcohol-soluble preservative that has been developed for use in the manufacture of airplane fuselages. It is a powerful alcohol-soluble preservative that has been developed for use in the manufacture of airplane fuselages. (See 523a)

An adjuvant material for the complete sterilization of human and animal sera has been developed. It is a powerful alcohol-soluble preservative that has been developed for use in the manufacture of airplane fuselages. It is a powerful alcohol-soluble preservative that has been developed for use in the manufacture of airplane fuselages. (See 524a)

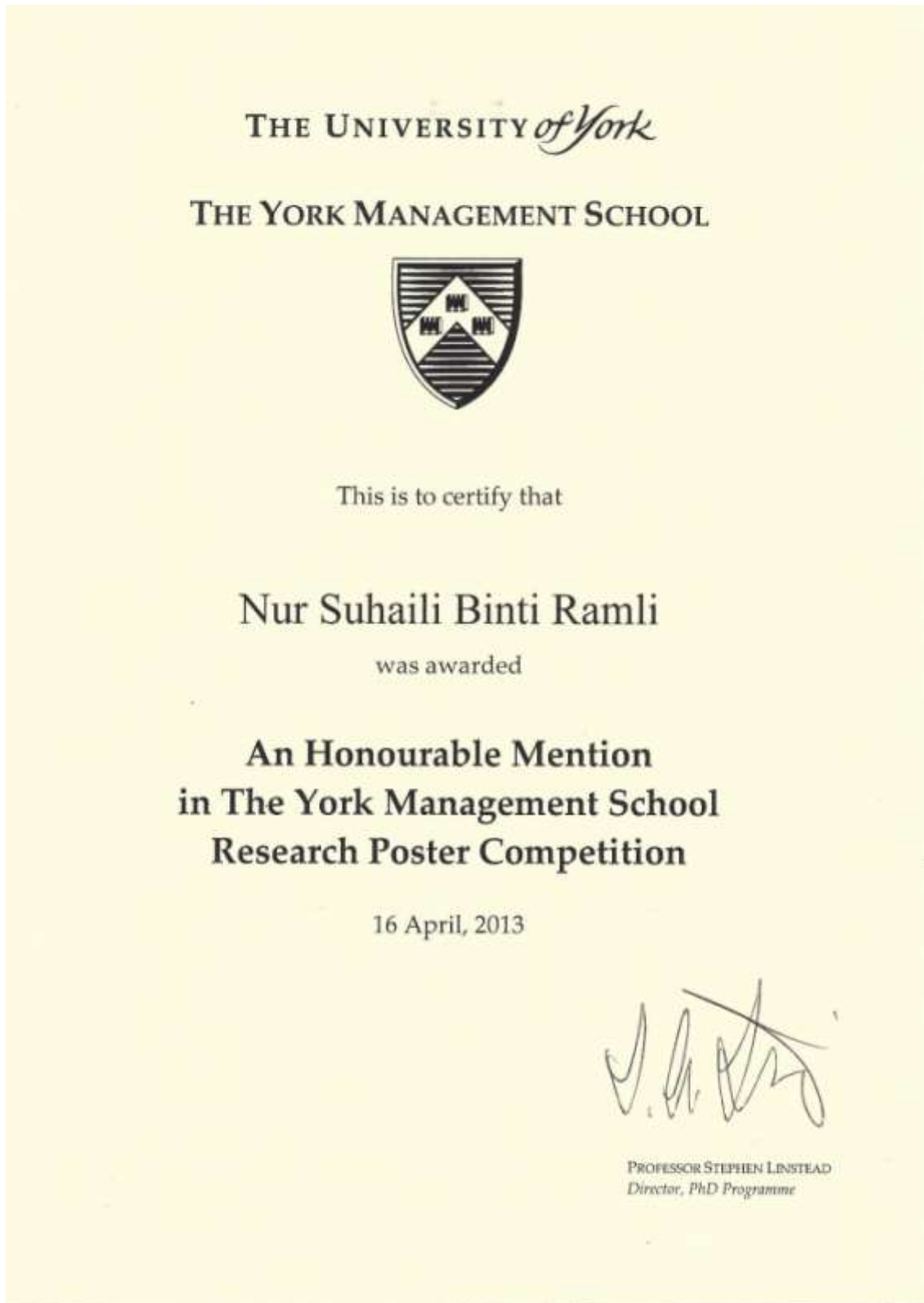
U.S. INDUSTRIAL CHEMICALS, INC.

60 EAST 42ND ST., NEW YORK  BRANCHES IN ALL PRINCIPAL CITIES

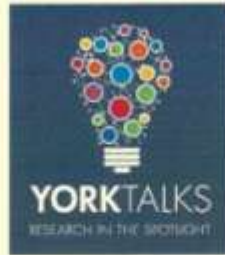
INDUSTRIAL ALCOHOL IN ALL GRADES AND ALL FORMULAS

Source: Alcohol Essential in Defence, The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, December 1941, 49 (6), British Library, p.657

Appendix 26. Awards by the University before PhD upgrade



(continue from Appendix 26) **Awards by the University before PhD upgrade**



UNIVERSITY *of York*

York Talks Poster Competition

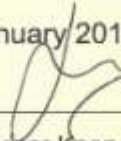
In the presence of Professor Koen Lamberts and University of York 50th Anniversary Professors

Shining a light on inspiring research

Presented to

Suhaili Ramli

Wednesday 8 January 2014



Professor Koen Lamberts

Vice Chancellor, University of York

Chapter 7

Green Marketing: A New Prospect in the Cosmetics Industry

Nur Suhaili Ramli
University of York, UK

ABSTRACT

This chapter proposes an important study of the cosmetics industry in relation to green marketing and sustainability concerns from the historical context and its evolution to the present day. The aim of this chapter is to explain the significant impact of green marketing on the cosmetics industry as a new future prospect that benefits all parties and what can be learned from history. This chapter intends to address the existence of sustainability concepts through history, which have become an interesting phenomenon in the present day. The aspects to be discussed include (1) new prospects and opportunities from green marketing for the cosmetics industry; (2) the evolution of the cosmetics industry; and (3) green marketing and green concepts in the cosmetics industry.

INTRODUCTION

Currently, concern for the environment is a global issue. This has been observed in various platforms, including consumer demand, lifestyle polls, political and activist campaigns, the media, and through marketing strategies and product offers. However, the academic literature does not reflect this popular movement in terms of its historical context and evolution. Previously, sustainability or green concepts

DOI: 10.4018/978-1-5225-2075-7.ch007

(Continued from Appendix 27) **Publications (Book reviews, articles and a book chapter)**

Manuscript (This journal follows a double blind policy please

[Click here to download Manuscript \(This journal follows a double blind policy please "do not include" any authors names](#)

[Click here to view linked References](#)

A Review of Marketing Strategies from the European Chocolate Industry

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Abstract



This paper reviews the main marketing strategy applied by the European chocolate industry. It focuses on the role of country-of-origin, product diversification and scenarios, and provides a historical overview of the industry. This is followed by a discussion of the association between a brand and country-of-origin, before scrutinising the chocolate industry. The analysis of this study uses evidence gathered from the consumer chocolate ranking, company annual reports, consultant statistics, corporate websites and the newspaper archives. The analysis compares the marketing strategies of case studies selected; namely, Ferrero Rocher, Cadbury, Lindt & Sprüngli and Godiva. Moreover, emphasis is placed on the similarities and differences of these brands and other chocolate brands outside Europe. The study's existing literature and analysis suggests that historical context and business history play important roles over time.

Keywords: *chocolate industry, marketing strategies, global brands, qualitative research, Europe*

A brand and a country-of-origin have a positive correlation, as they influence consumers' brand evaluation, perceptions, purchasing behaviour and brand equity (Yasin, Noor & Mohamad, 2007). Therefore, they can offer brands another dimension to consider in their marketing strategy, and create competitive advantages in the industry. A number of studies emphasise the positive association of country-of-origin in marketing strategy for certain industries; for example, fashion and perfume (Bilkey & Nes, 1982), luxury products and accessories (Godey et al., 2012, Aiello et al., 2009), cosmetics (Ramli, 2015), automobile (Häubl, 1996), chocolate (Camgöz & Ertem, 2007, Ozretic-Dosen, Skare & Krupka, 2007), and alcoholic beverages (Lopes, 2007). These studies can provide a strong competitive advantage in creating a favourable brand image. In contrast, country-of-origin often leads to an unsuccessful association of product images and quality (Kabadayi & Lerman, 2011, Lotz & Hu, 2001).

Source: Ramli, N.S. (2017). A review of marketing strategies from the European chocolate industry. *Journal of Global Entrepreneurship Research*, 7(1), p.10. DOI: 10.1186/s40497-017-0068-0

(Continued from Appendix 27) **Publications (Book reviews, articles and a book chapter)**

Emerald Insight
International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research
Product Development Strategy – Innovation Capacity and Entrepreneurial Firm
Performance in High-tech SMEs
Nur Suhaili Ramli
Article information:
To cite this document:
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(2016), "Family Entrepreneurship: Rethinking the Research Agenda", Family Entrepreneurship: Rethinking the Research Agenda Routledge Rethinking Entrepreneurship Research Routledge Abingdon 2016 336pp. ISBN 9781317554820", International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour & Research, Vol. 22 Iss 6 pp. 984-985 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/IJEBR-04-2016-0128>

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(Continued from Appendix 27) **Publications (Book reviews, articles and a book chapter)**

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> Bridging the Business-Project Divide (Techniques for Reconciling Business-as-Usual and Project Cultures)



International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research

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Online from: 1995
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Citation:	Nur Suhaili Ramli, (2015) "Bridging the Business-Project Divide (Techniques for Reconciling Business-as-Usual and Project Cultures)", <i>International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research</i> , Vol. 21 Iss: 4, pp.643 - 646
DOI	http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/IJEBR-02-2015-0045
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Review Subject:	<i>Bridging the Business-Project Divide (Techniques for Reconciling Business-as-Usual and Project Cultures)</i> John Brinkworth
Publisher Name:	Gower Publishing Ltd
Publication Year:	2014
Publisher:	Emerald Group Publishing Limited
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Source: Ramli, N. S. (2015). Bridging the Business-Project Divide (Techniques for Reconciling Business-as-Usual and Project Cultures). *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour & Research*, 21(4),643-646

(Continued from Appendix 27) **Publications (Book reviews, articles and a book chapter)**



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World Conference on Technology, Innovation and Entrepreneurship

**Immigrant Entrepreneurs on the World's Successful Global Brands
in the Cosmetic Industry**

Nur Suhaili Ramli^{a*}

^a*The York Management School, University of York, YO105GD Freboys Lane, York, UK*

Abstract

The cosmetic industry is a thriving global industry. It was the most successful industry during the Great Depression from the early 1930s till the end of World War II. The aim of this study is to examine the evolution of cosmetics brands created by immigrant founders and the extent of such cosmetics brands in the industry from the date they were created until now. The analysis in this study indicates that cosmetics brands created by immigrant entrepreneurs have survived and grown through innovation in four areas. The study confirms that the cosmetic industry is a relevant industry that can promise another booming prospect in the future. It also provides evidence to support the findings. Implications of innovation and future trends in the cosmetic industry are discussed.

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Peer-review under responsibility of Istanbul University.

Keywords: Immigrant entrepreneurs; Global brands; Cosmetic industry; Innovation

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E-mail address: nbr500@york.ac.uk

(Continued from Appendix 27) **Publications (Book reviews, articles and a book chapter)**

Home > Browse Journals & Books > International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research > Volume 20, Issue 6
> Conceptual Richness and Methodological Diversity in Entrepreneurship Research



International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research

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Reviewer(s): Nur Suhaili Ramli (York Management School, University of York, York, UK)

Citation: Nur Suhaili Ramli, (2014) "Conceptual Richness and Methodological Diversity in Entrepreneurship Research", *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research*, Vol. 20 Iss: 6, pp.615 - 618

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/IJEBR-08-2014-0155>

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Review Subject: *Conceptual Richness and Methodological Diversity in Entrepreneurship Research*

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Source: Ramli, N. S. (2014). Conceptual Richness and Methodological Diversity in Entrepreneurship Research. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour & Research*, 20(6), 615-618

Appendix 28. Dissemination of project to the public

FALLING WALLS YOUNG INNOVATOR OF THE YEAR 2015

NUR SUHAILI RAMLI

has participated as

FINALIST

in the Falling Walls Lab Berlin on November 8, 2015.

The Falling Walls Lab is an international forum, which aims at building and promoting interdisciplinary connections between young excellent academics, entrepreneurs and professionals from all fields. All participants present their research work, business model or initiative to an audience of industry experts, decision makers and scientists – in 3 minutes each. A distinguished jury awards a prize to the best presentations. The Falling Walls Lab is organised by the Falling Walls Foundation and A.T. Kearney (Founding Partner) with the support of Festo (Global Partner).


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Chairman of the Board of Trustees,
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Hedell Foundation
Chairman of the Jury


Dr. Luca Rossi
Partner, Head of Europe,
Middle East, and Africa,
A.T. Kearney
Vice Chairman of the Jury



FALLING
WALLS
LAB 2015

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FESTO

(Continued from Appendix 28) **Dissemination of project to the public**

The screenshot shows the top of a website with a red header. The main title is 'FALLING WALLS FRAGMENTS' in white and red text. Below it is the subtitle 'WHICH ARE THE NEXT WALLS TO FALL IN SCIENCE AND SOCIETY?' in white. A navigation bar contains 'ABOUT / CONTACT / f / t / in / v / y'. The article is by 'LAB ALUMNI / IN THE SPOTLIGHT / 06/04/2016'. The main title of the article is 'IMMIGRANT ENTREPRENEURS AND GLOBAL BRANDS'. The text begins with 'Over the last three years, I have developed two main areas of focus: I am interested in the intersections between business history and immigrant entrepreneurship. It cannot be denied that migration occurred due to crisis, but I try to look at migration from a different angle, seeking to ascertain what we can learn from the past while also seeking a suitable solution for the future that could benefit all parties. Therefore, I conducted a comparison study on the evolution of global brands between immigrant entrepreneurs and non-immigrant entrepreneurs to examine the significant contribution to the economic growth in the host country.' A section titled '1. What is the initial problem?' follows. The text continues: 'Many researchers have highlighted the role of immigrant entrepreneurs in the host country and many have explored the differences in proclivity towards entrepreneurship between certain groups of immigrants—for example, examining the association between business and race or ethnicity. There are several studies on the impact of immigrant entrepreneurship on the economic growth in the host country but *limited studies on their economic contribution through global brands*. In my research context, immigrant entrepreneurs refers to those foreign people who come to a host country to operate their businesses; the children of immigrants are also part of this group. The purpose of this study is to investigate the economic contribution of immigrant entrepreneurs to the host country and other advantages they can offer.' On the right side, there is a sidebar with a search bar, 'OUR AUTHORS' section with a grid of author photos, and a 'SUBSCRIBE' section with the text 'Subscribe to our blog posts to get the'.

Source: Retrieved from <http://www.fallingwallsfragments.com/2016/04/06/immigrant-entrepreneurs-and-global-brands/> [Accessed on 5 December 2016]

(Continued from Appendix 28) **Dissemination of project to the public**

The screenshot displays the homepage of the Global Islamic Economy Gateway. At the top, the logo and name 'Global Islamic Economy Gateway' are visible, along with navigation links for 'Countries', 'Community', 'Signup', and 'Login'. A green navigation bar contains 'Pharmaceuticals & Cosmetics', 'NEWS', 'SECTORS', 'COMPANIES', 'EVENTS', 'INSIGHTS', 'RESOURCES', and social media icons. The main content area features a red 'PRODUCTION' tag above the article title 'Great Demand for the Halal Cosmetics'. Below the title, it identifies the author as 'Nur Suhaili Ramli', the date as '13 March, 2015', and the type as 'Academic Research Paper'. A 'SPECIAL CONTRIBUTION' badge is also present. Social media sharing icons for Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, Google+, and Email are provided. To the right, a 'TAGS' section lists various categories like 'Muslims', 'UK', 'Religion', 'Brand', 'Global', 'Malaysia', 'Halal', 'Make-up', 'Cosmetics', 'Southeast', 'Halal', 'Investment', 'Products', and 'Entrepreneurs'. Below the tags is a featured report cover titled 'Global Islamic Economy Outlook: A Promise of Change, State of the Global Islamic Economy Report 2016/2017'. A 'RELATED INSIGHTS' section shows a thumbnail for 'Addressing the demand for halal gelatin in pharmaceuticals'. At the bottom right, a 'DON'T MISS' section is partially visible.



Biography

Nur Suhaili Ramli

PhD candidate - Management, specializing in the business history, University Of York

(Continued from Appendix 28) **Dissemination of project to the public**



**7 & 8 JANUARY 2017 (SAT & SUN)
11AM - 7PM
KUALA LUMPUR CONVENTION CENTRE
(EXHIBITION HALLS 1-5)**

[Home](#) [News](#) [Business](#) [Sport](#) [Metro](#) [Tech](#) [Lifestyle](#) **Opinion** [Videos](#) [Property](#)

Letters [Home > Opinion > Letters](#)

Friday, 13 March 2015

Great demand for halal cosmetics

[f](#) FACEBOOK

[t](#) TWITTER

[g+](#) GOOGLE+

[in](#) LINKEDIN



IN the Muslim world, religious women who want to wear make-up have struggled to find products that suit their faith.

It is potentially frustrating for Muslim women who want to look good, yet follow their faith. They are not comfortable with what they are currently wearing.

This is a business opportunity for entrepreneurs in the cosmetic industry.

Although cosmetics is a growing niche market, the level of demand is surprisingly high, especially in countries where the majority of people are Muslims, such as Indonesia, Malaysia, Turkey, the Middle East countries, and in India where there is a huge Muslim population.

Historically, the cosmetic industry has been the only industry that has emerged unscathed from global crises, such as world wars, economic depression and globalisation.

This has been proven by various academic research done in the West. It is a promising industry for those looking for investment opportunities, where profits can reach millions of ringgit per year.

Thursday, 1 December 2016, 3:49 AM

NEW STRAITS TIMES

FRONTPAGE

NATION

BUSINESS

LIFESTYLE

SPORTS



Our cosmetics brands' huge potential

BY NUR SUHAILI RAMLI - 3 NOVEMBER 2015 @ 11:01 AM

 5  5   0  5

There is great demand for halal cosmetics in the cosmetics market among Muslims, and globally.


The trend for halal cosmetics can be seen from the latest report authored by Dubai authorities and Thomson Reuters through the Global Islamic Economy Summit 2015, with the global Muslim market in fourth place with US\$46 billion (RM198 billion) after the United States with US\$81 billion, Japan (US\$77 billion) and China (US\$49 billion). This trend shows that the demand for halal cosmetics is greater than the total sales in Germany and India.

Many mainstream global brands in the cosmetics industry, such as Estee Lauder and L'Oreal, play important roles in expanding the cosmetics business through their acquisition strategies and market focus. Reviewing the history of both brands, Estee Lauder, for instance, has acquired many other cosmetics brands, including those aimed at Asian consumers, and the brand's formulas contain ginseng as one of the ingredients, like Osiao. On the other hand, L'Oreal acquired the Chinese make-up and skincare brand, Yue-Sai, as part of its portfolio to expand its business in the East.

S
Up

(Continued from Appendix 28) **Dissemination of project to the public**

You're viewing an archived page from a previous Festival of Ideas. [See this year's](#)





- 2016 festival
- 2015 festival**
- Festival themes
- Festival focus days
- Talks
- Performances and films
- Community events
- Exhibitions
- Calendar of events
- Venues
- Partners
- Donors and supporters

- 2014 festival
- 2013 festival
- 2012 festival
- 2011 festival


Green Reactions Presents: Think green! (or not...)

Heather Tanner (MA student, University of York), Nur Suhaili Ramli (PhD candidate, University of York), Jean-Paul Skeete (PhD candidate, University of York), Michaela Smith (PhD candidate, University of York)

 **Saturday 20 June 2015, 6.00pm to 8.00pm**

 **Free admission**
Booking required

[Book tickets](#)

 **Berrick Saul Building, University of York** ([map](#) | [getting to campus](#))

Event details



Growing up your parents may have told you to think before you speak or before you do something you might later regret. But do you? Do you think about your actions before you throw something out, before you drive your car a short distance instead of walking/cycling, before you buy one product over another, etc? What is the first thing on your mind when making that decision? Is it money, your health, the environment, etc?

The presenters from the University of York will be discussing how humans have interacted with the environment, discussing the results of the decisions people make which impact the environment, the possible decision processes that resulted in these behaviours, and the underlying ideas which may have propelled people to make these decisions.

Speakers biography

Heather Tanner is currently studying for a MA in Landscape Archaeology at the University of York.


Nur Suhaili Ramli is currently studying for a PhD in Management (3rd Year) at the University of York, specialising in the business history of cosmetics brand.




(Continued from Appendix 28) **Dissemination of project to the public**

YORNIGHT

EUROPEAN RESEARCHERS' NIGHT



- YorNIGHT 2015
- Activities and Events
- Competitions
- Researchers
 - King's Manor
 - Yorkshire Museum
 - York Explore
 - York Medical Society
 - Barley Hall
 - Researchers' Café
- Gallery
- Young Researchers
- Women and Research
- Partners
- YorNIGHT 2014
- EU corner



Nur Suhaili Ramli

Nur Suhaili Ramli is pursuing a PhD in Management specialising in the business history of cosmetics brands and a member of Centre for Evolution of Global Business and Institutions (CEGBI) at the University of York. Recently, she participated in the York Festival of Ideas and published a paper on cosmetics. Her research is entitled, "Immigrant Entrepreneurs on the World's Successful Global Brands in the Cosmetics Industry". Her research is a comparative study of brands from date of creation until the present. Her interest in this field is due to the immigrants' contribution to the world.

YorNIGHT
University of York, Heslington, York, YO10 5DD, UK
| yornight@york.ac.uk

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Appendix 29. PhD Gantt Chart

*** PhD Gantt Chart**

Title: A Comparative Study of the Marketing Strategies: The Development of Cosmetic Brands Created by Diaspora Entrepreneurs and Non-Diaspora Entrepreneurs in the US Cosmetic Industry

Tasks Month (s)	Progress (in %)	Year 1 = 2012/2013									Year 2 = 2013/2014									Year 3 = 2014 / 2015									Year 4 = 2015 / 2016											
		10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
PART 1: Introduction and Methodology																																								
Read general topic related to the project	100																																							
Review specific literature	100																																							
Address research gaps	100																																							
Formulate research questions	100																																							
Identify research aim and objectives	100																																							
Define of concepts	100																																							
Identify main theories and framework	100																																							
Select the methodological approach	100																																							
Ethic application/approval	100																																							
PhD upgrade	100																																							
PART 2: Fieldwork and Analysis																																								
Prepare for archival visits (administration task)	100																																							
Collect data at archive/library (first visit)	100																																							
Group data collected by themes	100																																							
Revise collected data for next archival visits	100																																							
Collect data at archive/library (series of short visits)	100																																							
Conduct interviews	100																																							
Analyse data collected	100																																							
Draft finding chapters	100																																							
PART 3: Conclusion																																								
Summarise key research findings	100																																							
Identify limitations and recommendations	100																																							
Compile all chapters	100																																							
Prepare draft 1 and correction	100																																							
Submit thesis	100																																							

Notes:

Reading and writing happened throughout.
A large amount of time allocated for data analysis

Start of registration : 3 October 2012

Indicator:

Completed timeline

Part 1: 100% completed

Part 2: 100% completed

Part 3: 100% completed

Total completion of study: 100%

Prepared by:

Nur Suhaili Binti Ramli (Student ID: 107042281)

Prepared for:

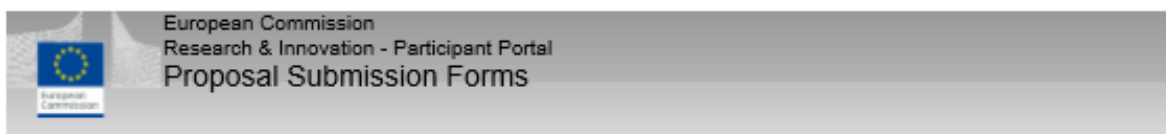
First Supervisor: Professor Teresa Da Silva Lopes

Second Supervisor: Professor Bob Doherty

Thesis Advisory Panel: Professor Colin Divall, Dr. Fernando Fastoso

Revision: 23 Date: 5 December 2016

Appendix 30. A future plan for this project



Horizon 2020

Call: H2020-MSCA-IF-2016
(Marie Skłodowska-Curie Individual Fellowships)

Topic: MSCA-IF-2016
Type of action: MSCA-IF-EF-ST
(Standard EF)

Proposal number: 753364

Proposal acronym: EUROCOSMETICS

Deadline Id: H2020-MSCA-IF-2016

Table of contents

Section	Title	Action
1	General information	
2	Participants & contacts	
3	Budget	
4	Ethics	
5	Call-specific questions	

How to fill in the forms?

The administrative forms must be filled in for each proposal using the templates available in the submission system. Some data fields in the administrative forms are pre-filled based on the previous steps in the submission wizard.

Appendix 31. Sample of the Author's database

Computer industry

Top 500 Most Valueable Global Brand 2012
sources: Brand Finance PLC 2012

Rank 2012	Brand	Industry	Domicile	Region(s)	Founder(s)	Country of origin of parent(s) of founder(s)	Founder(s) Origin	Date of Creation	Immigrant founder(s) / Child of Immigrant
1	Apple	Computers	United States	North America	Steve Jobs	Syria		1976	Yes
2	Google	Internet	United States	North America	Sergey Brin, Larry Page	(Jewish immigrant)	Sergey Brin (Russia)	1998	Yes
4	IBM	IT Services	United States	North America	Charles Ranlett Flint	Germany		1911	Yes
10	Amazon	Internet	United States	North America	Jeff Bezos	Cuba		1994	Yes
21	HP	IT Services	United States	North America	William Redington Hewlett, David Packard		United States	1939	No
72	Dell	Computers	United States	North America	Michael Dell	Germany		1984	Yes
98	eBay	Internet	United States	North America	Pierre Omidyar	Iran	France	1995	Yes
102	Facebook	Internet	United States	North America	Mark Elliot Zuckerberg, Eduardo Saverin, Andrew McCollum, Dustin Moskovitz, Chris Hughes		Eduardo Saverin (Brazil)	2004	Partly
217	EMC	Computers	United States	North America	Richard Egan and Roger Marino	Roger Marino (Italy)		1979	Partly
224	Yahoo!	Internet	United States	North America	Jerry Yang		Taiwan	1995	Yes
261	Priceline.com	Internet	United States	North America	Jay S. Walker.		United States	1997	No
307	QVC	Internet	United States	North America	Joseph Segel		United States	1986	No
410	Paypal	Internet	United States	North America	Ken Howery, Max Levchin, Elon Musk, Luke Nosek, Peter Thiel	Elon Musk (Canada)	Max Levchin (Ukraine), Elon Musk (South Africa), Luke Nosek (Poland), Peter Thiel	1998	Partly
413	Sandisk	Computers	United States	North America	Eli Harari, Sanjay Mehrotra		Eli Harari (Israel), Sanjay Mehrotra (India)	1988	Yes
428	Expedia.com	Internet	United States	North America	Richard Barton		United States	1996	No
453	Symantec	Internet	United States	North America	Gary Hendrix		United States	1982	No

(continued from Appendix 31) **Sample of the Author's database**

Food industry

Top 500 Most Valueable Global Brand 2012
sources: Brand Finance PLC 2012

Rank 2012	Brand	Industry	Domicile	Region(s)	Founder(s)	Country of origin of parent(s) of founder(s)	Founder(s) Origin	Date of Creator	Immigrant founder(s) / Child of Immigrant
41	Nestlé	Food	Switzerland	Europe	Henri Nestlé		Germany	Anglo-Swiss Condensed Milk Company (1866) Farine Lactée Henri Nestlé (1867) Nestlé and Anglo-Swiss Condensed Milk Company (1905)	Yes
117	Kellogg's	Food	United States	North America	Will Keith Kellogg		United States	1906	No
133	Danone	Food	France	Europe	Isaac Carasso		Greece	1919	Yes
178	Heinz	Food	United States	North America	Henry J. Heinz	Germany		1869	Yes
200	Kraft	Food	United States	North America	James L. Kraft		Canada	1914	Yes
248	Nescafe	Food	Switzerland	Europe	a team is created with Professor Paul Dutoit and chemist Max Morgenthaler ,		Switzerland	1938	No
251	Purina	Food	Switzerland	Europe	William H. Danforth		United States	1894	Yes
306	Cadbury	Food	United States	North America	John Cadbury		United Kingdom	1824	Yes
346	Kitkat	Food	Switzerland	Europe	Henry Isaac Rowntree		United Kingdom	successor by Nestlé 1935	Yes
367	Weston (George)	Food	Canada	North America	George Weston	United Kingdom	United States	1882	Yes
370	Hersheys	Food	United States	North America	Milton S. Hershey	Switzerland, Germany		1873	Yes
415	Sodexo	Food	France	Europe	Pierre Bellon		France	1966	No
444	Bimbo	Food	Mexico	South America	Lorenzo Seruitje, Jose T. Mata, Jaime Sendra, and Jaime Jorba		Spain	1943	Yes
477	Lipton	Food	United Kingdom	Europe	William Hesketh Lever and James Darcy Lever		United Kingdom	1890	No
500	Sadia	Food	Brazil	South America	Merged BRF - Brasil Foods SA and Perdigão		Brazil	1944	No

List of Abbreviations

ABH	–	Association of Business Historians
CBD	–	Cash before delivery
CEGBI	–	Centre for Evolution of Global Business and Institutions
COD	–	Cash on delivery
CPC	–	California Perfume Company
DNA	–	Deoxyribonucleic acid. (In this thesis, it refers to the fundamental and distinctive characteristics or qualities of someone or something, especially when regarded as unchangeable)
EHBA	–	European Business History Association
ELMPS	–	Economics, Law, Management, Politics and Sociology Ethics Committee
FD&C	–	Food, Drug and Cosmetic
FDA	–	Food and Drug Administration
FDI	–	Foreign Direct Investment
INC.	–	Incorporated
IOM	–	International Organisation for Migration
IPA	–	Investment Promotion Agencies
MARA	–	Majlis Amanah Rakyat
MNE	–	Multinational enterprises
OBTT	–	Organisational Behaviour, Theory and Technology
OTC	–	Over-the-counter
R & D	–	Research and Development
RCUK	–	Research Council United Kingdom
SWOT	–	Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats
TAP	–	Thesis Advisory Panel
UK	–	United Kingdom
US	–	United States
USCIS	–	United States Citizenship and Immigration Services
USD	–	United States dollar
WWII	–	World War II

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- 2) Secondary Sources

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