

Consuming America

A Data-Driven Analysis of the United States
as a Reference Culture in Dutch Public Discourse
on Consumer Goods, 1890-1990

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ISBN: 978-94-6103-064-1

Printed by Ipskamp Printing, Enschede

Cover design by Studio Odilo Girod

Edited by Dr. Christien Franken (English for Professionals)

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in Dutch Public Discourse on Consumer Goods, 1890-1990

(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit Utrecht
op gezag van de rector magnificus, prof. dr. G.J. van der Zwaan,
ingevolge het besluit van het college voor promoties in het openbaar
te verdedigen op vrijdag 15 september 2017 des middags te 12.45 uur

door

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geboren op 27 september 1982 te Roermond

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Dit proefschrift werd mogelijk gemaakt met financiële steun van de Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek (NWO) in het kader van het project “Digital Humanities Approaches to Reference Cultures: The Emergence of the United States in Public Discourse in the Netherlands, 1890-1990”

"To be, in a word, unborable.... It is the key to modern life. If you are immune to boredom, there is literally nothing you cannot accomplish"

DFW

"Progress will come in fits and starts. It's not always a straight line.
It's not always a smooth path"

BO

"Keep your ears to the ground and stay close to the sound"

PF

Acknowledgements

To my supervisor, Joris van Eijnatten, for his precise and valuable comments and his ability to reel me in when I was once again adrift on one of my theoretical or methodological adventures. Giving sharp feedback in a calm manner seems to be your unique Jedi mind trick.

To my second supervisor, Jaap Verheul, whom I first met more than ten years ago, for his guidance and feedback. Your passion for American culture and American studies have been an inspiration.

To Rob Kroes, Inger Leemans, Ruth Oldenziel, and Toine Pieters for giving feedback on early drafts of this manuscript.

To Tim Tangherlini, for inviting me to the Culture Analytics program at UCLA. This truly was a unique experience during which I rekindled my affinity with the quantitative sciences. Los Angeles was an absolutely inspiring environment and the time at IPAM helped me bring structure to my thesis.

To all the kind people I met during my three-month stay at UCLA. Especially the discussions with Kristoffer Nielbo have really sharpened my thoughts and helped to bring focus to this thesis.

To all the great coffee places, for providing me with a change of scenery and the required dose of caffeine.

To Jesper Verhoef and Pim Huijnen for being two great colleagues and friends. You made these four years so much more fun. And let's not forget your invaluable feedback on this manuscript.

To the 0.25-crew, Rutger van der Hoeven, Laura Isherwood, Maarten Paulusse, Devin Vartija, and Laura Visser-Maessen, for the lively discussions and fun times.

To the Translantis team members, Hieke Huistra, Bram Mellink, Tom Kenter, and Lisanne Walma, for turning this into a shared experience of ups and downs.

To Steven Claeysens, Martijn Kleppe, Juliette Lonij, and Lotte Wilms, for providing the Translantis project with the newspaper data but also for always being open for collaboration and up for drinks at conferences.

To Christien Franken for proofreading this thesis and sharing her views on writing.

To my paranymphs Paul and Pedro, I am proud to have you as friends and paranymphs. I highly value the many hours we spent talking about movies, music, cooking, and research.

To my sister Diana, for keeping up with her crazy brother, who fled Limburg to live north of the rivers.

To my parents, Willem and José, for never thinking there were limits to what I could achieve.

To all my friends, discussing crazy ideas with you has been one of my favorite pastimes.

And, above all, to Pien, for being so charming, funny, intelligent, creative, and able to audaciously tell me I was obsessing about my research. During this four-year period, we even managed to produce a new record, a feat that I consider a testament to our love.

Amsterdam, May 2017

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Chapter 1

Introduction | Concepts, Object, Method

As I grew up in the Netherlands, music, books, and news media bombarded me with images of the United States. I vividly remember the TV series *Bassie and Adriaan and the journey of surprises* about a clown and an acrobat who traversed the United States.¹ On their journey, they disseminated archetypical depictions of American society by visiting landmarks such as the Golden Gate Bridge, Yosemite National Park, and the Statue of Liberty. They also highlighted stereotypical aspects of American culture including the idea that American food culture was characterized by mass-produced, unhealthy fast food. This particular view of the United States was widely held in the Netherlands at the time and media often wrote about America's obsession with fast food. For instance, the newspaper *Leeuwarder Courant* stated that Americans had a "barbaric" way of eating and showed an obsession with obesity and fast food.² The ideas propagated by such media shaped my views of American food culture, while they also revealed what many people in the Netherlands considered to be typical of American culture in general.

Years later, in 2006, I first visited the United States and discovered that the stereotypical image of the American diet did, indeed, prove to be true—at least in part. I was amazed by the sheer size of food portions, the unhealthy amounts of sugar, and the mass-produced nature of American foodstuffs. However, my encounters with a burgeoning artisanal food culture also contested this cliché. Artisanal food culture included laboriously barbecued pulled pork, micro-brewed beer, supermarkets specialized in organic produce, and fusion food that brought together the cultural diversity of the United States. In my personal experience,

¹ Aad van Toor, *Bassie & Adriaan en de reis vol verrassingen*, television series (TROS, 1994).

² "Snelle groei fast food branche," *Leeuwarder Courant*, June 28, 1985; "Dik zijn in Amerika," *Leeuwarder Courant*, March 14, 1987; "Vetzucht in de VS is kostenpost en groei-industrie," *Het Financiële Dagblad*, October 15, 2011. See also popular documentaries such as Morgan Spurlock, *Super Size Me* (A-film Home Entertainment, 2004).

American food culture was characterized by these two extremes: factory-made fast food on the one hand, and artisanal and healthier food wares on the other hand. However, at the time only the former dominated the Dutch perception of American consumer culture.

Both food cultures have now been introduced to the Netherlands and enjoy great popularity among Dutch consumers. American fast food culture first arrived in the 1980s and was immediately perceived as typically American.³ Today, outlets of the fast food chain McDonald's can be found everywhere in the Netherlands and its market share is still growing.⁴ Even though fast food chains are a global phenomenon, McDonald's and the food culture it represents still resonate with the United States in contemporary Dutch public discourse.

The other, artisanal variety of American food culture also entered the Netherlands. In 2016, Dutch newspapers reported that artisanal burgers, pulled pork, and American Pale Ales were as ubiquitous in Dutch restaurants, bars, and supermarkets as they were in the United States. The papers describe these trends as global developments, while they also point to their American origins.⁵ The association with the United States was also visible in my own neighborhood in the eastern part of Amsterdam, where a bar is named after Bedford-Stuyvesant (a neighborhood in Brooklyn, the mecca of hipsters). Over the years, an increasing number of bars and restaurants in Amsterdam started selling

³ "De 'snelle hap' een gouden greep," *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, August 11, 1984.

⁴ In 2016, McDonald's had 246 restaurants in the Netherlands, 159 McDrives, and three million customers per week. "Feiten & Cijfers over McDonald's," *McDonald's Nederland*, accessed November 17, 2016, <http://www.mcdonalds.nl/over-mcdonalds/feiten-cijfers>; "Meer omzet voor McDonald's in Nederland," *Nederlands Dagblad*, Maart 31, 2016.

⁵ "De laatste jaren zijn kleine, ambachtelijke brouwerijen ...," *Het Parool*, September 16, 2016; "Pulled pork," *BN/De Stem*, September 16, 2016; "Hip gedoe," *De Telegraaf*, October 1, 2016; "Hertog Jan I, koning van het bier," *Vrij Nederland*, March 26, 2016. "Speciaalbieren," *Quote*, February 11, 2016.

regional ethnic American foods such as Chicken and Waffles, SoCal Tacos, and Mac and Cheese—all clear references to an alternative American food culture that differs from the fast food culture typically associated with the United States.

While Dutch consumers embraced these two disparate food cultures and perceived them as American, they represent seemingly different aspects of American consumer culture. On the one hand, they characterize the United States as a country of consumerism and unhealthy mass-produced fast food products; on the other, they refer to an American consumer culture that is characterized by artisanship, healthy products, ethnic diversity, and an apparent resistance to mass-produced food. This polarity raises the question as to what extent these products shaped Dutch views of the United States. Does the popularity of consumer goods associated with the United States function as a barometer of the attitude toward American culture? Do we express solidarity with the American way of life when we down a Coke and munch on an artisan pulled-pork burger, or are these food habits merely instances of modern-day cosmopolitanism?

This thesis recognizes the dominant role of the United States in the international circulation of ideas, products, and practices. It examines discursive constructions of the United States in the Netherlands. Public discourse—as reflected in twentieth-century newspapers advertisements and articles—reveals how products and their associated practices were received but also to what extent these associations with the United States shaped the product's reception and appropriation. Advertisements exposed consumers to particular ideas and values associated with products, and articles discussed products and related them to broader cultural, political, and economic phenomena. What image of the United States was propagated in articles and advertisements in twentieth-century newspapers?

This thesis uses the term reference culture to describe how countries, such as the United States, emerged and functioned as cultural models that other countries could imitate, reject, or adopt. References to the United States were manifold in Dutch newspapers and the question is of course how researchers can capture and trace these references in a systematic manner. It is here that the great potential of computational approaches manifests itself. The National Library of the Netherlands (KB) has digitized large numbers of Dutch newspapers that have been made available as machine readable data.⁶ Digitization allows for computational explorations, analyses, and visualizations of the paper's textual data. This is also known as text mining. Section 1.6 discusses my approach to text mining and presents the computational tools and techniques I have used. The digitization of newspapers enables the historical analysis of media on a much grander and more systematic scale than ever before. This thesis's methodology consists of a combination of computational and more traditional historical methods, providing systematic insights into the emergence and dynamics of the United States as a reference culture in Dutch public discourse.

The central question that this thesis addresses is how the United States emerged and functioned as a reference culture in twentieth-century Dutch public discourse on consumer goods?⁷ This leads to questions such as when and in which ways newspapers linked consumer goods to the United States, and which ideas, practices, and values newspapers

⁶ Chapter 2 describes the contents and representativeness of the corpus of digitized newspapers in more detail.

⁷ The notion of 'reference cultures' was introduced as part of the research project *Translantis: Digital Humanities Approaches to Reference Cultures; The Emergence of the United States in Public Discourse in the Netherlands, 1890-1990*. See: www.translantis.nl. For more on the concept of reference cultures see: Joris van Eijnatten, "Beyond Diversity. The Steady State of Reference Cultures," *International Journal for History, Culture and Modernity* 3, no. 3 (December 18, 2015): 1.

associated with the United States. Pairing computational methods with a hermeneutic approach, this thesis offers a systematic, longitudinal analysis of the historical dynamics of reference cultures. It places existing research on the perception of the United States and Americanization into a much broader diachronic context. As such, it helps to explain how stereotypes are established and transmitted over a longer period of time.

This thesis focuses on the Netherlands between 1890 and 1990. The period is bound by two moments at which the international position of the United States shifted significantly.⁸ During the 1890s, the United States became a global presence.⁹ As the United States internationalized, its trade with European nations intensified, exposing European consumers to American products. The end date is 1990: it is a clear demarcation point coinciding with the end of the Cold War and subsequent changes in the position of the United States on the global stage.¹⁰

American culture has not always been a strong presence in European societies. In early twentieth-century Europe, the United States was just a “nation among nations.”¹¹ Nevertheless, it was during this period that the United States laid the groundwork for its future global economic, military, and cultural dominance.¹² This foundation entailed a consumer economy that was streamlined by the scientific management principles of

⁸ A practical reason for this periodization is determined by the quality and availability of the used source material. The quality of the text in the digitized Dutch newspaper archive is low before the twentieth century and the number of newspaper in the archive dwindles in the 1990s. See Chapter 2 for more on the quality of the newspapers.

⁹ Daniel Gaido, *The Formative Period of American Capitalism: A Materialist Interpretation* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 72; Mary Nolan, *The Transatlantic Century: Europe and America, 1890-2010* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 10–51.

¹⁰ Nolan, *The Transatlantic Century*, 331–73. The official dissolution of the Soviet Union was on December 26, 1991. I selected 1990 as the end date to limit the dataset to an entire century.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹² T. Jackson Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation: The Making of Modern America, 1877-1920* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2010), 271–73.

Taylorism, and the economic and social system of Fordism, aimed at standardization, mass production, and efficiency, which originated in the Ford automobile factories.¹³ This “American” type of consumer economy subsequently propelled the nation’s economic growth. The sale of American consumer goods in Europe gave an additional impetus to the American economy.

The export of American consumer goods was also important in the diffusion of American culture. Victoria de Grazia characterizes twentieth-century America as an “irresistible empire” and argues that the attraction of American culture opened up foreign markets for American products.¹⁴ American companies introduced Europeans to American notions of branding, production, distribution, and consumption, as well as to the values, practices, and cultural connotations that signified American culture, or an American way of life.¹⁵ After the Second World War, the US Information Agency even exported this perception of American life to Europe to counter the influence of ideologies advocated by the Soviet Union.¹⁶

This thesis is based on the contention that the formation of references cultures can be traced in public discourse on consumer goods. Academic

¹³ Victoria de Grazia, “Changing Consumption Regimes in Europe, 1930-1970: Comparative Perspectives on the Distribution Problem,” in *Getting and Spending*, ed. Susan Strasser, Matthias Judt, and Charles McGovern (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 59; Harm Schröter, *Americanization of the European Economy: A Compact Survey of American Economic Influence in Europe since the 1880s* (Norwell: Springer, 2005), 17–44.

¹⁴ Victoria de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America’s Advance through Twentieth-Century Europe*, Kindle Edition (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005), loc. 36-85.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, loc. 85-202; Johan Schot, Arie Rip, and Harry Lintsen, eds., *Technology and the Making of the Netherlands: The Age of Contested Modernization, 1890-1970* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2010); Kees Schuyt and Ed Taverne, “Sounds and Signals of America,” in *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective: 1950, Prosperity and Welfare* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 55–72.

¹⁶ John Brewer, “Microhistory and the Histories of Everyday Life,” *Cultural and Social History* 7, no. 1 (2010): 95.

scholarship, however, provides little information on how public discourse on consumer goods has shaped and reflected perceptions of the United States. This omission is remarkable since consumer products and their brand identities are imperative to the construction of ideas about nations and cultures.¹⁷ The ways commodities are advertised reveal, shape, and refine our ideas of the countries associated with these products.¹⁸ Moreover, the ways in which consumers associate products with a country makes clear how they deal with the economic, technological, social, and cultural developments signified by these commodities.¹⁹ Swett et al. argue that images of a product “reflect and contribute to the formation of individual and national identities, discourses on politics and morality, and discussions of the individual’s relationship to the free-market and planned economies.”²⁰

¹⁷ Andy Pike, “Economic Geographies of Brands and Branding,” *Economic Geography* 89, no. 4 (October 1, 2013): 323–27.

¹⁸ Søren Åskegaard and Güliz Ger, “Product-Country Images: Towards a Contextualized Approach,” *European Advances in Consumer Research* 3, no. 1 (1998): 50–58; Keith Dinnie, “Country-Of-Origin 1965-2004: A Literature Review,” *Brand Horizons*, 2003, http://www.brandhorizons.com/papers/Dinnie_COO_litreview.pdf; France Leclerc, Bernd Schmitt, and Laurette Dubé, “Foreign Branding and Its Effects on Product Perceptions and Attitudes,” *Journal of Marketing Research* 31, no. 2 (May 1, 1994): 263–70; Keith Dinnie, *Nation Branding: Concepts, Issues, Practice* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2008); Simon Anholt and Jeremy Hildreth, *Brand America: The Making, Unmaking and Remaking of the Greatest National Image of All Time* (London: Marshall Cavendish, 2010).

¹⁹ Douglas Holt, *How Brands Become Icons: The Principles of Cultural Branding* (Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 2004), 1–9; Søren Askegaard and Frank Csaba, “The Good, the Bad and the Jolly: Taste, Image and the Symbolic Resistance to the Coca-Colonisation of Denmark,” in *Imagining Marketing: Art, Aesthetics, and the Avant-Garde*, ed. Stephen Brown and Anthony Patterson (London: Routledge, 2000); Daniel Miller, “Coca-Cola: A Black Sweet Drink from Trinidad,” in *Material Cultures. Why Some Things Matter*, ed. Daniel Miller (London: UCL Press, 1998), 169–87.

²⁰ Pamela Swett, S. Jonathan Wiesen, and Jonathan Zatlin, “Introduction,” in *Selling Modernity: Advertising in Twentieth-Century Germany*, ed. Pamela Swett, S. Jonathan Wiesen, and Jonathan R. Zatlin (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 2.

The remainder of this introduction expands on the subjects touched upon in the present section. Section 1.1 discusses theories of Americanization and section 1.2 elaborates on the notion of reference cultures. Section 1.3 argues that newspapers offer insights into public discourse. Section 1.4 explains in more detail why consumer goods are useful for the study of reference cultures. Finally, section 1.5 offers an overview of the existing historiography on Dutch-American relations, which shows that the United States played a formative role in shaping Dutch consumer society. From this overview, it will become apparent that these studies lack a longitudinal exploration of the interplay between public discourse, consumer products, and perceptions of the United States.²¹ Section 1.6 lays out the thesis's methodological approach to computational methods and discusses the computational tools and techniques that I have used to analyze the digitized newspaper corpus.

The thesis is structured as follows. Chapter 2 offers a description of the primary source material, the digitized Dutch newspaper archive. In this chapter, I describe the content and representativeness of the archive for the study of public discourse and the role of the United States as a reference culture. The thesis contains two case studies, one on cigarettes and the other on Coca-Cola. Chapters 3 and 4 discuss the case study on cigarettes. Chapter 3 examines cigarette advertisements, whereas chapter 4 discusses articles that link cigarettes to the United States. The second

²¹ The existing historiography acknowledges the role of consumer goods in the process of Americanization but offers no longitudinal analysis of this relationship. Hans Krabbendam, Cornelis van Minnen, and Giles Scott-Smith, eds., *Four Centuries of Dutch-American Relations, 1609-2009* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2009); Doeko Bosscher, Mel van Elteren, and Marja Roholl, eds., *American Culture in the Netherlands* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1996); Nico Wilterdink, "The Netherlands between the Greater Powers: Expressions of Resistance to Perceived or Feared Foreign Cultural Domination," in *Within the US Orbit: Small National Cultures Vis-À-Vis the United States*, ed. Rob Kroes (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1991); Adri Albert de la Bruhèze and Ruth Oldenziel, eds., *Manufacturing Technology, Manufacturing Consumers: The Making of Dutch Consumer Society* (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2009).

case study focuses on Coca-Cola and is similarly discussed in two chapters: chapter 5 studies Coca-Cola advertisements and chapter 6 deals with newspaper articles that related Coca-Cola to the United States.

1.1 Between Cultural Imperialism and Cultural Transfer

The fascination with American culture by non-Americans was famously noted by Henry Luce in 1941 when he described the twentieth century as “the American Century.” In his reflection on the global resonance of the United States, Luce stressed the widespread popularity of American culture by stating that “American jazz, Hollywood movies, American slang, American machines and patented products, are in fact the only things that every community in the world, from Zanzibar to Hamburg, recognizes in common.”²² This diffusion of “American ideas, customs, social patterns, industry, and capital around the world” is commonly known as Americanization.²³ Through Americanization, the United States fortified its cultural, economic, and political presence in Europe.²⁴ Luce pointed out that American culture had not only spread globally but that people all over the world understood these cultural expressions to be American. While this is true, I argue that scholars need to examine how people within a national context came to view particular cultural expressions as American. This helps us understand how local contexts

²² Henry Luce, “The American Century”, *Life*, February, 1941.

²³ George Ritzer and Michael Ryan, “The Globalization of Nothing,” in *The Changing Face of Globalization*, ed. Samir Dasgupta (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2004), 298–317.

²⁴ Nolan, *The Transatlantic Century*, 2; See also: Frank Costigliola, *Awkward Dominion: American Political, Economic and Cultural Relations with Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988); Emily Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1999); Akira Iriye, *The Globalizing of America, 1913-1945* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

shaped the process of cultural transfer, which consequently tells us something about national identities.

The United States played a key role in the formation of national and European identities. Kroes argues that the “European constructions of America have been dialectical exercises in which the real discussion was about the national identity of their home countries in the larger context of a debate about Europe.”²⁵ Kuisel, likewise, argues that the response to the United States in France gives insight into the construction of “Frenchness.”²⁶ Other scholars have examined the interplay between the United States and national identity in Germany, Great Britain, and Latin America.²⁷

George Ritzer and Richard Wagnleitner have used more specific terms to describe the process of Americanization. Ritzer coined the term McDonaldization to signify the transfer of an American style of organization, service, and consumption as represented by the American fast food chain McDonald’s.²⁸ Wagnleitner, similarly, turned to an American product to describe the influx of American products into Austria

²⁵ Rob Kroes, *Them and Us: Questions of Citizenship in a Globalizing World* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 168–69.

²⁶ Richard Kuisel, *Seducing the French the Dilemma of Americanization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

²⁷ John Lyons, *America in the British Imagination: 1945 to the Present* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Jan L. Logemann, *Trams or Tailfins?: Public and Private Prosperity in Postwar West Germany and the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012); Mary Nolan, *Visions of Modernity American Business and the Modernization of Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Axel Körner, Adam Smith, and Nicola Miller, eds., *America Imagined: Images of the United States in Nineteenth-Century Europe and Latin America* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Richard Pells, *Not like US: How Europeans Have Loved, Hated, and Transformed American Culture since World War II*, Kindle Edition (New York: Basic Books, 1997).

²⁸ George Ritzer and Todd Stillman, “Assessing McDonalidation, Americanization and Globalization,” in *Global America? The Cultural Consequences of Globalization*, ed. Ulrich Beck, Natan Sznajder, and Rainer Winter (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2003), 40.

as “Coca-Colonization.” He argues that the “colonization” of European cultural values was for a great part systematically planned by the US government in collaboration with corporations such as the Coca-Cola Company.²⁹ Even though Wagnleiter uses Coca-Cola as a metaphor, he hardly discusses the spread of consumer products such as Coca-Cola. His focus is on the role of the media in the proliferation of an American culture of consumption.

Americanization, McDonaldization, and Coca-Colonization are notions that scholars used to describe a particular historical phenomenon, namely the spread of American culture. These notions focus on the ‘sender’: The United States, featuring as a hegemonic force that exerts its influence over European nations. This line of thinking presented Americanization as a form of cultural imperialism.³⁰ By relying on the names of American products to describe cultural and social transformations in Europe, Ritzer and Wagnleitner characterized these changes as American. Moreover, they labeled values associated with these products as American. These are scholarly arguments that are not necessarily based on the perceptions of people that bought the goods and experienced the transformations subsequently linked to Americanization.

Some scholars have countered these studies by claiming that the receiving end should be attributed more agency. Rob Kroes, one of the most prominent proponents of this field of study, expanded the notion of Americanization to entail not only the spread of American culture but also its reception. He writes “that Americanization should be the story of

²⁹ Reinhold Wagnleitner, *Coca-Colonization and the Cold War: The Cultural Mission of the United States in Austria after the Second World War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994).

³⁰ Tomlinson discusses the concept in great detail in: John Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism* (London: Continuum, 1991), 1–33.

an American cultural language traveling and of other people acquiring that language.”³¹ Kroes and others have tried to grasp how local cultures encapsulated aspects of American culture through processes of hybridization or creolization.³² Accordingly, they asked the following questions: how did people in receiving countries perceive and respond to the influx of American culture?³³ Did people on the receiving end imitate, appropriate, or mimic elements of American culture?³⁴

More recent studies have argued that while American culture has been appropriated and understood locally, scholars should not ignore that the technological, economic, and political dominance of the United States and companies associated with the United States has determined in part how consumers perceived their products.³⁵ In the case of the transformation of

³¹ Rob Kroes, “American Empire and Cultural Imperialism: A View from the Receiving End,” in *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*, ed. Thomas Bender (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 312.

³² Rob Kroes, “Americanization: What Are We Talking About?,” in *If You’ve Seen One You’ve Seen the Mall: Europeans and American Mass Culture* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 177.

³³ For a discussion of this shift and a debate on terminology see: Jessica Gienow-Hecht, “Shame on U.S.? Academics, Cultural Transfer, and the Cold War: A Critical Review,” *Diplomatic History* 24, no. 3 (July 1, 2000): 465–94; Richard Kuisel, “Commentary: Americanization for Historians,” *Diplomatic History* 24, no. 3 (July 1, 2000): 509–15.

³⁴ Rob Kroes and Robert Rydell, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna: The Americanization of the World, 1869–1922* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); Kuisel, *Seducing the French*; Kroes, “Americanization: What Are We Talking About?”; Rob Kroes, Robert Rydell, and Doeko Bosscher, eds., *Cultural Transmissions and Receptions: American Mass Culture in Europe* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1993); Ruth Oldenziel and Karin Zachmann, eds., *Cold War Kitchen: Americanization, Technology, and European Users* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2009).

³⁵ Douglas Holt, “Why Do Brands Cause Trouble? A Dialectical Theory of Consumer Culture and Branding,” *Journal of Consumer Research* 29, no. 1 (June 1, 2002): 70; For a similar perspective see also: Ruth Oldenziel, “Is Globalization a Code Word for Americanization?: Contemplating McDonalds, Coca-Cola, and Military Bases,” *Tijdschrift voor sociale en economische geschiedenis* 4, no. 3 (2007): 84; Oldenziel, Ruth, “Islands: The United States as Networked Empire,” in *Entangled Geographies: Empire and Technopolitics in the Global Cold War*, ed. Gabrielle Hecht (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2011), 13–42; Craig Thompson and Zeynep Arsel, “The Starbucks Brandscape and Consumers’ (Anticorporate) Experiences of Glocalization,” *Journal of Consumer Research* 31, no. 3 (December 1, 2004): 631–42.

consumer societies, Frank Trentmann argues that this was not merely a unidirectional process of Americanization, but one that also involves local and global dynamics.³⁶ I take this theoretical middle ground as a starting point for this thesis and examine the local perception of a brand such as Coca-Cola, bearing in mind the historical dominant position of the United States. While countries responded in divergent ways to the influx of American culture and American dominance, on the whole the United States functioned as a model, idea, or point of reference against which people and nations defined themselves.³⁷ This thesis places Americanization within a larger time frame and reveals the national dynamics behind the emergence of the United States as a reference culture. Yet, precisely how the United States obtained a dominant position and functioned as a reference culture in the context of national cultures, including that of the Netherlands deserves further examination.

1.2 The United States as a Reference Culture

To describe how the United States has functioned as a cultural model in public discourse on consumer goods, this thesis uses the concept of a reference culture. As shown above, studies of Americanization indicate that nations or cultures can assume a dominant, guiding standard in the

³⁶ Frank Trentmann, "Crossing Divides Consumption and Globalization in History," *Journal of Consumer Culture* 9, no. 2 (July 1, 2009): 187–220.

³⁷ Kroen shows that the American way of life was received differently across countries: Sheryl Kroen, "Renegotiating the Social Contract in Post-War Europe: The American Marshall Plan and Consumer Democracy," in *Consuming Cultures, Global Perspectives*, ed. John Brewer and Frank Trentmann (Oxford: Berg, 2006), 251–77; The idea of America as a model features in these works: Marcus Gräser, "Model America," *European History Online (EGO)*, 2011, <http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/models-and-stereotypes/model-america>; Kroes, "American Empire and Cultural Imperialism," 299; John Muthyala, *Dwelling in American: Dissent, Empire, and Globalization* (Hanover: Dartmouth College Press, 2012), 39; James W Ceaser, *Reconstructing America: The Symbol of America in Modern Thought* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); Kuisel, *Seducing the French*, 6; Askegaard and Csaba, "The Good, the Bad and the Jolly," 122; Kroes, "Americanization: What Are We Talking About?," 162–78.

international circulation of knowledge, products, and practices. This dominance allowed countries to turn into a cultural model that other nations can imitate, adapt, or resist. Knowledge about the emergence and function of reference cultures within national contexts can explain how certain countries historically gained, retained, and perchance lost global economic, cultural, and political dominance. The ways in which a reference culture operated within a national context reveals how nations dealt with local and global cultural, technological, and economic developments. In other words, the situations and ways in which citizens turn to a reference culture to reflect on such developments, offer a perspective on their local context. Reference cultures function in many different ways, as a yardstick, a coping strategy or as a counterexample.

Core elements of a reference culture are the ideas, values, events, and practices that people habitually associate with a particular nation or culture.³⁸ This system of associations reflects a cognitive model shared by a group of individuals. However, this model does not only exist in the minds of individuals, but is also expressed through “conventionalized social practices” and interactions with a country’s material expressions.³⁹ People do not only think about a country in a particular way, but their ideas also affect how they interact with, for instance, products associated with that country.

In this sense, the concept of a reference culture is indebted to the study of mentalities of the French Annales school, or the field of cognitive ecology which investigates the formation and dispersion of culturally

³⁸ Such an element can be viewed as a meme—an “idea that propagates itself in human minds.” Daniel Lord Smail, *On Deep History and the Brain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 95.

³⁹ Thompson and Arsel, “The Starbucks Brandscape and Consumers’ (Anticorporate) Experiences of Globalization,” 632.

transmitted ideas.⁴⁰ A reference culture, however, is restricted to specific ideas and mentalities about cultures, countries, or civilizations—in this case, the United States. The concept of Americanization, by contrast, more explicitly concentrates on the ‘real’ effects of American influence and might, either by explaining American hegemony or by giving examples of appropriations of American culture. Studies on Americanization often point out the multifaceted nature of appropriations of American culture, whereas the notion of a reference culture focuses on the formation of core aspects of a more unified belief system shared by a group of people.⁴¹

A reference culture is a discursive construction of a country; it is determined by the country’s ability to exert both ‘hard power’ (i.e. its political, technological, and economic presence) and ‘soft power’ (its cultural attraction and reputation).⁴² The emergence of a reference culture is a process spanning a long period of time, during which the content and function of the reference culture consolidates but also evolves. The content and function of a reference culture can be examined by tracing continuities and discontinuities in ideas, practices, and values associated with particular countries. Thus, by investigating the associations with and the functions of the United States as reference culture, I focus on its persistent elements but also on its temporal dynamics and moments of contestation.

⁴⁰ Peter Burke, “Strength and Weaknesses in the History of Mentalities,” in *Varieties of Cultural History*, Digital (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997), 162–82; Edwin Hutchins, “Cognitive Ecology,” *Topics in Cognitive Science* 2, no. 4 (October 1, 2010): 705–15.

⁴¹ See also: van Eijnatten, “Beyond Diversity. The Steady State of Reference Cultures.”

⁴² Nye discusses the notion of “soft power”; the idea of hard power can be found in studies that characterize the United States as an empire. Joseph Nye Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2004); Charles Maier, *Among Empires*, American Ascendancy and Its Predecessors (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009); Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000).

1.3 Newspapers as Public Discourse

This thesis assumes that public discourse on specific objects, ideas, and events contributed to the formation of reference cultures. In this sense, public discourse operates as a space for “negotiating transformations of cultural identity, both self-referentially and in relation to others”, using written or spoken language.⁴³ Public discourse shows which countries, cultures or regions functioned as reference cultures and which elements people associated with these countries. Consequently, the study of public discourse sheds light on the establishment, solidification, and transformations of reference cultures.

Newspapers in particular function as a proxy for public discourse.⁴⁴ According to Henry Johnson, a newspaper contains “conscious representations of conditions and events” as well as “unconscious reflection[s] of the tastes, the interests, the desires, and the spirit, of its day.”⁴⁵ A newspaper functions as a transceiver; it is both the producer and the messenger of public discourse.⁴⁶ On a surface level, the papers inform us about the views of journalists and people that were interviewed by these journalists. However, as Margaret Marshall claims, researchers can also

⁴³ Ljiljana Šarić, Stefan Manz, and Ingrid Hudabiunigg, “Introduction: Contested Cultural Identities in Public Discourse,” in *Contesting Europe’s Eastern Rim: Cultural Identities in Public Discourse*, ed. Ljiljana Šarić et al. (Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 2010), xii.

⁴⁴ Neil Postman, *Amusing Ourselves to Death: Public Discourse in the Age of Show Business* (London: Penguin, 2005), 28. Frank van Vree, *De Nederlandse pers en Duitsland 1930-1939: een studie over de vorming van de publieke opinie* (Groningen: Historische Uitgeverij, 1989); Maarten Rooij, *Kranten: dagbladers en maatschappij* (Amsterdam: Wetenschappelijke Uitgeverij, 1974); Marcel Broersma, “Nooit meer bladeren? Digitale krantenarchieven als bron,” *Tijdschrift voor mediageschiedenis* 14, no. 2 (2015): 29–55; Frank van Vree, *De wereld als theater: journalistiek als culturele praktijk* (Amsterdam: Vossiuspers UvA, 2006), 15.

⁴⁵ Small quotes the historian Henry Johnson in: Smail, *On Deep History and the Brain*, 62; See also: Rooij, *Kranten*, 1974, 27; Yu-wei Lin, “Transdisciplinarity and Digital Humanities: Lessons Learned from Developing Text-Mining Tools for Textual Analysis,” in *Understanding Digital Humanities*, ed. David Berry (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 301–2.

⁴⁶ Michael Schudson, *The Power of News* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), 17–18.

uncover the “values, assumptions, and concerns, and ways of thinking that were a part of the public discourse of that time” by analyzing “the arguments, language, the discourse practices that inhabit the pages of public magazines, newspapers, and early professional journals.”⁴⁷

Newspapers are an especially valuable source for the study of reference cultures in public discourse for three principal reasons. First, they are a periodical source, which allows us to examine continuity and change in the way reference cultures functioned over a longer period.⁴⁸ Second, as Frank van Vree reminds us, newspapers represent a “broad, multiform collection of opinions and attitudes.”⁴⁹ Around 1860, the publication of regional newspapers transformed the newspaper into a common good that was no longer only read by the elite.⁵⁰ Third, newspapers include both articles and advertisements. The latter are a source of information in their own right that can further increase our understanding of public discourse. As is the case with articles, advertisements reflect and shape public discourse. Roland Marchand and T. Jackson Lears argue that, despite the primary function of advertisements to sell products, they also communicate social and cultural values. Ads express the state of technology, the social functions of goods, and provide information on the society in which the product is to be sold.⁵¹ Moreover, Marchand asserts that advertisements

⁴⁷ Margaret Marshall, *Contesting Cultural Rhetorics: Public Discourse and Education, 1890-1900* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 8; See also: Vree, *De Nederlandse pers en Duitsland 1930-1939*; Martin Conboy, *The Language of the News* (London: Routledge, 2007), 1–23.

⁴⁸ Bob Nicholson, “The Digital Turn: Exploring the Methodological Possibilities of Digital Newspaper Archives,” *Media History* 19, no. 1 (February 2013): 64.

⁴⁹ Vree, *De Nederlandse pers en Duitsland 1930-1939*, 5.

⁵⁰ Guus van Heusden, *Een eeuw adverteerkunde: de sociaal-economische en psychologische ontwikkeling van het adverteren in Nederlandse kranten*, 44 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1962), I.

⁵¹ Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), xv–xxii; T. Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 3; Fox is more critical

have contributed to “the shaping of a ‘community of discourse.’”⁵² Advertisers have relied on recurring phrases and slogans that subsequently dissipated into wider discourse.⁵³ In other words, advertisements exhibit the cultural connotations that producers associated with American products, but they also function as a window on the wishes and desires of consumers.

To sum up, newspapers provide a longitudinal understanding of public discourse within a national context. Of course, newspapers are not the only gateway to public discourse, and they do not capture public discourse in its entirety. Despite these limitations, the National Library’s extensive collection of digitized national and regional newspapers is unmistakably a varied and abundant source of evidence for the study of reference cultures, as I will show in the following chapters.

1.4 Newspaper Discourse on Consumer Goods as a Lens on Reference Cultures

The processing power of present-day computers makes it possible to extract information from large amounts of data. However, for a more contextualized understanding of the function of the United States as a reference culture the research needs to be focused. For this reason, this thesis will concentrate on a domain that carried strong cultural connotations in the period under discussion (1890-1990), namely consumer goods. Consumer products are valuable for the study of reference cultures for three reasons.

of the reflective function of advertisements. Stephen R. Fox, *The Mirror Makers: A History of American Advertising and Its Creators* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997).

⁵² Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*, xx.

⁵³ The repetition of phrases and a more limited vocabulary make it easier to detect trends in advertisements through using computational analyses.

First, consumer and marketing studies show that there is a strong relationship between products and the formation of ideas about nations. Scholars have discussed the particular link between products and countries via two related concepts: the country-of-origin (COO) effect and the product-country image (PCI).

The country-of-origin effect refers to the influence of product nationality—the perceived nationality of a product—on the consumer’s perception of product quality.⁵⁴ Scholars claim that a connection to a favored country persuades consumers to spend more money on such products.⁵⁵ According to Hanne Niss, the country-of-origin effect is an important determinant of a product’s ability to penetrate foreign markets.⁵⁶ The impact of the COO effect has also led manufacturers to relate their products to specific countries even when there was no actual link. For example, Häagen-Dasz’s brand name evokes Scandinavia, although it is an American ice cream brand.⁵⁷ In this case, the association with Scandinavia has endowed the brand with an aura of artisanship and tradition.

Based on results from studies on the country-of-origin effect, this thesis argues that the extent to which manufacturers link a product to a country serves as an indication of that country’s position as a reference

⁵⁴ Mrugank Thakor, “Brand Origin: Conceptualization and Review,” *Journal of Consumer Marketing* 13, no. 3 (June 1, 1996): 27–42; Gordon Hull, “Cultural Branding, Geographic Source Indicators and Commodification,” *Theory, Culture & Society* 33, no. 2 (March 1, 2016): 125–26. For an extensive overview of literature on COO: Dinnie, “Country-Of-Origin 1965-2004: A Literature Review.”

⁵⁵ Luisa Menapace et al., “Consumers’ Preferences for Geographical Origin Labels: Evidence from the Canadian Olive Oil Market,” *European Review of Agricultural Economics* 38, no. 2 (June 1, 2011): 193–212.

⁵⁶ Hanne Niss, “Country of Origin Marketing over the Product Life Cycle: A Danish Case Study,” *European Journal of Marketing* 30, no. 3 (March 1, 1996): 20.

⁵⁷ Leclerc, Schmitt, and Dubé, “Foreign Branding and Its Effects on Product Perceptions and Attitudes.”

culture. I raise the question whether newspapers connected specific qualities to products with an American product nationality.

The product-country image (PCI) refers to the framing of product nationality, and this framing functions as a “knowledge structure that synthesizes what we know of a country, together with its evaluative significance or schema-triggered affect.”⁵⁸ Ger and Askegaard argue that “product–country images are especially powerful narratives about the meanings and values transferred by products from their origin to their destination.”⁵⁹ Thus, the product-country image of the United States as expressed in ads and articles illustrates how the United States functioned as a reference culture. Furthermore, product-country images also offer information on the local context—in this case, the Netherlands—in which the product was advertised and discussed.

The scholarly work on the country-of-origin effect and product-country images proposes that consumer products carried strong connotations to countries and that these associations shaped how people viewed a particular country. While these studies focus on the advertising and branding of products, this thesis takes a broader approach by examining not only advertisements for, but also articles on specific consumer goods. In doing so, this thesis follows recent trends in scholarly work on consumerism and consumer societies where the focus shifted from producers to consumers.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Güliz Ger, “Country Image: Perceptions, Attitudes, Associations, and Their Relationships to Context,” in *Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference in Marketing and Development*, 1991, 390–398; Cited in: Askegaard and Ger, “Product-Country Images.”

⁵⁹ Askegaard and Ger, “Product-Country Images.”

⁶⁰ Hartmut Berghoff and Uwe Spiekermann, “Taking Stock and Forging Ahead: The Past and Future of Consumption History,” in *Decoding Modern Consumer Societies*, ed. Hartmut Berghoff and Uwe Spiekermann (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 1–13.

Second, consumer goods are particularly useful for the study of the United States as a reference culture. Secondary sources claim that certain products exhibit strong cultural and economic ties to the United States and American consumer culture. As mentioned above, this thesis studies two of these consumer goods: Coca-Cola and cigarettes. Scholars describe the former as the product that defined America, and the latter as a symbol of the American way of life—a lifestyle defined by consumerism.⁶¹ These two case studies discuss in greater detail how historians have linked the two products with the United States, and examine how Dutch public discourse related these products to the United States.

Third, consumer goods are also suitable for a long-term analysis of reference cultures for a more practical reason: newspapers mentioned consumer goods throughout the entire twentieth century. Chapter 2 shows that especially cigarettes were a product that newspapers regularly associated with the United States. In the case studies, I further contextualize the two products by demonstrating their presence in advertisements (chapters 3 and 5) and articles (chapters 4 and 6) in twentieth-century Dutch newspapers.

⁶¹ Allan Brandt, *The Cigarette Century: The Rise, Fall, and Deadly Persistence of the Product That Defined America* (New York: Basic Books, 2009); Mark Pendergrast, *For God, Country and Coca-Cola: The Definitive History of the Great American Soft Drink and the Company That Makes It* (New York: Basic Books, 2000); Ely Jacques Kahn, *The Big Drink: An Unofficial History of Coca-Cola* (London: M. Reinhardt, 1960); Gary Cross, *An All-Consuming Century: Why Commercialism Won in Modern America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 44.

1.5 Americanization in the Netherlands

The United States exerted considerable influence on the socioeconomic and technological development of Dutch society in the twentieth century. In the late nineteenth century, American investments in the Netherlands were still sparse, while the Dutch invested considerably in the United States. The socioeconomic and cultural relationship between the Netherlands and the United States gestated during the interwar period.⁶² Although the United States quickly expanded its influence on European markets, the Netherlands only truly opened up to these American forms of production, distribution, and consumption during the 1920s.⁶³ In this decade, Dutch factories adapted to Fordism and started rationalizing their own workflow.⁶⁴ By the end of the twentieth century, the United States

⁶² Doeko Bosscher, "Introduction: Toward a Community of Interests," in *Four Centuries of Dutch-American Relations, 1609-2009* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2009), 401; Keetie Sluyterman and Ben Wubs, *Over grenzen: multinationals en de Nederlandse markteconomie* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2009), 93, 163; Ben Wubs and Ferry de Goey, "US Multinationals in the Netherlands in the 20th century: 'The Open Gate to Europe,'" in *American Firms in Europe: Strategy, Identity, Perception and Performance (1880-1980)*, ed. Hubert Bonin, Ferry de Goey, and Ben Wubs (Genève: Droz, 2009), 149–84; Robert Lipsey, *Foreign Direct Investment in the U.S.: Changes over Three Decades* (Cambridge: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1992), 150; Mira Wilkins, *The Maturing of Multinational Enterprise: American Business Abroad from 1914 to 1970* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 31, 55–56, 616.

⁶³ Schuyt and Taverne, "Sounds and Signals of America," 67; Bosscher, "Introduction: Toward a Community of Interests," 401; Keetie Sluyterman, *Dutch Enterprise in the Twentieth Century: Business Strategies in a Small Open Economy* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 127.

⁶⁴ Industrialization in the Netherlands only really took off after the Second World War. See: Harry Lintsen, *Made in Holland: een techniekgeschiedenis van Nederland (1800-2000)* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2005); Bob Reinalda, "The Netherlands, The United States, and the Development of a Postwar International Economy," in *Four Centuries of Dutch-American Relations, 1609-2009*, ed. Hans Krabbendam, Cornelis van Minnen, and Giles Scott-Smith (Albany: SUNY Press, 2009), 741–60; Schot, Rip, and Lintsen, *Technology and the Making of The Netherlands*; Schuyt and Taverne, "Sounds and Signals of America"; Bruhèze and Oldenziel, *Manufacturing Technology, Manufacturing Consumers*, 2009.

was the largest foreign investor, and the Dutch ranked second after the United Kingdom as recipients of direct US investments.⁶⁵

Apart from the growing economic ties with the United States, the Dutch also expressed a clear interest in American technology, durable consumer goods, and cultural products, despite the anti-Americanism attitude voiced by intellectuals.⁶⁶ While the Dutch adopted these aspects of American culture, they were slow in adopting fast-moving consumer goods, such as food wares from the United States.⁶⁷ This raises the question as to what extent consumers actually related these consumer products to a modern lifestyle, or an American way of life.

Scholars commonly describe the first decades after the Second World War as the period in which Americanization caught on in the Netherlands. In the 1950s and early 1960s, industrialization, technological innovation, infrastructural change, and nation-wide availability of branded consumer goods turned the Netherlands into a modern consumer society.⁶⁸ The

⁶⁵ Wubs and Goey, "US Multinationals in the Netherlands in the 20th century: 'The Open Gate to Europe,'" 149.

⁶⁶ Toebes Joop, "A Country Too Far Away: Images of the United States in Dutch Illustrated Press in the 1920s," in *American Culture in the Netherlands*, ed. Doeko Bosscher, Mel van Elteren, and Marja Roholl (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1996), 24–42; Rob Kroes, "The Great Satan versus the Evil Empire," in *Anti-Americanism in Europe*, ed. Rob Kroes, Maarten van Rossem, and Marcus Cunliffe (Amsterdam: Free University Press, 1986); Bosscher, "Introduction: Toward a Community of Interests," 410–11; Cornelis van Minnen, "Dutch Perceptions of American Culture and Promotion of Dutch Culture in the United States," in *Four Centuries of Dutch-American Relations, 1609-2009*, ed. Hans Krabbendam, Cornelis van Minnen, and Giles Scott-Smith (Albany: SUNY Press, 2009), 431–33; Wilterdink, "The Netherlands between the Greater Powers"; Johan Schot and Adri Albert de la Bruhèze, eds., *Techniek in Nederland in de twintigste eeuw VII. Techniek en modernisering: balans van de twintigste eeuw* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2003), 30; Johan Schot, "Consumeren als het cement van de lange twintigste eeuw," *De nieuwste tijd*, no. 9 (December 1997): 27–37.

⁶⁷ Anneke H. van Otterloo, "Prelude op de consumptie maatschappij in voor- en tegenspoed 1920-1960," in *Techniek in Nederland in de twintigste eeuw III. Landbouw en voeding*, ed. Johan Schot et al. (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2000), 279.

⁶⁸ Hans Righart, *De wereldwijde jaren zestig: Groot-Brittannië, Nederland, en de Verenigde Staten*, ed. Paul Luykx (Utrecht: Instituut Geschiedenis van de Universiteit Utrecht, 2004), 100.

Marshall Plan—an American initiative to help rebuild European countries after the war—gave an impetus to the implementation of more efficient modes of production and distribution in the Netherlands.⁶⁹ The US government also used the Marshall Plan to coax European economies, such as the Dutch one, into an American model that encouraged mass consumption, which was expected to lead to an expansion of the market for European and American business.⁷⁰ As part of the Marshall Plan, more American consumer goods were shipped to and even produced in Europe. Was this increase of American consumer goods reflected upon in Dutch public discourse?

The improving economy and increased purchasing power of Dutch consumers after the war fueled the popularity of household technologies and consumer goods.⁷¹ The Dutch displayed a keen interest in knowledge, products, and entertainment from the United States. The prevailing attitude during the 1950s was that “if a product was American, it had greater value and was seen as a guarantee for good design and quality, thus conjuring up ideas of prosperity.”⁷² By the 1960s, consumerism and

⁶⁹ Schuyt and Taverne, “Sounds and Signals of America,” 61–68. See also: Otterloo, “Prelude op de consumptiemaatschappij in voor- en tegenspoed 1920-1960,” 264; Frank Inklaar, “The Marshall Plan and the Modernization of Dutch Society,” in *Four Centuries of Dutch-American Relations, 1609-2009* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2009), 771; Frank Inklaar, *Van Amerika geleerd: Marshall-Hulp en kennisimport in Nederland* (Den Haag: SDU, 1997), 85; Schot and Bruhèze, *Techniek in Nederland in de twintigste eeuw VII. techniek en modernisering: balans van de twintigste eeuw*, 263–64; Reinalda, 742–44.

⁷⁰ Oldenziel and Zachmann, *Cold War Kitchen*, 7–8.

⁷¹ Marja Roholl, “Uncle Sam: An Example For All?,” in *Dutch-American Relations, 1945-1969*, ed. Hans Loeber, A Partnership: Illusions and Facts (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1992), 131; Ronald Goewie, Rudi s’ Jacob, and H. J. van Overbeek, *Huishouden in Holland: ontwikkelingen in de huishoudelijke verzorging 1965-1980* (The Hague: NIMAWO, 1980), 17; Carolien Bouw and Ruth Oldenziel, *Schoon genoeg: huisvrouwen en huishoudtechnologie in Nederland, 1898-1998* (Nijmegen: SUN, 1998).

⁷² Roholl, “Uncle Sam: An Example For All?,” 130.

consumer capitalism blossomed in the Netherlands.⁷³ Scholars point out that the Dutch perceived America as a model, a “guiding country,” concerning consumption patterns.⁷⁴ Moreover, the budding youth culture in the Netherlands displayed a keen interest in American popular culture, which further fueled the interest in the United States.⁷⁵ This thesis examines whether this view of the United States as a “guiding country” was also part of newspaper discourse. If so, did this notion only develop after the Second World War, or can it be traced back to earlier periods?

At the end of the sixties, the positive attitude of the Dutch toward the United States shifted. The American politics of war generated fierce protests in the late 1960s and early 1970s.⁷⁶ Duco Hellema claims that the seventies should be approached as an extension of the sixties. In this period, many of the aspects typically associated with the 1960s, such as the protest movement and criticisms of consumerism, became a greater

⁷³ Hans Righart, *De eindeloze jaren zestig: geschiedenis van een generatieconflict* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006); Johan Schot and Dick van Lente, “Technology, Industrialization, and the Contested Modernization of the Netherlands,” in *Technology and the Making of the Netherlands: The Age of Contested Modernization, 1890-1970* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2010); Roholl, “Uncle Sam: An Example For All?,” 131; Johan Schot, Harry Lintsen, and Arie Rip, eds., *Techniek in Nederland in de twintigste eeuw III. Landbouw en voeding* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2000), 281.

⁷⁴ Roholl, “Uncle Sam: An Example For All?,” 152; See also: James Kennedy, “Cultural Developments in the Dutch-American Relationship since 1945,” in *Four Centuries of Dutch-American Relations, 1609-2009* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2009), 931–48; Rob Kroes, “Dutch Impressions of America,” in *Four Centuries of Dutch-American Relations, 1609-2009* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2009), 949–59; Adri Albert de la Bruhèze and Onno de Wit, “De productie van consumptie. De bemiddeling van productie en consumptie en de ontwikkeling van de consumptiesamenleving in Nederland in de twintigste eeuw,” *Tijdschrift voor sociale geschiedenis*, no. 3 (2002): 257–72.”

⁷⁵ Piet de Rooy, “Vetkuijfje waarheen? Jongeren in Nederland in de jaren vijftig en zestig,” *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 101 (1986): 76–94; Piet de Rooy, *Republiek van rivaliteiten. Nederland sinds 1813* (Amsterdam: Mets & Schilt, 2002), 195–292.

⁷⁶ Duco Hellema, *Nederland en de jaren zeventig* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2012), 63; Kroes, “The Great Satan versus the Evil Empire,” 44–45; Kennedy, “Cultural Developments in the Dutch-American Relationship since 1945,” 939.

presence in Dutch society.⁷⁷ Also, the Dutch expressed a critical attitude toward the expanding global power of the United States and the seemingly relentless spread of American culture and products. At the same time, the Dutch economy slowly transformed into a liberal market economy for which the United States figured as an example.⁷⁸ Thus, while the United States again functioned as a model for Dutch industry and the Dutch economy, the general audience seemed to turn away from the United States. Is this shift in attitude toward the United States reflected in public discourse on consumer goods as well?

1.6 A Computational Analysis of Digitized Newspapers

In recent years, libraries, museums, publishers, and universities have digitized large portions of their collections. The ready accessibility of vast digitized archives confronts historians with the daunting task of making sense of the content.⁷⁹ That is, the digitization of sources has effectively transformed archival research from a situation of scarcity to one of abundance.⁸⁰ The sheer size of the data necessitates the development of methods for semi-automatically organizing, understanding, searching, and summarizing texts. Furthermore, the digital format of texts opens up possibilities for quantitative and qualitative analyses hitherto not possible.

⁷⁷ Hellema, *Nederland en de jaren zeventig*, 14–18.

⁷⁸ Sluyterman and Wubs, *Over Grenzen: Multinationals en de Nederlandse markteconomie*; Hellema, *Nederland en de jaren zeventig*, 14–18.

⁷⁹ Helle Porsdam, “Digital Humanities: On Finding the Proper Balance between Qualitative and Quantitative Ways of Doing Research in the Humanities” 7, no. 3 (2013), <http://www.digitalhumanities.org/dhq/vol/7/3/000167/000167.html>.

⁸⁰ Roy Rosenzweig, “Scarcity or Abundance? Preserving the Past in a Digital Era,” *The American Historical Review* 108, no. 3 (2003): 735–762; Fred Gibbs and Trevor Owens, “Hermeneutics of Data and Historical Writing,” in *Writing History in the Digital Age*, ed. Jack Dougherty and Kirsten Nawrotzki (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2013).

The digitization of newspapers provides historians with innovative ways of analyzing text both in terms of size and method.⁸¹ Historians have always interpreted texts with the purpose of understanding their historical significance or studying larger cultural-historical phenomena. The standard approach to texts has been a hermeneutic reading informed by both domain knowledge and theoretically motivated arguments. However, the KB's newspaper archive contains machine readable text which enables researchers to use computation to explore the archive or locate particular instances of language use. Moreover, computers can assist with the curation of subsets of data and the visualization of language trends in these newspapers. These methods enrich and guide the hermeneutic reading of digitized sources.

Scholars use many different terms to refer to the computational analysis of digitized forms of human expression, including digital humanities, e-discovery, eHumanities, computational humanities, culture analytics, culturomics, and big data research.⁸² David Berry offers one of

⁸¹ Adrian Bingham, "The Digitization of Newspaper Archives: Opportunities and Challenges for Historians," *Twentieth Century British History* 21, no. 2 (June 1, 2010): 225–31; Nicholson, "The Digital Turn"; Jo Guldi and David Armitage, *The History Manifesto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 93; Melvin Wevers and Pim Huijnen, "Mapping America in Public Discourse," in *America in Foreign Media*, ed. Michal Peprník and Matthew Sweney, Conference Proceedings Olomouc 2013 American Studies Colloquium (Olomouc: Palacký University Olomouc, 2014), 109–25.

⁸² Anne Burdick et al., eds., *Digital Humanities* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2012); David Berry, ed., *Understanding Digital Humanities* (New York: Macmillan, 2012); Peter Lunenfeld, Todd Presner, and Jeffrey Schnapp, "Digital Humanities Manifesto 2.0," 2009, http://www.humanitiesblast.com/manifesto/Manifesto_V2.pdf; Matthew Gold and Lauren Klein, eds., *Debates in the Digital Humanities* (Minneapolis: University Of Minnesota Press, 2012); Steven Jones, *The Emergence of the Digital Humanities* (New York: Routledge, 2014); Melissa Terras, Julianne Nyhan, and Edward Vanhoutte, eds., *Defining Digital Humanities: A Reader* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013); Erez Aiden and Jean-Baptiste Michel, *Uncharted: Big Data as a Lens on Human Culture* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2013); David Graus et al., "Semantic Search in E-Discovery: An Interdisciplinary Approach," in *Workshop on Standards for Using Predictive Coding, Machine*

the most straightforward definitions of the practice that underlies these fields, namely “the application of computational principles, processes, and machinery to humanities texts.”⁸³ Scholars describe the possibility to apply computation to large datasets as a transformative and promising endeavor for the humanities.⁸⁴ The central argument is that the scale of the datasets and the advances in computation allow researchers to “extract new insights or create new forms of value.”⁸⁵

One of these new possibilities is the “automated search for patterns” in vast corpora of texts, which Franco Moretti describes as “distant reading.”⁸⁶ Moretti claims that distant reading “allows you to focus on units that are much smaller or much larger than the text: devices, themes, tropes—or genres and systems.”⁸⁷ Some scholars regard distant reading as a clear methodological shift from traditional or ‘close’ reading. For instance, Burdick et al. consider distant reading as “a new way of doing research wherein computational methods allow for novel sets of questions

Learning, and Other Advanced Search and Review Methods in E-Discovery, ICAIL, 2013, <http://dare.uva.nl/record/1/439201>.

⁸³ David Berry, “Post-Digital Humanities,” *Stunlaw: Critique, Politics, Arts and Technology*, October 18, 2013, <http://stunlaw.blogspot.nl/2013/10/post-digital-humanities.html>.

⁸⁴ Joris van Eijnatten, Toine Pieters, and Jaap Verheul, “Big Data for Global History: The Transformative Promise of Digital Humanities,” *BMGN - Low Countries Historical Review* 128, no. 4 (December 16, 2013): 55–77; Jose van Dijck, “Big Data, Grand Challenges: On Digitization and Humanities Research | Tijdschrift Kwalon,” accessed October 3, 2016, https://www.tijdschriftkwalon.nl/inhoud/tijdschrift_artikel/KW-21-1-2/Big-data-grand-challenges-On-digitization-and-humanities-research; Guldi and Armitage, *The History Manifesto*; Franco Moretti, *Distant Reading* (London: Verso, 2013); Aiden and Michel, *Uncharted*; Burdick et al., *Digital Humanities*.

⁸⁵ Viktor Mayer-Schönberger and Kenneth Cukier, *Big Data: A Revolution That Will Transform How We Live, Work, and Think* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Hartcourt, 2013), 6.

⁸⁶ Franco Moretti first introduced the term in: Moretti, *Distant Reading*.

⁸⁷ Franco Moretti, “Conjectures on World Literature,” *New Left Review*, no. 1 (February 2000): 54–68; Franco Moretti, *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for Literary History* (London: Verso, 2007).

to be posed about the history of ideas, language use, cultural values and their dissemination, and the processes by which culture is made.”⁸⁸

The central challenge inherent to the application of computation to humanities data, I argue, is to strike a balance between qualitative and quantitative methods through active engagement with both digitized sources and computational techniques. Many scholars view distant reading through computational methods as an addition to, and not a replacement of, ‘traditional,’ humanistic interpretation.⁸⁹ But even if that is the case, scholars in the humanities do need to engage with the digital and develop methodologies that support their research questions, since the role of digitized datasets and the use of computation in academic work will only grow in the years to come.⁹⁰ According to Armitage and Guldi, historians are among the people best equipped to relate trends derived from large datasets to individual sources and critically engage with archives as well as computational methods.⁹¹ According to these scholars, the historian in

⁸⁸ Burdick et al., *Digital Humanities*, 39.

⁸⁹ David Berry, “The Computational Turn: Thinking about the Digital Humanities,” *Culture Machine* 12 (2011), <http://www.culturemachine.net/index.php/cm/article/view/440/470>; Luke Blaxill, “Quantifying the Language of British Politics, 1880–1910,” *Historical Research* 86, no. 232 (May 1, 2013): 313–41; Rens Bod, “Who’s Afraid of Patterns?: The Particular versus the Universal and the Meaning of Humanities 3.0,” *BMGN-Low Countries Historical Review* 128, no. 4 (2013): 171–180; Porsdam, “Digital Humanities”; Stephen Ramsay, *Reading Machines toward an Algorithmic Criticism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011), 6–8; Shawna Ross, “In Praise of Overstating the Case: A Review of Franco Moretti, *Distant Reading* (London: Verso, 2013),” *Digital Humanities Quarterly* 8, no. 1 (2014), <http://www.digitalhumanities.org/dhq/vol/8/1/000171/000171.html>; Bernhard Rieder and Theo Röhle, “Digital Methods: Five Challenges,” in *Understanding Digital Humanities*, ed. David Berry (New York: Macmillan, 2012), 80; Ted Underwood, “Interesting Times for Literary Theory,” *The Stone and the Shell*, August 4, 2013, <https://tedunderwood.com/2013/08/04/interesting-times-for-literary-theory/>; Leighton Evans and Sian Rees, “An Interpretation of Digital Humanities,” in *Understanding Digital Humanities*, ed. David Berry (New York: Macmillan, 2012), 30.

⁹⁰ Porsdam, “Digital Humanities”; These issues were also addressed in this set of white papers: Timothy Tangherlini, ed., “Culture Analytics: White Papers,” in *IPAM Reports*, 2016, <http://www.ipam.ucla.edu/reports/white-papers-culture-analytics/>.

⁹¹ Guldi and Armitage, *The History Manifesto*, 108–11.

the digital age, in addition to being well-versed in source criticism and historical method, must engage critically with the process of digitization, the use of computational tools, and the interpretation of computational output.

1.6.1 An Iterative, Transparent, Toolkit Approach

This thesis takes the methodological reflections made by others to heart and provides an example of cultural-historical research that combines quantitative and qualitative evidence gathered via hermeneutical and computational methods. The use of computation in this thesis can be described as a form of exploratory data analysis or computer-assisted interpretation.⁹² I use computation to explore the dataset, formulate hypotheses, discover linguistic trends, and to extract new collections of data from the larger dataset. Consequently, this thesis demonstrates that the application of computational techniques to large datasets can help establish links between particular cultural expressions and larger cultural trends. Working with digitized sources allowed me to find needles in the haystack, but also helped me to figure out how big the haystack was as it were. The use of computational techniques for cultural-historical research follows three core principles: the use of transparent and reproducible workflows, a toolkit approach that prescribes the use of multiple tools and techniques, and iteration between computational and traditional methods.

⁹² John Tukey, *Exploratory Data Analysis* (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1977); Geoffrey Rockwell and Stéfan Sinclair, *Hermeneutica: Computer-Assisted Interpretation in the Humanities* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2016).

Transparent and Reproducible Workflows

Workflows—systematic descriptions of the implementation of computational methods—make historical research more transparent and reproducible. An important aspect of working with computation in the humanities is that researchers need to be transparent about what they measure, how they measure it, and how they interpret their output. This transparency is valuable for two reasons. First, it reveals the possible bias in the data and the method. Rieder and Röhle warn us that “[t]heory is already at work on the most basic level when it comes to defining units of analysis, algorithms, and visualisation procedures.” The technologies upon which digital humanities is built changes the way scholars work and engage with the source material, and, consequently, also their research outcomes.⁹³ Second, the transparency of workflows makes explicit how theory is translated to computation and how trends and patterns derived from the dataset are transformed into a historical narrative. Moreover, this transparency enables criticism from peers which can lead to the improvement of the methods and better interpretation of the data.

To be able to employ computational techniques, one needs to understand how historical concepts or cultural-historical phenomena can be reduced to features that can be interpreted by computers. For instance, how does one measure the relationship between a product and the United States? In the case of reference cultures, I developed an understanding of which features in the dataset indicated the presence of this complex cultural phenomenon. I combined insights from theories on the country-of-origin effect and product-country images with existing historiographies

⁹³ Johanna Drucker, “Humanities Approaches to Graphical Display,” *Digital Humanities Quarterly* 5, no. 1 (2011), http://www.johannadrucker.com/pdf/hum_app.pdf; Alan Liu, “Where Is Cultural Criticism in the Digital Humanities?,” in *Debates in the Digital Humanities*, ed. Matthew K. Gold (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012).

and information unearthed by data-intensive explorations of the newspapers to operationalize which features indicated the United States' role as a reference culture.

A Toolkit Approach

The second methodological principle of this thesis concerns the use of tools. I contend that there is no 'one tool fits all solution' and that a combination of tools yields the most insightful results. Like a carpenter building a table, a historian needs multiple tools to answer historical questions. Working with computational tools is not a linear process, but an iterative one of going back-and-forth between generating output using different tools, interpreting their output, and close reading the sources.⁹⁴ Output functions as a new text with a particular internal structure, context, and narrative structure.⁹⁵ The interpretation of the output involves contrasting different outputs with each other and contextualizing them by examining some of the data that led to the output. Only then can computational tools lead to the discovery of patterns in the dataset, without missing "the power of the particular."⁹⁶

Apart from more specific workflows that are described in the subsequent case studies, this thesis follows a general workflow (fig. 1.1).

⁹⁴ Others have raised the need to find a balance between digital and traditional methods. See: Porsdam, "Digital Humanities"; Berry, "The Computational Turn"; Nicholson, "The Digital Turn"; Gerben Zaagsma, "On Digital History," *BMGN-Low Countries Historical Review* 128, no. 4 (2013): 3–29.

⁹⁵ Stephen Ramsay and Geoffrey Rockwell, "Developing Things: Notes toward an Epistemology of Building in the Digital Humanities," in *Debates in the Digital Humanities*, ed. Matthew K. Gold (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 75–84; Gibbs and Owens, "Hermeneutics of Data and Historical Writing"; D. Sculley and Bradley M. Pasanek, "Meaning and Mining: The Impact of Implicit Assumptions in Data Mining for the Humanities," *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 23, no. 4 (2008): 409–424.

⁹⁶ Tim Hitchcock, "Big Data, Small Data and Meaning," *Historyonics*, accessed October 10, 2016, http://historyonics.blogspot.com/2014/11/big-data-small-data-and-meaning_9.html.

In the first step of the general workflow, I query a database of the digitized newspapers in the collection of the National Library of the Netherlands via Texcavator, a tailor-made tool for this particular dataset.⁹⁷ After refining the search query and selecting metadata settings, such as article type and newspaper type, I use Texcavator to export a selected subset (corpus) of articles. Using the programming languages Python and R, I clean this dataset for further analysis. Common cleaning steps include the removal of duplicate articles, or articles unrelated to the research question. The case studies offer more detailed explanations of these filtering steps.

This processed dataset is then subjected to further queries and analyses using Python and R, as well as text mining tools such as AntConc or CasualConc. The patterns or trends found through computation always need to be scrutinized either by close reading or additional computational analyses.⁹⁸ Moreover, for a better understanding of the trends, I gauged the messiness of the dataset in terms of text quality and document separation.⁹⁹ Finally, I use the trends and patterns gathered from the

⁹⁷ Texcavator is hosted by SurfSara and Utrecht University. <http://texcavator.surfsaralabs.nl>. The tool's source code can be found here: "Texcavator Source Code," *GitHub*, accessed January 14, 2017, <https://github.com/UUDigitalHumanitieslab/texcavator>.

⁹⁸ Many others have made this point. Andreas Fickers, "Veins Filled with the Diluted Sap of Rationality: A Critical Reply to Rens Bod," *BMGN-Low Countries Historical Review* 128, no. 4 (2013): 155; James E. Dobson, "Can An Algorithm Be Disturbed?: Machine Learning, Intrinsic Criticism, and the Digital Humanities," *College Literature* 42, no. 4 (2015): 543–564; Blaxill, "Quantifying the Language of British Politics, 1880–1910," 329; Burdick et al., *Digital Humanities*, 4; Ramsay, *Reading Machines toward an Algorithmic Criticism*, 17; Pim Huijnen et al., "A Digital Humanities Approach to the History of Science," in *Social Informatics*, ed. Akiyo Nadamoto et al., 8359 (Berlin: Springer, 2014), 5; Timothy Tangherlini, Todd Presner, and Zoe Borovsky, "Thick Viewing: Integrated Visualization Environments for Humanities Research on Complex Corpora," in *Proceedings of the First International HASTAC Conference*, ed. Eris Ennis (Electronic Technonics: Thinking at the Interface, San Francisco: Lulu, 2008), 130–37; Sara Klingenstein, Tim Hitchcock, and Simon DeDeo, "The Civilizing Process in London's Old Bailey," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 111, no. 26 (July 1, 2014): 9419–24.

⁹⁹ See chapter 2 for more on the quality of the dataset.

processed datasets to answer the research questions that are central to the case studies.

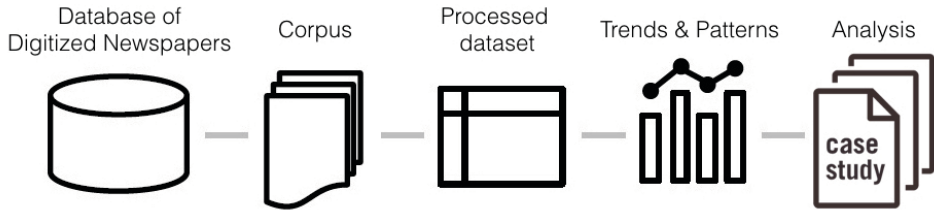


Figure 1.1. General research workflow¹⁰⁰

Iterative Nature

The third methodological principle of this thesis is that of iteration, i.e. it refers to the repetitive movement between different modes of analysis, such as close and distant reading, to better understand cultural-historical processes, such as the function of reference cultures.¹⁰¹ The use of computation is not a linear process of building a perfect tool or model, feeding it with data, and receiving unambiguous output. David Blei characterizes the use of computational tools for the study of historical phenomena as an iterative process of building, computing, critiquing, and repeating (fig 1.2).¹⁰² According to Blei, this process can be summarized as follows: first, the researcher turns to domain knowledge to make

¹⁰⁰ I reused some of the images used by Kristoffer Nielbo and Ryan Nichols. Kristoffer Nielbo and Ryan Nichols, “How to Work with Unstructured Data,” *The University of British Columbia*, accessed January 3, 2017, <http://www.hecc.ubc.ca/quantitative-textual-analysis/qta-theory/how-to-work-with-unstructured-data/>.

¹⁰¹ Matthew Kirschenbaum argues that researchers can achieve “synergistic interaction” by “rapid shuttling’ between quantitative information and hermeneutic close reading.” The phrase “rapid shuttling” is coined by Matthew Kirschenbaum in: Katherine Hayles, *How We Think: Digital Media and Contemporary Technogenesis* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012), 31; In her review of Moretti’s book *Distant Reading*, Ross also argues for a combination of the two methods of reading Ross, “In Praise of Overstating the Case.”

¹⁰² David Blei, “Build, Compute, Critique, Repeat: Data Analysis with Latent Variable Models,” *Annual Review of Statistics and Its Application* 1 (2014): 203–232.

assumptions about cultural phenomena. These assumptions are part of a cultural model.¹⁰³ Second, computational tools extract patterns from the dataset, which are used to make predictions about or explorations of the dataset. Finally, these predictions or investigations can lead to a confirmation or revision of the initial cultural model, which can then again function as the starting point for a new cycle.¹⁰⁴

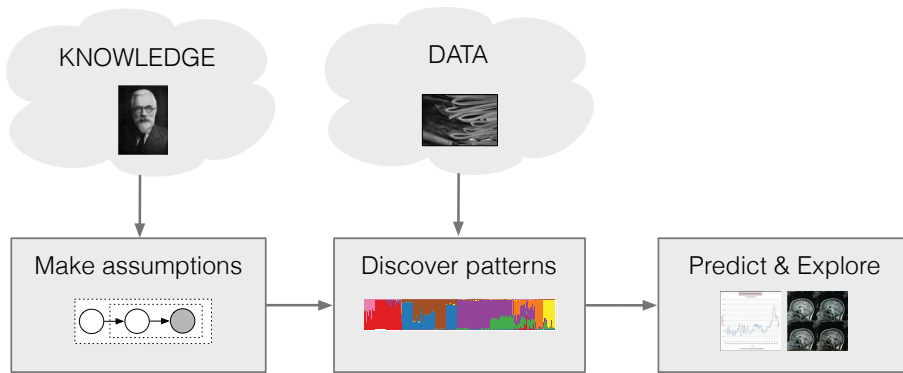


Figure 1.2. The application of computation as a process of “building, computing, critiquing, and repeating. Diagram taken from David Blei, “Understanding History Through Topic Modeling.” Presentation at Workshop IV: Mathematical Analysis of Cultural Expressive Forms: Text Data during the Culture Analytics Long Program at the Institute for Pure and Applied Mathematics, UCLA, CA, May 23-27, 2016.

¹⁰³ The construction of such a model is always a reductionist move in which the complexities of the past are not fully captured. When trying to capture trends over longer periods of time such a simplification of the past therefore is necessary.

¹⁰⁴ Tony Hey describes this as a data-intensive approach. Tony Hey, Stewart Tansley, and Kirstin Tolle, eds., *The Fourth Paradigm: Data-Intensive Scientific Discovery* (Redmond: Microsoft Research, 2009), xviii–xix.

In addition to the analysis itself, the writing of the computer code, the development of the workflows, and the cleaning of the data were also iterative processes. For instance, based on generated output, I frequently decided that I needed to filter specific elements from the dataset because they skewed the output, or that I needed to revise the code.

Although the research process and development of workflows was an iterative process, in the following chapters I present the research process as a linear process. The narrative structure in the case studies moves from a macroscopic to a microscopic viewpoint. The first parts of the chapters describe how I used computational methods to sketch a macroscopic structure, which provides “a vision of the whole, [which helps us] ‘synthesize’ the related elements and detect trends and outliers while granting access to myriad details.”¹⁰⁵ In the second parts, I shift my focus to the analysis of the patterns found in this macroscopic structure, using corpus linguistic techniques and close readings of texts. These analyses will together offer a more hermeneutical angle on the information found in the corpus. To put it differently, the chapters move from *what* happened to *how* or possibly *why* it happened.

By combining traditional and computational methods in a transparent and iterative way, doing history with computational tools becomes more than “playing with data” for the purpose of discovering serendipities or coming up with hypotheses.¹⁰⁶ I rely on computational techniques to explore the dataset and discover discursive trends in public discourse that can be used to make a qualitative argument but also to generate data that can be used to make a quantitative argument.

¹⁰⁵ Tangherlini, Presner, and Borovsky, “Thick Viewing: Integrated Visualization Environments for Humanities Research on Complex Corpora.”

¹⁰⁶ Gibbs and Owens, “Hermeneutics of Data and Historical Writing.”

1.6.2 Text Mining

Since this research is focused on machine-readable text, the majority of computational techniques hail from the field of text mining. The interpretation of large chunks of text is limited by the human observer's ability to process information.¹⁰⁷ Text mining, however, allows “researchers to detect large-scale trends and relationships that are not discernable from a single text or detailed analysis.”¹⁰⁸ It combines techniques from the fields of information retrieval, natural language processing, information extraction, and data mining for the discovery and measurement of patterns of language use in digitized sets of textual data.¹⁰⁹ I use these trends and relationships to make explicit and systematic inferences about the role of reference cultures in public discourse.

This thesis applies a set of proven methods for the analysis of textual corpora. A vast repository of online tutorials exists for using tools and programming languages to execute tasks.¹¹⁰ Most of the proven tools and techniques have been used on literary works or social media data that

¹⁰⁷ Susan Hunston, *Corpora in Applied Linguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 67.

¹⁰⁸ Burdick et al., *Digital Humanities*, 39; Tanya Clement et al., “How Not to Read a Million Books,” October 2008, <http://www.people.virginia.edu/~jmu2m/hownot2read.html>.

¹⁰⁹ Lin, “Transdisciplinarity and Digital Humanities: Lessons Learned from Developing Text-Mining Tools for Textual Analysis,” 300; Brendan O’Connor, David Bamman, and Noah Smith, “Computational Text Analysis for Social Science: Model Assumptions and Complexity,” in *Proceedings of the NIPS Workshop on Computational Social Science and the Wisdom of Crowds*, 2011, <http://repository.cmu.edu/lti/212/>.

¹¹⁰ Shawn Graham, Scott Weingart, and Ian Milligan, “The Historian’s Macroscope: Big Digital History,” *The Historian’s Macroscope*, accessed August 13, 2015, <http://www.themacroscope.org/>; Maria José Afanador-Llach et al., eds., *The Programming Historian*, 2nd ed., 2017, <http://programminghistorian.org/>.

span shorter periods of time. In this thesis, I apply existing tools and methods on a dataset that spans a century.

Full-text Searching

Full-text searching enables researchers to use one or more keywords to locate texts that contain these keywords or variants of them in an archive. Researchers can also employ advanced querying operations, such as wildcards, regular expressions, Boolean operators and fuzzy matching to increase the precision and recall of their searches.¹¹¹ Wildcards are symbols, such as a question mark (?) and an asterisk (*) that respectively represent one or more characters. For instance, “BO?T” queries both “BOOT” and “BOAT.”¹¹² A regular expression is a specific text string that describes a search pattern. To put it more simply, regular expressions are an advanced version of wildcards. With a regular expression, a researcher could query for words that start with a capital “A” and also contain “ica.”¹¹³ Boolean operators are words such as “AND”, “OR”, or “NOT” that can help to broaden or narrow a search by combining or excluding search terms. Fuzzy matching, which is also referred to as approximate string matching, is a querying technique that locates instances in which the string approximates a particular pattern. Researchers can configure how much variation (edit distance) is allowed.¹¹⁴ For example, AMERICA^5 queries America with an edit distance of 5, which would also give ‘Ameerika’ as a result.

¹¹¹ Precision refers to the number of retrieved documents that are relevant to the query. Recall is the fraction of documents relevant to the query that is successfully retrieved.

¹¹² Queries are displayed in small caps.

¹¹³ For more on regular expressions see: <http://regexr.com>.

¹¹⁴ Most commonly this is the Levenshtein distance which indicates how many operations — insertion, removal, or substitution of a character — are allowed to transfer the string from one to another.

The capabilities of full-text searching are easily overlooked, but they have changed historical research considerably. In the past, time constraints limited archival research to browsing through a selected number of editions or volumes. During this arduous process, titles often pointed researchers into a specific direction.¹¹⁵ Using full-text searching, single keywords or strings of keywords allow the researcher to immediately dive into a text and study the context of a word or phrase. This new way of searching and browsing enables discourse analysis, in particular “the sort based on reading a word, term, or name in all its many contexts across a corpus of texts.”¹¹⁶ Moreover, the capability to look for instances of a word can lead to unexpected finds as well as to a more rigorous exploration of the archive.¹¹⁷

N-gram Viewers

Researchers can use n-gram viewers to quickly get an overview of the relative occurrence of specific words or strings of words (n-grams) in a corpus. N-gram viewers produce line graphs that display the frequency of words in a corpus relative to the total number of words in one year in that same corpus (fig. 1.3). Via n-gram viewers, researchers can pinpoint continuities and discontinuities in language. One of the principal criticisms of n-gram viewers is that they present the “what, and the when, but not the why.”¹¹⁸ To achieve a better understanding of the trends in n-gram

¹¹⁵ Nicholson, “The Digital Turn.”

¹¹⁶ Johanna Drucker, *SpecLab: Digital Aesthetics and Projects in Speculative Computing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 9.

¹¹⁷ Blaxill, “Quantifying the Language of British Politics, 1880–1910,” 328–30.

¹¹⁸ William Grimes, “‘Uncharted,’ by Erez Aiden and Jean-Baptiste Michel,” *The New York Times*, December 24, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/25/books/uncharted-by-erez-aiden-and-jean-baptiste-michel.html>; Craig Dalton and Jim Thatcher, “What Does a Critical Data Studies Look Like, and Why Do We Care? Seven Points for a Critical Approach to ‘Big Data’,” *Society and Space Open Site*, August 7, 2014, <http://societyandspace.com/material/commentaries/craig-dalton->

viewers, researchers need to contextualize them with either close reading or other forms of analysis.

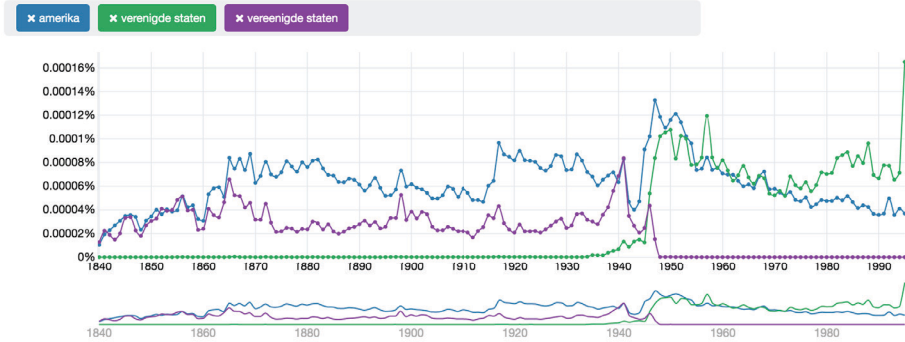


Figure 1.3. N-grams for America (*Amerika*), United States (*Verenigde Staten / Vereenigde Staten*).
 KB n-gram viewer: <http://kbkranten.politicalmashup.nl/#q/amerika|verenigde%20staten|vereenigde%20staten>

The KB n-gram viewer offers a quick and easy way to query the National Library's newspaper corpus.¹¹⁹ The trends in this particular n-gram viewer illustrate when and how often newspapers discussed specific ideas, practices, or products. However, the visualizations produced by the KB n-gram viewer also require critical interpretation. First, this viewer does not offer the option to distinguish between colonial and non-colonial or national and regional Dutch newspapers, nor can users discriminate articles from advertisements. Hence, researchers cannot determine the distribution of an n-gram over specific types of documents or newspapers. Second, the KB erroneously digitized numerous newspaper editions twice, most notably the popular Dutch newspaper *De Telegraaf* between 1970 and 1978. This heavily skews the n-gram visualization from the 1970s onwards. Despite these shortcomings, the KB n-gram is still an excellent

and-jim-thatcher-what-does-a-critical-data-studies-look-like-and-why-do-we-care-seven-points-for-a-critical-approach-to-big-data/.

¹¹⁹ <http://kbkranten.politicalmashup.nl>.

tool for quickly producing overviews of word use in a large corpus of digitized newspapers.

Named Entity Recognition (NER)

Named Entity Recognition (NER) uses syntactic rules and annotated databases to extract pre-defined categories of entities from a set of texts.¹²⁰

The standard classifiers are developed to extract persons, locations, and organizations from texts. However, the precision and recall of NER is impeded by the OCR quality of the text.¹²¹ Rodriguez et al. found that Stanford NER gave the best performance for texts with faulty OCR when extracting locations and persons.¹²² Despite the lack of precision and recall, I use NER for a data-driven mapping of the persons, locations, and organizations involved in particular debates or events. Due to the spelling variants and the use of abbreviations, organizations and persons are harder to extract from Dutch newspapers than locations, which have a more uniform spelling.

Corpus Linguistics

For the analysis of language use in digitized texts, I rely on techniques from the field of corpus linguistics. Core aspects of these techniques are word frequency lists, n-gram extraction, and collocation, which I generate

¹²⁰ For a description of the possible ways to use NER see: Caroline Sporleder et al., “Identifying Named Entities in Text Databases from the Natural History Domain,” in *Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation (LREC-06)*, 2006, 1742–1745; Seth van Hooland et al., “Exploring Entity Recognition and Disambiguation for Cultural Heritage Collections,” *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, November 29, 2013.

¹²¹ Thomas Packer et al., “Extracting Person Names from Diverse and Noisy OCR Text,” in *Proceedings of the Fourth Workshop on Analytics for Noisy Unstructured Text Data (ACM, 2010)*, 1.

¹²² Kepa Joseba Rodriguez et al., “Comparison of Named Entity Recognition Tools for Raw OCR Text,” in *Proceedings of KONVENS 2012*, 2012, 410–14, http://www.oegai.at/konvens2012/proceedings/60_rodriguez12w/.

with corpus linguistics tools such as AntConc and CasualConc, and scripts in the programming languages R and Python.

The simplest way to make sense of a corpus is by looking at the distribution of word frequencies. An ordered list of words and their frequencies offers a glimpse into the corpus, showing which words were used most often. Word lists can be ordered according to raw frequency counts (how often did the word appear) and their distinctiveness. The latter can be determined by calculating a word's term frequency-inverse document frequency (TF-IDF). TF-IDF is a statistical measure that shows how distinctive words are in the corpus. This is done multiplying the frequency of a term (TF) with the inverse document frequency (IDF) of a word. The inverse document frequency is a measure that shows how common or rare a word is across all documents. IDF is the logarithm of the quotient that comes out of the division of the total number of documents by the number of documents that contain the search term.¹²³ By scrolling through such a list that has been sorted using TF-IDF, researchers can quickly spot themes and words of interest.

An additional way to gather insights into the context of words is through n-gram extraction. This functionality finds phrases of specific lengths that contain either single or multiple keywords, for instance, an overview of the first terms in a bigram—a phrase of two terms—shows which adjectives newspapers regularly used to discuss the second term.

A third method derived from corpus linguistics is collocation analysis. Collocation refers to the “co-occurrence of two items within a specific

¹²³ Daniel Jurafsky and James Martin, *Speech and Language Processing: An Introduction to Natural Language Processing, Computational Linguistics, and Speech Recognition* (Upper Saddle River: Pearson, 2009), 890.

environment.”¹²⁴ Words that co-occur around a target word are habitually informative of that same target word.¹²⁵ For example, in the sentence “it is a pleasure to smoke cigarettes”, the words ‘pleasure’ and ‘smoke’ tell us something about cigarettes. However, the most frequent context words are not necessarily the most informative or discriminatory ones. To discern these context words, I use a measure of semantic similarity that “asks how much more often than chance [...] the feature co-occurs with the target word.”¹²⁶ This semantic similarity, or bias, is calculated by comparing the number of co-occurring words around a specific keyword to the frequency of these co-occurring words in the entire corpus.¹²⁷ One of the most commonly used measures is the Mutual Information (MI) score, which divides the observed word frequency by the expected word frequency and converts this to a base-2 logarithm. Put differently, MI-score measures the probability of words appearing together, while keeping in mind their individual distributions.¹²⁸ This score can be used to distinguish significant collocates from uninformative, frequently co-occurring words. I use collocation analysis to determine the context of words and to examine

¹²⁴ John Sinclair, Susan Jones, and Robert Daley, *English Collocation Studies: The OSTI Report*, ed. Ramesh Krishnamurthy (London: Continuum, 2004), 10.

¹²⁵ Se-Eun Jhang and Sung-Min Lee, “Visualization of Collocational Networks: Maritime English Keywords,” *Language Research* 49, no. 3 (2013): 782.

¹²⁶ Jurafsky and Martin, *Speech and Language Processing*, 759.

¹²⁷ Anne O’Keeffe, Michael McCarthy, and Ronald Carter, *From Corpus to Classroom: Language Use and Language Teaching* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 60.

¹²⁸ For more on this measure see: Hunston, *Corpora in Applied Linguistics*, 73; Christopher Manning and Hinrich Schütze, *Foundations of Statistical Natural Language Processing* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999), 151–89; Tony McEnery, Richard Xiao, and Yukio Tono, *Corpus-Based Language Studies: An Advanced Resource Book* (London: Routledge, 2006), 215–19; Jurafsky and Martin, *Speech and Language Processing*, 758–60; Kenneth Ward Church and Patrick Hanks, “Word Association Norms, Mutual Information, and Lexicography,” *Computational Linguistics* 16, no. 1 (1990): 22–29. For a lengthy discussion of collocation measures for humanities research see: Edward Slingerland et al., “The Distant Reading of Religious Texts,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, accessed January 3, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jaarel/lfw090>.

whether their meaning shifted by comparing collocates in different periods.¹²⁹

These three techniques from corpus linguistics offer quantitative information on language use in the newspapers and they also guide the exploration of the archive. They can point toward evidence that supports qualitative argumentation. The words or phrases found through frequency lists, n-gram extraction, or collocation analyses can also be used to guide explorations of specific texts in the corpus. Moreover, the frequencies of words or phrases and shifts in collocates might also indicate trends or breakpoints in language use.

Topic Modeling

For a more data-driven way of distant reading the newspaper archive, I employ topic modeling. Topic modeling is a form of probabilistic modeling that assumes that texts can be reduced to a small number of topics, which are distributions over words. One of the most commonly used topic modeling algorithms is Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA).¹³⁰ Mimno and Blei explain that in LDA, “a set of K topics describes a corpus; each document exhibits the topics with different proportions. The words are assumed exchangeable within each document; the documents are assumed exchangeable within the corpus.”¹³¹ The technique aids researchers with

¹²⁹ Hunston, *Corpora in Applied Linguistics*, 42–46.

¹³⁰ David M. Blei, Andrew Y. Ng, and Michael I. Jordan, “Latent Dirichlet Allocation,” *Journal of Machine Learning Research* 3, no. Jan (2003): 993–1022.

¹³¹ David Mimno and David Blei, “Bayesian Checking for Topic Models,” in *Proceedings of the Conference on Empirical Methods in Natural Language Processing* (Association for Computational Linguistics, 2011), 2.

assessing what topics were discussed: it identifies “clusters of words—topics—that often appear in the same document together.”¹³²

Scholars have applied topic modeling to many different sources, ranging from historical newspapers, scientific journals, diaries, scholarly correspondences, to digitized books.¹³³ An often-made claim is that researchers play an important part in the interpretation of topics; topic modeling is “only a tool.”¹³⁴ David Blei, who developed topic modeling, writes that

the statistical models are meant to help interpret and understand texts; it is still the scholar’s job to do the actual interpreting and understanding. A model of texts, built with a particular theory in mind, cannot provide evidence for the theory. (After all, the theory is built into the assumptions of the model.) Rather, the hope is that the model helps point us to such evidence. Using humanist texts to do humanist scholarship is the job of a humanist.¹³⁵

¹³² Robert Nelson, “Mining the Dispatch,” *Mining the Dispatch*, 2010, <http://dsl.richmond.edu/dispatch/>; Elijah Meeks and Scott Weingart, “The Digital Humanities Contribution to Topic Modeling,” *Journal of Digital Humanities* 2, no. 1 (2012); David Blei, “Topic Modeling and Digital Humanities,” *Journal of Digital Humanities* 2, no. 1 (2012), <http://journalofdigitalhumanities.org/2-1/topic-modeling-and-digital-humanities-by-david-m-blei/>; David M. Blei and John D. Lafferty, “Topic Models,” *Text Mining: Classification, Clustering, and Applications* 10 (2009): 71; Jonathan Chang et al., “Reading Tea Leaves: How Humans Interpret Topic Models,” in *Advances in Neural Information Processing Systems*, 2009, 288–296; Tze-I. Yang, Andrew Torget, and Rada Mihalcea, “Topic Modeling on Historical Newspapers,” in *Proceedings of the 5th ACL-HLT Workshop on Language Technology for Cultural Heritage, Social Sciences, and Humanities* (Association for Computational Linguistics, 2011), 96–104.

¹³³ David Mimno and Andrew McCallum, “Organizing the OCA: Learning Faceted Subjects from a Library of Digital Books,” in *Proceedings of the 7th ACM/IEEE-CS Joint Conference on Digital Libraries*, JCDL '07 (New York: ACM, 2007), 376–385.

¹³⁴ Sharon Block, “Doing More with Digitization,” *Common-Place* 6, no. 2 (January 2006); David Newman and Sharon Block, “Probabilistic Topic Decomposition of an Eighteenth-Century American Newspaper,” *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology* 57, no. 6 (April 2006): 753–67.

¹³⁵ Blei, “Topic Modeling and Digital Humanities.”

To make sense of the topics in a topic model, it is “essential that an expert in the field contextualizes these topics and evaluates them for relevance.”¹³⁶ Put differently, one can never draw conclusions from merely looking at topic models. Researchers always need to combine the information in the topic model with domain knowledge or close reading of a selection of the underlying articles to make sense of the topics.

In this thesis, topic modeling has served two primary purposes. First, I use topic modeling as an exploratory tool for uncovering the thematic structure of a document collection. Subsequently, I compare thematic structures found by topic modeling from various sources or periods.¹³⁷ Topic modeling allows me to trace thematic shifts in collections of newspaper articles on specific subjects. Second, topic modeling reveals content that requires further exploration.¹³⁸ Researchers in the project *Mining the Dispatch* conclude that topic modeling is most valuable when it reveals “patterns that surprise us and that prompt interesting and useful research questions.”¹³⁹ Topic modeling also made it possible to locate text

¹³⁶ Yang, Torget, and Mihalcea, “Topic Modeling on Historical Newspapers.” This is in line with Dalton and Thatcher’s claim that “big isn’t everything”; domain expertise remains vital to make sense of computational output. Dalton and Thatcher, “What Does a Critical Data Studies Look Like, and Why Do We Care?”. Tangherlini and Leonard claim that the researcher can “‘curate’ these (...) topics, weeding out uninteresting ones and focusing on those that appear promising for the research problem at hand.” Timothy Tangherlini and Peter Leonard, “Trawling in the Sea of the Great Unread: Sub-Corpus Topic Modeling and Humanities Research,” *Poetics* 41, no. 6 (December 2013): 728.

¹³⁷ Blei, “Topic Modeling and Digital Humanities”; Work has been done to generate topic model over time. These methods, however, do not take into account changes in language. Xuerui Wang and Andrew McCallum, “Topics over Time: A Non-Markov Continuous-Time Model of Topical Trends,” in *Proceedings of the 12th ACM SIGKDD International Conference on Knowledge Discovery and Data Mining* (ACM, 2006), 424–433.

¹³⁸ Others have also used topic modeling for this purpose Chang et al., “Reading Tea Leaves.”

¹³⁹ Other scholars have rightly pointed to the “value of ‘screwing around’” and urged scholars to embrace “the serendipitous discovery that our recent abundance of data makes possible. Gibbs and Owens, “Hermeneutics of Data and Historical Writing.” This argument builds on the following text: Stephen Ramsay, “The Hermeneutics of Screwing Around; or What You Do with a Million Books,”

that matched a particular topic.¹⁴⁰ In addition, I use noteworthy words in a topic as keywords in full-text queries to find documents of interest.¹⁴¹

As with the corpus linguistic techniques, topic modeling provides quantitative information on the language use in a collection of documents, but it also guides closer examinations of the documents underlying a particular topic.

Visualizations

Throughout this thesis, I visualize the output generated by named entity recognition and corpus linguistic techniques. In the case of the visualization of n-grams, I rely on the visualizations offered by KB n-gram viewer. For the generation of the other visualizations I have used the R packages ‘ggplot2’, ‘wordcloud’, and the network visualization program Gephi.

This thesis contains three types of visualizations that can broadly be categorized in terms of temporal data (when), geospatial data (where), and topical data (what).¹⁴² These types of data sometimes overlap, for instance, networks can include both geospatial and topical data. Visualizations serve five main purposes: to better understand the dataset, to discover trends and breakpoints, to guide further explorations, to make the research process more transparent, and to communicate evidence and support claims.

in *Pastplay: Teaching and Learning History with Technology*, ed. Kevin Kee (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014).

¹⁴⁰ Blei, “Topic Modeling and Digital Humanities”; This is also the approach in: Yang, Torget, and Mihalcea, “Topic Modeling on Historical Newspapers,” 2.

¹⁴¹ Tangherlini and Leonard, “Trawling in the Sea of the Great Unread,” 728.

¹⁴² I took these forms of visualization based on different types of analysis from: Katy Börner and David Pollay, *Visual Insights: A Practical Guide to Making Sense of Data* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2014). Börner and Pollay also identify “network data” that shows how entities were connected. I have not included this type of analysis.

Visualizations reveal intermediate steps in the research process and as such are part of a larger hermeneutical argument. At the same time, they are argumentatively powerful because they are aesthetically pleasing. For instance, the colors or size of elements in a visualization influences the interpretation of the graph. For this reason, the interpretation of visualizations should always be approached critically, as Bernhard Rieder and Theo Röhle warn.¹⁴³

I will now present these three types of data visualization and briefly explain how they should be read. In the following chapters on the case studies, these types of graphs will be further explained and analyzed.

Temporal Data

For the visualization of the temporal distributions of word frequencies or article counts, I generate line graphs (fig 1.4), and occasionally bar charts. On the x-axis, I use a yearly interval. The y-axis displays either the absolute term or document frequency, or the relative term or document frequency per x advertisements or articles. I add a smoothed line graph to avoid being distracted by sudden peaks and to give a better sense of long-term trends. For the smoothing, I apply R's smoothing function, which is based on the Loess function (local polynomial regression fitting) and optimized for graphs that include less than 1,000 data points.¹⁴⁴ I used the default span (α) of 0.75. With $\alpha < 1$, the span is based on the proportion of the data that is considered to be neighboring x , using a tricubic weighting. This function produces a trend line (in red) and a 95%

¹⁴³ Rieder and Röhle, "Digital Methods: Five Challenges," 73–75.

¹⁴⁴ The calculation of smoothed conditional means is mostly used to fit a trend in a scatter plot, but it can also be applied to line graphs, especially when the dataset is noisy or contains sudden changes. "Smoothed Conditional Means — `Geom_smooth` • `ggplot2`," accessed May 3, 2017, http://ggplot2.tidyverse.org/reference/geom_smooth.html; William S. Cleveland and Susan J. Devlin, "Locally Weighted Regression: An Approach to Regression Analysis by Local Fitting," *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 83, no. 403 (September 1, 1988): 596–610.

confidence band (in grey). The confidence band shows the uncertainty of the trend line, the variation of the trend line lies within the upper and lower bounds of the band.

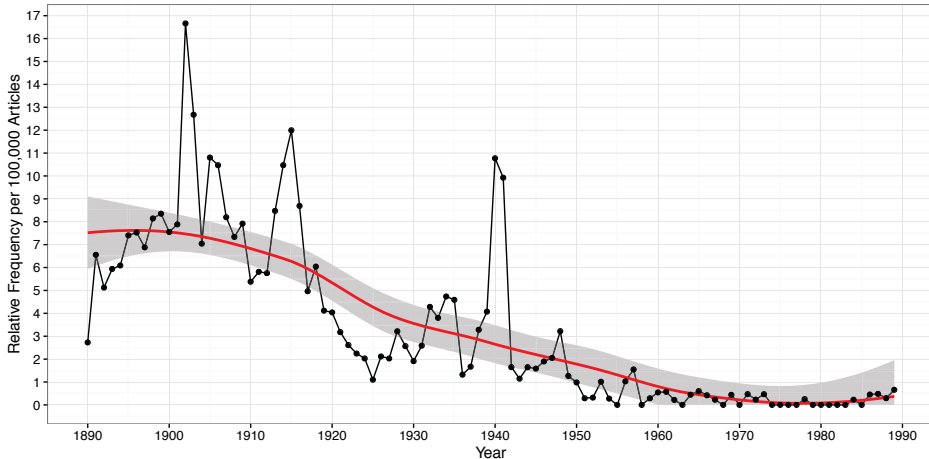


Figure 1.4. Example of a line graph with trend line and confidence band

Geospatial Data

For the visualization of geospatial data, I use the heat maps offered by Google Fusion Tables (fig. 1.5).¹⁴⁵ Google Fusion Tables uses the Google Maps API to place names of locations on a map. The colors on the heat map indicate how often the associated location was mentioned in the texts, green indicating a low frequency and red a high frequency. A red core, thus, indicates a higher frequency, whereas a sphere that is completely green corresponds to a low frequency. Figure 1.5 shows which locations frequently appeared in newspaper articles on a particular topic. I extracted the locations using named entity recognition. When an entity involves a country name, the software places the heat map in the center of the country.

¹⁴⁵ Google, "Heatmap Layer," *Google Maps APIs*, accessed December 8, 2016, <https://developers.google.com/maps/documentation/javascript/heatmaplayer>.

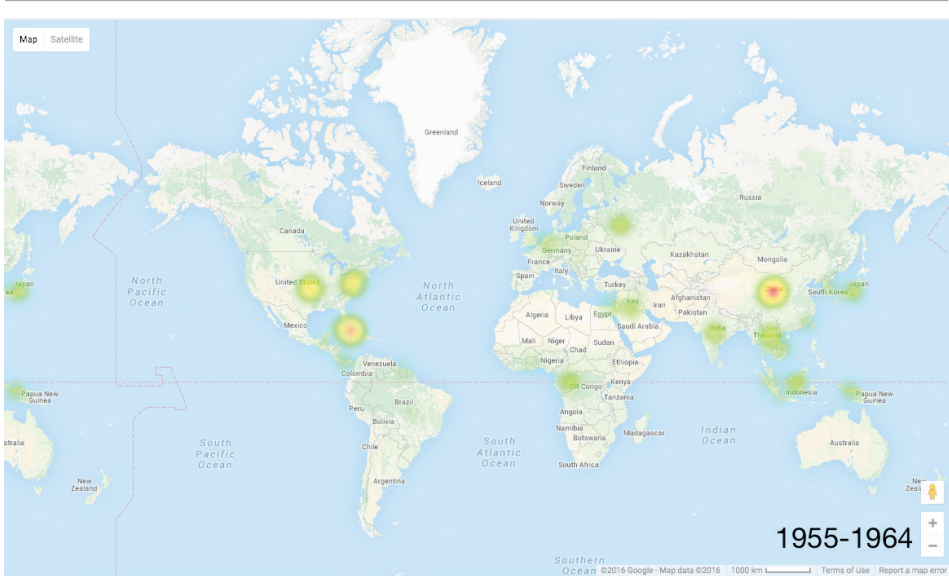


Figure 1.5. Example of a heat map

Topical / Network Data

I generate word clouds or network graphs to visualize the topical data derived from texts via named entity recognition or corpus linguistics techniques. Word clouds display the most frequent words in a set of documents (fig. 1.6). In most cases, I only show words that appear in less than 99 percent of all documents. I also apply the Dutch stop word list provided by the R text mining package ‘TM’ to remove the most common and non-informative words from the corpus.¹⁴⁶

The position, size, and color of the words correspond to their frequencies. The most common words have a larger font, and they appear in the center. Words with similar frequencies share the same color. A word cloud is a fast and straightforward technique to gain insight into a set of

¹⁴⁶ Ingo Feinerer, Kurt Hornik, and Artifex Software, *Tm: Text Mining Package*, version 0.6-2, 2015, <https://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/tm/index.html>.

texts, but it offers little granularity and information on the relationships between words.



Figure 1.6. Example of a word cloud

The other form of visualization of topical data is the network graph (fig. 1.7). This graph consists of nodes and edges that show particular words and their relationships in a corpus. These words could, for instance, be the most significant collocates to a particular word. The size of the spheres in these graphs corresponds to the word frequencies of the collocates, and the thickness of the connecting lines expresses the MI-scores. In this particular example, the color of the node indicates whether this collocate was distinctive for a certain type of cigarette.

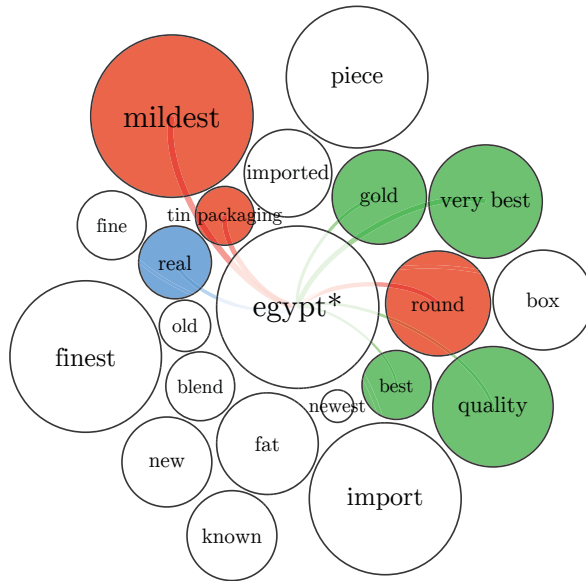


Figure 1.7. Example of a network graph

Chapter 2

Tracing America | The Adjective 'American' in Digitized Newspapers

The National Library of the Netherlands (KB) digitized over 11 million pages from Dutch newspapers published between 1618 and 1995, which is only 15 percent of all the newspapers published in the Netherlands. This dataset contains regional and national newspapers from the Netherlands, as well as newspapers published in Surinam, the Netherlands Antilles, the Dutch East Indies, and newspapers issued by the Dutch settler communities in the United States.¹ The KB categorized the digitized documents as advertisement, article, personal announcement, or captioned illustration. This thesis uses this dataset as its main source, and the analysis is limited to advertisements and articles from national and regional newspapers that were published in the Netherlands between 1890 and 1990.² I excluded newspapers that were published in the Dutch colonies and the United States because these do not represent public discourse in the territorial Netherlands.

The goal of the present chapter is twofold. The first section describes the dataset of digitized newspapers. The section outlines the distribution of articles, advertisements, and issues in the dataset. Also, it reflects on the text quality of the dataset and its representativeness of the twentieth-century Dutch newspaper landscape. At the end of the section I elaborate on my solution to compensate for the bias in the dataset in terms of distribution and text quality. I explain why I relied on relative frequencies to account for some of the bias in the corpus and I describe two different methods of calculating relative frequencies. The information gathered from these analyses helps with the interpretation of the data used in the

¹ For more information on the dataset: Koninklijke Bibliotheek, “Wat zit er in Delpher?,” *Delpher*, accessed December 14, 2016, <http://www.delpher.nl/nl/platform/pages/helpitem?id=385>. The National Library marked some newspapers, such as *De Surinamer* and *Nieuws van den Dag*, as national newspapers even though they were colonial newspapers. I removed these misclassified newspapers from my analyses.

² More specifically, this thesis uses the dataset offered by Texcavator (v1.2), a querying tool hosted by SurfSara and Utrecht University. <http://texcavator.surfsaralabs.nl>; <http://texcavator.hum.uu.nl>.

subsequent case studies. The second section explains how often and in which contexts twentieth-century Dutch newspapers mentioned the United States. This broad overview helps to contextualize more specific trends found in the two case studies at the heart of this thesis.

2.1 The Dataset

2.1.1 The Representativeness of the Dataset

The raw dataset that I used contains 52,505,256 articles and 18,675,592 advertisements for the period 1890-1990. This dataset contains newspaper issues twice, most notably *De Telegraaf* between 1970 and 1978. I removed the majority of the duplicate articles from *De Telegraaf*, *De Graafschap-Bode*, and *De Tijd* from the dataset.³ Table 2.1 shows the total number of ads and articles that I removed from these three newspapers.

Table 2.1. Removed number of duplicate articles and ads

Newspaper	Removed # of ads	Removed # of articles
<i>De Telegraaf</i>	1,593,481	1,724,452
<i>Graafschap-Bode</i>	157,029	337,044
<i>De Tijd</i>	56,400	210,056

The line graphs in figure 2.1 show the differences in articles and advertisements between the filtered dataset and the raw data. The filtering most heavily impacted the period 1960-1989, and less heavily the period 1915-1930. Furthermore, figure 2.1 demonstrates that the number

³ I used Python to remove the duplicate articles in specific periods from the dataset. I was not always able to determine which periods contained duplicates; therefore, I opted for a conservative approach when determining when duplicates occurred to avoid the deletion of too many articles. Nonetheless, in the final stages of my research, I discovered that I accidentally removed too many articles from *De Telegraaf* in 1988. In the interpretation of results for this year, I took this underrepresentation of *De Telegraaf* into account. The script for the removal can be found here: https://github.com/melvinwevers/PhD/blob/master/Code/Python/newspaper_filter_split.py.

of articles and advertisements is not evenly distributed over the twentieth century. The dataset contains more articles for the period between 1905 and 1945 than in the years before and after. Also, the number of articles dips between 1910 and 1925. The number of ads in the dataset also decreases after the Second World War but not as drastically as the decrease in articles. After 1945, both the number of ads and of articles slowly increases again.

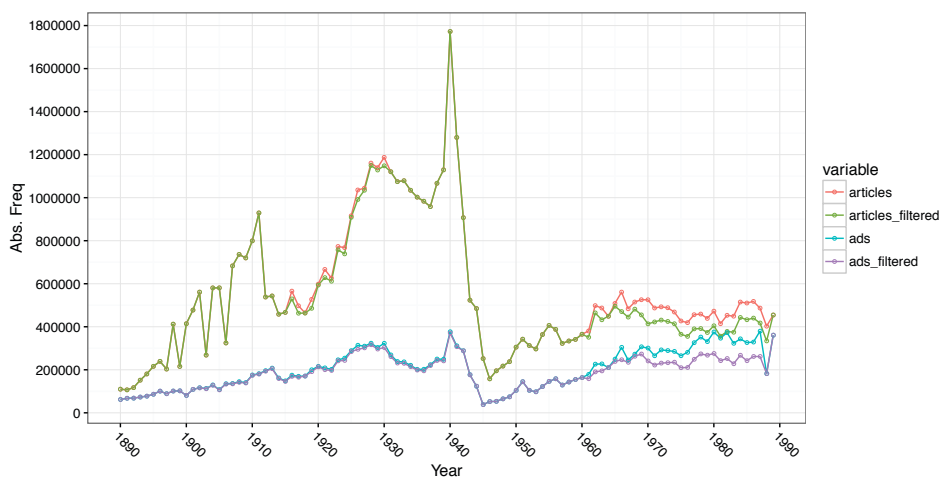


Figure 2.1. The green line shows the number of articles before filtering ($n = 54,776,808$) and the red line the number of articles after filtering ($n = 52,505,256$). The blue line shows the number of advertisements before filtering ($n = 20,482,502$) and the purple line the number of advertisements after filtering ($n = 18,675,592$).

The uneven distribution of newspaper articles is partly caused by the greater number of newspaper issues in the corpus before the Second World War (fig. 2.2). Between 1890 and 1939, the total number of issues increases, due to the increasing number of different newspaper titles in this period. The spike during the Second World War results from the

digitization of numerous pamphlets and resistance newspapers.⁴ Many of these publications appeared and also quickly disappeared over quite a short period. After the war, the number of issues decreases and then stays relatively stable.

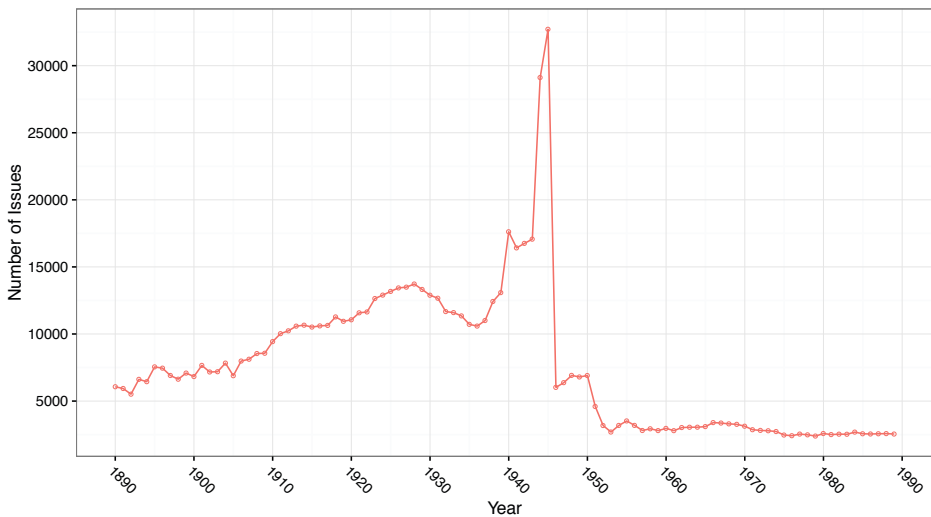


Figure 2.2. Total number of issues of national and regional newspapers⁵

Although the absolute number of advertisements, articles, and issues per year in the corpus is lower in the period after the Second World War (figs. 2.1 and 2.2) than before, the number of advertisements and articles in a single issue increases in this period (fig. 2.3). The increase in the number of articles and ads per newspaper after the Second World War

⁴ For a list of Dutch newspapers in the archive between 1940 and 1945 see: <http://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/results?query=&facets%5Bspatial%5D%5B%5D=Landelijk&facets%5Bspatial%5D%5B%5D=Regionaal%7Clokaal&page=1&coll=dddtitle#>.

⁵ Based on the number of issues provided by Delpher on September 20, 2016 because Texcavator does not allow for the calculation of the number of issues in the corpus. Although the dataset between Texcavator and Delpher differed slightly at the time of this calculation, this calculation based on the Delpher dataset gives a quite accurate approximation of the increase in number of newspapers in the dataset.

compensates for the decrease in newspaper titles. The amount of data thus increases in a smaller set of newspaper titles.

The sharp decline of the number of articles and advertisements per issue (fig 2.3) during the Second World War confirms the overrepresentation of resistance newspapers and pamphlets in the dataset, since this type of newspaper includes fewer articles per issue than regular papers. Because of these pamphlets and resistance newspapers, the period 1940-1945 differs markedly from earlier and later periods, which should be taken into account in the interpretation of longitudinal analyses for this period.

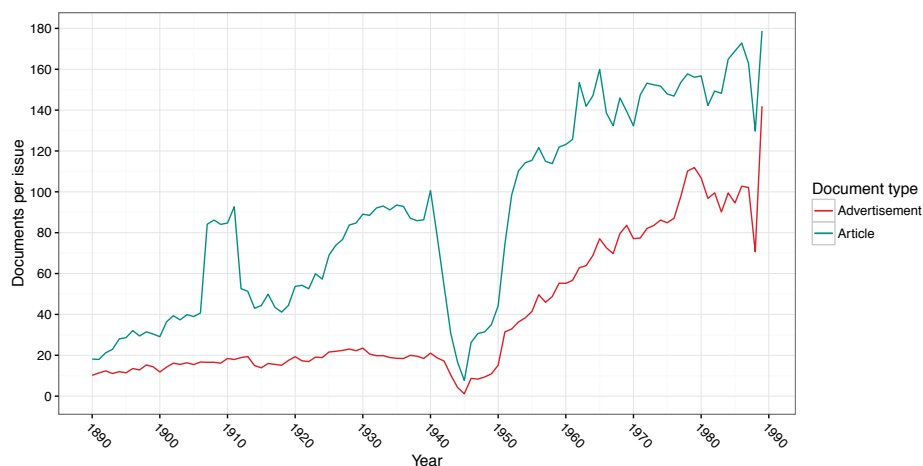


Figure 2.3. Number of articles and advertisements per issue

The Dutch newspaper archive offered by the KB contains 1,372 newspaper titles for the period 1890-1990.⁶ The vast majority of these titles ($n = 1,328$) were published during the Second World War (1940-1945). The archive contains only 92 newspaper titles published between 1890 and

⁶ An overview of all the titles in the Delpher can be found here:
https://www.kb.nl/sites/default/files/docs/Beschikbare_kranten_alfabetisch.pdf.

1939, and 78 between 1946 and 1989.⁷ These numbers show that even though the archive contains a diverse set of newspaper titles, they are not evenly distributed and most of them appeared during the Second World War.

Figure 2.4 displays the years of publication of newspapers with the strongest presence (more than 800,000 documents). Only five newspapers span almost the entire period: the regional newspapers *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden* (1890-1989), *Leeuwarder Courant* (1890-1989), *Limburgsch Dagblad* (1918-1989), and the national newspapers *De Telegraaf* (1893-1989) and *De Tijd* (1890-1974). There is also a clear overrepresentation of newspapers prior to the Second World War. Moreover, significant national newspapers such as *De Volkskrant* and *NRC Handelsblad* are absent from the archive.⁸

⁷ Number derived from Delpher (<http://www.delpher.nl>).

⁸ The KB added *NRC Handelsblad* to their postwar corpus in the final stage of this thesis. For this reason, this addition is not part of the dataset used for this thesis. Occasionally, I used Delpher to examine how *NRC Handelsblad* wrote about particular themes after the Second World War.

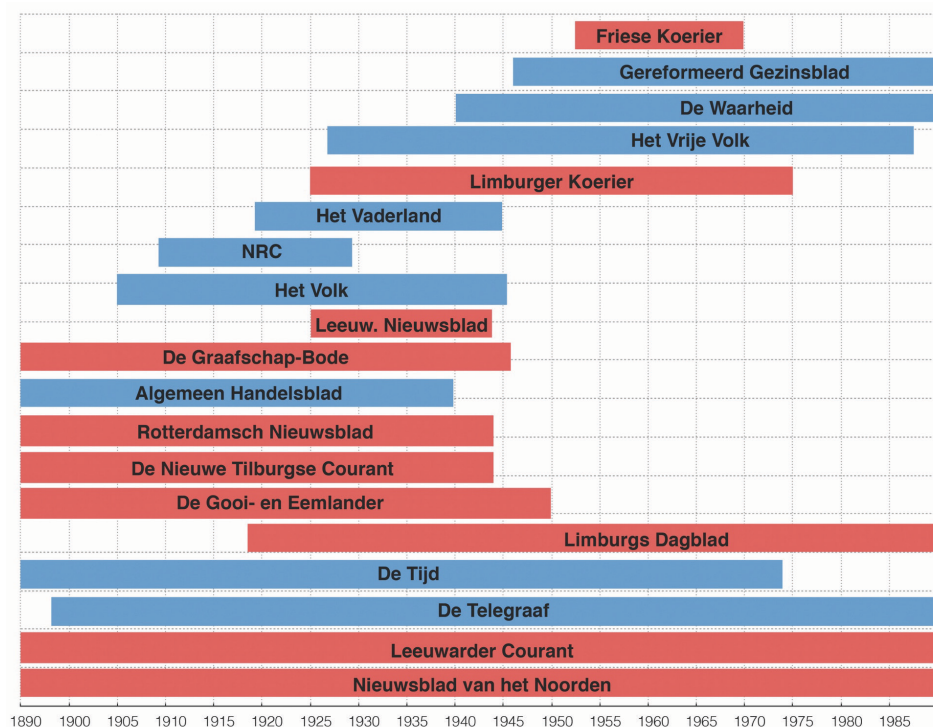


Figure 2.4. Distribution of national (blue) and regional (red) newspapers with more than 800,000 documents between 1890 and 1990.

For the period 1890-1939, the dataset includes sixteen newspaper titles that contain more than 800,000 articles (table 2.2). These sixteen titles constitute 90 percent of the entire collection of documents (articles and advertisements) in this period.⁹ The two most prominent national newspapers in terms of issues and documents are the national newspapers *De Telegraaf* and *Algemeen Handelsblad* and the regional newspapers *De Tilburgsche Courant* and *Leeuwarder Courant*. Most documents per issue can be found in *De Telegraaf*, *Het Vaderland*, *Leeuwarder Nieuwsblad*, and *Nieuwsblad van Friesland*. Also, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*,

⁹ I calculated this percentage by dividing the number of articles and advertisements in the fifteen prominent newspapers (> 800,000 documents) by the total number of articles and advertisements (33,310,594 / 37,126,662 ≈ 0.90).

Nieuwsblad van het Noorden, *De Graafschap-Bode*, *Leeuwarder Courant*, and *Nieuwsblad van Friesland* published most advertisements per issue.

Table 2.2. The dominant newspapers (> 800,000 documents) in the archive for the period 1890-1939

Newspaper	Distribution	Identity	Years	# of issues ¹⁰	# of documents ¹¹	Document / issue ratio	Article/ads ratio ¹²
<i>De Telegraaf</i>	National	Neutral	1893-1989	30,272	6,238,398	206.08	0.80
<i>Algemeen Handelsblad</i>	National	Liberal	1890-1940	30,006	4,816,084	160.5	0.79
<i>De Tijd</i>	National	Catholic	1890-1958	18,095	2,659,434	146.97	0.85
<i>Het Vaderland</i>	National	Liberal	1919-1945	12,376	2,494,640	201.57	0.89
<i>Nieuwe Tilburgsche Courant</i>	Regional	Catholic	1890-1944	22,024	2,103,777	95.52	0.81
<i>Nieuwsblad van het Noorden</i>	Regional	Neutral	1890-1989	12,481	2,089,056	167.38	0.65
<i>Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad</i>	Regional	Neutral	1890-1944	12,244	2,085,543	170.33	0.55
<i>Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant</i>	National	Liberal	1909-1929	12,432	1,879,813	151.21	0.74
<i>Leeuwarder Courant</i>	Regional	Neutral	1890-1989	15,316	1,775,235	115.91	0.66
<i>Het Volk</i>	National	Socialist	1900-1945	12,480	1,278,936	102.48	0.80
<i>Limburger Koerier</i>	Regional	Catholic	1920-1975	6,749	1,158,294	171.63	0.75
<i>De Gooi- en Eemlander</i>	Regional	Neutral	1890-1950	9,483	1,155,109	121.81	0.79
<i>Limburgsch Dagblad</i>	Regional	Catholic	1918-1989	6,459	1,090,142	168.78	0.86

¹⁰ Derived from the Delpher search interface on September 20, 2016. The number of issues is not affected by duplicate articles and advertisements.

¹¹ Based on the cleaned number of documents in Texcavator hosted at SurfSara in September 2016.

¹² Based on raw article and advertisements counts in Texcavator hosted at SurfSara in September 2016.

Chapter 2 | Tracing America

<i>Nieuwsblad van Friesland</i>	Regional	Neutral	1901-1951	4,507	869,792	192.99	0.67
<i>Leeuwarder Nieuwsblad</i>	Regional	Neutral	1925-1942	4,622	809,840	192.73	0.82
<i>De Graafschap-Bode</i>	Regional	Neutral	1890-1947	8,889	806,501	90.73	0.66

These descriptive statistics show that the dataset contains a substantial assortment of regional and national newspapers for the period 1890-1939. In this period, Dutch society was stratified according to ideological and religious “pillars”, a phenomenon known as pillarization. These pillars can be categorized as Catholic, Protestant, socialist, and liberal.¹³ Various newspapers subscribed to one of these pillars.¹⁴ The distribution of newspapers according to pillars in the digitized corpus is similar to the distribution of actual papers, with the neutral newspapers as the most prominent followed by the Catholic and liberal newspapers.¹⁵ The Protestant newspapers, such as *De Banier* and *De Standaard*, were not among the most prominent ones and, hence, do not appear among these sixteen newspaper titles.¹⁶ For this reason, I assume that the dataset contains a representative subset of the Dutch newspaper landscape and by extension of Dutch public discourse.

¹³ Michael Wintle, *An Economic and Social History of the Netherlands, 1800-1920: Demographic, Economic, and Social Transition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 265; Piet de Rooy, *Republiek van rivaliteiten*. (Amsterdam: Mets & Schilt, 2002), 173; Piet de Rooy, “Zes studies over verzuiling,” *BMGN - Low Countries Historical Review* 110, no. 3 (1995): 380–92.

¹⁴ I used the following sources to determine the associated pillar of a newspaper. Huub Wijfjes, *Journalistiek in Nederland, 1850-2000: beroep, cultuur en organisatie* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2004), 147; Rooij, *Kranten*, 1974, 89–94; Jan van de Plasse, *Kroniek van de Nederlandse dagblad- en opiniepers* (Otto Cramwinckel Uitgever, 2005).

¹⁵ Vree, *De Nederlandse pers en Duitsland 1930-1939*, 50; Jan van de Plasse, *Kroniek van de Nederlandse Dagbladpers* (Amsterdam: Cramwinckel, 1999), 31.

¹⁶ More on *De Banier* and *De Standaard*. Bert van der Ros, ed., *Geschiedenis van de christelijke dagbladpers in Nederland* (Kampen: Kok, 1993), 25–70, 221–36.

The dataset for the period 1945-1989 is less representative of the Dutch newspaper landscape. For the period after the Second World War, the archive holds nine newspaper titles with more than 800,000 articles (table 2.3), making up 95 percent of the post-war archive.¹⁷ The most prominent national newspapers in the dataset are *De Telegraaf*, *Het Vrije Volk*, and the communist newspaper *De Waarheid*. The three most prominent regional newspapers include *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, *Leeuwarder Courant*, and *Limburgsch Dagblad*.

The omission of some important national newspapers, such as *NRC Handelsblad*, *Algemeen Dagblad*, *De Volkskrant*, *Het Parool*, *Trouw*, *Het Financieele Dagblad* makes the post-1945 dataset less representative of newspaper discourse than the pre-war period.¹⁸ The document per issue ratio for *De Telegraaf* is also much higher than for the other newspapers, which causes this particular newspaper to be much more prominent in the corpus.¹⁹ Also, the dataset is skewed ideologically because of the strong presence of *De Waarheid* and *Gereformeerd Gezinsblad* which offer a communist and orthodox Protestant perspective respectively. The political leanings of these two newspapers need to be taken into account when interpreting the discourse in newspapers between 1945 and 1990. The number of advertisements per issue also increased after 1945, indicating the emphasis on advertising in the daily newspapers.

¹⁷ Number of articles and advertisements in the ten newspapers divided by the total number of articles and advertisements (25,726,567 / 27,038,007 \approx 0.95).

¹⁸ For more on the newspaper landscape after the Second World War see: Rooij, *Kranten*, 119–87; Also, see circulation figures for the most prominent newspapers here: Plasse, *Kroniek van de Nederlandse dagbladders*, 137–41.

¹⁹ Possibly the archive still contains duplicated documents after cleaning, which might have increased the document / issue ratio.

Table 2.3. The dominant (> 800,000 documents) newspapers in the archive for the period 1945-1989

Newspaper	Distribution	Identity	Years	# of issues	# of documents ²⁰	Document / issue ratio	Article/ads ratio ²¹
<i>De Telegraaf</i>	National	Liberal	1893-1989	12,458	5,291,609	424.76	0.52
<i>Het Vrije Volk</i>	National	Socialist	1929-1989	14,980	4,126,790	275.49	0.61
<i>Nieuwsblad van het Noorden</i>	Regional	Neutral	1890-1989	12,656	3,770,059	297.89	0.64
<i>Leeuwarder Courant</i>	Regional	Neutral	1890-1989	12,857	3,615,111	281.18	0.62
<i>Limburgsch Dagblad</i>	Regional	Neutral	1918-1989	12,536	3,481,295	277.70	0.66
<i>De Tijd</i>	National	Catholic	1890-1974	10,526	1,699,102	161.42	0.81
<i>De Waarheid</i>	National	Communist	1940-1989	15,015	1,539,225	102.51	0.89
<i>Gereformeerd Gezinsblad</i>	National	Protestant	1948-1989	10,952	1,172,964	107.10	0.80
<i>Friese Koerier</i>	Regional	Neutral	1953-1969	4,932	1,030,412	208.92	0.74

The quality of the digitized text due to the optical character recognition is much better after the Second World War than before, which improves the recall—the fraction of relevant instances that is retrieved—of queries. Consequently, fewer documents are needed to gauge public discourse. Since the opportunity to undertake longitudinal analyses weighed stronger than the shortcomings of the data from this particular period, I opted for an analysis of the entire period, while remaining cautious with the analysis of periods 1907-1912 and 1940-1945. These two periods demonstrate sharp deviations in the number of articles per issue.

²⁰ Based on number after removing duplicates in *De Telegraaf*, *De Graafschap-Bode*, and *De Tijd*.

²¹ Based on raw article and advertisements counts in Texcavator hosted at SurfSara in September 2016.

2.1.2 The Quality of the Dataset

The KB's digitized newspaper archive contains an extensive selection of twentieth-century newspapers. The quality of the text and recognition of the borders of an individual document, however, are suboptimal. The digitized versions of articles and ads contain many invalid characters due to flaws in optical character recognition (OCR), and during digitization documents were often separated or joined because of incorrect optical layout recognition (OLR). This section discusses the impact of these flaws on computational analyses of the newspaper archive.

Optical Character Recognition (OCR)

The National Library of the Netherlands digitized the newspapers using optical character recognition software, which turns scans of physical pages into machine-readable data. Computers can process the information contained in this data.

The quality of the digitized text varies throughout the corpus. The text extracted from the digital scans is often flawed due to imperfections in the original material or limitations of the recognition software. These material blemishes cause the software to not recognize and transcribe every word correctly, which resulted in conjoined words, complete gibberish, or words in which certain characters were replaced. The latter can also result in a change of meaning, for instance, 'bear' instead of 'beer.'²² The age and quality of the original material are important determinants of the ability of the software to recognize the text; hence, older newspapers contain many more errors than more recent papers.

²² Andrew Torget et al., "Mapping Texts: Combining Text-Mining and Geo-Visualization to Unlock the Research Potential of Historical Newspapers," *UNT Digital Library*, 2011, 12, <http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc83797/>.

Unfortunately, the KB provides no suitable metrics on the quality of the OCRred text.²³ Because of this, I had to approximate the quality of the digitized text. As a measure for text quality, I used the type-token-ratio (TTR): the ratio between the relative number of word tokens (total number of word tokens divided by the number of articles) and the relative number of unique word types (total number of unique words divided by the number of articles).²⁴ This measure assumes that a high number of unique words indicates spelling differentiations that resulted from faulty OCR. This measure is by no means flawless, but it at least offers an approximation of the text quality in newspapers over time.

I calculated this ratio for all articles in a year for four newspapers over five-year intervals. I chose four newspapers that almost completely covered the period 1890-1990: two national newspapers (*De Telegraaf* and *De Tijd*) and two regional newspapers (*Limburgsch Dagblad* and *Leeuwarder Courant*). Figure 2.5 shows the time series of the text quality for these newspapers between 1890 and 1990. The graph indicates that the quality improves over time and it also reveals that the text quality in *De Telegraaf* is much worse than in the other three newspapers. After 1945, the OCRred text the *De Leeuwarder Courant* is of the highest quality.

²³ Traub et al. show that little information is available on the ways in which the confidence levels of the scanned text were calculated during digitization. Moreover, they show that different measures were used, which makes the information on the precision of the OCR in the XML files difficult to compare. See: Myriam C. Traub, Jacco van Ossenbruggen, and Lynda Hardman, "Impact Analysis of OCR Quality on Research Tasks in Digital Archives," in *International Conference on Theory and Practice of Digital Libraries* (Springer, 2015), 252–263.

²⁴ I used the relative number of unique words since longer documents are more likely to include more unique words.

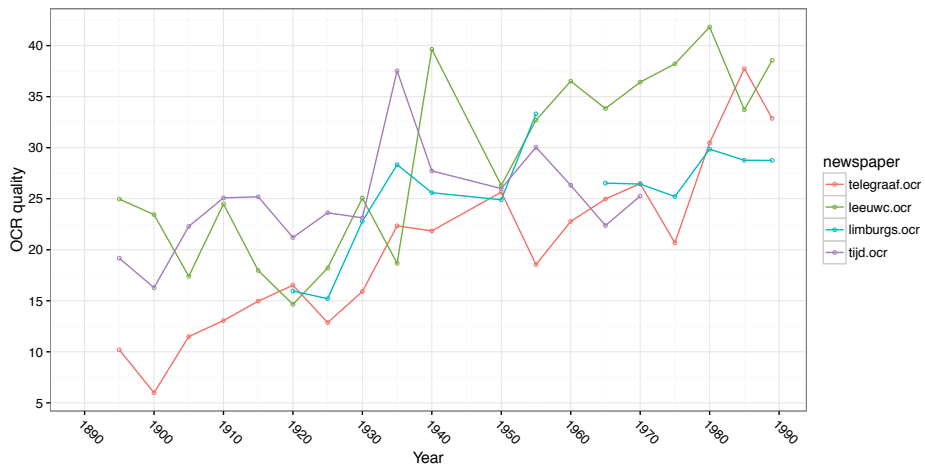


Figure 2.5. OCR quality in four newspapers: *De Telegraaf*, *De Leeuwer Courant*, *De Tijd*, and *Limburgsch Dagblad*. OCR quality is the ratio between the relative number of word tokens (total number of word tokens divided by the number of articles) and the relative number of unique words (total number of unique words divided by the number of articles).

The quality of the OCRred text thus increases as time progresses. There are differences in quality between the newspapers, which might cause some papers to be overrepresented in the output generated by computational analysis. Upward trends could, therefore, be the result of improving text quality, while at the same time the number of issues and newspaper decreases over time, which might counteract the improved recall—the amount of relevant returned results. More extensive research is needed to determine exactly how significant these differences are.

For the purpose of this thesis, I remained cognizant of the differences in text quality between the different newspapers, especially when I found trends that were unique to one newspaper, for they could have been an artifact of the differences in text quality. In general, this thesis approaches the dataset as a whole and does not study discourse within specific newspapers; therefore, it suffices to know that there is an overall improvement of text quality between 1890 and 1990.

Optical Layout Recognition (OLR)

The exact number of advertisements and articles in the dataset is difficult to ascertain. These numbers are distorted because of imperfections in the recognition of the borders of an article or advertisement. Digitization software uses optical layout recognition to determine the boundaries of elements, in this case articles and advertisements, on a scan. During digitization of the newspapers, the OLR-software did not always correctly segment articles and advertisements. For articles, the software occasionally regarded subheaders as headers, which transformed a paragraph in an article into a separate article. As a result, an article with four headers could end up being indexed as four discrete articles. Regarding advertisements, the OLR software frequently grouped multiple ads as one single advertisement. There are cases where, for example, the words ‘coca-cola’ and ‘america’ appeared in two separate ads in the physical newspaper, whereas after digitization, they became part of one single document. For this reason, querying for an ad that contains these two words would erroneously yield this merged ad as a single result. I countered this flaw by setting search windows—a set distance in which two words must occur, for instance five words apart—when looking for the co-occurrence of two words. If these two words only appeared outside of a reasonable distance, they were most probably not semantically related and they were in many cases the result of the merger of two separate, unrelated documents.

The flawed recognition of the borders of documents affected the total number of articles and advertisements. After working with the archive, I established that these errors mostly occur in articles in *De Telegraaf* during the interwar period and in classified ads. Luckily, the errors affected only a reasonably small subset of the articles in the corpus; therefore, I reasoned that they did not drastically alter the output of the calculations in the following chapters. In the case of classified ads, which

became more prominent in the 1970s, I decided to filter them out by excluding advertisements that included words that typically appeared in classifieds.

2.1.3 Compensating for Bias in the Corpus

I propose a pragmatic approach that tries to move forward with the application of computational techniques to digitized datasets while acknowledging their shortcomings and coming up with workarounds to mitigate the impact of the low text quality. One way to improve the recall is to use advanced search strategies, such as regular expressions or Boolean operators.²⁵ Some words might be more clearly affected by OCR than others. Regular expressions or Boolean operators can increase the recall of queries because they can account for common spelling variants caused by OCR. For instance, a misspelling of ‘cigarette’ as ‘eigarette’ can be solved by querying `?IGARETTE`, which allows for variations of the first character. Similarly, one can query with an OR operator that includes known spelling variants, for example, `“CIGARETTE” OR “EIGARETTE” OR “SIGARCTTE.”`

To compensate for the uneven distribution of documents in the dataset, I rely on relative frequencies of documents and terms. In the chapters on advertisements, I calculate the relative frequency of key terms by dividing term frequency by the total number of advertisements. For instance, if the term ‘America’ appeared 50 times in 1,000 advertisements, its relative frequency is 0.05 (50/1,000), whereas if it appeared 50 times in 500 advertisements its relative frequency would be 0.1. The ratio based on term frequency gives more weight to words that appeared more than once in a single ad. The assumption is that words that appeared more than once are buzzwords which resonated more strongly with readers. In

²⁵ See chapter 1 for an explanation of regular expressions and Boolean operators.

cigarette advertisements, for example, the word ‘mild’ regularly appeared more than once in one single ad, which was a technique that advertisers used to draw attention to this aspect of the cigarette.

In the case of ads, I decided on term frequency to calculate relative frequency, while in the analysis of newspaper articles (chapters 4 and 6), I calculated relative frequency by dividing document frequency—the number of articles in which a term occurred—by the total number of articles. Document frequency better reflects the distribution of a term throughout the newspaper corpus than term frequency. For instance, relative frequency based on term frequency would be the same for a collection of 25 articles that contains two articles that mention ‘America’ 50 times in total ($50/25 = 0.5$) and a collection of 25 articles that all mention ‘America’ twice ($50/25 = 0.5$). The relative frequency based on document frequency, however, would be higher in the latter, namely $2/25 = 0.08$ versus $25/25 = 1$.

I argue that relative frequency based on document frequency better represents what newspapers wrote about. A higher document frequency indicates that a particular word appeared in a relatively high number of articles. In the case of advertisements, I measure term frequency instead of document frequency. Term frequency better represents words that appeared more than once in one advertisements. Hence, relative term frequency emphasizes keywords or slogans that appeared in ads. These terms are often very dependent on a brand or product, which makes their document frequency lower and thus a less ideal way of measuring how these words occurred in the context of a set of advertisements for a particular product.

Corpus linguists prefer to calculate the relative frequency of a word per million words. I decided not to divide per million words but by the

total number of documents for two reasons.²⁶ First, the variances in quality of the OCR'd text are more drastic than the errors related to OLR. The former makes the total number of words more unreliable than the total number of articles and advertisements. Second, I argue that the number of documents in which a particular word occurs indicates cultural significance better than the number of times a word appears per million words. For instance, if 'Russia' appears 5 times in 50 long articles of 500 words, and 'America' 5 times in 25 short articles of 100 words, the relative frequency of 'America' per million words would be higher (2,000 compared to 200).²⁷ In the same example, the relative frequency of documents that contain 'Russia' would be higher ($50/75 = 0.67$) compared to ($25/75 = 0.33$).

I contend that document frequency says more about the outlook of the newspapers, and by extension of public discourse, than term frequency. Put differently, the division by the number of documents instead of words better captures cultural significance in public discourse. Relative frequency per million words says more about linguistic significance, which is not wholly unrelated to cultural significance but does not immediately serve my purpose.

²⁶ One could also argue for the division per issue. However, because of the uneven distribution of issues and variances in number of documents per issue, the number of documents is a better measure than the number of issues.

²⁷ $(5 / (25 * 100) * 1,000,000 = 2,000$ compared to $(5 / 50 * 500) * 1,000,000 = 200$.

2.2 'America' in Dutch Newspapers

In this section, I investigate how often and in which contexts twentieth-century Dutch newspapers mentioned the United States. For this analysis, I relied on the KB n-gram viewer and frequency counts of bigrams that included 'American' (*Amerikaanse / Amerikaansche*) as an adjective in advertisements and articles.

2.2.1 KB N-gram Viewer

I turned to the KB n-gram viewer to swiftly ascertain how often Dutch newspapers mentioned the adjectives 'American' (*Amerikaansche*), 'German' (*Duitsche*), 'British' (*Britsche*), 'English' (*Engelsche*), and 'French' (*Fransche*).²⁸ Figure 2.6 offers an overview of the adjectives in the entire newspaper corpus before 1950. The figures demonstrate that the frequency of the adjectives was relatively equal between 1890 and 1950, except for 'British', which peaked in 1900 and in 1939-1943, and for 'German', which became more prominent between 1919 and 1950. The unexceptional frequency of 'American' before 1919 confirms Nolan's assertion that before the First World War the United States was just a nation among nations.²⁹ Nolan claims that the position of the United States in Europe shifted after the war. The relatively low frequency of 'American', however, continued throughout the interwar period, only to increase slightly in the years leading up to the Second World War. Based on these trends in newspaper discourse, the Dutch may have been slower to show an interest in the United States.

²⁸ In 1947, the Dutch spelling changed, for instance *mensch* became *mens*. Because of the change in spelling, I generated graphs for the period before and after 1945. Otherwise the single graph would contain too many n-grams which would make it less legible.

²⁹ Nolan, *The Transatlantic Century*, 10.

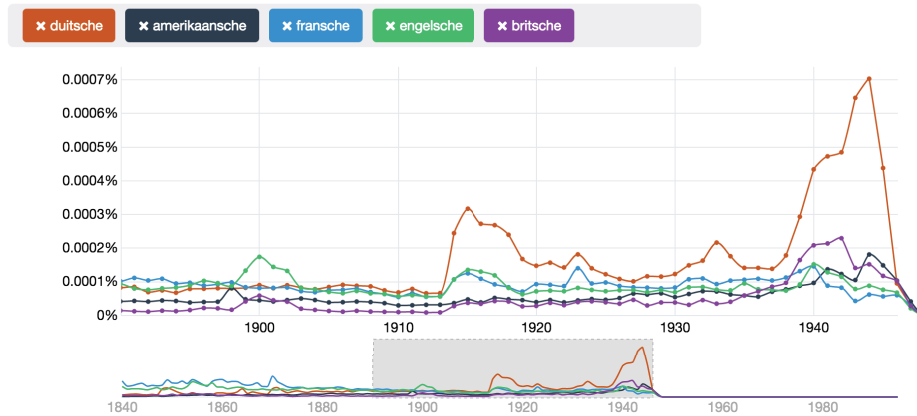


Figure 2.6. Relative frequency of the following n-grams between 1890 and 1950 in Delpher: ‘German’ (*Duitsche*), ‘American’ (*Amerikaansche*), ‘French’ (*Fransche*), ‘English’ (*Engelsche*), and ‘British’ (*Britsche*). <http://kbkranten.politicalmashup.nl/>.

After the Second World War, occurrences of ‘American’ grew in relative frequency (fig. 2.7). For the remainder of the twentieth century, this adjective continued to be much more widespread than the other adjectives that indicated nationality. Although the relative frequency of the other adjectives was also higher after 1945 than before the Second World War, they occurred much less frequently than ‘American’. They all appeared in almost equal numbers after the war, with ‘French’ peaking in the mid-1950s. This trend shows that after 1945, the United States was more prominent in Dutch newspapers than the other countries.

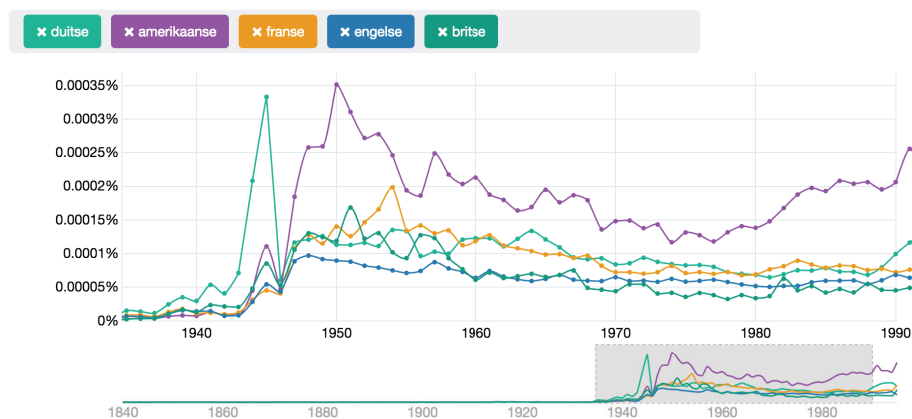


Figure 2.7. Relative frequency of the following n-grams between 1940 and 1990 in Delpher: ‘German’ (*Duitsche*), ‘American’ (*Amerikaansche*), ‘French’ (*Fransche*), ‘English’ (*Engelsche*), and ‘British’ (*Britsche*). <http://kbkranten.politicalmashup.nl/>.

The increase of ‘American’ around the 1980s was partly caused by an increase in classified ads in newspapers. These ads regularly promoted American cars and dogs, as section 2.2.2 confirms. This increase in classified ads might obfuscate a general decrease in references to the United States in Dutch newspapers. Because the KB n-gram viewer cannot distinguish between national and colonial newspapers or between advertisements and articles, I also plotted the relative frequency of advertisements and articles that made explicit references to the United States in national and regional Dutch newspapers (fig. 2.8).³⁰

³⁰ I used the following regular expression to query references to the United States:

`^\b(usa|u\.s\.a|ver\.staten|vere{1,2}nigde staten|ameri[k|c]a*)\b'`

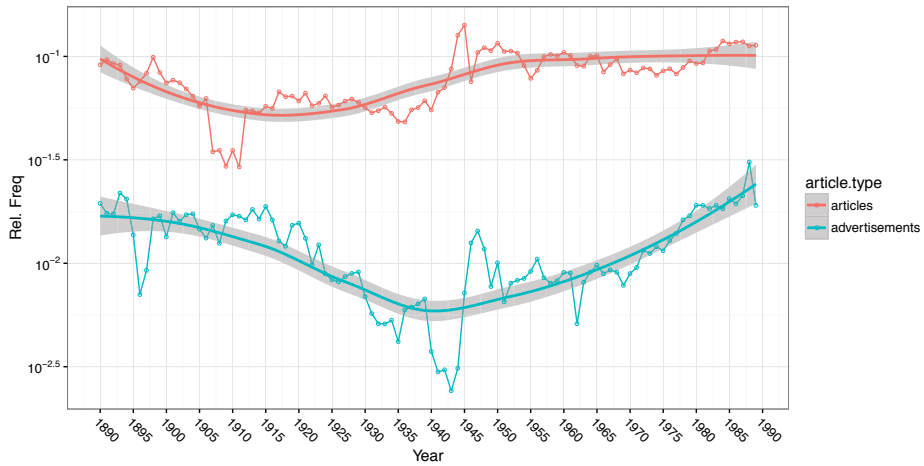


Figure 2.8. Number of articles and advertisements that mentioned the United States relative to the total number of articles and advertisements in the same year.

Figure 2.8 shows that articles more often referenced the United States than advertisements. In the corpus of articles, the presence of the United States declined between 1890 and the end of the First World War. After the war, the number of references to the US steadily increased until the 1950s after which it stayed relatively constant until the 1980s when the relative number of references again slightly increased.

The graph also displays a drastic decrease between 1907 and 1912 in relative frequency of articles that mentioned the United States. In the same period, the absolute number of articles in the dataset increased radically (fig. 2.1), while the absolute number of references to the United States remained almost stable. This explains the dip in relative frequency and demonstrates that this dip seems to be more directly related to the increase in digitized articles than to a historical event. It could be that the extra batch of digitized articles consisting of lower quality OCR'd text affected the absolute number of references to the United States. In the following case studies, I take the dip between 1907 and 1912 into account when analyzing trends that include this period.

The trend for advertisements is similar to articles, albeit with a stronger decline around the Second World War. The relative frequency of ads with references to the United States was higher at the beginning and during the last quarter of the twentieth century. It is not possible to discern from figure 2.8 alone why advertisers mentioned the United States this often before the First World War. Closer examination of advertisements in this period revealed a predominance of ads for American ‘organs’ (*orgels*), ‘stock’ (*fondsen*), and ‘mortgage banks’ (*hypotheekbanken*). This category of advertisements disappeared after the 1920s. The following section will discuss this trend in more detail.

The graph also demonstrates that, during the Second World War, the number of advertisements that mentioned the United States dipped. This dip was not unexpected because the overall number of advertisements decreased during the Second World War (fig 2.1). After the war, there was a steady incline of ads that mentioned the United States.

The increase at the end of the century results in part from classified ads, which became more popular in the 1970s. Moreover, the peak in the late twentieth century might also be produced by the introduction of television guides in newspapers, which have been categorized as ads by the KB. These guides appeared daily and often made references to American television shows and movies, which considerably increased the number of references compared to earlier periods.³¹ When necessary I removed these classified ads and television guides in the subsequent case studies.

³¹ I used the following query to select television and radio guides in the newspapers. +("19.10" "19.45" "19.30" "20.00" "20.15" "20.30" "20.45" "21.00") +("JOURNAAL" "NOS" "AVRO" "KRO" "BBC" "BELGIE" "BRT 2" "NEDERLAND 1" "NEDERLAND 2" "NEDERLAND 3" "SKY CHANNEL"). The number of articles and advertisements in this query increased between 1950 and 1989. 1950: 2,160; 1960: 3,775; 1970: 11,058; 1980: 10,688, 1989: 12,516. This indicates the strong representation of television guides in the dataset.

Overall, the United States was a consistent presence in advertisements and articles in Dutch newspapers in the twentieth century. This presence is a prerequisite for further examination of the trends related to the United States in these sources.

2.2.2 Bigrams with ‘American’ as Adjective

To achieve a better understanding of the trends in newspaper discourse on the United States, I extracted bigrams with the adjective ‘American’ from advertisements and articles.³² This section presents the most frequent bigrams and examines in which areas of interest newspapers discussed the United States.

Bigrams with the adjective ‘American’ in Advertisements

After extracting bigrams with the adjective ‘American’ from the advertisements, I cleaned the dataset. I merged singular and plural terms, translated them into English, and removed terms that did not refer to consumer products.³³ Using Gephi, I plotted the bigrams and categorized them in the following categories: culture, consumer products, economy, resources, technology, furniture, and transportation.³⁴ Some bigrams fall within multiple categories; whenever this was the case I linked these ambiguous bigrams to a single category and added an explanation for my decision.

³² I queried for the following variants of ‘American’: “*Amerikaansche*”, “*Amerikaanse*”, and “American”.

³³ In Dutch, sometimes multiple words were used for a consumer good where in English only one applied. For this reason, the graphs sometimes contain duplicate English terms, which then refer to different Dutch words.

³⁴ Gephi is an open-source software package for the visualization of networks. See: Mathieu Bastian, Sebastien Heymann, and Mathieu Jacomy, “Gephi: An Open Source Software for Exploring and Manipulating Networks,” in *International AAAI Conference on Weblogs and Social Media*, 2009.

1890 - 1919

In the thirty years before the First World War, advertisers described a broad range of products as American (figs. 2.9, 2.10 and 2.11). The product most frequently advertised as American between 1890 and 1920 were pipe organs, mortgage banks, and stocks. Ads clearly linked the United States to financial institutions, which illustrates the United States' position as an economic powerhouse. Moreover, advertisers related novel technologies, such as knitting machines, graphophones, and coal stoves, to the United States. Less expensive consumer goods products such as cigars, fruit pudding, carpet brushes, and fans were also marketed as American. For Dutch consumers, the United States had already been associated with consumer products and technologies in the late nineteenth century.

During the 1910s, American movies gained popularity in the Netherlands, as evinced by the increase in advertisements for American dramas, comedies, and art films. Newspapers also frequently advertised furniture made from American wood, especially pinewood and oak. Lastly, the word 'drinks' stems from bars that advertised their selection of American beverages.³⁵ Generally speaking, advertisers linked the United States to economic institutions, technologies, cultural artifacts, and common consumer goods.

³⁵ See for instance: "American Bar advertisement," *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, December 24, 1917.

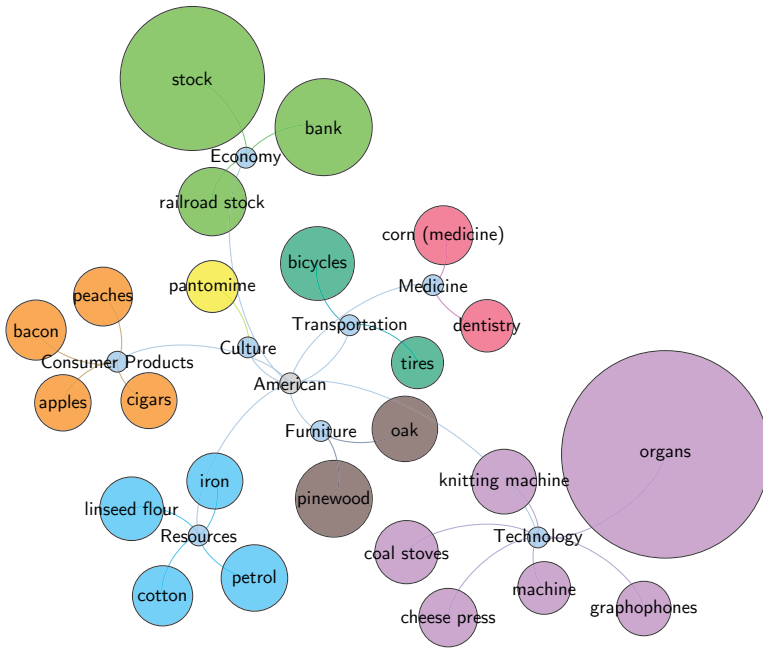


Figure 2.9. Bigrams with 'American' as adjective in advertisements between 1890-1899

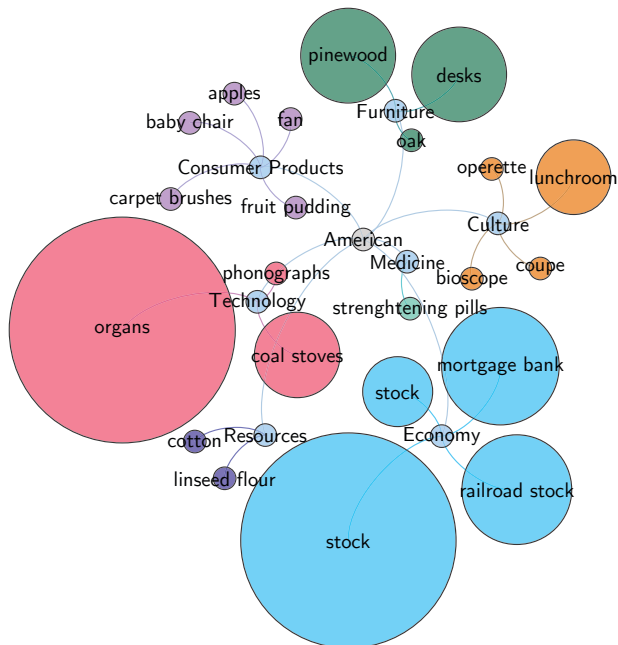


Figure 2.10. Bigrams with 'American' as adjective in advertisements between 1900-1909

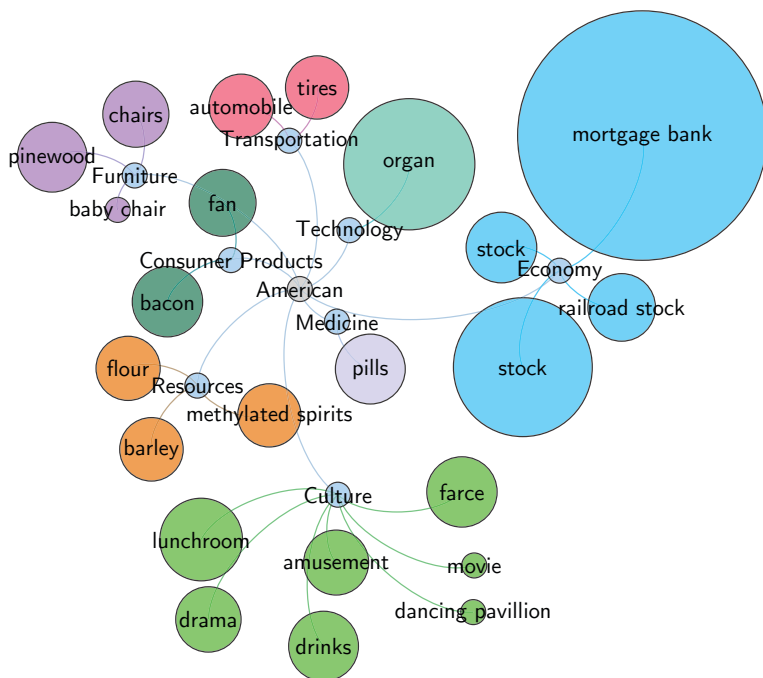


Figure 2.11. Bigrams with 'American' as adjective in advertisements between 1910-1919

1920 - 1949

The most frequently advertised American products during the 1920s were still organs and stocks (fig. 2.12). In the subsequent decades, ad makers less often described these two as American and advertisers started to promote different American products (figs. 2.13 and 2.14). In the 1930s, the three products most commonly advertised as American were a lunchroom, cigarettes, and petrol. Lunchroom specifically referred to the American Lunchroom in the Kalverstraat in Amsterdam.³⁶ The growing popularity of automobiles and motorcycles in the Netherlands was reflected in the increasing number of advertisements for American petrol

³⁶ For instance, "American Lunchroom advertisement", *De Telegraaf*, November 2, 1934.

in newspapers.³⁷ The third product that gained notoriety in the 1930s was the American cigarette. The first case study examines this product in more detail.

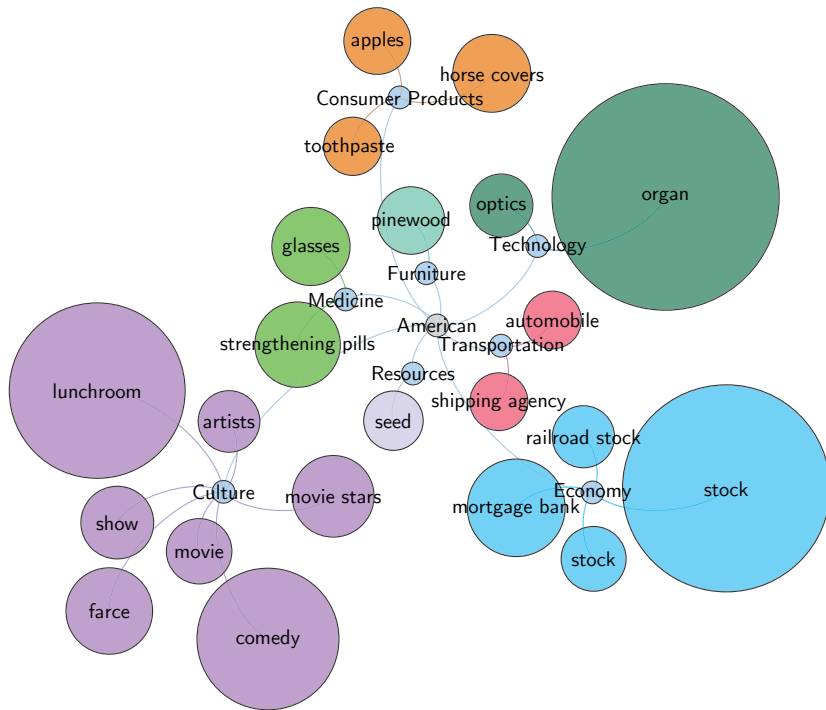


Figure 2.12. Bigrams with ‘American’ as adjective in advertisements between 1920-1929

³⁷ For instance, “Esso advertisement,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, November 23, 1938. Gijs Mom, “The Transfer of Mobility: The Emergence of a Car Society in the Netherlands,” in *Four Centuries of Dutch-American Relations, 1609-2009*, ed. Hans Krabbendam, Cornelis van Minnen, and Giles Scott-Smith (Albany: SUNY Press, 2009), 819–30.

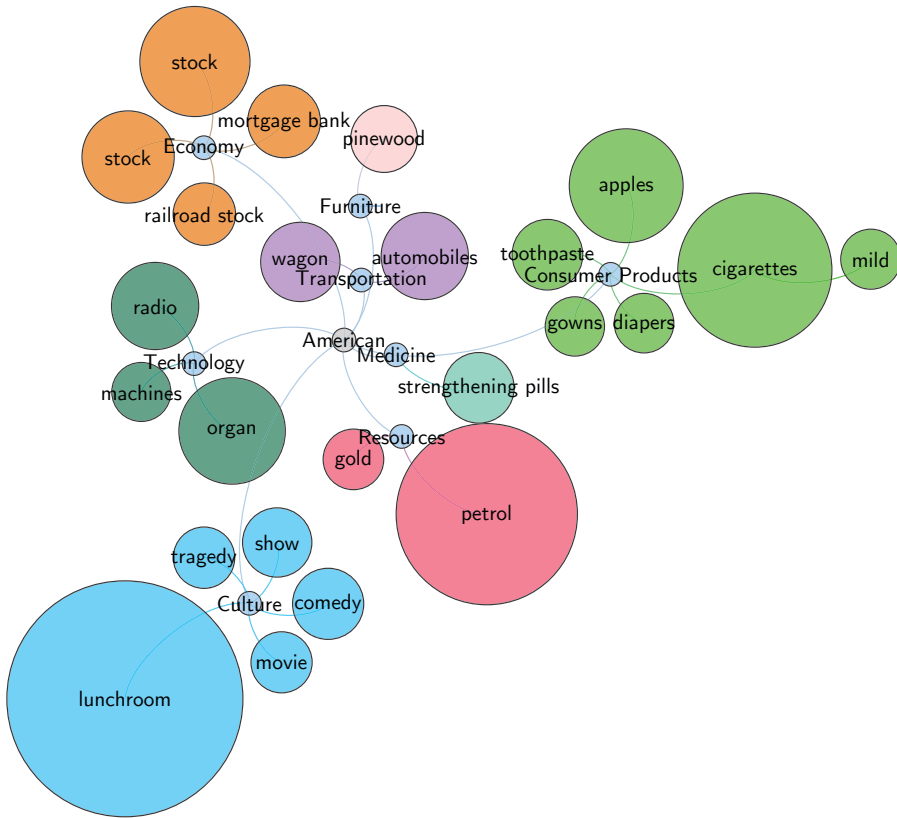


Figure 2.13. Bigrams with 'American' as adjective in advertisements between 1930-1939

Moreover, between 1920 and 1949, new technologies and innovations, such as the automobile, radio, plastic, and hearing aids were regularly promoted as American. During the Second World War, the importation of countless American products halted, which explains the decrease in frequency that is expressed through the smaller size of the nodes in this period. Despite this general decline, newspapers kept on advertising products, technologies, and services, such as radios (*radio, toestellen*), organs (*orgels*), doctors (*doktoren*), and plastic as American during the war.

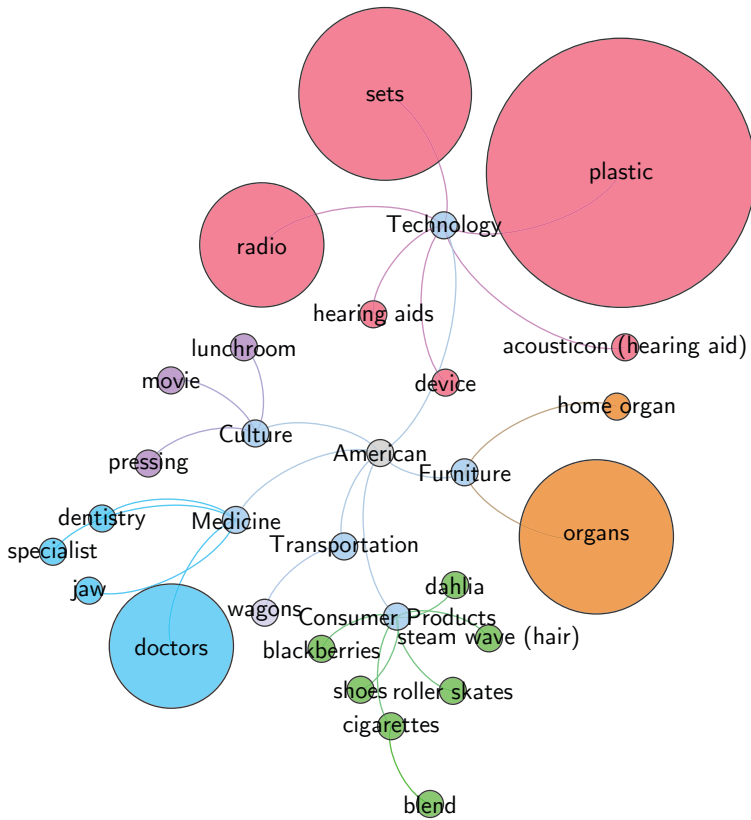


Figure 2.14. Bigrams with ‘American’ as adjective in advertisements between 1940-1949

During the interwar period, the associations to the United States in newspaper ads shifted from financial institutions and products to consumer goods, technologies, and cultural products. This change suggests that advertisers were more directly aiming at the average Dutch consumer and not at importers or investors. Also, the shift in discourse might mirror a change in the preferences of Dutch consumers and their perception of the United States. New technologies, such as the radio and television, but also consumer goods such as the cigarette and the “American Lunchroom” disclose a growing interest in a lifestyle characterized by American products and an American style of consumption. The United States was

no longer only known for its strong economy and financial institutions, but also for its consumer goods and cultural goods.

1950 - 1989

After the Second World War, ads characterized consumer products, technology, and means of transportation as American (figs. 2.15, 2.16, 2.17, and 2.18). Advertisers most commonly promoted kitchens, clothing, automobiles, and cigarettes as American. Despite the continuity with the previous period, the graphs for the postwar decades reveal five changes in advertisements for American products.

First, stores that sold American army supplies started to advertise in Dutch newspapers. The popularity of these stores suggests that after 1945 Dutch consumers expressed an interest in products associated with the US military. The liberation of the Netherlands by American soldiers installed the figure of the army soldier into the shared cultural imagination of the Dutch.³⁸ The interest in the US army supplies already waned during the 1960s, although words such as ‘army parka’, ‘dump’, ‘shop’, which referred to products or stores that sold army clothing, continued to appear in advertisements.

³⁸ The American liberation army had a strong cultural and psychological impact. Bosscher, Elteren, and Roholl, *American Culture in the Netherlands*, 10; Wim Klinkert, “Crossing Borders: American and the Liberation of the Netherlands,” in *Four Centuries of Dutch-American Relations, 1609-2009*, ed. Hans Krabbendam, Cornelis van Minnen, and Giles Scott-Smith (Albany: SUNY Press, 2009), 565–76.

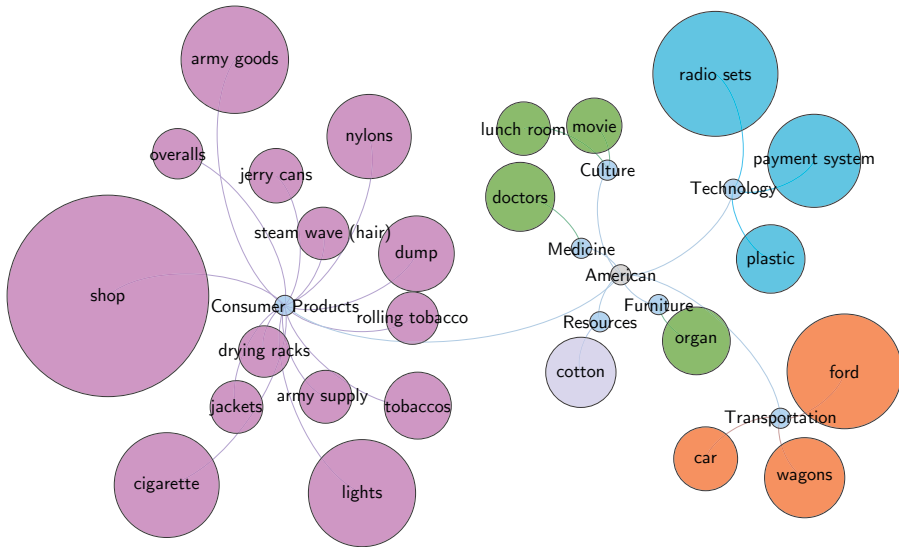


Figure 2.15. Bigrams with 'American' as adjective in advertisements between 1950-1959

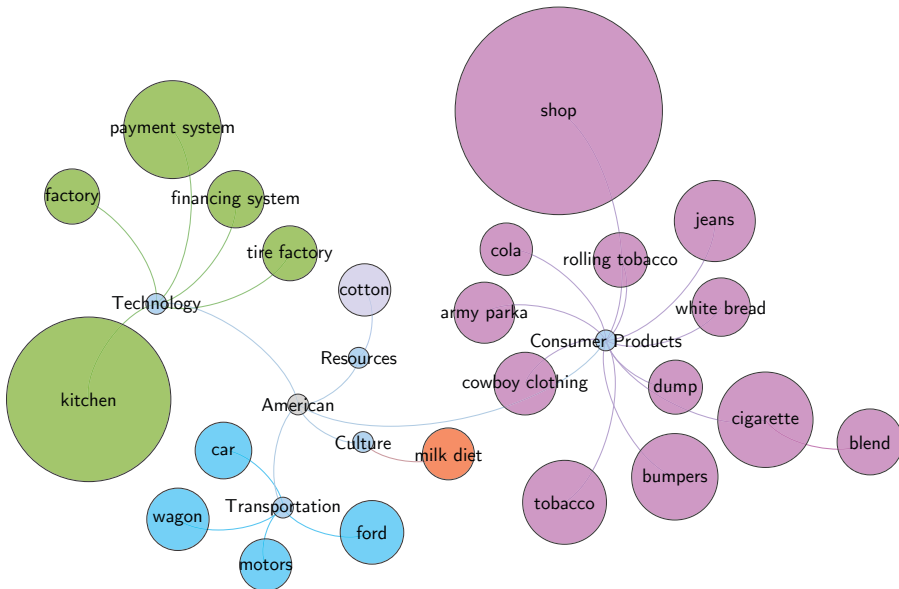


Figure 2.16. Bigrams with 'American' as adjective in advertisements between 1960-1969

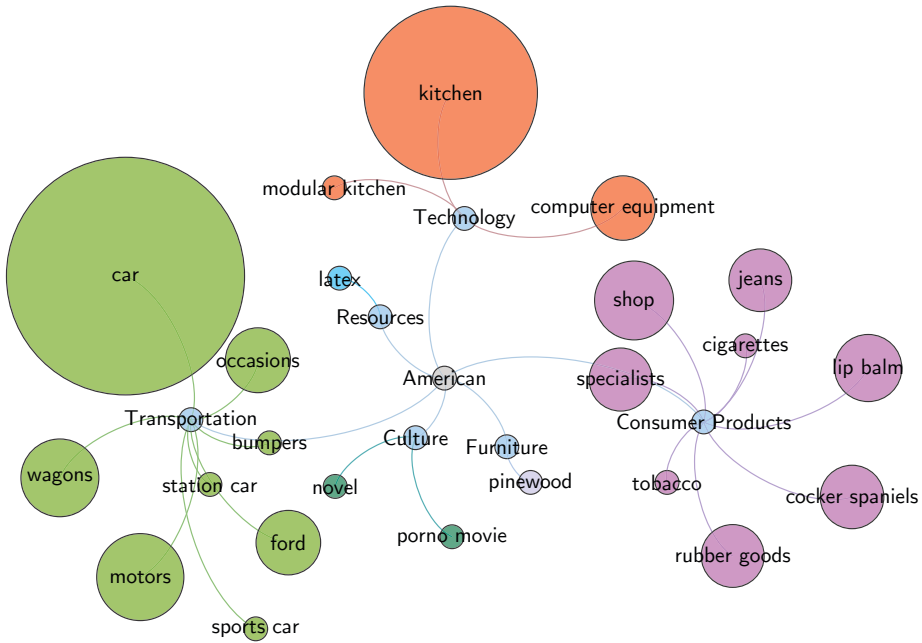


Figure 2.17. Bigrams with 'American' as adjective in advertisements between 1970-1979

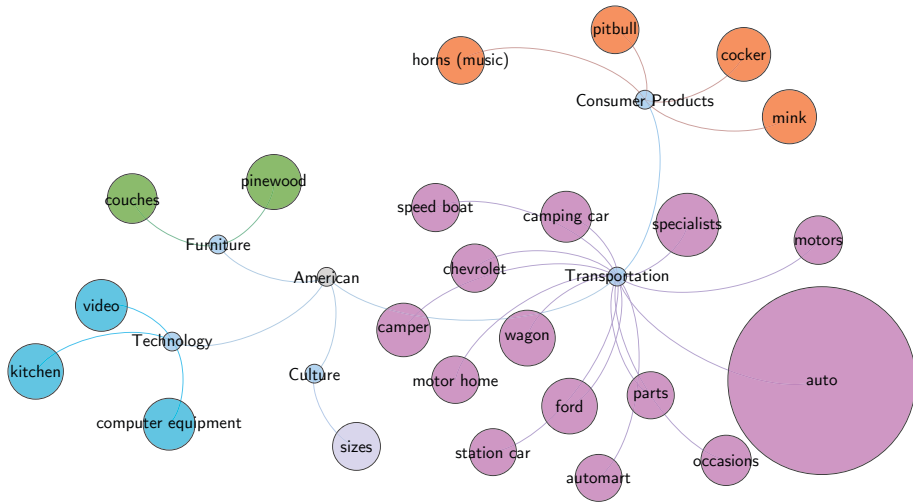


Figure 2.18. Bigrams with 'American' as adjective in advertisements between 1980-1989

The second shift in advertising discourse was the growing emphasis on American automobiles ('auto' 'occasions', 'car' and 'ford'). This trend reveals an increasing fascination with American cars, while the majority of automobiles in the post-war Netherlands were small European models.³⁹ The automobile was a product strongly endowed with an American product nationality. Ads labeled station cars, mobile homes, and sports cars as American. These cars were bigger than the cars commonly found in the Netherlands, which gave rise to the idea of the big American car and the notion that size was a unique characteristic of American culture.

Third, in the 1960s, advertisers introduced Dutch consumers to the American kitchen, which was among the most advertised American products in this decade and the next. It introduced Dutch consumers to new lifestyles and technologies, while it also represented a particular aesthetic associated with the American postwar abundance.⁴⁰

Fourth, in the postwar era, advertisers promoted clothing as American, such as jeans, nylons, jackets, army goods, overalls, and cowboy clothing. These associations indicate that the United States also served as an example in terms of lifestyle and fashion. Certain types of clothes were endowed with an American product-country image, for instance the brands Levi Strauss resonated with the iconography of the American West.⁴¹

³⁹ Maurice Blanken, *Force of Order and Methods: An American View into the Dutch Directed Society* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1976), 121; Mom, "Four Centuries of Dutch-American Relations."

⁴⁰ Oldenziel and Zachmann studied the American kitchen in the context of the Cold War as a symbol of Americanization. Ruth Oldenziel, "Exporting the American Cold War Kitchen: Challenging Americanization, Technological Transfer, and Domestication," in *Cold War Kitchen: Americanization, Technology, and European Users*, ed. Ruth Oldenziel and Karin Zachmann (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2009), 10.

⁴¹ Sandra Curtis Comstock, "The Making of an American Icon: The Transformation of Blue Jeans during the Great Depression," in *Global Denim*, ed. Daniel Miller and Sophie Woodward (Oxford: Berg, 2011), 23–50.

Fifth, tobacco and cigarettes continued to be advertised as American until the 1980s. For almost half of the twentieth century, advertisers labeled cigarettes as American. This continuous association makes cigarettes an excellent case study for the role of the United States as a reference culture in Dutch public discourse.

On the whole, the focus of ads in Dutch newspapers moved from American resources, stocks, and staple goods to consumer goods such as cigarettes, nylons, kitchens and technological innovations such as radios, television, plastic, and computers. Cultural goods such as movies were also promoted as American, but not as often as consumer goods, automobiles, or technologies. The trends in advertisements show that during the twentieth century a plethora of products carried an American product nationality. Some carried this connotation throughout most of the twentieth century, whereas others were more short-lived. The latter probably included products that were imported from the United States but did not express strong symbolic associations with American culture.⁴²

I used these lists of products to guide the selection of my case studies. After a close reading of some of the ads for these products, I discovered that they often merely contained the product name, brand name, price, and the sales point. These ads did not evoke a strong product-country image associated with the United States. One clear exception were advertisements for cigarettes. These ads regularly used slogans and adjectives to describe their products, which make the product an ideal case study for the study of product-country images. Moreover, secondary sources claim that cigarettes have functioned as a symbol of the United

⁴² Holt makes the distinction between brands and icons to differentiate between products that carry symbolic power and those that do not. Holt, *How Brands Become Icons*.

States, with the famous example of the Marlboro man—a cowboy depicted against the backdrop of the scenic American West.⁴³ The extent to which American and non-American brands referred to the United States, however, needs further scrutiny. For this reason, chapter 3 examines the cigarette and shows how cigarette advertisements contributed to the Dutch perception of the United States during the twentieth century.

The second case study focuses on the soft drink Coca-Cola, which as this present chapter has shown was not explicitly advertised as American. The only reference to American soft drinks was made via the word ‘drinks’, which referred to bars in the Netherlands that sold American beverages, such as Coca-Cola. Secondary sources, however, view Coca-Cola as one of the central cultural icons of the United States, while they also remark that its branding presented Coca-Cola as a global brand.⁴⁴ In chapter 5, I discuss ways in which advertisers also branded Coca-Cola as American in more implicit ways. Moreover, chapter 6 examines whether Coca-Cola’s position as an American cultural icon was perhaps established outside of the domain of advertising.

⁴³ Brandt, *The Cigarette Century*; Howard Cox, *The Global Cigarette: Origins and Evolution of British American Tobacco, 1880-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Michael Starr, “The Marlboro Man: Cigarette Smoking and Masculinity in America,” *The Journal of Popular Culture* 17, no. 4 (1984): 45–57; Juliann Sivulka, *Soap, Sex, and Cigarettes: A Cultural History of American Advertising*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Wadsworth, 2012).

⁴⁴ Pendergrast, *For God, Country and Coca-Cola*; Richard Kuisel, “Coca-Cola and the Cold War: The French Face Americanization, 1948-1953,” *French Historical Studies* 17, no. 1 (April 1, 1991): 96–116; Jeff Schutts, “Coca-Cola History: A ‘Refreshing’ Look at German-American Relations,” *GHI Bulletin*, no. 40 (Spring 2007), <http://ghi-dc.org/files/publications/bulletin/bu040/127.pdf>.

Bigrams with the Adjective 'American' in Articles

Similar to the extraction of bigrams from advertisements, I extracted bigrams with the adjective 'American' from newspaper articles. In the case of the latter, I not only focused on consumer goods but on all bigrams with 'American' as an adjective. The analysis consisted of three steps: first, I extracted bigrams with 'American' as the first word from newspaper articles, merged singular and plural terms, and then translated them into English; second, I grouped the bigrams in the following categories: railroads, shipping, military, economy, politics, industry, and culture; third, I visualized the groups of bigrams using Gephi.⁴⁵

1890 - 1910

Between 1890 and 1910, Dutch newspapers discussed the United States in the following domains: the economy, shipping, the military, railroads, culture, politics, and industry (figs. 2.19 and 2.20). Newspapers regularly mentioned the United States in the context of its shipping and railroad industry. Additionally, newspapers paid attention to the American economy through reports on American trusts and the American stock exchange.

Around the turn of the twentieth century, Dutch newspapers started to debate aspects of American culture. Words such as 'women', 'city', 'citizens', 'press', 'society', and 'magazines' suggest that Dutch newspapers reported on elements of American daily life. The absence of brand names or product names shows that American consumer goods were not a dominant theme in this period.

⁴⁵ In Dutch, occasionally multiple words were used for a consumer good where in English only one applied. For this reason, the graphs sometimes contain duplicate English terms, which in fact refer to different Dutch words.

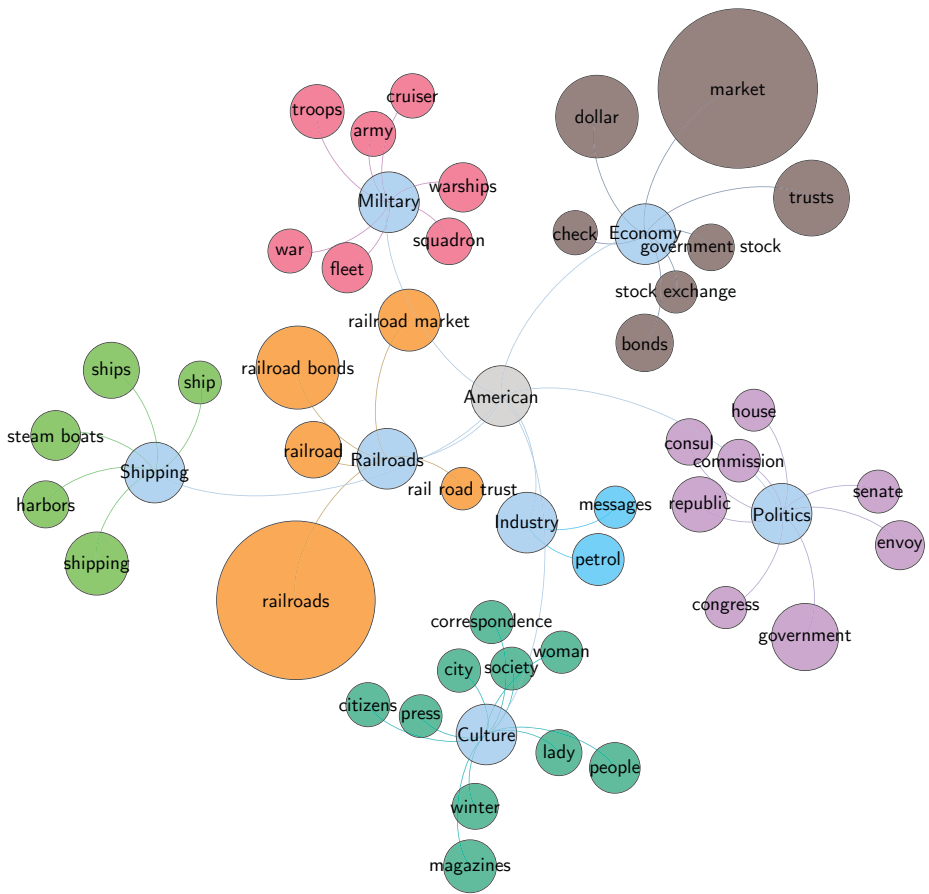


Figure 2.19. Bigrams with 'American' as adjective in articles between 1890-1899

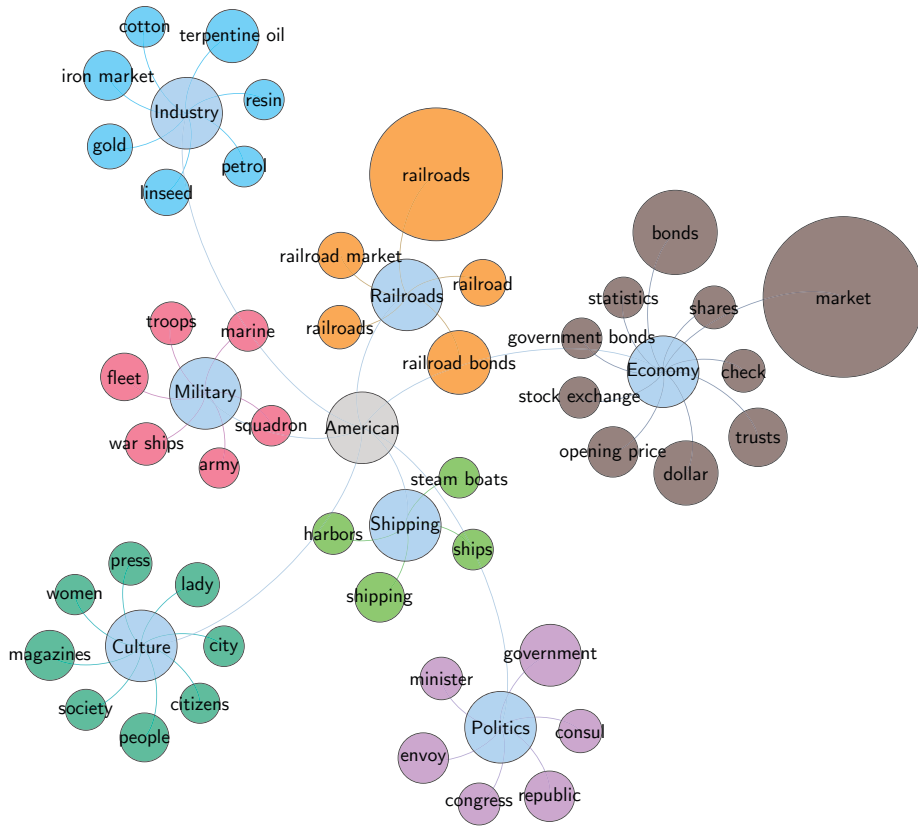


Figure 2.20. Bigrams with ‘American’ as adjective in articles between 1900-1909

1910 - 1939

After the First World War, the American railroad and shipping industry became a less prominent theme in Dutch newspapers (figs. 2.21, 2.22, and 2.23). Articles on American politics, on the other hand, grew in dominance. ‘Government’ was the most popular bigram with ‘American’ as an adjective between 1910 and 1940. By the 1930s, politics and the economy had become the dominant categories in newspaper discourse on the United States. In the sphere of culture, the terms ‘movies’ and ‘public’ emerged, which signaled both an interest in American popular culture as well curiosity about the attitudes of the American general public.

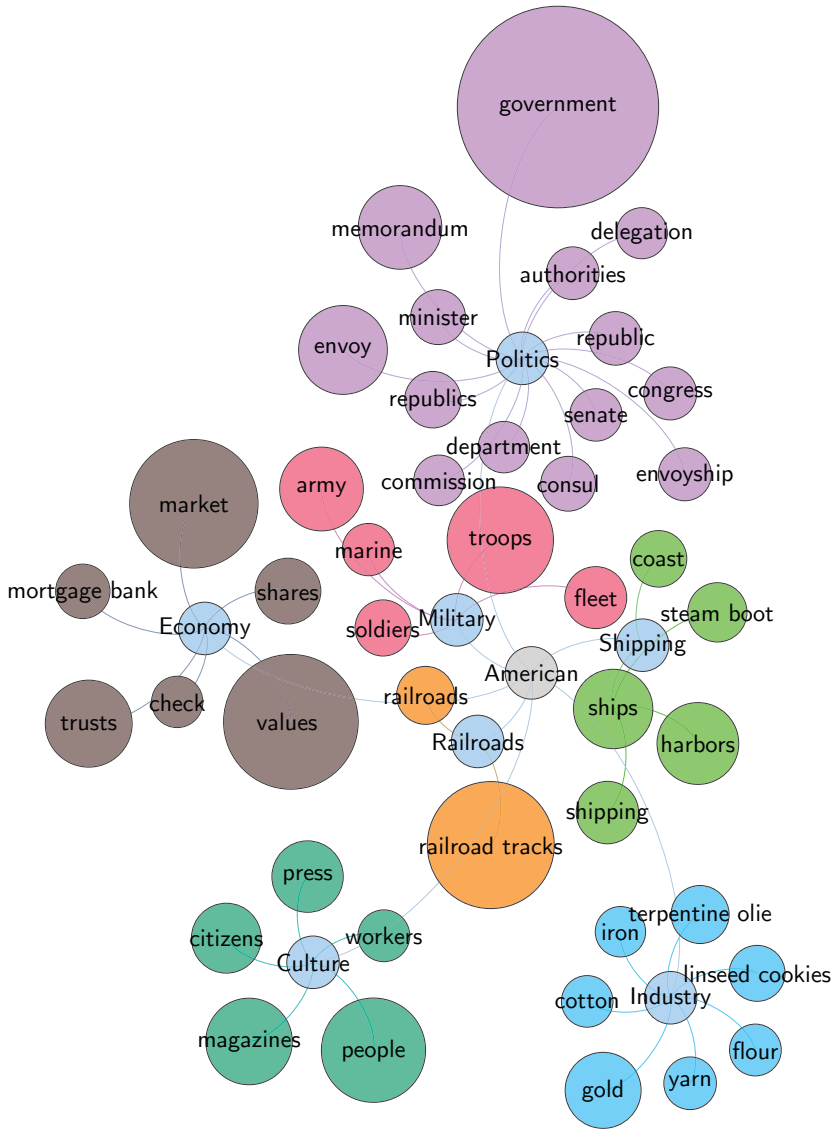


Figure 2.21. Bigrams with 'American' as adjective in articles between 1910-1919

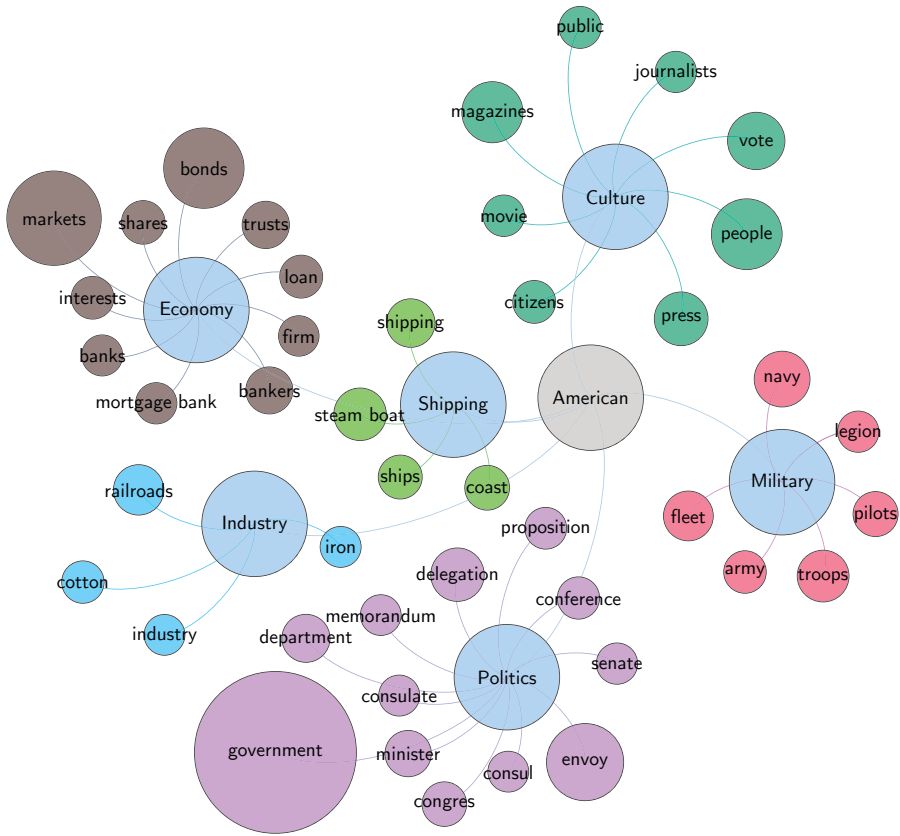


Figure 2.22. Bigrams with 'American' as adjective in articles between 1920-1929

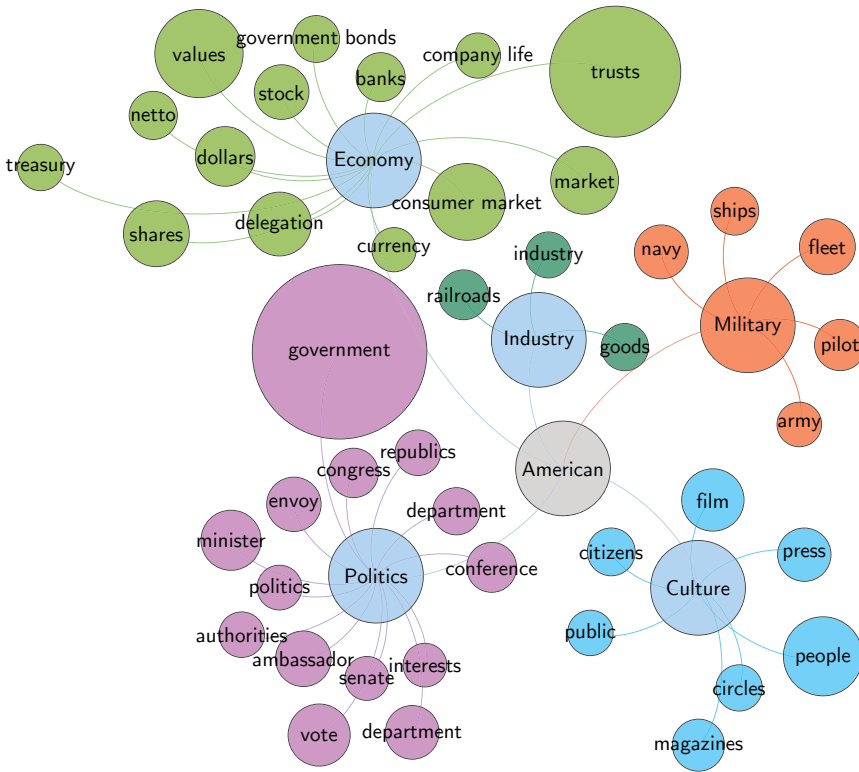


Figure 2.23. Bigrams with ‘American’ as adjective in articles between 1930-1939

1940 - 1959

During the Second World War, the frequency of words related to the military, such as ‘army’, ‘bomber’, and ‘troops’, increased vastly (fig. 2.24). The military remained a dominant category in the years following the Second World War. The words associated with the military in the postwar period differed from the earlier period. There was a shift from words related to the American naval force to the air force and ground troops.

In the 1950s, American politics grew to be the most popular category (fig. 2.25). Besides an interest in American domestic politics, newspapers also wrote about the global political position of the United States. The

term ‘American imperialism’, for instance, hints at the growing criticism of American global politics.

The interest in American culture which emerged in the 1930s continued after the Second World War. Newspapers frequently discussed the American people and American movies. Also, articles mentioned the American press, journalists, and magazines which implies that American news was copied and discussed in Dutch newspapers. In brief, Dutch media seemed to be orientated toward American media.

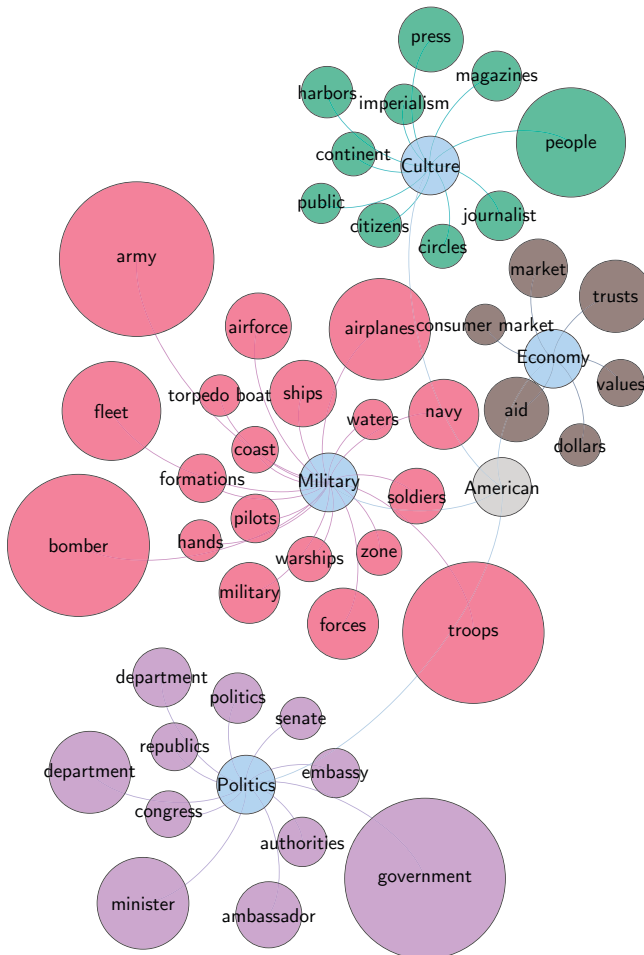


Figure 2.24. Bigrams with ‘American’ as adjective in articles between 1940-1949

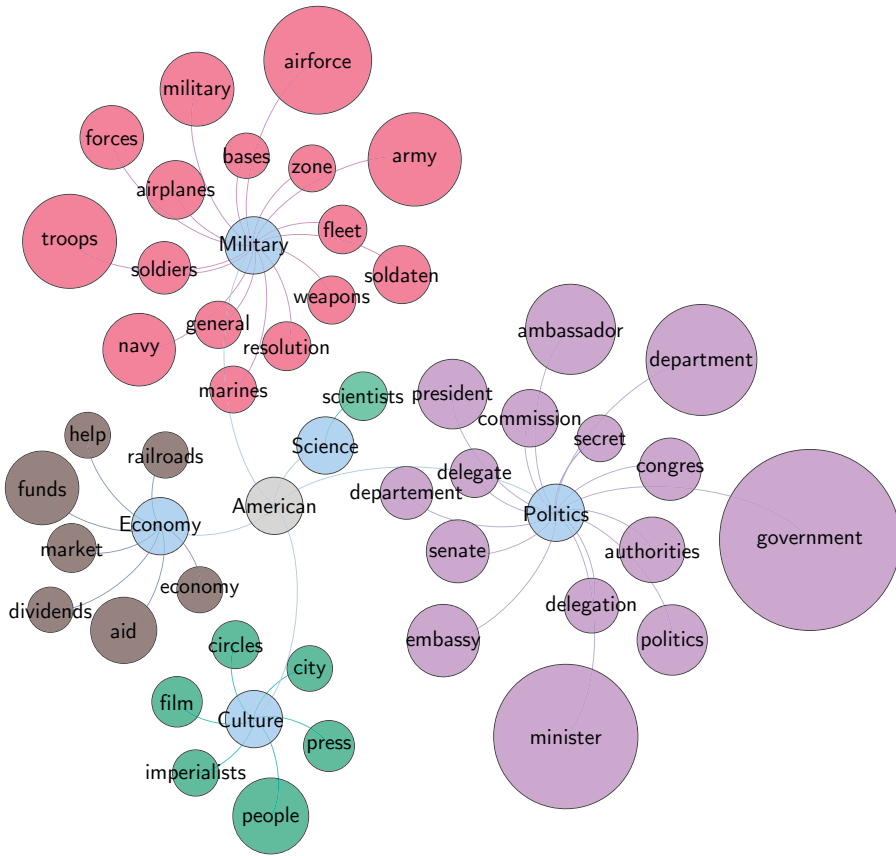


Figure 2.25. Bigrams with ‘American’ as adjective in articles between 1950-1959

1960 - 1989

After the 1960s, newspaper less frequently mentioned the US military (figs. 2.26, 2.27, and 2.28), while politics did remain popular in these years. For example, the words ‘president’ and ‘minister’ increased in frequency suggesting a growing interest in American domestic politics and the US elections.

Moreover, the bigrams associated with culture changed in this period. Newspapers devoted more attention to American movies, television shows, and novels than in previous decades. As noted before, the increase in bigrams related to American culture might be caused by the increased

number of television guides in the newspapers. Nonetheless, the diversity of nodes associated with culture shows the wide range of American cultural expressions that Dutch newspapers started to discuss in the 1960s.

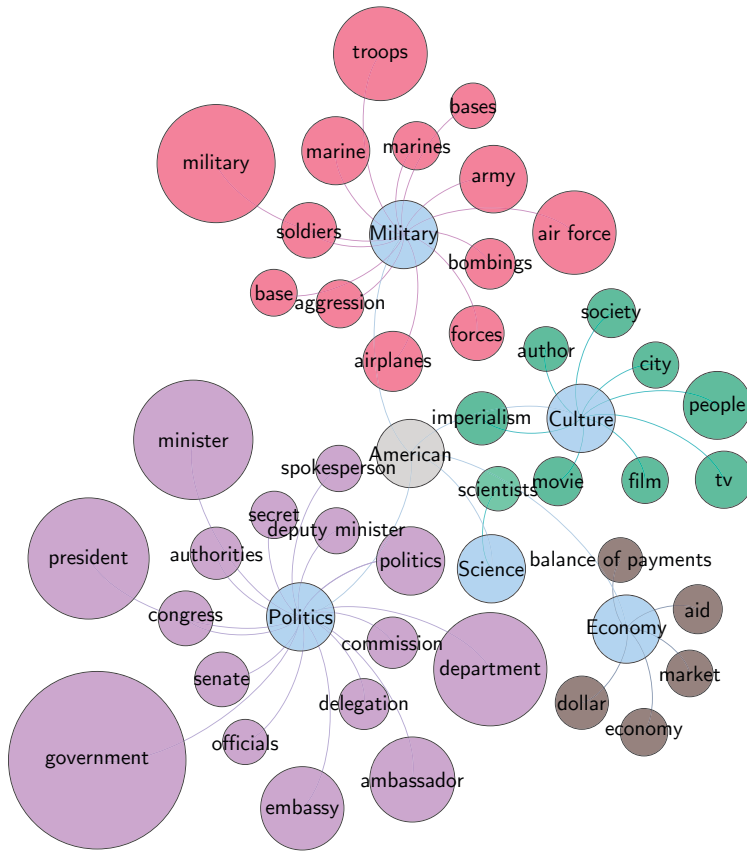


Figure 2.26. Bigrams with 'American' as adjective in articles between 1960-1969

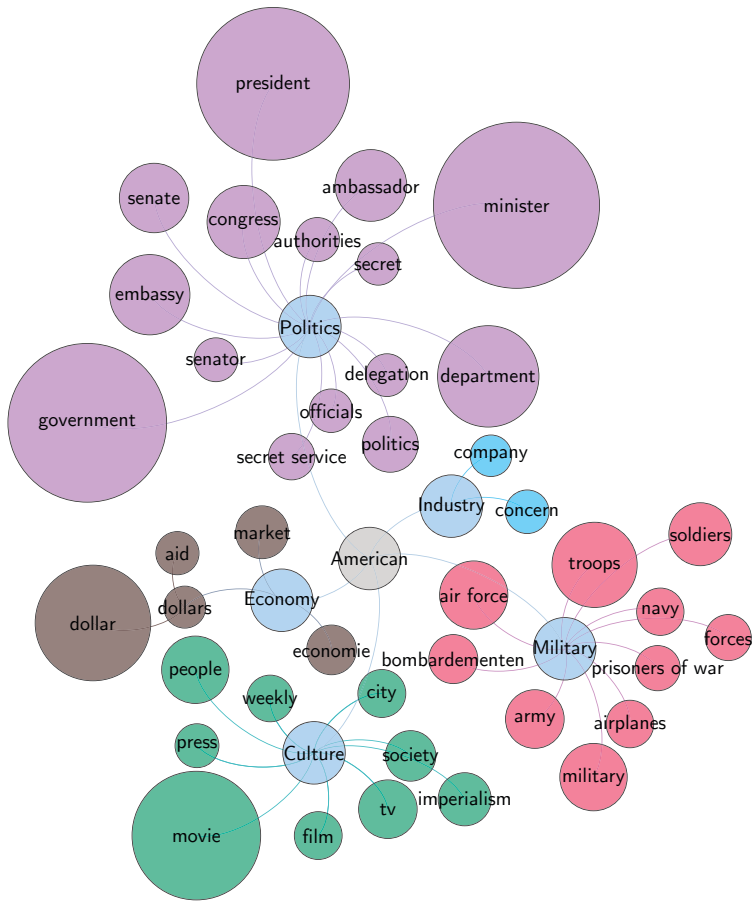


Figure 2.27. Bigrams with 'American' as adjective in articles between 1970-1979

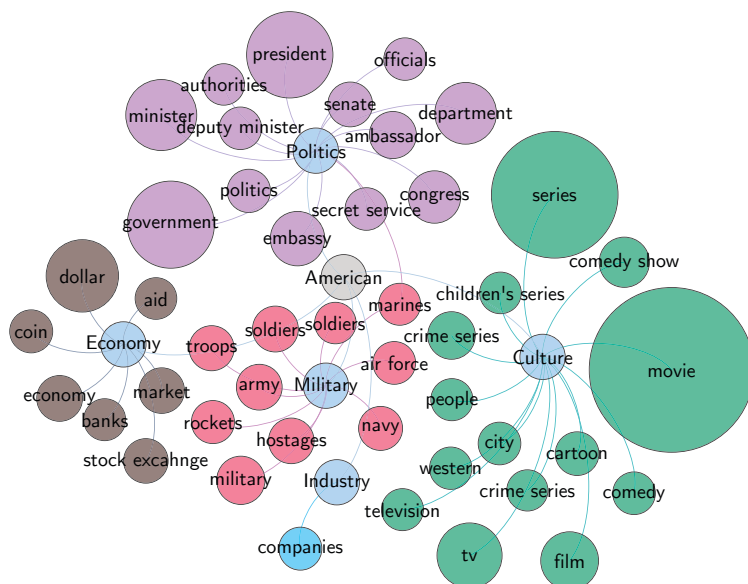


Figure 2.28. Bigrams with 'American' as adjective in articles between 1980-1989

These ten graphs reveal a shift in newspaper discourse on the United States. Whereas articles in the beginning of the twentieth century discussed the United States in the sphere of the economy and industry, over time, this shifted to reports on the United States in terms of its military, government, culture, and politics. Generally speaking, articles on politics, the economy, and the army came to dominate newspaper discourse and overshadowed discourse on American consumer goods; by and large, newspapers less often related consumer goods to the United States. To examine to what extent Dutch newspapers related the United States to consumer goods, I had to first get rid of the stronger discursive signals in the archive. In the case studies that follow, I peeled away the prominent outer layers of discourse devoted to topics unrelated to my thesis to lay bare the less prominent discourse on two consumer goods, namely cigarettes and the soft drink Coca-Cola. In the case studies, I explain in more detail how I examined texts that specifically discussed

cigarettes and Coca-Cola and how I studied the related role of the United States in these texts.

2.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have described my primary source, namely the KB's digitized newspaper archive. I have argued that the National Library's digitized newspaper archive is a unique and rich dataset that can be used for the longitudinal study of cultural-historical phenomena, such as reference cultures, if we remain aware of the archive's shortcomings in terms of OCR and OLR, and the underrepresentation of prominent newspapers after the Second World War. That is, it is vital to remain cognizant of the bias in representativity and quality of the dataset when interpreting the newspaper discourse on Coca-Cola and cigarettes.

This chapter has found that the United States played a significant role in advertisements and articles in the KB's Dutch newspaper archive. Advertisers throughout the twentieth century labeled many different products as American, among which the cigarette was one of the most prominent between 1930 and 1970. Despite being described as a cultural icon by secondary sources, advertisers did not explicitly refer to Coca-Cola as American.

The predominant domains in which the United States was mentioned in newspaper articles were the economy, the military, and politics. In newspapers articles, the explicit framing of consumer goods as American was not a strong discursive trend. The following case studies dive deeper into the corpus to examine how newspapers related cigarettes and Coca-Cola to the United States in both explicit and implicit ways.

Case Study 1

American Cigarettes

"Go with us to the country of prairies, horses, bonanzas, and wide fields full of golden American tobacco."¹

¹ "Ga mee naar het land van prairies, paarden, Bonanzas en wijde velden vol gouden Amerikaanse tabak!" in "Golden America advertisement," *Leeuwarder Courant*, August 27, 1970.

The central consumer good at the heart of this case study is the cigarette. The case study approaches the cigarette as an object that consumers associated with a set of practices, ideas, events, and values. These associations materialized through interactions between consumers, producers, and the product, in what Ruth Schwartz Cowan calls the consumption junction.¹ The dynamic and diverse nature of these interactions turned the cigarette into an object with a distinctive “elasticity of meanings.”²

As an increasing number of different cigarette brands appeared on the market in the early twentieth century, brands needed to differentiate when competing. The differentiation between cigarettes was often not achieved through differences in the product but through the targeting of different consumers and the creation of fictional consumers with whom actual consumers could identify.³

The strong branding of cigarettes expanded the range of associated values referred to above. This case study focuses on one of these values, namely the cigarette’s product nationality. It signifies the link between a product and a country, in this case the United States, and symbolizes a vast array of values, affects, and ideas. Scholars contend that these symbolic connotations are constitutive of a product-country image.⁴ A longitudinal study of the framing of the links between the United States

¹ Ruth Schwartz Cowan, “The Consumption Junction: A Proposal for Research Strategies in the Sociology of Technology,” in *The Social Construction of Technological Systems: New Directions in the Sociology and History of Technology*, ed. Wiebe Bijker, Thomas Hughes, and Trevor Pinch (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1987), 261–80; See also: Adri Albert de la Bruheze, Onno de Wit, and Ruth Oldenziel, “Mediating Practices: Technology and the Rise of European Consumer Society in the Twentieth Century,” February 14, 2004, http://www.tensionsofeurope.eu/www/en/files/get/Review_CS_Bruheze_2004.pdf.

² Brandt, *The Cigarette Century*, 100.

³ Allan Brandt, “Engineering Consumer Confidence in the Twentieth Century,” in *Smoke: A Global History of Smoking*, ed. Xun Zhou and Sander Gilman (London: Reaktion Books, 2004), 80.

⁴ Ger, “Country Image”; Åskegaard and Ger, “Product-Country Images.”

and cigarettes in newspaper discourse offers insights into the ways in which products reflected and shaped the perception of a country. Furthermore, the analysis of the continuities and changes of this particular product-country image can help us understand how the United States emerged and functioned as a reference culture in Dutch public discourse. That is why this case study aims to answer two central questions. First, how did advertisers relate cigarettes to the United States? Second, in which ways were cigarettes connected to the United States in newspaper articles? Answering these two questions illustrates how the image of the United States that was propagated through articles and advertisements.

In the case of the cigarette, its product-country image is an under-researched topic.⁵ The lack of research is surprising since advertisers explicitly connected cigarettes to particular countries and regions. Manufacturers habitually christened cigarettes after their region of production or area where the tobacco grew. Consequently, the cigarette's product nationalities included references to Russia, Egypt, Greece, Turkey, the United States, and England.⁶ References to these countries were explicitly and implicitly expressed in the product's branding.⁷

The connection between cigarettes and the United States is both historical and cultural. The cigarette's origin, however, was not American. Allan Brandt claims that Spain was the first country that produced an object resembling a cigarette. This Spanish cigarette first spread through

⁵ Anja Schaefer argues that fast moving consumer goods, such as the cigarette, have been under-researched for their product-country image and country of origin effect. Anja Schaefer, "Consumer Knowledge and Country of Origin Effects," *European Journal of Marketing* 31, no. 1 (February 1, 1997): 56–72.

⁶ Guus van der Linde, *1906-1986 B.A.T. Nederland B.V.* (Amsterdam: B.A.T. Nederland, 1986), 3.

⁷ Relli Shechter, *Smoking, Culture and Economy in the Middle East: The Egyptian Tobacco Market 1850-2000* (London: Tauris, 2006), 52; Matthew Hilton, *Smoking in British Popular Culture 1800-2000: Perfect Pleasures* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 88–101.

Europe, before crossing the Atlantic Ocean onto American soil.⁸ American manufacturers transformed the cigarette into a mechanically-produced blended cigarette that we still know today.⁹ The fact that the modern cigarette originated in the United States connects this consumer good historically to that country. In addition, the way it was produced also signified certain cultural aspects of American consumer society. For instance, the standardized method of mass production represented an American mode of production and type of entrepreneurship.¹⁰ Moreover, the American advertising firms infused the branding and packaging of the American cigarette with novel American techniques and artistic styles. For these reasons, Brandt argues that the modern cigarette signified the American consumer society.¹¹

Most cultural-historical scholarship on the cigarette situates the product in a British or American context.¹² The American context is described extensively in Allan Brandt's *The Cigarette Century* and in Robert Proctor's *Golden Holocaust*.¹³ Brandt places the cigarette in the framework of American culture, politics, law, and globalization. His focus is on "public meanings, behaviors, and debates about smoking rather than on industry strategy and activity."¹⁴ Proctor approaches the cigarette as "part of the ordinary history of technology—and a deeply political (and

⁸ Brandt, *The Cigarette Century*, 26.

⁹ Cox, *The Global Cigarette*, 3.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Brandt, "Engineering Consumer Confidence in the Twentieth Century," 332.

¹² See for instance: Hilton, *Smoking in British Popular Culture*; Cassandra Tate, *Cigarette Wars: The Triumph of "The Little White Slaver"* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Penny Tinkler, *Smoke Signals: Women, Smoking and Visual Culture in Britain* (Oxford: Berg, 2006).

¹³ Brandt, *The Cigarette Century*; Robert Proctor, *Golden Holocaust: Origins of the Cigarette Catastrophe and the Case for Abolition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

¹⁴ Brandt, *The Cigarette Century*, 11.

fraudulent) artifact.”¹⁵ He explains how the cigarette industry managed to turn the cigarette into a remarkable success despite its health risks.¹⁶ The British context of the cigarette is the focal point in works by Rosemary Elliot, Penny Tinkler, and Matthew Hilton.¹⁷ Elliot and Tinkler examine cigarettes as an expression of gender. The former explains how the gendered connotations of smoking changed in the twentieth-century Britain, whereas the latter investigates the role of visual culture in the history of women and smoking in the United Kingdom. Hilton relates the cigarette to tenets of liberalism and individualism in British society.

Researchers have not comprehensively studied the cigarette as a cultural-historical object in the Dutch context, even though the Netherlands has a long history of tobacco production, distribution, and consumption.¹⁸ In the nineteenth century, this small maritime country had a sizeable indigenous cigar industry with a colonial tobacco supply.¹⁹ The Netherlands also housed many cigarette manufacturers. In 1885, Jan van Kerckhof opened the first cigarette factory in Amsterdam.²⁰ Others followed in Van Kerckhof's tracks, among them Mignot & Block in Maastricht (1911), Crescent in Eindhoven (1917), Turmac in Zevenaar (1920), and Ed Laurens in The Hague (1921). One of the most prominent

¹⁵ Proctor, *Golden Holocaust*, 4.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 4–5.

¹⁷ Rosemary Elliot, *Women and Smoking since 1890* (New York: Routledge, 2008); Hilton, *Smoking in British Popular Culture*; Tinkler, *Smoke Signals*.

¹⁸ The works that exist are mostly journalistic, such as Friso Schotanus, *De beste sigaret voor uw gezondheid: hoe roken de wereld veroverde* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Atlas Contact, 2014); Jack Botermans and W.R.M van Grinsven, *Toen roken nog gezond was!: Een tevreden roker was geen onruststoker* (Arnhem: Terra Lannoo, 2011).

¹⁹ Iain Gately, *Tobacco: The Story of How Tobacco Seduced the World* (New York: Grove Press, 2001), 81; Georg Brongers, *Nicotiana Tabacum: The History of Tobacco and Tobacco Smoking in the Netherlands* (Groningen: Niemeyer, 1964).

²⁰ Stichting Nederlandse Tabakshistorie, “Sigaretten,” *Tabakshistorie*, accessed July 23, 2014, <http://www.tabakshistorie.nl/nl/tabakshistorie/sigaretten/24/>.

international companies that settled in the Netherlands was the British American Tobacco Company (BATCO), which opened its offices in Amsterdam in 1906. For the greater part of the twentieth century, the Netherlands had a strong domestic cigarette industry.²¹ Dutch people smoked in great numbers and their cigarette consumption more than quadrupled between 1925 and 1975 (fig. 1). At the end of the century, the Dutch were the biggest exporter of cigarettes in the European Union.²²

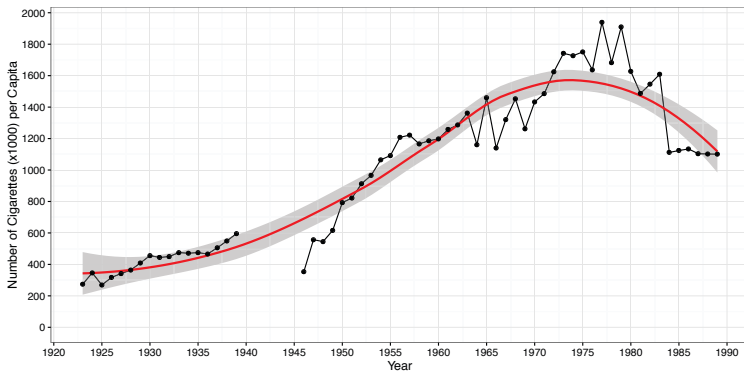


Figure 1. The number of cigarettes (x1000) per capita in the Netherlands. Data provided by <http://statline.cbs.nl/statweb>

Research on cigarettes such as exists within the Dutch context consists mainly of business histories²³, books on the cigarette lobby²⁴, or general

²¹ Linde, *1906-1986 B.A.T. Nederland B.V.*; W.M. van Roermund and Hans Kooger, *Turmac negentientachtig: een onderneming in volle bloei ziet terug op de zestig wisselvallige jaren van haar geschiedenis en kijkt naar de toekomst* (Zevenaar: Turmac tobacco company, 1980).

²² Joop Bouma, *Het rookgordijn: de macht van de Nederlandse tabaksindustrie* (Amsterdam: Veen, 2001), cover.

²³ Linde, *1906-1986 B.A.T. Nederland B.V.*; Ben Janssen, *Onder de rook van Turmac te Zevenaar: de betekenis van de Turmac sigarettenfabriek voor Zevenaar en de Liemers* (Zevenaar: Cultuurhistorische Vereniging Zevenaar, 2005); van Roermund and Kooger, *Turmac negentientachtig*; Johannes Pars, *Een doorrookt verleden: de geschiedenis van de Laurens Sigarettenfabriek in Den Haag (1921-1995)* (Den Haag: Uitgeverij de Nieuwe Haagsche, 2000).

²⁴ Bouma, *Het rookgordijn*.

histories of the tobacco industry without a specific focus on cigarettes.²⁵ They include little information on the Dutch public perception of the link between cigarettes and the United States, even though the business histories describe the introduction of the American blended cigarette as a key event in the history of cigarettes in the Netherlands.

This case study tries to fill this particular lacuna in cultural-historical research on cigarettes. It is, therefore, not an extensive cultural history of cigarettes in the Netherlands, but a study on the link between cigarettes and the United States in Dutch public discourse. In the following two chapters, I examine the ideas, values, practices, and events associated with cigarettes that shaped and reflected the perception of the United States in digitized Dutch newspapers.

This first case study consists of two chapters. Chapter 3 examines cigarette advertisements to understand how advertisers branded the American cigarette. This chapter analyzes language use in advertisements to understand how ads contributed to the product-country image of the United States. Chapter 4 examines newspaper articles that discussed American cigarettes or that linked cigarettes to the United States. The chapter sets out to comprehend what the associations between cigarettes and the United States tell us about the United States as a reference culture in the Netherlands.

²⁵ The general histories can be found in: Brongers, *Nicotiana Tabacum*; Adrianus van Domburg, *Lof der tabak* (Baarn: De Boekerij, 1947); Johan Herks, *De geschiedenis van de Amersfoortse tabak* (Den Haag: Nijhoff, 1967); Harry Tupan and Jaap Brakke, *Wolven van genot: een cultuurhistorisch overzicht van het tabaksgebruik in Nederland* (Assen: Provinciaal Museum van Drenthe, 1983).

Chapter 3

Brand America | Advertising the American Cigarette

"... America ... world between oceans ... land of endless space and infinite possibilities ... country of prairies, snow peaks, sluggish rivers, and hurried hard-living metropolises ... the taste of America ...everything that is real just like Winfield King Size ..." ¹

¹ "Winfield advertisement," *Limburgsch Dagblad*, October 11, 1965.



Figure 3.1. “Buffalo advertisement,” *Limburger Koerier*, April 13, 1938

In 1938, the regional newspaper *Limburger Koerier* published a full-page ad for the cigarette brand Buffalo (fig. 3.1).¹ The advertisement linked the brand to the United States in a number of ways. First, the brand’s name Buffalo denoted the emblematic American prairie animal as well as the city of Buffalo in upstate New York. The relationship between the brand and the United States was further enforced by a small print mentioning its producer: The Cumberland Company from Clarksville, USA.

¹ “Buffalo advertisement,” *Limburger Koerier*, April 13, 1938.

Second, in addition to these textual cues, the advertisement included a visual signifier: a background image of a giant cowboy bending over a Dutch tulip field. This picture of a cowboy—an exemplar of American culture—further substantiated Buffalo as an American cigarette. Furthermore, this image expressed the towering dominance of American products in the Netherlands.

Third, the ad presented the Buffalo cigarette as having an American product nationality by describing it as “the tastiest and spiciest American cigarette.”² The geographical association to the United States suggested the product’s country of origin, but also signified a particular type of cigarette characterized by taste.

This chapter examines how advertisers related cigarettes to specific countries, more specifically how the United States emerged as the dominant geographical association in this respect. Søren Askegaard and Güliz Ger conceptualize the framing of a product’s geographical association as a “product-country image.”³ The longitudinal study of product-country images in cigarette advertisements reveals the position of the United States as a reference culture in Dutch public discourse.

Globalization complicated the formation of product-country images. The rise of multinational companies sped up the global availability of specific consumer goods, which weakened the connection between products with their country of origin.⁴ Arjun Appadurai uses the term deterritorialization to describe the weakening of ties between a culture and a place.⁵ For this reason, the geographical connotations of brands can be

² Ibid.

³ Ger, “Country Image”; Cited in: Askegaard and Ger, “Product-Country Images.”

⁴ de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire*, 215.

⁵ Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 37. Gil-Manuel Hernandez I Marti connects the intensification

best understood as an entanglement of origin and deterritorialized notions of place.⁶

Michael Hart and Antonio Negri present the United States as an example of a culture deterritorialized from its national borders.⁷ In the same vein, Ruth Oldenziel conceptualizes America as a networked empire, a “semiotic sign floating outside of its geographical bounds.” She adds that a system of geopolitical actors constrains the expressive freedom of this sign.⁸ In other words, the image of America is not wholly detached from the United States. Little is known about how, exactly, this process of deterritorialization unfolded within a local context over the course of the twentieth century. I maintain that a longitudinal study of the branding of consumer goods can improve our understanding of this process.

This chapter examines the product-country image of the United States as reflected in cigarette advertisements. The chapter answers the following three questions: First, when and how did the United States emerge as a product nationality of cigarettes? Second, what product-country image of the United States was presented in cigarette advertisements? Third, do cigarette advertisements, indeed, show a deterritorialization of America? In other words, if so, how did America shift from a geographical reality to a geographical imaginary? Answering these questions helps to understand how the United States emerged and functioned as a reference culture amid larger historical currents of globalization and Americanization.

of deterritorialization to globalized modernity and forces of mediatization, migration, and commodification. Gil-Manuel Hernández i Martí, “The Deterritorialization of Cultural Heritage in a Globalized Modernity,” *Transfer: Journal of Contemporary Culture* 1 (2006): 91–106.

⁶ Andy Pike, “Geographies of Brands and Branding,” *Progress in Human Geography* 33, no. 5 (2009): 621.

⁷ Hardt and Negri, *Empire*, xxiii–xv.

⁸ Oldenziel, “Is Globalization a Code Word for Americanization?: Contemplating McDonalds, Coca-Cola, and Military Bases,” 86–87.

This chapter's first section charts the nationalities most commonly associated with cigarettes in advertisements between 1890 and 1989. The second section compares three types of cigarettes: American, Egyptian, and Virginia cigarettes. These product nationalities refer to their perceived country of origin, but they also communicated particular characteristics associated with those countries.⁹ The American and Egyptian product nationalities refer to the cigarette's country of origin, whereas Virginia cigarettes originated in the United States (although its popularity in England endowed this type of cigarettes with a British product nationality). Also, after the First World War, British prisoners of war acquainted the Dutch smoker with Virginia cigarettes. The connection to British soldiers as well as British tobacco companies further strengthened the link between the Virginia cigarette and Britain.¹⁰ This section examines which features, brands, and companies advertisers associated with the three types of cigarettes. Were American cigarettes different from Egyptian and Virginia cigarettes? Did American cigarettes, indeed, introduce new features to Dutch smokers? Did features associated with American cigarettes shape the overall brand identity of cigarettes?

The final section explores which product-country image of the United States was expressed in the features that advertisements attributed to American cigarettes. An essential element in advertisements for American cigarettes is authenticity. What perspectives on the product-country image of the United States did constructions of authenticity in advertisements offer?

⁹ See: Cox, *The Global Cigarette*, 24; World Health Organization and International Agency for Research on Cancer, *Tobacco Smoke and Involuntary Smoking*, vol. 83 (Lyon: IARC, 2004), 58.

¹⁰ Linde, *1906-1986 B.A.T. Nederland B.V.*, 7.

3.1 The Emergence of the American Cigarette

The Buffalo advertisement (fig. 3.1) shows that America had emerged as a product nationality of cigarettes in the Netherlands. Cigarette producers associated their goods with many more countries other than the United States. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Dutch smokers could choose between Oriental cigarettes coming from tobacco producing regions such as Turkey, Egypt, Greece, and Macedonia, but also cigarettes coming from England, Germany, and Russia.¹¹ Egyptian and Russian cigarettes had dominated the Dutch cigarette market in the first quarter of the twentieth century.¹² Although Dutch retailers also imported and sold American cigarettes at this time, these cigarettes were not popular among Dutch smokers.¹³ The popularity of American blended cigarettes in the Netherlands only started to grow in the interwar period. Its popularity really took off after the Second World War.¹⁴

At the end of the nineteenth century, the American cigarette industry was booming domestically and was steadily growing into an international, economic powerhouse. In 1913, the American company R.J. Reynolds introduced the first internationally circulated blended cigarette: Camel. Four years later, the American Tobacco Company caught up and introduced the Lucky Strike cigarette. Camel and Lucky Strike, along with the brand Chesterfield, rapidly took over the American market, and by 1930 they had an 88 percent market share. In parallel with these domestic

¹¹ Matthew Romaniello and Tricia Starks, *Tobacco in Russian History and Culture: The Seventeenth Century to the Present* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 229; Linde, *1906-1986 B.A.T. Nederland B.V.*, 3–7.

¹² Harry Tupan and Jaap Brakke, *Wolven van genot: een cultuurhistorisch overzicht van het tabaksgebruik in Nederland* (Assen: Provinciaal Museum van Drenthe, 1983), 77; *Kijken bij Ed. Laurens* (Den Haag: Ed. Laurens, 1974).

¹³ Linde, *1906-1986 B.A.T. Nederland B.V.*, 3.

¹⁴ Pars, *Een doorrookt verleden*, 47; Linde, *1906-1986 B.A.T. Nederland B.V.*, 20–21.

successes, American tobacco entrepreneurs, such as James Duke, set out to expand their market. As part of this effort, in 1902, the American Tobacco Company founded the joint venture British American Tobacco Company (BATCO) with Imperial Tobacco, a British tobacco conglomerate. BATCO facilitated the transfer of the production of American cigarettes to Europe.¹⁵ This sped up the introduction of American cigarettes into the Netherlands.

The mergers between American and European tobacco producers were critically received by Dutch newspapers. In 1901, *Algemeen Handelsblad* reported that the “almighty dollar was slowly taking over the finest English businesses.”¹⁶ Newspapers also discussed the wealth of American tobacco tycoon James Duke: *De Nieuwe Tilburgse Courant* typified the ways by which Duke acquired his fortune as a typically American phenomenon.¹⁷ Apart from a denouncement of American tobacco companies, these articles show that in the early twentieth century, even when few American cigarettes were sold in the Netherlands, the Dutch were already voicing their opinion about the practices of American tobacco companies.

3.1.1 Creating a Corpus of Cigarette Advertisements

In this section, I examine how the cigarette’s product nationality shifted in Dutch newspaper advertisements between 1890 and 1989. The section’s goal is threefold: first, to chart the nationalities associated with cigarettes in the Netherlands; second, to find out when and how advertisers associated cigarettes with the United States; third, the section compares

¹⁵ Brandt, *The Cigarette Century*, 34–48.; D. Yach and H. Wipfli, “A Century of Smoke,” *Annals of Tropical Medicine and Parasitology* 100, no. 5–6 (2006): 465–479.

¹⁶ “... de ‘almighty dollar’ langzaamerhand de puikste Engelsche zaken gaat beheersen” in “Engelsche brieven,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, September 19, 1901.

¹⁷ “Amerika op groote schaal,” *Nieuwe Tilburgsche Courant*, December 12, 1924.

trends in these cigarette's product nationality to data on cigarette consumption in the Netherlands. This comparison shows whether a stronger geographical association with the United States corresponded to a general increase in cigarette consumption.

Dutch newspapers contain three common spelling variants of the word 'cigarette': *cigaret*, *sigaret*, and *cigarette*. Figure 3.2 shows the relative frequency of these (singular and plural) terms in the entire Dutch newspaper corpus. The green and orange lines show that around 1900, *sigaret* became the dominant spelling. The two other variants continued to appear in the papers throughout the century. Closer examination of the data reveals that the variants appeared because advertisers turned to foreign languages, made spelling mistakes, or because of incorrect optical character recognition during digitization.

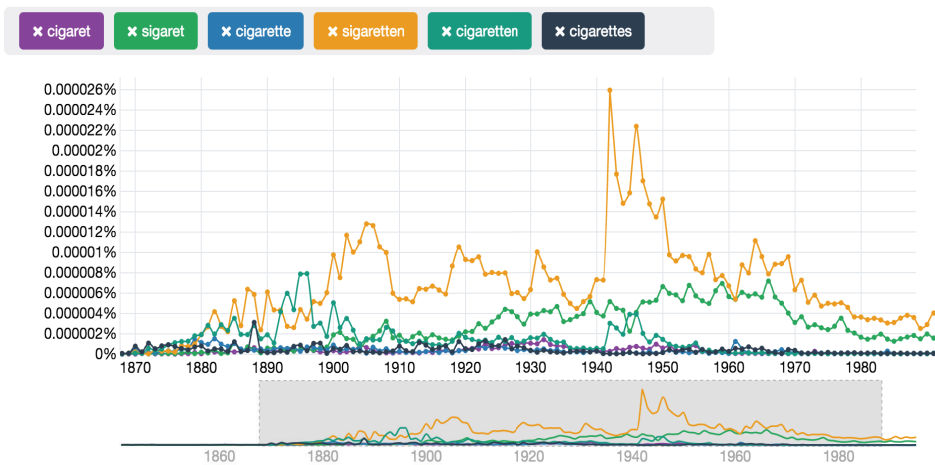


Figure 3.2. N-gram chart of spelling variants of 'cigarette' in Dutch newspapers. This graph was generated with the KB n-gram viewer: <http://kbkranten.politicalmashup.nl/>

The main dataset used for this chapter is based on advertisements that contain all three permutations of cigarette.¹⁸ The dataset contains 84,371 advertisements (0.45% of all advertisements ($n = 18,645,511$)) published between 1890 and 1989. The advertisements in the cigarette dataset appeared in 123 different newspaper titles. The ten most prominent newspapers are *De Telegraaf* (11,701 advertisements), *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden* (8,539), *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* (5,823), *Algemeen Handelsblad* (5,300), *Limburgsch Dagblad* (5,281), *Het Vrije Volk* (4,377), *Leeuwarder Courant* (3,496), *Limburger Koerier* (3,286), *Nieuwe Tilburgsche Courant* (2,826), and *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (2,733).

The dataset only includes advertisements that include the word ‘cigarette’ in its most common variants. Explorations of the corpus revealed that especially in the 1970s and 1980s cigarette brands regularly did not use the word ‘cigarette’ in advertisements. For example, Roxy—a popular brand in the Netherlands—appeared 2,188 times in advertisements from 1970 to 1989, even though ‘cigarette’ only appeared in 620.¹⁹ Because not all cigarette advertisements mentioned ‘cigarette’, I could not solely rely on a corpus created by querying variants of ‘cigarette’. To be able to also analyze these ads, I created an additional corpus of advertisements ($n = 4,856$) between 1945 and 1989 for three popular post-war brands: Lucky Strike, Camel, and Roxy.²⁰ The

¹⁸ (CIGARET* OR SIGARET*). I filtered out duplicate newspaper issues using a Python script. https://github.com/melvinwevers/PhD/blob/master/Code/Python/newspaper_filter_split.py. The querying was executed in the text-mining tool Texcavator, which uses a form of the Elastic querying syntax.

¹⁹ Advertisements that included the word ‘roxy’ predominantly referred to the brand Roxy and not to, for instance, the discotheque or cinema Roxy.

²⁰ I extracted a corpus of advertisements that included the phrases ‘Lucky Strike’, ‘Roxy’, ‘Camel’. These phrases did not always refer to cigarette advertisements. Based on words not related to cigarettes that frequently co-occurred with Roxy, Lucky Strike, and Camel, I filtered out 13,960 irrelevant advertisements. After removing duplicate newspapers, the corpus contains 4,856 advertisements. This cleaning script can be found here: https://github.com/melvinwevers/PhD/blob/master/Code/Python/clean_cigarettes_ads.py.

combination of the main corpus of cigarette advertisements and the additional corpus for the period 1970-1989 forms an extensive corpus that proved to be useful for the analysis of the cigarette's nationality, as the following sections show.

The corpus contains cigarette advertisements for the entire period between 1890 and 1990. Figure 3.3 shows the absolute and relative frequency of cigarette ads per year. In absolute numbers, there was a clear peak in cigarette advertisements in the 1920s ($n = 20,379$). These data alone do not allow us to determine whether the increase in cigarette advertisements in the 1920s followed a general increase in newspaper ads, or whether it resulted from a proportional increase of cigarette advertisements in the digitized newspaper corpus. To compare the proportion—and thus the significance—of cigarette advertisements between periods, I divided the absolute frequency of cigarette advertisements with the total number of advertisements per year.²¹ Hence, figure 3.3 also shows the relative frequency of cigarette advertisements per 100,000 advertisements. After normalization, the trend in the 1920s has clearly leveled out.

The trend line in the normalized timeline (the smoothed green line in figure 3.3) shows that the number of cigarette advertisements grew until the 1930s, after which it slowly decreased.²² Moreover, figure 3.3 shows

²¹ For two main reasons, the number of digitized advertisements does not correspond to the number in the actual newspapers. First, during digitization, the optical layout recognition software did not always correctly compartmentalize advertisements in the newspaper corpus. Especially in the case of classified ads, the software grouped multiple ads as one single advertisement. Second, the quality of the text improves over time, which leads to a higher recall, i.e. it was *easier* to find the word 'cigarette' in the corpus of advertisements. Despite these problems, the use of relative frequencies at least sets off the variation produced by differences in the sample sizes, i.e. the number of digitized newspaper advertisements per year. Also, the relative frequency per million words resulted in similar graphs based on the relative frequency per advertisement. See chapter 1 for more on this topic.

²² For datasets with less than 1000 data points the smoothing function is loess (local polynomial regression fitting).

bursts in the 1920s and 1950s. After the 1960s, the number of advertisements that included ‘cigarette’ dropped considerably, despite a burst in the absolute number of advertisements in the 1960s. The trend in advertisements for the brands Roxy, Lucky Strike, and Camel (fig. 3.4) is similar to that of advertisements with the word ‘cigarette’ (fig. 3.3). Figures 3.3 and 3.4 suggests that after the 1960s, cigarette manufacturers advertised less in Dutch newspapers.

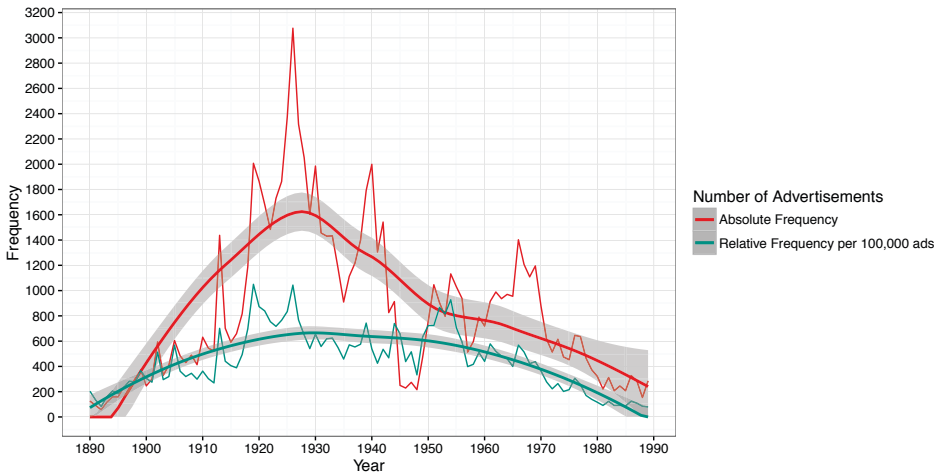


Figure 3.3. Absolute and relative frequency of cigarette advertisements between 1890-1990 ($n = 84,371$)

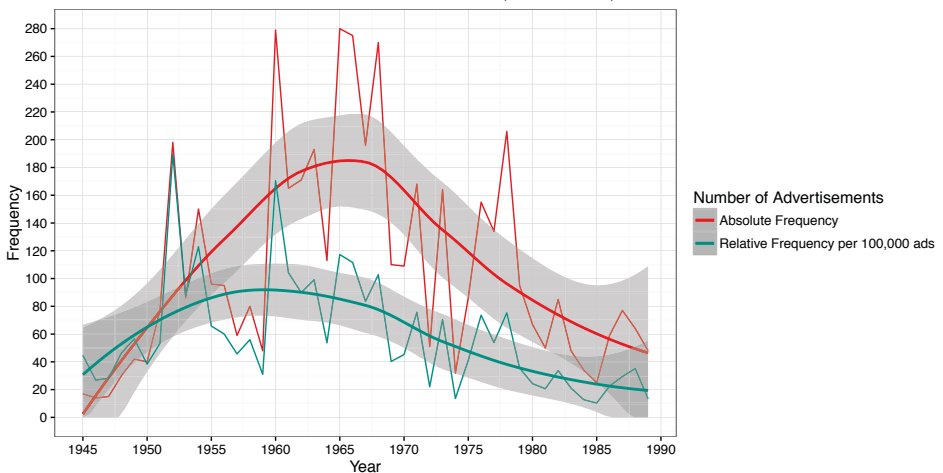


Figure 3.4. Absolute and relative frequency of advertisements for Roxy, Lucky Strike, and Camel cigarettes between 1945-1990 ($n = 4,856$)

The increase in the number of cigarettes consumed per capita in the Netherlands (fig. 3.5) also slowed down in the mid-1960s and decreased after the 1970s. The decrease in cigarette advertisements in newspapers coincided with an overall decline in cigarette consumption in the Netherlands.

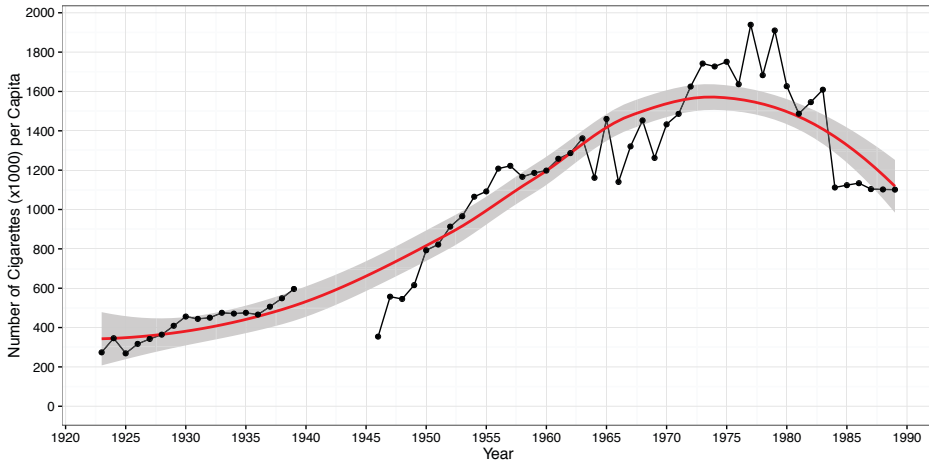


Figure 3.5. The number of cigarettes (x1000) consumed per capita in the Netherlands. Data provided by <http://statline.cbs.nl/statweb>

3.1.2 Charting Product Nationalities

This section charts which nationalities advertisements associated with cigarettes. More importantly, it demonstrates when and how often advertisers linked cigarettes to the United States. The paragraph uses two different methods to establish product nationality. First, I counted the occurrence of bigrams that included an explicit reference to nationality and cigarettes. Second, I enumerated references to nationalities that occurred in the proximity of the word ‘cigarette’.

Counting Bigrams

A clear way of finding out when and how often advertisers described cigarettes as American is by counting articles containing phrases such as

‘American cigarette’ or ‘*Amerikaanse sigaret*’. The query AMERI?A* ?IGARET*, which finds all common spelling variations, yields 1,941 advertisements published between 1890 and 1989. Figure 3.6 charts the relative annual frequency of this phrase within the corpus of cigarette advertisements.

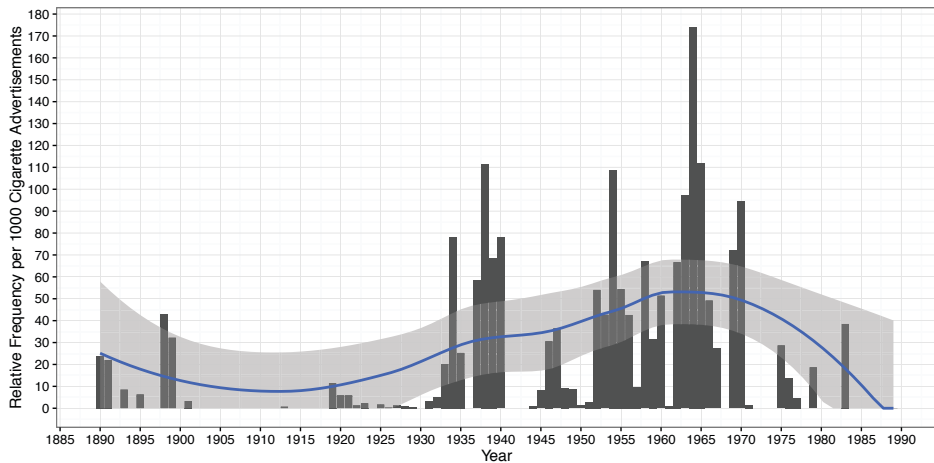


Figure 3.6. Relative frequency of AMERI?A* ?IGARET* ($n = 1,941$) in cigarette advertisements between 1890-1990

In newspaper advertisements before the First World War, ‘American cigarettes’ appeared sporadically ($n = 33$). In this period, American cigarettes were imported and not yet produced domestically.²³ Figure 3.6 shows two peaks before the First World War—both consisting of twenty-four documents in absolute terms—in 1898 and 1899. A recurring announcement for Sledge cigarettes by J. & A. C. van Rossem, an importer from Rotterdam, prompted these two peaks. The ad included little information on the cigarette itself, apart from the tagline “the best and cheapest American cigarettes.”²⁴

²³ Linde, *1906-1986 B.A.T. Nederland B.V.*, 4–6.

²⁴ “Sledge advertisement,” *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, March 7, 1898.

It had taken until the end of the First World War before the phrase ‘American cigarettes’ started to appear more often (1919-1929; $n = 61$). After 1929, the American cigarette became more popular in the Netherlands. Figure 3.6 shows two clear spikes, the first one in the latter half of the interwar period (1930-1940; $n = 662$), and the second one between 1952 and 1970 ($n = 1,114$). The popularity of the American cigarette in advertisements persisted until 1970, when it rapidly declined (1971-1989; $n = 41$). The graph demonstrates that advertisers after the 1970s refrained from explicitly advertising cigarettes as American.

Counting References to Nationality

A key flaw in counting advertisements that contain the phrase AMERICA* ?IGARET* is that the software only enumerates instances in which ‘American’ appeared directly to the left of ‘cigarettes’. Advertisers, however, also used other ways to relate cigarettes to a particular location. For instance, in the case of Egyptian cigarettes, advertisers relied on phrases such as “imported from Egypt.”²⁵ One could query for explicit phrases, but this would require an overview of the phrases used by advertisers. I took a less strict approach and counted references to nationality that co-occurred with the word ‘cigarette’.²⁶

I only counted words that co-occurred within a certain span of words. I did this for two reasons. First, the co-occurrence of words in one advertisement does not necessarily indicate a relationship between them. ‘American’ could appear in an advertisement for cigarettes without referring to the product nationality of the cigarette or one of its features.

²⁵ “Cassimis advertisement,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, February 20, 1939.

²⁶ I used the following variants of cigarette: *cigaret*, *cigarette*, *cigaretten*, *cigarettes*, *sigaret*, and *sigaretten*.

Nevertheless, proximity is a good indicator of a semantic relationship between words.²⁷ Hence, I only counted references to America within ten words to the right or left of ‘cigarette’.

The second reason I set a span was that it helped to account for errors produced by optical layout recognition. As mentioned in chapter 2, during digitization, the optical layout recognition did not always correctly compartmentalize advertisements. There are, for instance, cases where ‘cigarette’ and ‘America’ appeared in the actual newspapers in two separate advertisements, whereas after digitization, the archive stored them as one single advertisement (fig. 3.7). In figure 3.7, ‘American’ refers to the American hotel in Amsterdam, and ‘sigaretten’ to an unassociated retailer advertising cigarettes. The words appeared in one single advertisement albeit separated by a large number of words. Looking for words in proximity to each other reduced errors produced by composite advertisements.



Figure 3.7. Flawed separation of advertisements. “Advertisement,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, January 15, 1883.

²⁷ Elena Tognini-Bonelli, *Corpus Linguistics at Work* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2001), 101.

I queried the following terms in proximity to the word ‘cigarette’: American, British, Egyptian, Russian, Turkish, and Virginia.²⁸ I derived this list of nationalities from secondary sources and from initial explorations of the underlying data. As explained in this chapter’s introduction, I approach Virginia as a nationality since the term came to represent Britain. Figure 3.8. shows the relative frequency of references to nationalities per 1,000 cigarette advertisements per decade. This graph indicates the need to advertise the different types of cigarettes were advertised, which serves as a proxy for the popularity of the product in a particular period.

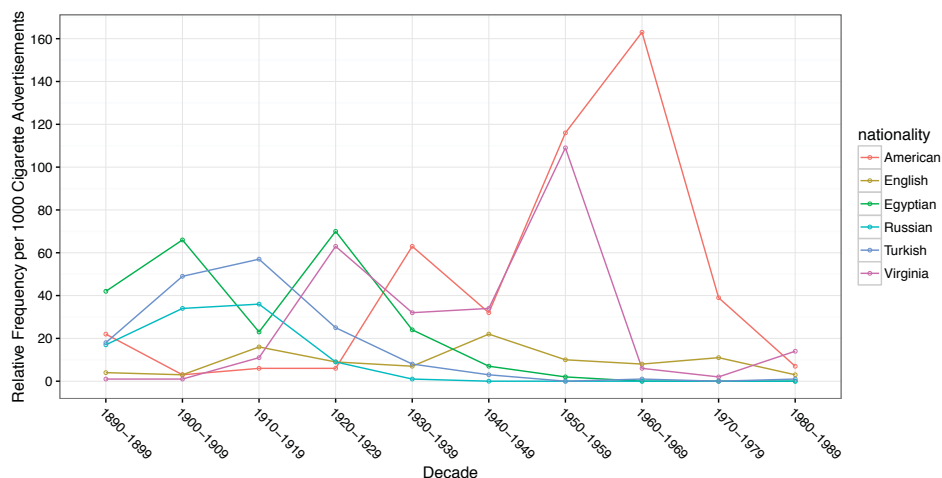


Figure 3.8. Relative frequency of words ($n = 1,316$) that signified nationality in cigarette advertisements between 1890-1990

²⁸ I queried for the nationalities using the following search strings: America: AMERI?A* “VERENIGDE STATEN” “VEREENIGDE STATEN” USA U.S.A.; British: ENGELS* BRITS* BRITISH ENGLISH “UNITED KINGDOM” ENGELAND “VERENIGD KONINKRIJK” “VEREENIGD KONINKRIJK”; Russian: RUSLAND RUSSIAN RUSSISCH*; Turkish: TURKIJJE TURKS* TURKISH; Egyptian: EGYPT*; Virginia: VIRGINIA*. World, French, Oriental, and International did not yield many results.

From 1890 to 1919, Egyptian, Turkish, and Russian cigarettes were most popular. The popularity of these cigarettes mirrored the economic, cultural, and political power of the associated geopolitical entities. Before the First World War, the popularity of Russian and Turkish cigarettes mirrored the might of the Ottoman and Russian Empires. In the same period, the American cigarette industry was making its first forays into the European cigarette market.

Right after the First World War, the Virginia and Egyptian cigarette became the most popular cigarettes. Before then, most Egyptian cigarettes had been manufactured in Egypt from imported tobaccos, since Egypt had no domestic tobacco production. The Egyptian cigarette was hand-made and sold as a luxury product. The style of production set the Egyptian cigarette apart from cheaper machine-made Virginia and American cigarettes.²⁹ During the British colonization of Egypt, BATCO expanded its operations in the Middle East and acquired numerous Egyptian companies, turning Egypt into one of their leading markets by 1927.³⁰ After the First World War, the British cigarette industry, and especially BATCO, played a prominent role in the production and distribution of both Egyptian and Virginia cigarettes. BATCO was also instrumental in disseminating Virginia cigarettes in the Netherlands.

Only after 1930 did advertisers present cigarettes with an American product nationality as evinced by the sharp increase in references to the United States. This trend grew stronger between 1950 and 1959, when both American and Virginia cigarettes towered above the other nationalities, which by that time had disappeared almost entirely. In the 1960s, when Virginia cigarettes lost their popularity, the American

²⁹ Shechter, *Smoking, Culture and Economy in the Middle East*, 45; Hilton, *Smoking in British Popular Culture*, 27–28.

³⁰ Shechter, *Smoking, Culture and Economy in the Middle East*, 96–100.

cigarette acquired sole dominance. A decrease in references to the United States characterized the subsequent decades.

This decline coincided with growing sentiments of anti-Americanism in the Netherlands. Amid anti-American sentiments, advertisers might have refrained from associating their product with the United States. Furthermore, in 1964, the American Surgeon General Luther Terry published the Report on Smoking and Health in which he presented the detrimental effects smoking could have on one's health. Scholars argue that the report led to a significant decrease in cigarette consumption in the Netherlands and the United States.³¹ The trends in cigarette advertisements in Dutch newspapers suggest that references to the United States decreased following the publication of the report. This might indicate that after the issuance of the 1964 report, advertisers no longer wanted to link cigarettes to the United States, a country that newspapers increasingly associated with the negative aspects of smoking. Chapter 4 shows that Dutch newspapers in the 1960s extensively reported on Terry's report and on other research on carcinogenic effects of smoking. In newspaper coverage of these reports, the United States was linked to the health risks of smoking which might have led advertisers to disconnect the cigarette from the United States.

3.1.3 Conclusion

Before World War I, advertisers only sporadically associated cigarettes with the United States. During the interwar period, Egyptian, Virginia, and American cigarettes were the most popular cigarettes, although

³¹ Dietrich Hoffmann, Ilse Hoffmann, and Karam El-Bayoumy, "The Less Harmful Cigarette: A Controversial Issue. A Tribute to Ernst L. Wynder," *Chemical Research in Toxicology* 14, no. 7 (2001): 309–10.

cigarettes had not yet acquired a clear American product nationality. By the 1960s, this had shifted as advertisers predominantly linked cigarettes to the United States. The graphs in this section follow the trends broadly sketched out in secondary sources.³² This confirms that computational analysis of advertisements enables researchers to trace product nationalities over time in ways hitherto almost impossible. As this section has shown, counting specific strings of text in digitized material is a relatively easy and fast way to gauge and compare the popularity of particular products.

The geographical association to the United States was not only long-lasting, but it also corresponded to the growing number of cigarettes consumed in the Netherlands (fig. 3.4). In part, this increase was driven by the growing purchasing power of Dutch consumers, which enabled them to buy more cigarettes.³³ The continued geographical association to the United States, however, also implies that advertisers considered it an effective branding strategy. After a continuous rise from the 1930s onwards, however, advertisers in the late 1970s refrained from linking their cigarette brands to the United States. Chapter 4 will examine in greater detail how global affairs such as the 1964 report on smoking and health and growing anti-Americanism in the Netherlands changed the association between cigarettes and the United States.

³² *Kijken bij Ed. Laurens; Linde, 1906-1986 B.A.T. Nederland B.V.; Pars, Een doorrookt verleden*, 60–62.

³³ Roholl, “Uncle Sam: An Example For All?,” 131.

3.2 The Exceptionalism of the American Cigarette

The American cigarette surfaced in the 1930s and grew into the most popular type of cigarette in the Netherlands after the Second World War. The American cigarette industry provided a robust economic backbone to the global spread and popularization of its cigarette.³⁴ As Alan Brandt argues, however, the success of the American cigarette cannot be solely explained through the prism of the economy.³⁵ Brandt, along with other scholars, identifies cultural and technological changes in the American tobacco industry that enabled the American cigarette's rise to dominance.³⁶

First, technological innovations, such as saucing and flue-curing, transformed the American cigarette into a milder and more aromatic cigarette that was easier to inhale.³⁷ Flue-curing, which originated in the American state of Virginia in 1839, involved the exposure of tobacco to heat that radiated from tubes through which hot air flowed. Flue-cured tobacco “was *mild and inhalable* by virtue of its incorporation of low pH flue-cured leaf.”³⁸ The lower levels of alkaloid caused less irritation to the throat and made the cigarette inhalable. Saucing, also known as casing or flavoring, involved the addition of substances to tobacco to sweeten and alter the flavor of the cigarette smoke as well as the package aroma. Some popular flavoring agents included: chocolate, ginger, vanilla, rum, brandy,

³⁴ Brandt, *The Cigarette Century*, 76.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 84.

³⁶ Cox, *The Global Cigarette*; Proctor, *Golden Holocaust*; Tate, *Cigarette Wars*.

³⁷ Unknown, “Chapter 34. Casing and Flavoring of Cigarettes.,” hqmw0095 (RJ Reynolds Records, 1985), USCF Truth Tobacco Industry Documents, <https://www.industrydocumentslibrary.ucsf.edu/tobacco/docs/hqmw0095>; Proctor, *Golden Holocaust*, 34; Nannie Tilley, *The Bright Tobacco Industry, 1860-1929* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 609.

³⁸ Proctor, *Golden Holocaust*, 34.

and juniper oil.³⁹ The addition of flavoring agents increased the mildness of the tobacco. American smokers immediately took a liking to the sweetened taste of sauced cigarettes.⁴⁰ The milder nature of cigarettes allowed smoking to become part of daily life and the growing demand for cigarettes by American consumers led to an enormous growth of the American tobacco industry.⁴¹

Second, in 1880, the American James Bonsack invented the Bonsack machine (fig. 3.9), which mechanized the manufacturing process.⁴² This machine made the production of cigarettes more practical, transforming them into a standardized, cheap, and mass-produced product.⁴³ The mechanized manufacturing process set the American cigarette apart from European and Oriental cigarettes, which were either hand rolled in factories or by smokers themselves. In 1883, the British company W.D. & H.O. Wills also started producing cigarettes using a Bonsack machine, which transformed the British cigarette market akin to what had already transpired in the United States.⁴⁴

Third, American companies developed novel ways of packaging and branding cigarettes. Many innovations in social engineering and marketing were thought of by American cigarette manufacturers. The tobacco industry worked hard to tune its product to the norms and values underlying the modern twentieth-century consumer society.⁴⁵ Brandt claims that these “deep cultural transformation[s] in the consumer-driven

³⁹ Unknown, “Chapter 34. Casing and Flavoring of Cigarettes.”

⁴⁰ Tilley, *The Bright Tobacco Industry, 1860-1929*, 609.

⁴¹ Proctor, *Golden Holocaust*, 34.

⁴² Yach and Wipfli, “A Century of Smoke,” 6.

⁴³ Cox, *The Global Cigarette*, 3.

⁴⁴ Gately, *Tobacco*, 207–9.

⁴⁵ Brandt, “Engineering Consumer Confidence in the Twentieth Century,” 332.

economy” turned the cigarette into a commodity of mass consumption.⁴⁶ In Brandt’s view, the cigarette was a cultural object that “brought together shifts in business organization and consumer behavior as well as the morals and mores of American society.”⁴⁷ The product represented the modernization of American society.

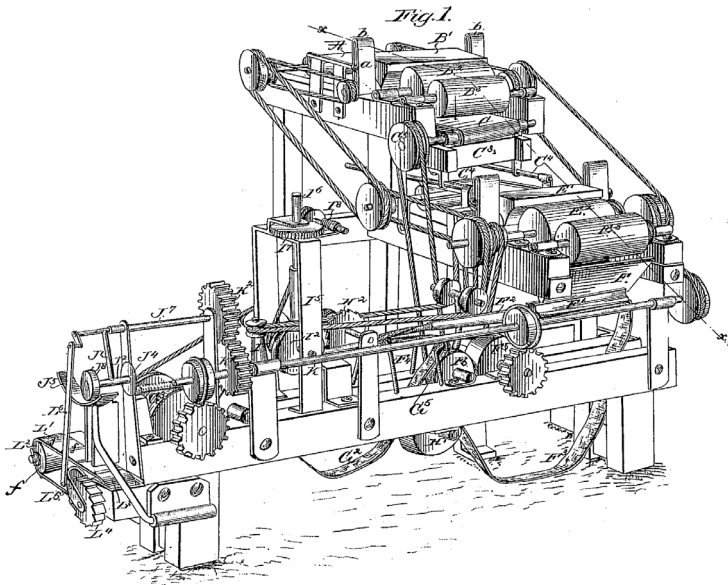


Figure 3.9. Bonsack Machine by James Albert Bonsack (1859–1924)
(U.S. patent 238,640) via Wikimedia Commons,
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bonsack_machine.png

The previous section showed that advertisements in Dutch newspapers frequently and explicitly advertised cigarettes as American. This section examines to what extent advertisements for the American cigarette communicated aspects that resonated with the cultural and technological transformations that Brandt described as quintessential for the American

⁴⁶ Brandt, *The Cigarette Century*, 24–25.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

cigarette and the American tobacco industry. In the following sections, I show that the advertised image of the American cigarette shaped the Dutch perception of the American consumer society. Moreover, I argue that the perception of the American consumer society contributed to the function of the United States as a reference culture for a modernizing Dutch consumer society.

Before answering the question whether the American cigarette represented American consumer society, it is important to determine whether the advertising discourse for American cigarettes differed from that of cigarettes with other product nationalities. The first part of this section establishes whether American cigarettes occupied a distinct segment of the Dutch market. Did advertisers relate different companies, locations, and brands to American cigarettes? The second step establishes which characteristics advertisers associated with American cigarettes. Did the American cigarette possess unique characteristics, distinct from other types of cigarettes? Moreover, were characteristics shared among different kinds of cigarettes? Understanding the transfer of features between types of cigarettes helps determine the cultural and technological impact of American cigarettes within the Dutch cigarette market.

For this study, I divided the dataset into two periods: 1919-1940 and 1945-1970. In the first period, the American cigarette emerged as a competitor. In the second, it grew into the most popular type of cigarette. I decided to work with two larger datasets instead of smaller chunks of data because it was easier to detect *weaker* discursive trends in the former.

3.2.1 Extracting Features from Cigarette Advertisements

For this chapter, I extracted three features from the dataset: words that co-occurred with VIRGINIA*, AMERI?A*, AND EGYPT*, the relative frequencies of product characteristics, and bigrams that included AMERI?A*.

First, I listed words that appeared significantly frequently in close proximity to VIRGINIA*, AMERI?A* and EGYPT* in the corpus of cigarette advertisements.⁴⁸ From the list of collocates, I removed words shorter than four characters, nonsensical words, and words that did not denote brands, companies, locations, or product features.⁴⁹ Next, I visualized the collocates as network graphs to make them more intelligible and easier to compare.⁵⁰ This resulted in two sets of graphs: one showing the brands, locations, and companies, and the other showing the cigarette's features. The size of the spheres in these graphs corresponds to the word frequencies of the collocates, and the thickness of the connecting lines expresses the MI-scores.

Second, I counted the relative frequencies of features that co-occurred with the word 'cigarette' in separate subcorpora for each type of cigarette in two different periods. This resulted in five corpora (table 3.1).⁵¹ Because

⁴⁸ A window span of five words to the left and five to the right. Minimum collocation frequency $n = 15$. $MI > 3$. A mutual information (MI) score higher than three is considered significant by most corpus linguists, see: Hunston, *Corpora in Applied Linguistics*, 71.

⁴⁹ The list of collocates that denoted brands, companies, and locations can be found in appendix 3.1. The features are presented in appendix 3.2.

⁵⁰ I used the visualization software Gephi (0.9.0). <https://gephi.org/>.

⁵¹ The following queries were used to extract the three corpora from the digitized newspaper corpus: Virginia cigarettes: +(VIRGINIA*) -(AMERICA* USA U.S.A. "UNITED STATES OF AMERICA" "VEREENIGDE STATEN" "VERENIGDE STATEN" EGYPT*) +(CIGARET* SIGARET*). American cigarettes: +(AMERI?A* USA U.S.A. "UNITED STATES OF AMERICA" "VEREENIGDE STATEN" "VERENIGDE STATEN") -(EGYPT* VIRGINIA*) +(CIGARET* SIGARET*). Egyptian cigarettes: +(EGYPT*) -(VIRGINIA* AMERI?A* USA U.S.A. "UNITED STATES OF AMERICA" "VEREENIGDE STATEN" "VERENIGDE STATEN") +(CIGARET* SIGARET*). I only counted instances of the

the Egyptian cigarette disappeared after the Second World War, the analysis of the Egyptian cigarette focuses only on the interwar period.

Table 3.1. Number of advertisements for different types of cigarettes between 1919-1940 and 1945-1970

Corpus	1919-1940	1945-1970
Egyptian cigarettes	1,800	0
Virginia cigarettes	2,035	1,185
American cigarettes	1,853	4,105

After calculating the relative frequency of the characteristics, I determined their distinctiveness which was based on the proportion of a word's frequency within one subcorpus relative to the entire corpus.⁵² I considered a word as distinctive when its relative frequency was at least twenty and the difference in distinctiveness with the second largest value more than twenty.⁵³ In the network graphs, a color indicates for which the type of cigarette the feature is distinct (red = Egypt, green = Virginia, blue = America). The white spheres indicate words that are indistinctive for any of the three subcorpora.

Third, I extracted bigrams that included AMERI?A* from the corpus of cigarette advertisements between 1919 and 1970. The extraction yielded two groups of bigrams, in which AMERI?A* either appeared on the left or the right of the cluster. The first group included bigrams that expressed a link to the United States, such as: 'in America' and 'from America'.⁵⁴ In the second group, America functioned as an adjective to a noun, for

characteristics when they occurred within a span of twenty words to the left and twenty to the right to the word 'cigarette'. The results contained some false positives; these occurred in all three corpora. A smaller context horizon left out a considerable amount of meaningful results.

⁵² $\text{Rel.freq A} / (\text{Rel.freq A} + \text{rel.freq B} + \text{Rel.freq C}) * 100$.

⁵³ I settled for these values after examinations of the dataset. Values that pass this threshold are underlined in appendix 3.2.

⁵⁴ 'In Amerika' (*in Amerika*) ($n = 274$), 'of America' (*van Amerika*) ($n = 118$) and 'from America' (*uit Amerika*) ($n = 156$), and 'from America' ($n = 74$).

example, American tobacco. I used these bigrams to select specific advertisements that highlighted the cigarette's association with the United States.

3.2.2 Locations, Brand Names, and Manufacturers

The first analysis in this section examines the locations, brand names, and manufacturers associated with Egyptian, Virginia, and American cigarettes. This section answers three central questions. First, do these associations show that the different kinds of cigarettes operated in separate market segments? Second, did the framing of the associations reflect particular product-country images? Third, was the technique of framing different between the types of cigarettes? For instance, did American cigarette brands link their cigarettes differently to the United States than Virginia brands related their products to the United Kingdom? Answering these questions helps to understand how American cigarette ads displayed a product-country image and to what extent this differed from the product-country images in ads for Egyptian and Virginia cigarettes.

Egyptian Cigarettes

The Egyptian cigarette operated in a distinct market characterized by a unique set of brands and companies (fig. 3.10). The following brands and enterprises shaped the Dutch perception of the Egyptian cigarette: The Vittoria Egyptian Cigarette Company, the British-American Tobacco, Mavrides, Simon Artz, Nestor Gianaclis, Sultana, Maspero, and Splendo.⁵⁵ Since many Egyptian brands adopted the name of their manufacturer, the

⁵⁵ Collocates of EGYPT*: Vittoria ($n = 285$) (Victoria ($n = 90$) + Vittoria ($n = 195$)), Mavrides ($n = 231$), Simon Artz ($n = 171$) (artz ($n = 86$), Simon ($n = 85$), Nestor Gianaclis ($n = 99$) (hestor ($n = 18$), Gianaclis ($n = 37$), nestor ($n = 44$)), Sultana ($n = 79$), Maspero ($n = 47$), Splendo ($n = 35$).

words in the graph could refer to a company, brand, or both. This ambiguity suggests a strong link between the producer and the brand, similar to the naming of artisanal products after their maker.

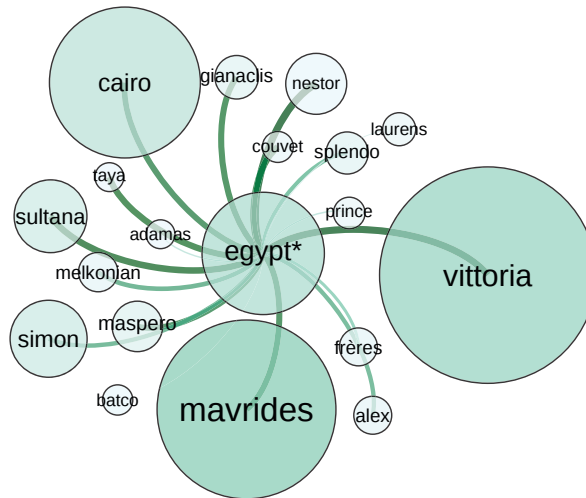


Figure 3.10. Collocation graph of manufacturers, brands, and locations associated with Egyptian cigarettes 1919-1940

Judging from the advertisements alone, it is not always clear whether cigarette manufacturers were actually from Egypt. Newspapers at the time commented on the disjunction between a product's nationality and the location of the manufacturer.⁵⁶ Two non-Egyptian companies shaped the Dutch perception of the Egyptian cigarette: The Vittoria Cigarette Company and BATCO.⁵⁷ During the British colonization of Egypt, BATCO acquired numerous Egyptian cigarette manufacturers.⁵⁸ In 1936, BATCO also took over the Vittoria Cigarette Company.⁵⁹ Thus, the

⁵⁶ "De wereld wil bedrogen worden," *De Tijd*, December 7, 1918.

⁵⁷ Collocate of EGYPT*: 'batco' ($n = 18$), Vittoria ($n = 285$) (Victoria ($n = 90$) + Vittoria ($n = 195$)).

⁵⁸ Shechter, *Smoking, Culture and Economy in the Middle East*, 96–99; Cox, *The Global Cigarette*, 283–88.

⁵⁹ Linde, *1906-1986 B.A.T. Nederland B.V.*, 15.

American-British conglomerate BATCO largely determined the Dutch perception of the Egyptian cigarette.

Even though Egyptian cigarettes were not always produced in Egypt, many advertisement did directly link these cigarettes to Egypt. The Egyptian and non-Egyptian producers Kyriazi Frères, Mavrides, the Vittoria Cigarette Company, Maspero Frères, and Mavrides emblazoned their advertisements with references to Egypt. Advertisers regularly referred to Cairo, which demonstrated the city's importance within the Egyptian cigarette trade.⁶⁰ Cairo appeared either as the location of the producing factory or in the advertisement's claim "imported from Cairo."⁶¹ This consistent linking to Cairo solidified Egypt as the country of origin for many Egyptian cigarettes, despite the fact that many manufacturers were not Egyptian.

Other brands added affective connotations to the link between Egyptian cigarettes and Egypt. In 1925, Simon Artz claimed that "the Egyptian sun" dried its cigarettes, which improved the quality of the cigarette. The ad stated that the location of production set them apart from the artificially dried ones commonly produced in the Netherlands.⁶² Others turned to the mystical qualities of the Orient in their branding of Egyptian cigarettes. In 1928, Toccos claimed that its cigarette's aroma was just as "mysterious as the eyes of the Egyptian woman."⁶³ Prince and Adamas made the association with Egypt more evident by mentioning

⁶⁰ Collocates of EGYPT*: Cairo ($n = 69$), Cairo ($n = 122$); Collocates of CA?RO: Mavrides ($n = 67$), Maspero ($n = 25$), Melkonion ($n = 23$), African ($n = 19$), Sultana ($n = 18$), Freres ($n = 15$).

⁶¹ "Nestor Gianaclis advertisement," *Het Centrum*, March 6, 1920; "Auction Egyptian Cigarettes," *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, October 27, 1920.

⁶² "Simon Artz advertisement," *Limburger Koerier*, October 15, 1925.

⁶³ "Toccos advertisement," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, March 22, 1931.

sultans, moors, harems, and Allah.⁶⁴ These elements linked the Egyptian cigarette to the Orient which added to the product's exoticism, quality, and charm.

The exotic, foreign character of the Egyptian cigarette also found its expression in the English and French spelling of Egyptian cigarettes.⁶⁵ Simon Artz, Nestor Gianacis, and Laurens-Khediye endowed their cigarettes with a French connotation by advertising their product as "cigarettes Egyptiennes."⁶⁶ Producers of Virginia and American cigarettes by contrast only used English and Dutch spelling.⁶⁷ This specific framing separated the Egyptian cigarette from American and Virginia cigarettes.

In the interwar period, the Egyptian cigarette operated in a distinct segment of the market as illustrated by its associated brands and companies. Advertisements for Egyptian cigarettes regularly called attention to the cigarette's origin. The use of Orientalist imagery and French descriptions of the cigarette exoticized it. Egypt and the Orient signified quality and exoticism, values that also became part of the brand identity of the Egyptian cigarette. Egypt and, by extension, the Orient played a distinct role in the brand identity of cigarettes in the interwar period. While advertisers tied the Egyptian cigarette trade to Egyptian

⁶⁴ For instance, "Prince advertisement," *Nieuwe Tilburgse Courant*, October 13, 1928; "Adamas advertisement," *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, October 11, 1928.

⁶⁵ Collocates of ?IGARET* included egyptian ($n = 639$), egyptienne* ($n = 172$), egyptische ($n = 753$). Bigrams: Egyptian cigarettes ($n = 286$), Egyptische sigaret ($n = 236$), Egyptische sigaretten ($n = 168$), Egyptian cigarette ($n = 150$), cigarettes Egyptiennes ($n = 105$), Egyptische cigaretten ($n = 73$), and Egyptische sigaret ($n = 29$). I grouped variations of 'egyptienne' together as 'egyptienne*'.
⁶⁶ Collocates of EGYPTIENNE*: Simon ($n = 50$), Arzt ($n = 49$), Nestor ($n = 19$), Gianacis ($n = 19$), Khediye ($n = 9$), Laurens ($n = 9$).

⁶⁷ Virginia cigarettes: Virginia cigarettes ($n = 593$), virginia sigaret ($n = 192$), virginia sigaretten ($n = 130$), and virginia cigarette ($n = 41$); American cigarettes: American cigarettes ($n = 226$), Amerikaansche sigaretten ($n = 144$), Amerikaansche sigaret ($n = 124$), and American cigarette ($n = 67$).

manufacturers and Egypt itself, the influence of American and British companies on the Egyptian cigarette's brand identity was already felt during the first decades of the twentieth century.

Virginia Cigarettes

From figure 3.11, we can quickly discern that the Virginia cigarette operated in a different market segment than the Egyptian cigarette. Different brands, locations, and companies appeared in advertisements for the Virginia cigarette. The brands most closely associated with Virginia cigarettes in the interwar period were Chief Whip, Triumph, Pirate, Olympia, and Miss Blanche.⁶⁸ The graph also displays two British cigarette manufacturers, the Ardath Company and W. D. & H. O. Wills, as well as two locations: London and Bristol.⁶⁹

The presence of London and Bristol illustrates the strong link between the Virginia cigarette and England in advertisements. Advertisers used these places to underscore the connection between the two. Ardath and Wills mentioned Bristol and London to inform Dutch consumers of the whereabouts of their companies.⁷⁰ Bristol was also a brand name for a cigarette produced by Wills. Advertisements for this brand described the city of Bristol as “famous all over the world for its continuous high position in the global tobacco industry.”⁷¹ This type of description contributed to the Dutch perception of England as an active cigarette market.

⁶⁸ Collocates of VIRGINIA*: whip ($n = 266$), chief ($n = 255$), chiefwhip ($n = 73$), miss ($n = 125$), blanche ($n = 91$), triumph ($n = 51$), olympia ($n = 40$), pirate ($n = 36$).

⁶⁹ Collocates of VIRGINIA*: Ardath ($n = 312$) and Wills ($n = 26$), Collocates of VIRGINIA*: London ($n = 159$), Bristol ($n = 17$).

⁷⁰ “Ardath advertisement,” *Leeuwarder Courant*, April 22, 1922; “Wills advertisement,” *Leeuwarder Courant*, March 12, 1929.

⁷¹ “... de stad die over de geheele wereld beroemd is om de hooge positie die zij in de tabaksindustrie steeds heeft weten te handhaven ...” in “Bristol advertisement,” *Leeuwarder Courant*, August 28, 1929.

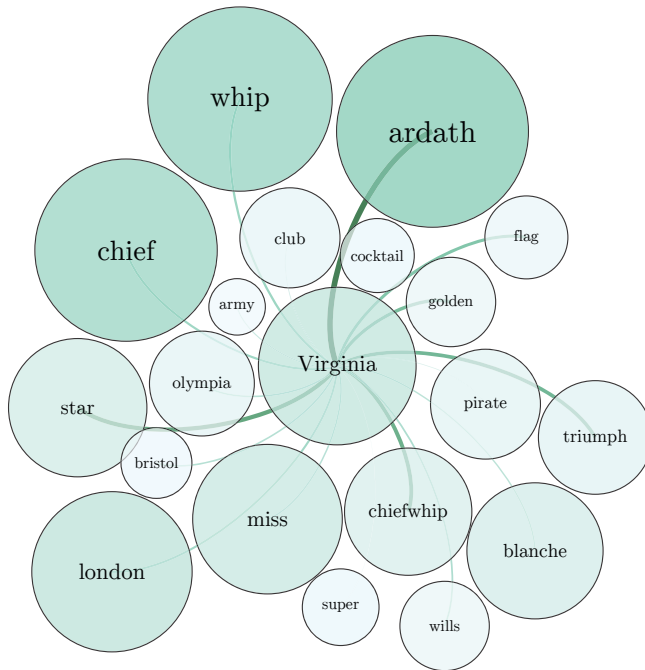


Figure 3.11. Collocation graph of manufacturers, brands, and locations associated with Virginia cigarettes 1919-1940

Other advertisements framed the link to the United Kingdom as a signifier of quality. Brands sometimes claimed outright that British Virginia cigarettes were of better quality. For instance, Kenilworth sold its Virginia cigarette as “England’s best Virginia cigarette.”⁷² Rothmans was even more explicit and stated that England was the country of the true Virginia cigarette.⁷³ Despite occasional advertisements that associated the Virginia cigarette with the United States, the link to the United Kingdom was much more widespread.

Before the Second World War, the brands and manufacturers connected to Virginia cigarettes (fig. 3.11) contrasted substantially with those linked to Egyptian cigarettes (fig. 3.10). Virginia cigarettes

⁷² “Kenilworth advertisement,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, July 22, 1919.

⁷³ “Pall Mall Virginia advertisement,” *De Telegraaf*, February 23, 1933.

unquestionably operated in a different segment of the market than Egyptian cigarettes. Also, advertisers linked British locations to quality and less to exoticism. The emphasis on these aspects of Virginia cigarettes presumably contributed to the Dutch perception of the United Kingdom. Moreover, it reveals that the United Kingdom performed as a product-country image than Egypt did and therefore contributed to a cigarette's brand identity in different ways. The role of the United Kingdom as a brand identity was not as explicit as that of Egypt or the Orient for the Egyptian cigarette. In the light of reference cultures, Egypt represented exoticism, whereas the United Kingdom signified quality.

After the Second World War, the market for the Virginia cigarette transformed considerably. Newspapers advertised different brands of Virginia cigarettes after the Second World War than they had done during the interwar period (fig. 3.12). Favorite brands from the interwar period, such as Chief Whip, were no longer advertised as Virginia cigarettes. From 1945 to 1970, the brands most explicitly associated with Virginia cigarettes included Percy, Essex, King's Cross, Golden Fiction, Traffic, and Sketch.⁷⁴ As the popularity of the American cigarette grew after the Second World War, manufacturers of Virginia cigarettes were confronted with two options: join the winning team, or differentiate by accentuating the English character of the cigarettes.

⁷⁴ Sir Percy ($n = 67$) (sirpercy ($n = 42$) + percy ($n = 25$)), Essex ($n = 43$), King's Cross ($n = 37$), Golden Fiction ($n = 30$), Traffic ($n = 29$), and Sketch ($n = 27$).

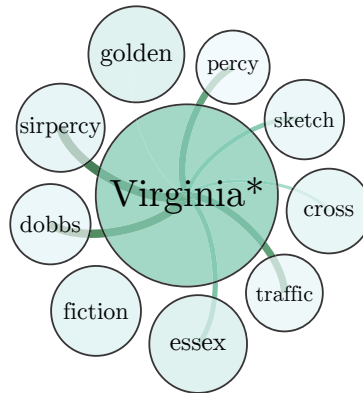


Figure 3.12. Collocation graph of manufacturers, brands, and locations associated with Virginia cigarettes 1945-1970

Few chose the latter option, and when they did the link was not as strong as in the interwar period. One way of relating a brand to the United Kingdom was through its brand name, as was done by the brands Sir Percy, Essex, and King's Cross. These names either denoted locations in the United Kingdom or British cultural figures, such as Sir Percival Blakeney.⁷⁵ In the ads, Sir Percy figured as a symbol of quality and good taste.⁷⁶ Above all, the connotation of such figures to the United Kingdom connected quality and taste to the Virginia cigarette. The United Kingdom featured as a measure of old-fashioned quality and of exquisite taste. Similar to the Egyptian cigarette in the interwar period, between 1945 and 1970 tradition became a defining characteristic for some Virginia brands.

Other brands tried to keep up with the growing popularity of American cigarettes and experimented with strategies to prevent smokers of Virginia cigarettes from switching to American cigarettes. They did so by distancing themselves from the United Kingdom and associating their product with American cigarettes. In 1959, the popular interwar brand

⁷⁵ Sir Percival Blakeney is a character in Baroness Orczy's novel *The Scarlet Pimpernel*.

⁷⁶ "Sir Percy advertisement," *De Tijd*, November 17, 1953.

Triumph re-branded its new cigarette as a middle ground between American and Virginia cigarettes. Triumph called attention to its cigarette with the announcement that: “a Virginican was born. [...] a mild middle way between Virginia and American, a cigarette for all smokers. Not too sharp, not too soft... Mild!”⁷⁷ In 1963, Golden Fiction was more resolute and explicitly dissociated itself from the United Kingdom. The brand stressed that its tobacco was not the kind others used in real English cigarettes, but actual tobacco from Virginia, which had a warmer color and softer taste.⁷⁸ The restoration of the link between Virginia cigarettes and the United States demonstrates that manufacturers severed their ties to the United Kingdom, amid the growing dominance of American cigarettes.

Overall, the link with the United Kingdom was not as strong in the post-war period as it was in the interwar years. Through brand names manufacturers still related cigarettes to the United Kingdom but in the description of brands the United States cropped up as a point of reference more frequently. In the post-war decades, advertisers endowed the Virginia cigarette with a less clearly delineated product identity.

American Cigarettes

In the late interwar period, several American cigarette brands that explicitly mentioned the United States in their advertisements appeared

⁷⁷ “Triumph advertisement,” *De Tijd*, January 9, 1959; “Triumph advertisement,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, December 18, 1958; “Triumph advertisement,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, January 22, 1959.

⁷⁸ “Golden Fiction advertisement,” *Friese Koerier*, September 24, 1963.

in the Netherlands. These brands included North State, Buffalo, Dr. Dushkind, Winfield, Roy, Cocktail, and Camel (fig. 3.13).⁷⁹

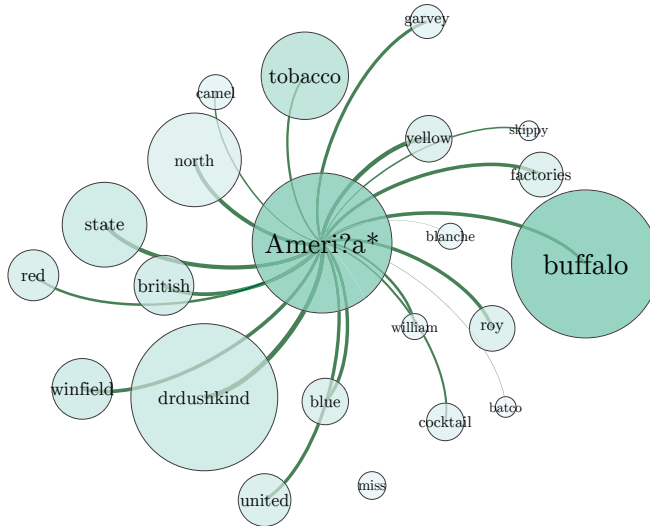


Figure 3.13. Collocation graph of manufacturers, brands, and locations associated with American cigarettes 1919-1940

Two companies also appeared in the context of the word AMERI?A*: the British-American Tobacco Company, and the United Cigarette Factories.⁸⁰ The first appeared because British and American were part of the company’s name. The company’s name, nevertheless, informed consumers of the firm association between the United Kingdom and the United States and cigarettes. In the interwar period, BATCO produced both Virginia and American cigarettes, only to shift its focus to American cigarettes after the Second World War.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Collocates of AMERI?A*: North State (north ($n = 98$) + state ($n = 88$)), Buffalo ($n = 159$), Dr. Dushkind (drdushkind ($n = 158$)), Winfield ($n = 61$), Roy ($n = 44$), Cocktail ($n = 42$), and Camel ($n = 32$). The colors blue, yellow, red refer to different types of Buffalo cigarettes.

⁸⁰ Collocate of AMERI?A*: British ($n = 60$) and United ($n = 52$).

⁸¹ Linde, *1906-1986 B.A.T. Nederland B.V.*, 21.

The second company that collocated with AMERI?A* was United Cigarette Factories, a subsidiary of the Dutch oriental cigarette producer Turmac. In 1932, Turmac founded United Cigarette Factories.⁸² The company's main product line was the Cocktail Series that included four blends of American cigarettes: Bridge Club, Old Tom, Super American, and Long Drive. It advertised these cigarettes as "American Cigarettes of Super Quality."⁸³ The brand names linked the cigarettes to the United States. Occasionally, an advertisement included a description of the factory's location, which supposedly housed in the Empire State Building in New York.⁸⁴ The advertisements by the United Cigarette Factories fit within a wider shift of Dutch companies that started to produce American cigarettes. At the same time, the erroneous mention of the Empire State Building—a skyscraper that did not house factories—shows that the link was largely invented and not necessarily factual.

Advertisements for American cigarette brands explicitly linked to the United States via phrases, such as "in America," "from America," or "of America." These constructs either linked the cigarette or an aspect of the cigarette to the United States (table 3.2). The relative frequency of these phrases increased after the Second World War, which suggests the effectiveness of this particular branding strategy. It could also have resulted from a renewed effort to increase interest in American cigarettes after the halted importation from the United States.

⁸² van Roermund and Kooger, *Turmac negentientachtig*.

⁸³ "Cocktail Series advertisement," *Het Volk*, May 13, 1932.

⁸⁴ "Cocktail advertisement," *Leeuwarder Courant*, April 20, 1935.

Table 3.2. Bigrams denoting a link to the United States in cigarette advertisements

Phrase	Query	1919-1940		1945-1970	
		Abs.freq	Rel.freq	Abs.freq	Rel.freq
<i>In America</i>	In Amerika*	91	24.1	193	90.9
<i>Of America</i>	Van Amerika*	65	17.2	167	78.7
<i>From America</i>	Uit Amerika*	71	18.8	93	43.8
<i>From America</i>	From America	0	0	75	35.3

Between 1945 and 1970, advertisers promoted different brands as American cigarettes (fig. 3.14); only Camel emerged before and after the Second World War. After the Second World War, an extensive list of brands frequently collocated with AMERI?A*: Roxy, Camel, Winner, Lexington, Lucky Strike, Filtra, Everest, Astor, Triumph, Golden Fiction, Hunter, and Sir Richard.⁸⁵ As with the Virginia cigarette, the American cigarette market transformed markedly after the Second World War. As the number of Virginia brands decreased after the war, the number of American cigarette brands grew. Advertisers continued to associate American cigarette brands with the United States, while the link between Virginia cigarettes and the United Kingdom weakened in the same period. The United States became the dominant product nationality when the role of the United Kingdom diminished.

⁸⁵ Brands that collocated with AMERI?A*: Roxy ($n = 195$), Camel ($n = 179$), Winner ($n = 150$), Lexington ($n = 102$), Star ($n = 96$), Lucky ($n = 82$), filtra ($n = 49$), Everest ($n = 40$), Astor ($n = 44$), triumph ($n = 38$), Golden Fiction ($n = 34$), Hunter ($n = 32$), and Richard ($n = 29$).

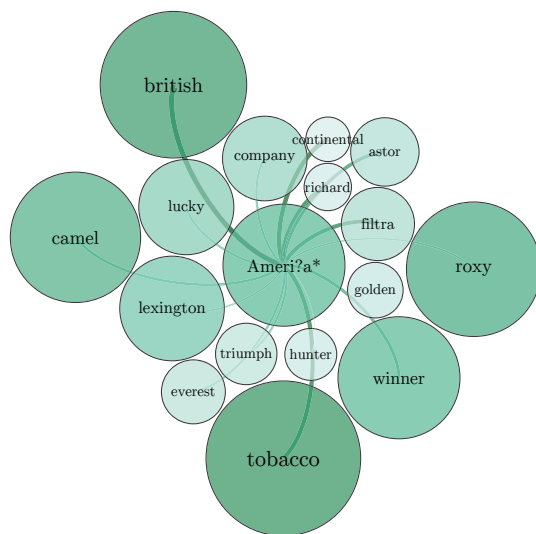


Figure 3.14. Collocation graph of manufacturers, brands, and locations associated with American cigarettes 1945-1970

Conclusion

This section has established that Egyptian, American, and Virginia cigarettes were represented by different brands, locations, and manufacturers. In this sense, they operated in distinctive segments of the Dutch cigarette market. Moreover, advertisers linked the cigarettes to particular countries through their descriptions of the associated brands, manufacturers, and locations. The origin of companies was not always a clear predictor of the type of cigarette they produced. For instance, BATCO produced Virginia, Egyptian, and American cigarettes. Moreover, the Dutch company United Cigarette Factories committed to producing American and Virginia cigarettes.

Closer examination of the brand names and locations, however, revealed that advertisers used different strategies and identifiers to construct a brand as American, Egyptian, or Virginia. Advertisements for Egyptian cigarettes relied on the mysticism and charm associated with the Orient, whereas the link to the United Kingdom endowed Virginia cigarettes with quality and tradition. The connection to the United States

was rather undefined. Advertisements for American cigarettes explicitly described the cigarettes as American cigarettes, and they occasionally situated the production of the cigarettes in specific locations in the United States. Section 3.3.1. explores the framing of these American locations in more detail.

3.2.3 The Unique Character of the American Cigarette

This section examines to what extent the brand identity of American cigarettes differed from Egyptian and Virginia cigarettes. Did advertisers emphasize specific characteristics in the American cigarette that were absent from other types of cigarettes? How did these features contribute to the product-country image associated with cigarettes? More specifically, did these features represent specific values, ideas, and practices that shaped the Dutch perception of American consumer goods and American consumer society? Also, the section examines whether these characteristics transferred between different types of cigarettes. More specifically, did distinctive characteristics introduced by one type of cigarettes in the interwar period (1919-1940) spread to other cigarettes in the postwar period (1945-1970)?

Egyptian Cigarettes

Advertisers frequently associated the Egyptian cigarette with the characteristics: ‘mild’, ‘import’, ‘finest’, and ‘piece’ (fig. 3.15).⁸⁶ The following words appeared more often in the context of Egyptian cigarettes than in the context of American or Virginia cigarettes: ‘round’ (88.0), ‘tin

⁸⁶ ‘Mildest’ (*mildste*), ‘import’, ‘finest’ (*fijnste*), ‘piece’ (*stuks*). These words were the most frequent collocates with the highest relative frequency. See appendices 3.1 and 3.2.

packaging' (74.5), and 'mildest' (64.1).⁸⁷ 'Gold' was unique to Egyptian and Virginia cigarettes as they came with golden mouthpieces at the time.⁸⁸ Not all features were exceptional for Egyptian cigarettes. Advertisers also associated Egyptian cigarettes with features, including generic traits such as 'best' and 'quality', that were idiosyncratic to Virginia and American cigarettes. Overall, the Egyptian cigarette shared more features with Virginia cigarettes than with American ones.⁸⁹ Virginia and Egyptian cigarettes were more commonplace in the first half of the interwar period than American cigarettes. These two types of cigarettes defined what cigarettes were for most consumers in this period.

One distinctive feature of Egyptian cigarettes strikes the eye, namely its mildness.⁹⁰ Cigarette historians regard mildness as a defining aspect of American cigarettes.⁹¹ The strong collocation to Egypt* and high relative frequency of 'mild' in the corpus of Egyptian cigarette advertisements, however, attest to the feature's initial strong association with the Egyptian cigarette. This finding supports Relli Shechter's claim that the Egyptian cigarette shaped American cigarettes.⁹² During the early twentieth century, the Orient clearly functioned as a reference culture in advertisements for cigarettes.

⁸⁷ 'round' (*ronde*), 'tin packaging' (*blikverpakking*), and 'mildest' (*mildste*). See appendix 3.1.

⁸⁸ "Climax advertisement," *Limburger Koerier*, May 5, 1923.

⁸⁹ 'Golden' (*goud*), 'best' (*beste*), 'very best' (*allerbeste*), and 'quality' (*kwaliteit*).

⁹⁰ 'Mildest' (*mildste*).

⁹¹ Proctor, *Golden Holocaust*, 34; Brandt, *The Cigarette Century*, 54–55; Michael Schudson, "Women, Cigarettes, and Advertising in the 1920s. A Study in the Sociology of Consumption," in *Mass Media between the Wars: Perceptions of Cultural Tension, 1918-1941*, ed. Catherine Covert and John Dean Stevens (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1984), 72.

⁹² Shechter, *Smoking, Culture and Economy in the Middle East*, 62.

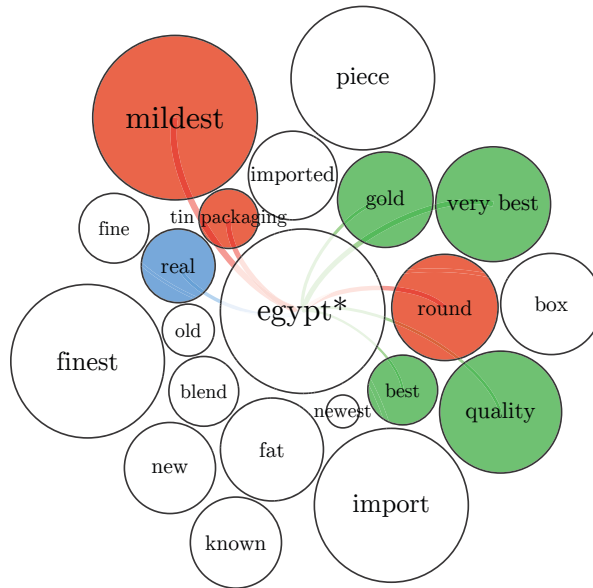


Figure 3.15. Collocation graph of product features associated with Egyptian cigarettes 1919-1940.
Red = Egypt, Green = Virginia, Blue = American, White = indistinctive feature

Other associated features such as ‘box’, ‘piece’, and ‘tin packaging’ referred to the style of packaging of Egyptian cigarettes—either per piece or in tin cans.⁹³ Tin packaging helped to set Egyptian cigarettes apart from the American cigarettes, which were sold in new-fashioned rectangular paperboard packages. Advertisers presented the style of packaging as a sign of an established tradition of quality products. For instance, Splendo used the slogan “Smoke Splendo with its old and famous quality and tin packaging.”⁹⁴

An ad for the Miss Blanche cigarette invoked nostalgia by situating the origin of the Egyptian cigarette in a distant past when money did not mean as much as it did in the present.⁹⁵ Traditionally, advertisers branded

⁹³ ‘box’ (*doosje*), ‘piece’ (*stuks*), and ‘tin packaging’ (*blikverpakking*).

⁹⁴ “Splendo advertisement,” *Het Volk*, February 9, 1929.

⁹⁵ “Miss Blanche Special advertisement,” *Het Volk*, March 8, 1929.

the Egyptian cigarette as a handmade, luxury product. American and Virginia, on the other hand, were cheaper and machine-made.⁹⁶ Amid the global economic depression of the 1930s, the high price of Egyptian cigarettes might have caused consumers to turn to the more affordable American and Virginia cigarettes. As the popularity of these cigarettes grew, Egyptian cigarette companies lowered their prices.

During the interwar period, the Egyptian cigarette possessed only a few unique features. Egyptian cigarettes exhibited a set of values that were antithetical to the values expressed by American and Virginia cigarettes. Many of its features also appeared in advertisements for American and Virginia cigarettes. Although advertisers highlighted the long history and quality of the Egyptian cigarette, its manufacturers were not able to keep up with the cheaper, mass-produced Virginia and American cigarettes.

Virginia Cigarettes

In the interwar period, advertisers promoted the Virginia cigarette with the following words: ‘health’ (98.8), ‘cork’ (85.2), ‘pure’ (84.3), ‘golden’ (65.7), ‘best’ (63.1), ‘world’ (59.7), ‘quality’ (56.8), and ‘taste’ (52.1) (fig. 3.16).⁹⁷ The Virginia cigarette exhibited a distinct brand identity in the interwar period. Advertisers attributed a higher number of unique features to Virginia cigarettes than Egyptian and American cigarettes. Moreover, the Virginia cigarette shared only two characteristics with the American cigarette: ‘smokers’ and ‘melange’.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Shechter, *Smoking, Culture and Economy in the Middle East*, 27–28.

⁹⁷ ‘Health’ (*gezondheid*), ‘cork’ (*kurk*), ‘pure’ (*zuivere*), ‘golden’ (*gouden*), ‘best’ (*beste*), ‘world’ (*wereld*), ‘quality’ (*kwaliteit*), and ‘taste’ (*smaak*).

⁹⁸ ‘Smokers’ (*rokers*) and ‘melange’.

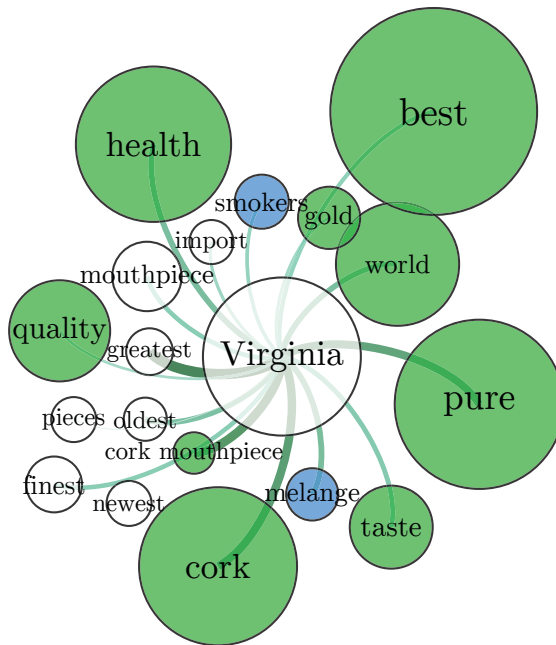


Figure 3.16. Collocation graph of product features associated with Virginia Cigarettes 1919-1940.
Red = Egypt, Green = Virginia, Blue = American, White = indistinctive feature

The three most distinctive words ‘health’, ‘pure’, and ‘world’ were defining features of the Virginia cigarette’s brand identity between 1919 and 1940.⁹⁹ Although not one of the most frequent words, ‘world’ still appeared more often in the context of Virginia cigarettes than it did for Egyptian or American cigarettes. The Ardath Company was largely responsible for connecting these aspects to Virginia cigarettes; the British cigarette manufacturer boasted that the purity of its Virginia tobacco led to a better tasting and healthier cigarette.¹⁰⁰ This link was particularly strong in advertisements for the brand Chief Whip, which Ardath described as the zenith of purity.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ ‘Health’ (*gezondheid*), ‘pure’ (*zuivere*), and ‘world’ (*wereld* / world).

¹⁰⁰ “Chief Whip advertisement,” *Leeuwarder Courant*, May 26, 1923.

¹⁰¹ “Chief Whip advertisement,” *De Gooi- en Eemlander*, September 17, 1932. ‘Chief’ ($n = 55$), ‘Whip’ ($n = 56$), and ‘Chiefwhip’ ($n = 14$) were also frequent collocates of PURITY.

Wills and Ardath distinguished the taste of Virginia cigarettes from that of American cigarettes. Ardath and Wills both denounced saucing and blending—two key features of the American cigarettes—and distanced themselves from American cigarettes in doing so. In 1925, Wills claimed that its Virginia cigarettes consisted of 100% pure Virginia tobacco, without the addition of Greek, Indonesian, or Turkish tobaccos.¹⁰² Ardath did something analogous in 1931 when it advertised Chief Whip as a 100% Virginia cigarette.¹⁰³ In advertisements for Chief Whip, a doctor claimed that the cigarette was “absolutely pure and free of all surrogates and sauces.” Advertisers presented Chief Whip as a pure and unprocessed cigarette.¹⁰⁴

Despite the Virginia cigarette’s distinctive trait of pure tobaccos, in the late 1920s, producers of Virginia cigarettes started to experiment with blending different types of tobacco to create a milder cigarette. For instance, in 1926, the German producer Batschari presented Half Virginia as its response to the increasing popularity of blended cigarettes in the United States and the United Kingdom.¹⁰⁵ Half Virginia contained a *mélange* of Turkish and Virginia tobacco, and Batschari presented the product as a cigarette for smokers who would love to smoke Virginia but considered pure Virginia to be too strong.¹⁰⁶ This move toward incorporating elements of milder American cigarettes illustrates the growing global cultural presence of American tobacco companies.

¹⁰² “Wills advertisement,” *De Telegraaf*, August 24, 1925.

¹⁰³ “Chief Whip advertisement,” *Het Volk*, October 10, 1931.

¹⁰⁴ “Chief Whip advertisement,” *Het Volk*, March 12, 1927.

¹⁰⁵ “Half Virginia advertisement,” *De Telegraaf*, October 18, 1926. Distinctiveness of ‘pure’ (*zuivere*) in advertisements for Virginia cigarettes (84.3).

¹⁰⁶ “Half Virginia advertisement,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, October 28, 1926.

Also, advertisers branded Virginia cigarettes as an international product.¹⁰⁷ Ardath promoted itself as selling “high class cigarettes throughout the world” and their Chief Whip cigarettes as “The World’s Greatest Value.”¹⁰⁸ Other brands reaffirmed the international character of Virginia cigarettes by proclaiming the popularity of Virginia brands or companies across the world.¹⁰⁹ Its international connotation separated the Virginia from the Egyptian cigarette, which exhibited a more demarcated connection to Egypt and the Orient. Advertisers for Virginia cigarettes used global popularity as a measure of quality, whereas advertisements for Egyptian cigarettes argued that the cigarette’s quality resulted from its link to Egypt.

The brand identity of Virginia cigarette became less idiosyncratic after the Second World War. Between 1945 and 1970, most aspects associated with Virginia were no longer unique, which illustrates how the Virginia lost part of its distinctive character. Compared to the interwar period, the distinctive features ‘health’, ‘cork’, ‘best’, ‘world’, and ‘taste’ disappeared. The use of terms such as ‘taste’ and ‘best’ became ubiquitous in cigarette advertisements between 1945-1970. To put it more simply, the terms were no longer unique to Virginia cigarettes.¹¹⁰ Cork mouthpieces were commonplace and brands no longer referred to them as a means to

¹⁰⁷ The distinctiveness of ‘world’ and ‘*wereld*’ suggests the importance of this element of Virginia cigarettes.

¹⁰⁸ “State Express advertisement,” *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, September 2, 1919; “Chief Whip advertisement,” *Leeuwarder Courant*, April 29, 1922.

¹⁰⁹ For instance, “Bristol advertisement,” *De Gooi- en Eemlander*, August 28, 1929; “Army Club advertisement,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, April 30, 1927.

¹¹⁰ Both ‘best’ (*beste*) and ‘taste’ (*smaak*) appeared almost equally in advertisements for Virginia and American cigarettes, respectively 51.7 and 59.1.

distinguish themselves, which explains the disappearance of this term in ads.¹¹¹

Despite losing some of its distinctiveness, advertisements show that the Virginia cigarette still included some distinctive attributes. These included: ‘golden-yellow’ (97.7), ‘perfect’ (95.7), ‘golden’ (88.6), ‘pure’ (86.3), ‘pleasure’ (83.3), ‘original’ (75.5), and ‘melange’ (66) (fig. 3.17).¹¹² The word ‘perfect’ appeared predominantly in one single advertising campaign that described Sir Percy as a “perfect Virginia cigarette.”¹¹³

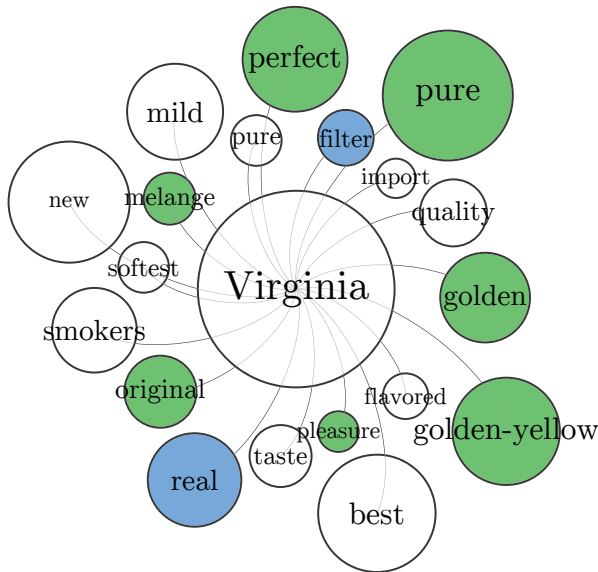


Figure 3.17. Collocation graph of product features associated with Virginia cigarettes 1945-1970. Green = Virginia, Blue = American, White = indistinctive feature

¹¹¹ In 1970, manufacturers stopped using cork to produce mouth pieces. Helena Pereira, *Cork: Biology, Production and Uses* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2011), 249.

¹¹² ‘Golden-yellow’ (*goudgele*), ‘perfect’ (*volmaakte*), ‘pure’ (*pure*), ‘pleasure’ (*genot*), ‘original’ (*originele*), and ‘melange’ (*melange*).

¹¹³ “Sir Percy advertisement,” *De Telegraaf*, January 3, 1952.

After the Second World War, advertisers promoted two different types of Virginia cigarettes: a pure, traditional one, and a milder, American version. ‘Mild’, which previously only appeared in the context of Egyptian cigarettes and American cigarettes, now also emerged in the context of Virginia cigarettes.¹¹⁴ The occurrence of this term suggests that producers of Virginia cigarettes had appropriated mildness, which had first been popularized via American cigarette brands.

Along with ‘melange’, the occurrence of ‘mild’ indicates that manufacturers of Virginia cigarette started to blend their tobacco, similar to American cigarettes. The word ‘melange’, however, occasionally referred to a superior *mélange* of pure Virginia cigarettes and not to a combination of different tobaccos, as was the case with American cigarettes. This particular use of ‘melange’ demonstrates that, amid a growing preference for milder, blended cigarettes, some manufacturers kept producing strong, pure Virginia cigarettes.

Even though manufacturers felt the urge to adapt to the increasing preference for milder cigarettes, a shrinking number continued to label Virginia cigarettes as ‘pure’.¹¹⁵ Advertisers designated pure Virginia cigarette as traditional and the blended variants as modern.¹¹⁶ Apart from that, ‘golden-yellow’ generally alluded to the distinct color of pure sun-ripened Virginia tobacco. Advertisements for Three Lions, conversely, labeled its sun-ripened Virginia tobacco as “velvet soft.”¹¹⁷ These opposing features signaled a schism between traditional pure cigarettes and modern milder Virginia cigarettes. Advertising discourse for Virginia cigarettes

¹¹⁴ The word ‘mild’ appeared almost equally in advertisements for Virginia (52.2) and American (47.8) cigarettes.

¹¹⁵ Decrease of relative frequency of ‘pure’ (-70.1) and ‘zuiver’ (-90.7). See appendix 3.2.

¹¹⁶ “Dobbs advertisement,” *De Gooi-en Eemlander*, May 22, 1950.

¹¹⁷ “Three Lions advertisement,” *Limburgsch Dagblad*, December 22, 1955.

after the Second World War, thus, shows a fractured brand identity marked by ambivalence.

Producers of Virginia cigarette also appropriated technological innovations previously unique to American cigarettes, such as filters. The relative frequency of ‘filter’ increased sharply in advertisements for Virginia cigarettes.¹¹⁸ Despite this increase, filters remained a distinctive element of American cigarettes; more than 85 percent of the occurrences of ‘filter’ were in advertisements for American cigarettes. Again, this confirms the dominant position of American cigarette producers with regard to the dissemination of new features.

Advertisers for Virginia cigarettes also picked up two other aspects closely related to American cigarettes. The first one concerned the increasing emphasis on the smoker’s identity. The post-war shift in focus on the smoker’s identity mimicked advertisements for American cigarettes.¹¹⁹ As the differences between American and Virginia cigarettes became smaller, advertisers needed to highlight aspects other than innate qualities. The preference for Virginia cigarettes became an important marker of the identity of smokers. Brands targeted smokers loyal to Virginia cigarettes and specific Virginia brands in an attempt to retain their consumer audience.¹²⁰ This branding strategy presented the smoker of Virginia cigarettes as a loyal, more traditional type of consumer.

Second, authenticity became more widespread in cigarette advertisements after the Second World War. In the interwar period, manufacturers of Virginia cigarettes were less prone to present their cigarettes as real or authentic than producers of American cigarettes. The

¹¹⁸ Relative frequency and increase for ‘real’ (*echte*) and ‘filter’: 94.5, +45.6; 88.6, +43.6.

¹¹⁹ The relative frequency of ‘smoker’ (*roker*) increased with 117.5.

¹²⁰ Frequent clusters that include ‘smoker’ (*roker*): ‘loyal smokers’ (*vaste rokers*) (28), ‘more smokers’ (*meer rokers*) (15), ‘virginia smoker’ (*virginia-roker*) (12).

importance of authenticity changed significantly after the Second World War when brands were advertised as “real, pure, Virginia cigarette[s].”¹²¹ Amid a growing preference for American cigarettes in the Netherlands, manufacturers targeted smokers that preferred ‘real’, unblended Virginia cigarettes.¹²² Between 1945-1970, the relative frequency of words denoting authenticity was lower for Virginia cigarettes than for American cigarettes. At the same time, the relative frequency for these words increased more for Virginia cigarettes than for American cigarettes after the Second World War, which indicates a greater transformation. One possible explanation might be that as the competition between manufacturers of American and Virginia cigarettes grew and the actual differences in taste and materiality decreased, authenticity remained the distinguishing factor between brands. Advertisers across the board endowed their products with authenticity, which fit within a broader trend of evoking authenticity in the branding of consumer goods.¹²³

Between 1945-1970, manufacturers of Virginia cigarette adapted their brand identity to trends set by the American cigarette industry. Some brands tried to swim against the tide and emphasized the Virginia cigarette’s established quality and its purity. The general trend, however, was that Virginia cigarettes blended into American cigarettes, which

¹²¹ “Traffic advertisement,” *De Tijd*, October 29, 1954.

¹²² Van der Linde claims that after the liberation of the Netherlands sales for American cigarettes quickly rose and that in 1967 65% of Dutch smokers preferred American cigarettes. Linde, *1906-1986 B.A.T. Nederland B.V.*, 21.

¹²³ For a discussion on the growing role of authenticity in consumer goods see: Stephen Brown, Robert Kozinets, and John Sherry Jr., “Teaching Old Brands New Tricks: Retro Branding and the Revival of Brand Meaning,” *Journal of Marketing* 67, no. 3 (2003): 21; See also: Michael Beverland, “The ‘Real Thing’: Branding Authenticity in the Luxury Wine Trade,” *Journal of Business Research* 59, no. 2 (February 2006): 251–58; Michael Beverland, Adam Lindgreen, and Michiel Vink, “Projecting Authenticity Through Advertising: Consumer Judgments of Advertisers’ Claims,” *Journal of Advertising* 37, no. 1 (April 1, 2008): 5–15; George Newman and Ravi Dhar, “Authenticity Is Contagious: Brand Essence and the Original Source of Production,” *Journal of Marketing Research* 51, no. 3 (January 29, 2014): 371–86.

universalized the American cigarette and its associated characteristics. The disappearance of the Virginia cigarette's unique identity as well as its diminishing geographical association with England indicates the country's decreasing influence as a reference culture in Dutch public discourse. The United States had manifested itself as the primary frame of reference with regard to cigarettes and the American cigarette had turned into the metonym for cigarettes.

American Cigarettes

In advertisements for American cigarettes, advertisers pronounced both the cigarette and its associated practices and features as American (table 3.3). The geographical association to the United States signified not only the product's origin, but also its packaging, taste, manufacturing, and smoking.

Table 3.3. Bigrams with the adjective American* in cigarette advertisements between 1919-1940 and 1945-1970

Feature	Query	1919-1940		1945-1970	
		Abs.freq	Rel.freq	Abs.freq	Rel.freq
Blend	Blend*	6	1.6	216	101.8
Quality	Kwaliteit* / quality	2	0.5	77	36.3
Melange	Mélange*	17	4.5	21	9.9
Taste	Smaak	0	0	28	13.2
Packaging	Verpak*	25	6.6	2	0.9
Import	Import	21	5.6	6	2.8
Tobacco	Tabak*	71	18.8	393	185.1
Smoker	Roker*	0	0	50	23.6

Table 3.3 shows that most of the bigrams that included American as an adjective increased after the Second World War. Advertisers no longer linked packaging and importation to the United States. Other types of cigarettes had appropriated the American method of packaging after the Second World War. Moreover, American cigarettes were also produced within the Netherlands, which explains the weakening of the link between America and importation. The taste of the American cigarette was still

advertised as uniquely American, which draws attention to the American method of blending and saucing tobacco. Moreover, after the war, the phrase ‘American smoker’ emerged in advertisements, which suggest that the American smoker became part of the branding of cigarettes.

The bigrams presented in table 3.3 provide a limited perspective on the tie between features and the United States. Advertisements for American cigarettes could also link specific elements to the United States without phrasing the relationship in the form of a bigram. The following analysis of characteristics that co-occurred with AMERICA* offers a more detailed perspective on the distinctive nature of American cigarettes.

In the interwar years, the most common feature of American cigarettes was its mild taste. The blending of American and Turkish tobaccos resulted in a mild and soft *mélange* that advertisers described as typically American.¹²⁴ Mildness, however, was a more distinctive feature of Egyptian cigarettes in the Interbellum.¹²⁵ As this period progressed, a growing number of American cigarette brands presented their cigarettes as mild and aromatic. Even though the popularity of Egyptian cigarettes dwindled, the use of ‘mild’ in cigarette advertisements continued to grow at the time (fig. 3.18). The increase of ‘mild’ after the fading sales of Egyptian cigarettes shows that American cigarettes drove the growth of ‘mild’ between 1935-1939. American tobacco companies had appropriated mildness as a defining feature, which supports the argument that American brands adopted elements of the brand identity of Egyptian

¹²⁴ “Zoo mild en pittig. Een zuiver-Amerikaansché melange” in “Buffalo advertisement,” *Zaans Volksblad*, October 26, 1938; “North State advertisement,” *Nieuwsblad van Friesland*, September 7, 1932; “Skippy advertisement,” *De Tijd*, January 26, 1939.

¹²⁵ Proportion of ‘Mild’ in Egyptian (64.1) and American cigarette advertisements (45.3).

cigarettes.¹²⁶ In the 1930s, the United States supplanted Egypt as a reference culture with regard to cigarettes.

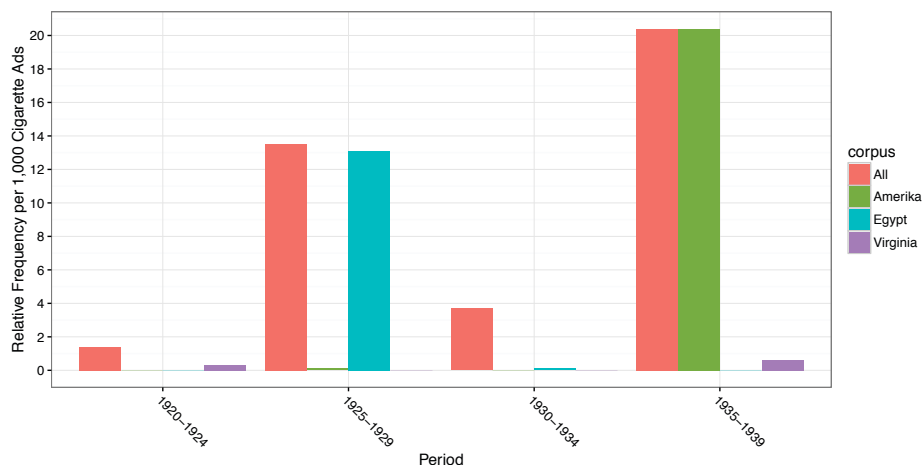


Figure 3.18. Relative Frequency of ‘mild’ per 1,000 cigarette advertisements for the entire corpus of cigarette ads, and the corpora for American, Egyptian, and Virginia cigarettes

When American cigarettes first emerged in the Netherlands, their advertisements introduced new characteristics, which appeared relatively infrequently. The low frequency and high distinctiveness of these features support the claim that American cigarettes introduced a new vocabulary to discuss cigarettes.¹²⁷ Although the American cigarette familiarized Dutch consumers with new features, advertisements for these cigarettes did not yet determine how they were perceived. The distinctive words (fig. 3.19) between 1919 and 1940 were: ‘*Amerikaan*’ (100), ‘calm’ (98.4), ‘package’ (88.4), ‘fresh’ (71.8), ‘real’ (69.7), ‘extra’ (64.5), ‘flavored’ (61.7), ‘melange’ (54.8), and ‘smoker’ (52.7).¹²⁸ The most distinctive word

¹²⁶ Shechter, *Smoking, Culture and Economy in the Middle East*, 62.

¹²⁷ New words included: ‘*Amerikaan*’, ‘calm’ (*kalm*), ‘extra’, ‘flavored’ (*geurig*), ‘fresh’ (*vers*) ‘melange’, ‘package’ (*pakje*), and ‘real’ (*echte*).

¹²⁸ ‘American’ (*Amerikaan*), ‘Calm’ (*kalm* / *kalmeeer*), ‘package’ (*pakje*), ‘fresh’ (*versche*), ‘real’ (*echte*), ‘extra’, ‘flavored’ (*geurige*), ‘melange’, ‘smoker’ (*rooker* / *rookers*).

‘American’ (*Amerikaan*) was a synonym for American cigarettes.¹²⁹ ‘Calm’, the second most distinctive word, appeared exclusively in an extensive advertising campaign for the popular Dr. Dushkind cigarette. The brand targeted stressed consumers and advised them to “remain calm! and smoke a Dr. Dushkind!”¹³⁰ The distinctiveness of ‘calm’ illustrates that, in addition to quality and price, the beneficial effects on a smoker’s well-being were promoted as typical attributes of American cigarettes.

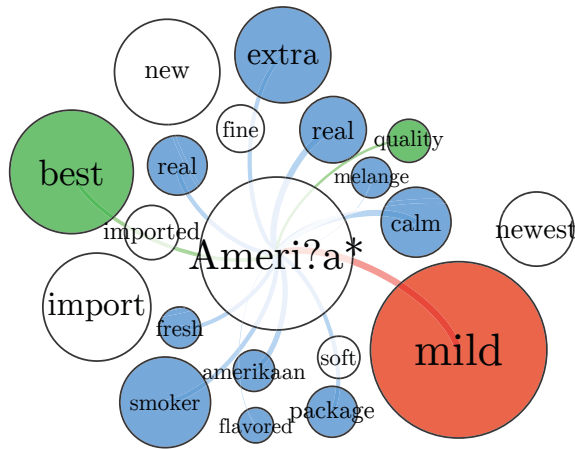


Figure 3.19. Collocation graph of product features associated with American cigarettes 1919-1940.
Red = Egypt, Green = Virginia, Blue = American, White = indistinctive feature

Between 1945 and 1970, the American cigarette grew into a dominant actor on the Dutch cigarette market. In this period, the American cigarette amassed several new and distinctive attributes (fig. 3.20). The distinctive words encompassed: ‘blend’, ‘real’, ‘filter’, ‘king size’, ‘connoisseurs’, ‘package’, ‘smoking pleasure’, ‘world-famous’, ‘size’,

¹²⁹ “Buffalo advertisement,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, February 21, 1939. In the 1960s the meaning of *Amerikaan* shifted; it became a signifier for automobiles.

¹³⁰ “Dr Dushkind advertisement,” *Limburgsch Dagblad*, December 19, 1938. The brand Wings also promoted its ability to calm smokers and battle nervousness but it did so in more implicit ways. See for instance, “Wings advertisement,” *De Courant*, January 15, 1940.

‘smoked’, ‘most’, ‘modern’, ‘rich’, ‘ripe-brown’, ‘full’, and ‘tasty’.¹³¹ A closer examination of the context in which these words occurred reveals that advertisements for the American cigarette uniquely framed the taste and materiality of cigarettes, as well as the identity of the smoker of American cigarettes.

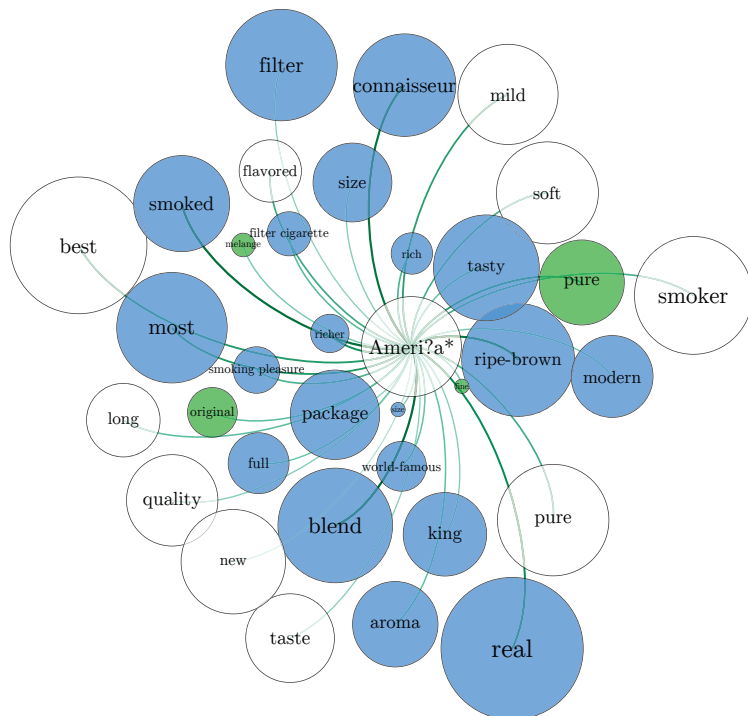


Figure 3.20. Collocate graph of product features associated with American cigarettes 1945-1970.
Green = Virginia, Blue = American, White = indistinctive feature

¹³¹ ‘Blend’, ‘real’ (*echte*), ‘filter’, ‘king size’, ‘connoisseur’ (*liefhebber*), ‘package’ (*pakje*), ‘smoking pleasure’ (*rookgenot*), ‘world-famous’ (*wereldberoemd*), ‘size’ (*formaat*), ‘smoked’ (*gerookte*), ‘most’ (*meest*), ‘modern’ (*moderne*), ‘rich’ (*rijk / rijke*), ‘ripe-brown’ (*rijpbruin / rijpbruine*), ‘full’ (*volle*), and ‘tasty’ (*lekkere*). See appendix 3.2.

First, advertisers described the taste of American cigarettes through a multitude of adjectives such as ‘mild’, ‘soft’, ‘pure’, ‘blend’, ‘rich’, ‘ripe-brown’, ‘full’, and ‘taste.’¹³² The words ‘soft’, ‘mild’, and ‘fresh’ also appeared in the context of Virginia cigarettes, as mentioned above. The relative frequency of these words, however, grew sharply alongside a general popularization of American cigarettes (fig. 3.21). American tobacco companies pushed the popularization of a milder, softer, aromatic cigarette in Dutch advertising discourse.¹³³

Second, advertisers singled out two material aspects of the American cigarette. After the Second World War, American cigarettes underwent two major changes, an increase in length and the addition of a filter tip.

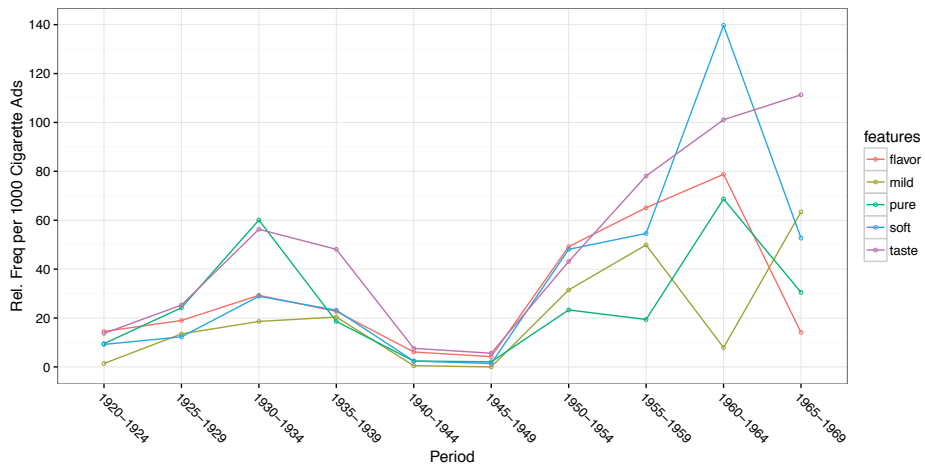


Figure 3.21. Relative frequency of ‘flavor’, ‘mild’, ‘pure’, ‘soft’, and ‘taste’ in cigarette advertisements

¹³² ‘Mild’, ‘soft’ (*zacht*), ‘pure’ (*pure / zuiver*), ‘rich’ (*rijk*), ‘ripe-brown’ (*rijpbruine*), ‘full’ (*volle*), and ‘taste’ (*smaak*).

¹³³ “Laurens advertisement,” *Limburgsch Dagblad*, February 26, 1954; “Dakota advertisement,” *De Heerenveensche Koerier*, October 28, 1955; “Golden Fiction advertisement,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, March 20, 1963.

In 1936, the brand Pall Mall introduced king size cigarettes in the United States. These cigarettes were eighty-five millimeters long, an increase of fifteen millimeters compared to previous cigarettes.¹³⁴ Its length separated the American cigarette from other cigarettes. Brands such as Esquire, Everest, Hunter presented king-sizing as part of the American cigarette.¹³⁵ Esquire wrote that the “extra long king-size was what made the cigarette an “all-around American cigarette.”¹³⁶ It took until 1953 before the American brand Arsenal introduced the word ‘king-size’ in Dutch cigarette advertisements. Arsenal advertised its king-size cigarette as “20% more tobacco, 20% longer, 20% fuller, 20% softer, 20% cheaper, 100% better.”¹³⁷ Immediately after their introduction, the popularity of king-size cigarettes grew rapidly and this surge continued until the 1960s after which its popularity stayed relatively stable (fig. 3.22). Cigarette advertising played an important part in the introduction of the notion of king-size products in the Netherlands. Of the 3,438 advertisements that contained the word ‘king-size’, 1,207 also featured the word ‘cigarette’.

In the 1950s, the king-size cigarette was new to Dutch consumers. Advertisers linked the increase in length to the United States to help familiarize the Dutch smoker with the longer cigarette. In 1955, So Long referred to the United States in their explanation of what a king size cigarette was: “In America, a cigarette longer than 85 mm is called King Size.”¹³⁸ Advertisers used the United States to help acquaint Dutch consumers with the longer cigarettes. In other words, its popularity in the

¹³⁴ Jordan Goodman, *Tobacco in History: The Cultures of Dependence* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2005), 108.

¹³⁵ “Hunter advertisement,” *Nieuwsblad van Het Noorden*, October 13, 1955; “Everest advertisement,” *Het Vrije Volk*, June 17, 1954.

¹³⁶ “Esquire advertisement,” *Friese Koerier*, April 23, 1954.

¹³⁷ “Arsenal advertisement,” *De Tijd*, September 18, 1953.

¹³⁸ “So Long advertisement,” *Het Vrije Volk*, December 13, 1955.

United States helped domesticate the king size cigarette in the Netherlands.

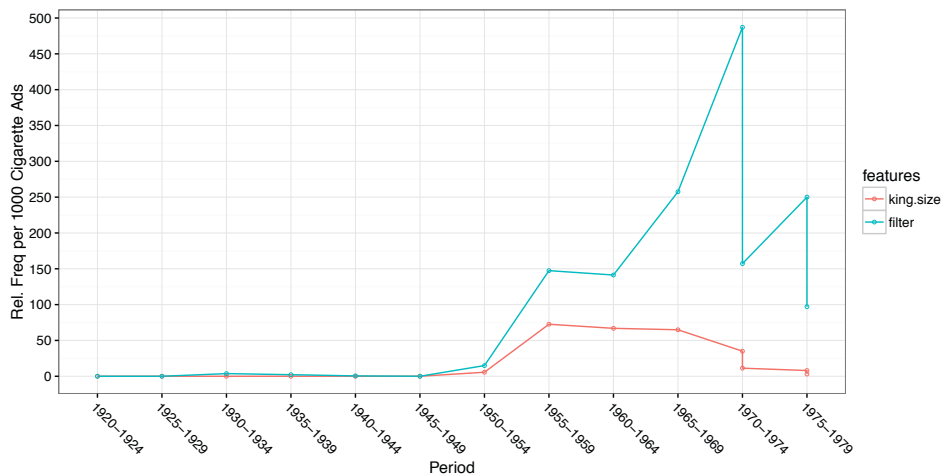


Figure 3.22. Relative frequency of ‘king-size’ and ‘filter’ in cigarette advertisements

The second significant change was the introduction of filter cigarettes. Amid growing health concerns in the United States, American cigarette manufacturers introduced the purportedly healthier filter cigarettes in the early fifties.¹³⁹ In the context of American filter cigarettes, ‘pure’ did not denote the unblended nature of cigarettes, but the purifying effects of filters. Advertisements claimed that a lengthy filter would lead to “more and purer smoking.”¹⁴⁰ Filter cigarettes became hugely popular, and by the 1970s almost 90 percent of the cigarette market consisted of filter cigarettes.¹⁴¹ Despite the Dutch smokers’ initial hesitance to adopt filter

¹³⁹ Brandt, *The Cigarette Century*, 244; Martha N. Gardner and Allan M. Brandt, “‘The Doctors’ Choice is America’s Choice,” *American Journal of Public Health* 96, no. 2 (February 1, 2006): 230.

¹⁴⁰ “Everest advertisement,” *Limburgsch Dagblad*, April 15, 1954; “Sir Richard advertisement,” *De Telegraaf*, January 5, 1962.

¹⁴¹ Brandt, *The Cigarette Century*, 244.

cigarettes, they eventually followed the global trend and embraced them (fig. 3.22).¹⁴²

As pointed out before, advertisements used the popularity and origin of filter cigarettes in the United States to persuade Dutch smokers to start smoking American filter cigarettes.¹⁴³ In 1959, Kent advertised that its sales had tripled in the United States and that American consumer research had established that Kent was the best filter cigarette.¹⁴⁴ Laurens employed a similar sales technique and claimed that 65 percent of American smokers—both male and female—preferred filter cigarettes.¹⁴⁵ Laurens pointed out that the Dutch smoker was lagging behind since not only American smokers but also German and British smokers had turned to filter cigarettes.¹⁴⁶ Over time, American cigarette producers also managed to turn the king-size filter cigarette into the mainstream cigarette in the Netherlands.

Similar to what had happened with the mildness of tobacco, the filter too was clearly associated with the United States. The link to the United States—a country that was famous for its innovations regarding cigarettes—helped familiarize Dutch smokers with these innovations. By linking these innovations and the United States, advertisers also presented the American consumer society as one of technological marvels and constant modernization.

¹⁴² “De aerodynamische sigaret met het „dynasty-imagó”,” *De Telegraaf*, September 8, 1984.

¹⁴³ “Princeton advertisement,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, May 22, 1958; “Kent advertisement,” *De Telegraaf*, December 21, 1959; “Bentley advertisement,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, May 9, 1964; “Bentley Charcoal Filters advertisement,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, May 16, 1964.

¹⁴⁴ “Kent advertisement,” *Het Vrije Volk*, October 2, 1959; “Kent advertisement,” *De Tijd*, October 10, 1959.

¹⁴⁵ “Laurens El Paso Filter advertisement,” *Leeuwarder Courant*, November 2, 1967.

¹⁴⁶ “Laurens advertisement,” *De Telegraaf*, November 2, 1967.

In addition to a wide array of adjectives to describe American cigarettes and the focus on material changes of American cigarettes, American cigarette advertisements focused on the identity of smokers. In the branding of the filter and the king-size cigarette, advertisers directly linked these technologies to the identity of smokers. Modern quality-minded consumers smoked king-sized filter cigarettes, and old-fashioned smokers opted for shorter ones.¹⁴⁷ Norton claimed that “in 1968 people smoke differently, they smoke filter king-size [American cigarettes].”¹⁴⁸ The choice of filter and king-sized cigarette defined the modern smoker, who was clearly modeled after the American smoker.

The initial dominance of the word ‘smoker’ in the context of American cigarettes and the widespread use of the term between 1945-1970 substantiates that advertisers for American cigarettes directly addressed consumers.¹⁴⁹ This shift in branding style represented a larger change in the position of consumers. Douglas Holt argues that a new consumer culture emerged after the Second World War in which consumers “form[ed] communities around brands, a distinctively postmodern mode of sociality in which consumers claim[ed] to be doing their own thing while doing it with thousands of like-minded others.”¹⁵⁰ Holt argues that this transition to the “primacy of the individual” was an essential part of American consumer culture.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷ “Pall Mall King Size advertisement,” *Friese Koerier*, July 9, 1966; “Everest advertisement,” *De Telegraaf*, June 16, 1954.

¹⁴⁸ “Norton advertisement,” *Limburgsch Dagblad*, September 6, 1968.

¹⁴⁹ ‘Smoker’ (*roker*) in 1919-1940: American (52.7), Virginia (32.9), and Egyptian cigarettes (14.5). The relative frequency of ‘smoker’ increased with 66.9 for American and 117.5 for Virginia cigarettes. The word appeared equally within both subcorpora (47.4 versus 52.6).

¹⁵⁰ Allan Brandt, *The Cigarette Century: The Rise, Fall, and Deadly Persistence of the Product That Defined America* (New York: Basic Books, 2009), 244.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 81.

The Egyptian, American, and Virginia cigarette occupied distinct segments of the market. Right after the First World War, the Egyptian cigarette was more traditional as opposed to the modern Virginia cigarette. Advertisers used its origin and artisanal method of production to emphasize the old-fashioned brand identity of the Egyptian cigarette. Advertisements for Virginia cigarettes represented the cigarette as having a unique set of features. The pure and unblended full character of Virginia cigarettes functioned as its unique selling point. The American cigarette gained notoriety in the second half of the interwar period. Advertisements highlighted the American cigarette's blended and flavored tobacco that was both mild and aromatic. The turn toward modern and less expensive American and Virginia cigarettes also signified the modernization and mechanization of society. That is, cigarette advertisements confronted Dutch consumers in the 1930s with a product that represented modernity.

After the Second World War, the American cigarette turned into the mainstream cigarette and the features associated with it became commonplace. In addition to stressing the cigarette's soft and mild taste, advertisers familiarized the Dutch consumer with king-size filter cigarettes. The link with the United States helped to acquaint Dutch smokers with this type of cigarette. Furthermore, the increased focus on authenticity and the identity of the smoker demonstrated that the American cigarette connoted more than just a consumer product. Its branding strategy illustrates how the American cigarette "came to be defined by its promotion more than any innate characteristic."¹⁵² The shift in the brand identity of the American cigarette represented a broader cultural shift that presented "consumption as an autonomous space in which [consumers] could pursue identities." This shift is illustrated by the

¹⁵² Brandt, "Engineering Consumer Confidence in the Twentieth Century," 343.

increased focus on the smoker and the act of smoking in advertisements for American cigarettes. Douglas Holt linked this “primacy of the individual” as a branding paradigm typical of the modern, American consumer society.¹⁵³ Advertisements for the American cigarette introduced Dutch consumers with this particular notion of the American consumer society.

3.3 The Authenticity of the American Cigarette

This third section explores how advertisers constructed the American cigarette as authentic, and more importantly, how this aspect of authenticity in branding shaped the Dutch perception of American consumer goods and American consumer culture. The authenticity of the American cigarette was a returning trope in advertisements. Second, the section argues that the constructions of authenticity in advertisements reveal that American cigarettes slowly disconnected from the United States. The denominator American came to signify something more than the cigarette’s origin in the United States.

To keep up with the popularity of cigarettes produced by the big American cigarette companies, manufacturers of Virginia cigarettes appropriated elements of American cigarettes, while Dutch companies rolled out their own brands of American cigarettes. As the number of brands that presented themselves as American cigarettes grew, manufacturers looked for ways to present their American cigarettes as better than those of their competitors.¹⁵⁴ One response was to distinguish between real, authentic American cigarettes and *fake* American cigarettes,

¹⁵³ Holt, “Why Do Brands Cause Trouble?,” 80–83.

¹⁵⁴ “Camel advertisement,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, December 21, 1928.

the former—of course—being of higher quality than the latter.¹⁵⁵ Advertisers branded cigarettes as ‘real’—in both Dutch and English—to convince consumers of the authenticity of their American cigarettes.¹⁵⁶ In 1932, for instance, North State warned against cheap imitation American cigarettes and explicitly presented itself as “the real American cigarette.”¹⁵⁷

Advertisers turned to four aspects to validate the American cigarette’s authenticity. These aspects included the product’s *true* American origins, the cigarette’s popularity in the United States, a particular method of packaging that safeguarded its authenticity, and the use of authority figures in advertorials that validated the product’s authenticity. Advertisers contributed to the Dutch image of the United States when they marketed a product’s link to the United States as a sign of authenticity. At the same time, advertisers drew from the existing Dutch perception of the United States and adapted their ads to this perception. As a consequence, advertisers reinforced the bond between the United States and authenticity.

3.3.1 Made in America: An Authentic Origin

The most straightforward way to convince Dutch consumers of the authenticity of an American cigarette was by stating its American origins. Often this origin was invented and did not refer to the actual location of production. Producers allowed themselves a fair amount of freedom to construct a narrative about the origin of the product. The function of a consumer good’s origin was, as Jessica Silbey points out, to a large extent

¹⁵⁵ “Camel advertisement,” *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, June 16, 1927.

¹⁵⁶ The words ‘real’ (real / *echte*) occurred more often in the context of American cigarette advertisements (1919-1940: 69.7; 1945-1970: 61.7). Between 1945-1970, the focus on authenticity grew in both the context of American (+86.4) and Virginia (+88.6) cigarettes.

¹⁵⁷ “North State advertisement,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, October 1, 1932.

“mythological.”¹⁵⁸ It was easier for consumers to determine the authenticity of a product’s origin when foreign products were still imported. In the 1930s, advertisers regularly mentioned the imported nature of American cigarettes. Lucky Strike pointed out that the cigarette was “imported from America, [and] available in Holland.”¹⁵⁹ Dutch cigarette importer Alvana announced that the Camel cigarette came straight from the American factory.¹⁶⁰ North State noted that its cigarette was produced in “Louisville, Kentucky, U.S.A.”¹⁶¹ When domestic manufacturers started to produce American cigarettes, the link to the United States of course no longer defined the product’s origin; provenance now functioned as a placeholder for characteristics associated with a particular type of product.

Amid growing popularity of the American cigarette in the latter half of the 1930s, Dutch cigarette producers started producing American cigarettes. Brands that imported cigarettes from the United States responded by advertising the fact that they were imported as a sign of authenticity. For instance, the brand Roy distinguished its cigarettes from “so-called American cigarettes,” by claiming that the former were produced by an American factory. Similarly, OK Cigarette dismissed other American cigarette brands by arguing that not all American mélanges were “truly American.”¹⁶² Roy declared that the stamp “Made in U.S.A.” on its packaging guaranteed that the product was an authentic American product.¹⁶³ The seal represented high quality and authenticity.

¹⁵⁸ Jessica Silbey, “The Mythical Beginnings of Intellectual Property,” *George Mason Law Review* 15 (2008): 319; Cited in: Hull, “Cultural Branding, Geographic Source Indicators and Commodification,” 125–26.

¹⁵⁹ “Lucky Strike advertisement,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, October 28, 1932.

¹⁶⁰ “Alvana advertisement,” *De Tijd*, June 7, 1934; “Alvana advertisement,” *Zaans Volksblad*, June 9, 1938.

¹⁶¹ “North State advertisement,” *De Telegraaf*, July 28, 1934.

¹⁶² “OK Cigarette advertisement,” *Leeuwarder Courant*, August 9, 1938.

¹⁶³ “Roy advertisement,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, November, 14, 1938.

Between 1945 and 1970, as domestic production of American brands grew, tobacco companies less often described their cigarettes as imported straight from America.¹⁶⁴ Advertisers started to describe specific elements of the cigarette, such as the tobacco's recipe, as having American origins. For instance, the brand Esquire claimed that its cigarette was truly American because the manufacturer used an authentic recipe from the Wallbrook Tobacco Company from Goldsboro, North Carolina.¹⁶⁵

After the war, advertisers embellished the links to the United States with lush descriptions of American locales. These descriptions added affective qualities to the United States, and they shaped the Dutch perception of specific areas in the United States. In 1953, Lexington—named after the city of Lexington in Kentucky—stated that “in Kentucky - the Mid-West of America - the finest tobaccos are grown. Lexington lies in the heart of Kentucky, amid vast fields of tobacco.”¹⁶⁶ In a similar fashion, advertisements for the Norton cigarette linked the taste of its cigarette to intrinsic characteristics of the American South. In 1967, Norton advertisements praised the “rich tobacco fields under the warm sun of America's old South.”¹⁶⁷ These two examples illustrate how advertisers shaped the public perception of particular regions in the United States. As a result, these areas came to represent high-quality tobacco. The representation of these regions also contributed to the Dutch perception of American cigarettes as high-quality consumer products.

¹⁶⁴ The relative frequency of 'import' decreased from 56.7 in 1945-1970 to 27.5 in 1919-1940.

¹⁶⁵ “Esquire advertisement,” *De Tijd*, May 13, 1954.

¹⁶⁶ “Lexington advertisement,” *Friese Koerier*, May 23, 1953.

¹⁶⁷ “... rijke tabaksplantages onder de warme zon van Amerika's oude zuiden” in “Norton advertisement,” *Friese Koerier*, September 22, 1967.

Winfield and Golden America offered more grandiose depictions of the United States. The latter portrayed the United States as a “country of prairies, horses, bonanzas, and wide fields full of golden American tobacco.”¹⁶⁸ Winfield took this a step further with a baroque account of the American landscape:

... America ... world between oceans ... land of endless space and infinite possibilities ... country of prairies, snow peaks, sluggish rivers, and hurried hard-living metropolises ... the taste of America ...everything that is real just like Winfield King Size ...¹⁶⁹

Winfield highlighted the vastness of the landscape and the limitless opportunities in the United States, which alluded to the American foundational myths of self-reliance and unlimited freedom. This intersection of American values and American reality in advertisements appealed to a sense of authenticity that the brand related to its cigarettes. Other advertisers also tapped this rich repository of images to present products that were not manufactured in the United States as American and authentic.¹⁷⁰ Through these rich descriptions, advertisers fueled a particular geographic imagination of the United States, one that emphasized the bucolic and Arcadian aspects of American society. In addition to the idea of the United States as a modern, industrialized, urban consumer society, this cultural imaginary helped establish America as an influential reference culture in the wider sphere of consumer products.

¹⁶⁸ “Ga mee naar het land van prairies, paarden, Bonanzas en wijde velden vol gouden amerikaanse tabak!” in “Golden America advertisement,” *Leeuwarder Courant*, August, 27, 1970

¹⁶⁹ “Winfield advertisement,” *Limburgsch Dagblad*, October 11, 1965.

¹⁷⁰ See for instance, “Buffalo advertisement,” *Haagsche Courant*, October 19, 1937.

3.3.2 Popularity

Advertisers validated a brand's quality and authenticity by emphasizing its popularity in the United States. They presented American smokers as connoisseurs. For instance, the brand Oran claimed that 90 percent of American smokers only smoked American cigarettes.¹⁷¹ The ad argued that a brand must be of a certain quality if American smokers were to prefer it. The preference of the American smoker assured the Dutch smoker of the cigarette's eminence. Camel used a similar logic to distinguish its cigarette from other American cigarettes. In 1928, Camel warned consumers to "please keep in mind, that although Camel is an American cigarette, not every American cigarette is a Camel."¹⁷² Camel also presented itself as an authority on cigarettes by claiming that the brand sold more cigarettes in the United States than all other cigarette brands combined.

In the 1960s, a considerable number of Dutch smokers preferred American cigarettes.¹⁷³ In an attempt to present Dutch-American cigarettes as authentic, the Dutch brand Caballero claimed that Americans living in the Netherlands acknowledged that Caballero tasted most like their [American] cigarettes.¹⁷⁴ Even though American cigarettes in the 1960s were often not produced in the United States, brands still turned to the preferences of American smokers as a sign of approval. This reliance on the consumer behavior of Americans again demonstrates how the United States functioned as a reference culture for Dutch consumers.

¹⁷¹ "Oran advertisement," *Leeuwarder Courant*, July 28, 1952.

¹⁷² "Camel advertisement," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, December 21, 1928.

¹⁷³ According to Van der Linde in 1967, 65% of the Dutch smokers preferred American cigarettes. Linde, *1906-1986 B.A.T. Nederland B.V.*, 21.

¹⁷⁴ "Caballero advertisement," *Friese Koerier*, March 22, 1956.

Advertisements that emphasized a cigarette's popularity in the United States also communicated a particular consumer identity. The popularity of cigarettes among American consumers signified a modern, cosmopolitan lifestyle. Old Gold fittingly labeled its product as "the cigarette of contemporary America."¹⁷⁵ Comparably, Chesterfield used the tagline "the famous taste of New York."¹⁷⁶ Chesterfield made Dutch consumers believe that their cigarette brought them closer to the lifestyle associated with New York. The city represented the modern, cosmopolitan consumer society. Advertisers addressed the Dutch smokers who preferred popular American cigarettes as taste-conscious, authentic, distinguished, and full of character.¹⁷⁷

Advertisers also highlighted the international character and global popularity of American cigarettes.¹⁷⁸ The epithets 'international' and 'world-famous' popped up in advertisements for American cigarettes in the late 1950s.¹⁷⁹ The frequency of 'world-famous' continued to grow throughout the 1960s, whereas 'international' plummeted after 1964 (fig 3.23). This increased emphasis on the international aspect of cigarettes might explain why cigarette advertisements after the 1970s contained fewer references to the United States than before. The focus on global popularity depicted the American cigarettes as an international product.

¹⁷⁵ "De sigaret van het heden in Amerika" in "Old Gold advertisement," *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, January 15, 1930.

¹⁷⁶ "Chesterfield advertisement," *De Tijd*, March 16, 1966.

¹⁷⁷ "Life advertisement," *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, April 14, 1961; "Kristinus advertisement," *Limburgsch Dagblad*, September 4, 1964; "Astor advertisement," *De Tijd*, April 18, 1966; "Roxy advertisement," *Limburgsch Dagblad*, January 20, 1955.

¹⁷⁸ Distinctive words: 'international' (*internationaal*) (97.2), 'world' (*wereld*) (76.2), 'world-famous' (*wereldberoemd*) (100), 'famous' (*bekend*) (92.2). The relative frequency for 'international' and 'world-famous' grew with respectively 27 and 67.7 words per 1,000 advertisements. See appendix 3.2.

¹⁷⁹ 'international' (*internationaal*) and 'world-famous' (*wereldberoemd*).

By the 1970s, the consumption of American cigarettes had become a worldwide phenomenon.

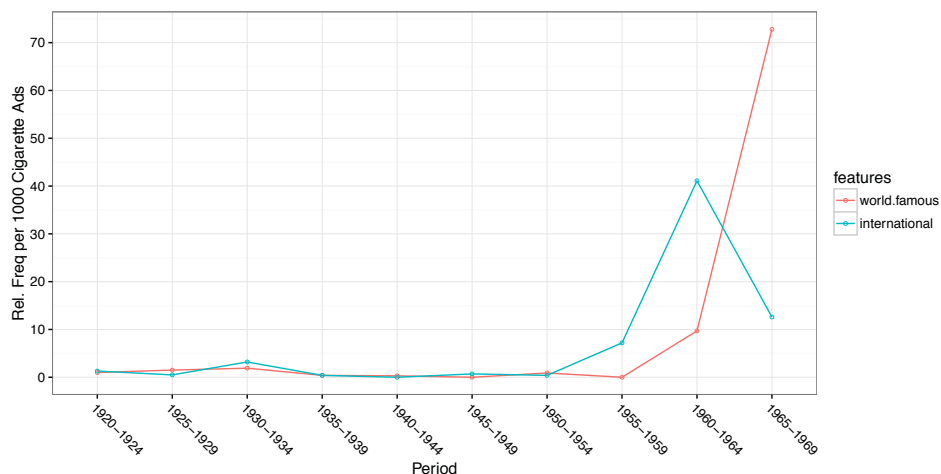


Figure 3.23. Relative frequency ‘international’ and ‘world-famous’ in American cigarette advertisements 1920-1970

An exploration of the advertisements showed that international popularity served as evidence for the cigarette’s good quality and taste. Lucky Strike argued that the popularity of the brand stemmed from the international preference for American cigarettes.¹⁸⁰ By emphasizing the global popularity of American cigarettes, brands portrayed their smokers as consumers with an international outlook. The consumption of a particular brand of cigarettes functioned as a public act through which smokers communicated their identity.¹⁸¹ By smoking popular American cigarette, Dutch smokers presented themselves as modern, international, and cosmopolitan. The consumers could cultivate a particular identity via

¹⁸⁰ “Lucky Strike advertisement,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, October 14, 1960; “Lucky Strike advertisement,” *De Telegraaf*, April 13, 1962; “Lucky Strike advertisement,” *Leeuwarder Courant*, September 22, 1960; “Lucky Strike advertisement,” *Friese Koerier*, April 7, 1965; “Lucky Strike advertisement,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, Juni 23, 1970.

¹⁸¹ Brandt, “Engineering Consumer Confidence in the Twentieth Century,” 343.

specific brands. The United States represented both internationalism and cosmopolitanism, as well as nostalgia associated with the American West.

3.3.3 Packaging

Technological developments in the United States changed the look and feel of cigarette packaging. These innovations offered advertisers new ways to link the product to the United States. American companies were the first to package cigarettes mechanically in plastic-wrapped cardboard boxes. Until then, consumers bought cigarettes per piece and stored them in less practical tin boxes. The new method of packaging not only referred to the United States because of its origin, but it also carried cultural connotations that resonated with American culture. Advertisers described the packaging of the American cigarette as flat, practical, modern, famous, or fancy.¹⁸² This section demonstrates that advertisers also used packaging to establish cigarettes as authentically American.

Before the American cigarettes came in vogue in the Netherlands, Dutch consumers had already learned about American ways of packaging through Oriental cigarettes. In the interwar period, Oriental cigarette brands such as Just-Love highlighted the brand's "practical American packaging."¹⁸³ The American style of packaging signified practicality and economic efficiency. Just-Love linked its low price to the American method of packaging. It explained "the American method" as a manner of packaging as economically as possible. As a consequence, the ads argued, more money could be invested in the selection of prime tobaccos.¹⁸⁴ The

¹⁸² Collocates of PACKAGE (5L): 'world-famous' (*wereldberoemde*, *n* = 22), 'famous' (*beroemde*, *n* = 20), 'fancy' (*chique*, *n* = 19), 'new' (*nieuwe*, *n* = 16), 'known' (*bekende*, *n* = 12), 'flat' (*platte*, *n* = 11), 'practical' (*handige*, *n* = 7), and 'modern' (*modern*, *n* = 4).

¹⁸³ "Just-Love advertisement," *Nieuw Israelietisch Weekblad*, October 19, 1928.

¹⁸⁴ "Just-Love advertisement," *Nieuw Israelietisch Weekblad*, June 8, 1928.

brand also described the practicality of the packaging as typically American: “The Yankee only rips open a small corner of the package to let cigarettes appear.”¹⁸⁵ Just-Love presented consumers with a textbook definition of efficiency and also linked this notion to the United States.

In the 1930s, advertisers claimed that a cigarette’s packaging informed consumers that the cigarette was really American. An essential element of the American way of packaging cigarettes was the use of a cellophane wrapper. In March 1931, *Algemeen Handelsblad* wrote that cellophane was quickly replacing tin packaging. The article mentioned that the American tobacco industry first developed cellophane wrappers and that they would eventually substitute tin cans.¹⁸⁶ Already the following month the popular American brand Camel urged consumers to demand cellophane packaging since this would retain the freshness of the cigarette.¹⁸⁷ The cellophane wrapper functioned as an airtight seal that preserved the freshness and hygiene of the cigarettes.¹⁸⁸ Cellophane wrappers warranted the cigarette’s freshness—a defining feature of American cigarettes.¹⁸⁹ Lucky Strike branded its cellophane wrapper Humidor. This patented wrapper would keep the “‘toasted’ flavor ever fresh.”¹⁹⁰

The Dutch importer Alvana claimed that an intact wrapper meant that the cigarette came straight from the American factory.¹⁹¹ In this sense, the wrapper helped connect the cigarette to the United States. The cellophane wrapper operated as a seal of authenticity—as a means to

¹⁸⁵ “Just-Love advertisement,” *De Indische Courant*, March 8, 1930.

¹⁸⁶ “Cellophaan als vervangend artikel voor blik,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, March 16, 1931.

¹⁸⁷ “Camel advertisement,” *Het Volk*, April 30, 1931.

¹⁸⁸ “Advertisement,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, August 20, 1931; “Advertisement,” *Het Vaderland*, January 23, 1932; “Advertisement,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, July 24, 1934.

¹⁸⁹ Between 1919-1940, 74.8 percent of the references to ‘freshness’ appeared in advertisements for American cigarettes.

¹⁹⁰ “Lucky Strike advertisement,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, June 18, 1932.

¹⁹¹ “Alvana advertisement,” *De Telegraaf*, June 6, 1934.

guarantee that the smoker bought real, fresh American cigarettes instead of fake ones. In the 1930s, Alvana warned consumers of imitation brands by claiming that these consisted of re-used cigarettes or leftover tobacco that was not American.¹⁹² The consumer could recognize “fake” cigarettes by the absence of cellophane on one side of the cardboard box.¹⁹³ The packaging preserved the freshness created in American factories, but it also helped distinguish between real and fake American cigarettes. Brands used packaging to link their cigarette to the American factory and the original American taste. Metaphorically speaking, the cellophane wrapper ensured that no American flavor could evaporate; the Dutch consumer came as close as possible to experiencing America when opening the package and smoking the cigarette.

Advertising discourse on packaging communicated the connection between American cigarettes and the modernizing tobacco industry to a wider audience. In the description of American methods of packaging, advertisers contributed to the idea of the United States as an efficient and modern consumer society. After the Second World War, more brands started to wrap their cigarettes in cellophane and used language similar to American brands.¹⁹⁴ By then, the wrapper no longer signified the United States.

¹⁹² “Alvana advertisement,” *Het Volk*, April 22, 1930.

¹⁹³ “Alvana advertisement,” *De Telegraaf*, July 30, 1933.

¹⁹⁴ “Convoi advertisement,” *Limburgsch Dagblad*, August 5, 1954; “Discovery advertisement,” *De Telegraaf*, January 5, 1951; “Gold Star advertisement,” *De Telegraaf*, November 19, 1963. See also: “Carlton advertisement,” *De Telegraaf*, July 16, 1954; “Everest advertisement,” *De Tijd*, December 17, 1954.

3.3.4 Authority Figures

The fourth way by advertised presented cigarettes as authentic was through the depiction of persons that represented authority. Advertisers used advertorials that featured American authority figures to guarantee the quality and authenticity of American cigarettes. These people also connected the cigarette to the United States. As a consequence, advertorials put forth a notion of the United States as a country of expertise and an authority concerning cigarettes.

At first glance, advertorials looked similar to regular newspaper articles, while in fact they were lengthy advertisements that merged information with marketing slogans.¹⁹⁵ The narrator in these advertorials mimicked the objective and independent voice of the news reporter.¹⁹⁶ According to Holt, this type of advertisement falls within the modern branding paradigm that used cultural engineering and scientific branding to coax consumers.¹⁹⁷

The following two examples taken from advertisements for Lucky Strike and OK Cigarette offer insights into the use of authority figures. Both brands introduced these persons to give credence to the authenticity of their American cigarettes. In 1934, OK Cigarette presented William J. Garvey, “America’s most famous cigarette mixer,” to Dutch consumers (fig 3.24).¹⁹⁸ Garvey was responsible for the Dutch production of the American OK cigarette.¹⁹⁹ The advertisements established the scientific authority of Garvey through visual and textual cues. Garvey had supposedly won numerous medals and trophies for his tobacco blending skills.

¹⁹⁵ Ruth Breeze, *Corporate Discourse* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 137.

¹⁹⁶ Vijay Bhatia, *Worlds of Written Discourse* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014), 133–36.

¹⁹⁷ Holt, “Why Do Brands Cause Trouble?,” 81.

¹⁹⁸ “OK Cigarette advertisement,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, September 17, 1934.

¹⁹⁹ “OK Cigarette advertisement,” *De Telegraaf*, July 18, 1934.

Advertisements depicted him in a white doctor's coat, which endowed Garvey with the expertise of a true scientist. The constructed authority of Garvey made his claims of the OK Cigarette's high quality more convincing.²⁰⁰

After establishing Garvey as an authority figure, advertisements quoted him as saying that OK Cigarette was the best brand he had ever tasted. Garvey claimed that Dutch smokers hesitated before turning to American cigarettes. He ascribed the cigarette's success in the Netherlands to its "longer burning time, strong aroma, and use of the finest tobaccos."²⁰¹ He argued that these low-priced cigarettes were a revelation, even to the most spoiled Americans.²⁰² Garvey claimed that Americans smoked over one hundred million of his cigarettes per day.²⁰³ By referring to an American cigarette-mixer and the approval of the American consumers, OK Cigarette validated the distinctive quality and authenticity of its product, but above all explicitly connected its cigarette to the United States.

²⁰⁰ "OK Cigarette advertisement," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, July 6, 1932.

²⁰¹ *Ibidem*.

²⁰² "Een sensatie op de Hollandsche sigaretten markt," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, August 1, 1934.

²⁰³ "OK Cigarette advertisement," *Leeuwarder Courant*, July 18, 1934.

"My life's best blend"



Ziehier
William J. Garvey -
Amerika's beroemdste
sigaretten-mixer,
winnaar van talrijke
medailles en bekers.
Hij noemt O.K. „het
beste merk van z'n
leven" en verzoekt U
deze heerlijke sigaret
te vergelijken met elke
andere Amerikaanse
sigaret van welken prijs
ook.

Holland, hier is Uw Amerikaanse sigaret! „O.K.!" (Spreek uit O-Kee). William J. Garvey - wiens sigaretten in Amerika bij miljoenen per dag worden gerookt - heeft ze voor U gemaakt. O.K. sigaretten zijn zelfs voor de meest verwende Amerikanen een openbaring en toch kosten ze in Holland slechts 25 cents per 20 stuks. Vergelijkt U ze eens met de duurste Amerikaanse sigaretten en U ontdekt Uw sigaret voor de helft van 't geld!



Elk pakje O.K. sigaretten draagt
William J. Garvey's persoonlijke
garantie en handtekening.

25^c
20 STUKS

Spreek uit: „O-Kee"

2634

Figure 3.24. "OK Cigarette advertisement," *Haagsche Courant*, July 30, 1934

Brands also used authority figures to refute possible health risks associated with smoking. For instance, in 1932 the famous actors Jack Holt and Jean Harlow recommended Lucky Strike cigarettes because these did not harm their throats, which were indispensable to them in their jobs. An included disclaimer tried to make the actors' claim more trustworthy by stating that Lucky Strike did not pay Holt and Harlow to appear in the ad.²⁰⁴ The use of disclaimers also reveals how advertisers were in constant negotiation with consumers regarding the credibility of their claims.

These examples show how advertisers turned to American authority figures to convince Dutch smokers of their brand's quality and authenticity. This branding technique demonstrates the cultural power of the United States and it also shows how brands contributed to the notion of the United States as a country of expertise and authority with regard to cigarettes.

3.4 Conclusion

In the early twentieth century, advertisers linked numerous countries and locations to cigarettes. The cigarette's product nationality during the first half of the twentieth century was closely related to the product's actual origins. In the century's latter half, by contrast, product nationality more clearly functioned as a placeholder for ideas, practices, and values associated with a country.

The link between cigarettes and the United States gained prominence during the 1930s. During this decade, the American cigarette started to occupy a distinct segment of the Dutch cigarette market among Egyptian and Virginia cigarettes—the two other dominant types of cigarettes. After

²⁰⁴ "Lucky Strike advertisement," *Het Vaderland*, July 23, 1932; "Lucky Strike advertisement," *Het Vaderland*, October 28, 1932.

the Second World War, the popularity of American cigarettes skyrocketed. By the 1960s, the United States remained the only product nationality associated with cigarettes in Dutch newspaper advertisements. Toward the end of the 1970s, advertisements for cigarettes increasingly refrained from associating the product with the United States. A possible explanation is that the American publications that associated cigarettes with cancer pressed manufacturers to stop linking their brands to the United States. Even though advertisements understandably did not mention these publications, the following chapter shows that newspapers extensively discussed these publications and more importantly related them to the United States.

The American cigarette introduced new product characteristics to Dutch smokers. Advertisers presented the American cigarette as a mild, cheap, aromatic, king-sized cigarette that came in cellophane wrapped packaging. By the 1960s, this type of cigarette had become the predominant type of cigarettes. In a few decades, the American cigarette industry had transformed how Dutch consumers viewed cigarettes and smoking.

When cigarettes first appeared the connection to the United States denoted that the cigarettes were imported from American factories. In the advertising campaigns for American cigarettes, advertisers used the cigarette's link to the United States as a sign of its authenticity and quality. Advertisements for American cigarettes introduced a new form of branding to the Netherlands, which focused more clearly on a product's authenticity. In the Interbellum, the actual relation to the United States functioned as a way to authenticate a product. The location, method of production, and popularity of the brand in the United States represented high quality, modern cigarettes. When Dutch manufacturers started to produce American cigarettes themselves, advertisers looked for other ways to endow their brands with authenticity. American smokers and American

authority figures now commented on the high quality of Dutch-American cigarettes.

In these constructions of authenticity, advertisers presented Dutch consumers with a dual image of the United States. On the one hand, the United States represented an old-fashioned, nostalgic country populated by cowboys and Native Americans, and on the other, it represented a modern, efficient, cosmopolitan consumer society. The consistent use of the United States as a means to endow a product with authenticity and quality confirms its position as a reference culture.

After the Second World War, the United States became a global presence that exported its consumer goods across the world. As the American cigarette globalized, advertisers put more emphasis on the product's features by "highlighting [the] outward charms that compensated the consumer for not knowing its place of origin or its intrinsic qualities."²⁰⁵ Gradually the geographical link between the United States and cigarettes disappeared. The denominator 'American' no longer referred to the United States, but it signified a type of cigarette that represented specific values, ideas, and practices. Furthermore, advertisers projected these images of the United States onto products that were not American. This form of geographical branding underscores that America was an idea in part disconnected from the United States as a nation and a geographical location. Perhaps, the image of the United States needed to be malleable to some degree for it to retain its dominant position as a reference culture.

Thus, the Americanness of cigarettes denoted more than just a link to their country of origin; it encapsulated a wider brand identity empowered by the perception Dutch consumers had of American culture.

²⁰⁵ de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire*, 198.

Advertisers presented the United States as both an authentic, adventurous country of an unspoiled nature as well as a cosmopolitan, modern, efficient consumer society. This geographical imaginary functioned as a simulacrum of the American consumer society—part reality and part fiction. A central element in this image of the American consumer society was the notion of a self-reliant consumer who formed its identity through the consumption of modern, mass-produced consumer goods. Advertisers not only shaped how Dutch consumers viewed the United States but also how they perceived cigarettes, smoking, and smokers.

This chapter has demonstrated how the United States emerged and functioned as a reference culture. The repeated allusion to the United States in cigarette advertisements solidified the United States' position as a reference culture. Advertisements reiterated particular aspects of American consumer society, while also slightly altering others and introducing novel aspects. Through these recurring associations of cigarettes with the United States, advertisers put forth an idea of the United States that exhibited a certain elasticity of meaning as well as a robust core of ideas, values, and practices associated with American consumer culture.

Chapter 4

America Smokes | From a Nation of Smokers to a Paradise for Non-Smokers

"In America, smokers, by now, appear to be part of a small group of pitiable outcasts ..."¹

¹ "In Amerika schijnen de rokers inmiddels te behoren tot een kleine groepje beklagenswaardige outcasts..." in "Roken", *Limburgsch Dagblad*, July 1, 1989.

This chapter explores the link between cigarettes and the United States in Dutch newspaper articles published between 1890 and 1990. The central question is how did newspaper link cigarettes to the United States and what does this tell us about the role of the United States as a reference culture? The previous chapter focused on advertisements, which were to a large extent driven by the demands of the producers, whereas the articles analyzed in this chapter were produced by journalists.

These questions are answered in two sections. The first section determines how newspaper articles related cigarettes to the United States. It first describes the distribution of articles that associated cigarettes to the United States. It subsequently compares the popularity of the American cigarette and other types of cigarettes in Dutch newspapers. Finally, the section turns to topic modeling and corpus linguistics to determine in which domains newspapers related cigarettes to the United States.

The second section elaborates on three themes already mentioned in the first section and three different ways in which Dutch newspapers associated cigarettes with the United States. These closer examinations reveal what people knew about, and thought of, the United States. Moreover, the section also discusses how newspapers turned to the United States in debates associated with cigarettes and smoking. This helps us understand how the United States emerged and functioned as a reference culture in this particular context.

The first theme deals with specific characteristics that Dutch newspapers associated with the American cigarette: the artificial nature of the American cigarette, the business politics of the American Tobacco Trust, and the success of the American cigarette. These characteristics were either directly related to the American cigarette or representative of the American cigarette industry. Newspaper articles on these

characteristics show which ideas, values, and practices were commonly associated with the American cigarette.

The second theme includes three aspects that Dutch newspapers related to American women who smoked cigarettes. The first aspect deals with the American attitude toward women who smoke in public. The second one relates to the lack of restraint in American women regarding cigarette consumption. The final aspect involves certain differences between American and European women. The question that runs through all three debates is: how did Dutch newspapers represent the American female smoker? Did she feature as an example of emancipation or as a less sophisticated version of the European woman? And what does the representation of the American female smoker tell us about the Dutch perception of American consumer society?

The third theme deals with newspaper discourse about American attempts to curtail cigarette consumption. Dutch newspapers discussed the active anti-smoking movement in the United States, the entanglement between research and the cigarette industry, and the impact of the American anti-smoking movement on Dutch perceptions of smoking. This section tries to understand how ideas and events in the United States shaped the Dutch perception of smoking in the United States. Did the United States signify an unfettered consumption of cigarettes, or perhaps a culture of anti-smoking underpinned by strict legislation?

4.1 The American Cigarette Dominates Dutch Newspapers

This section shows how I applied computational methods to determine when and how the association between cigarettes and the United States was established in the digitized Dutch newspaper corpus. The methods used in this chapter are n-gram frequency counts, document frequency counts, and topic modeling. By combining and contrasting the output

generated by these methods, I was able to paint a fuller picture of the underlying newspaper corpus.

This first section uses three ways to demonstrate when and how newspapers linked cigarettes to the United States. First, I will compare the distribution of documents in various subsets of the corpus. These distributions illustrate when and how often cigarettes and the United States appeared in the same article. Moreover, I will investigate the most frequent words in peak years to understand what drove upticks in document frequency. From this I can determine whether specific events or debates promoted the association between cigarettes and the United States?

Second, I will chart the nationalities that newspapers associated with cigarettes. By plotting the frequencies of product nationalities over time, I show when the American cigarette emerged and how popular it was compared to other cigarettes. The comparison of different types of cigarettes adds perspective to the popularity of the American cigarette. It helps to identify periods during which the American cigarette diverged in popularity from other cigarettes. These periods will then be further explored.

The third step determines in which domains newspapers discussed the link between cigarettes and the United States. The selected domains are based on the underlying data rather than secondary sources. I applied two techniques to extract these domains from articles on cigarettes: topic modeling and the frequency count of bigrams. The former entails a technique for finding thematic structures in texts by organizing and finding patterns in texts.¹ For the latter, I extracted bigrams that included the adjective ‘American’. After sorting these bigrams by frequency, the

¹ For more on topic modeling see the section Topic Modeling in Chapter 1.

resulting list displayed the most popular entities that were explicitly related to the United States in newspaper articles on cigarettes.

4.1.1 Document Frequency Distribution

The digitized Dutch newspaper corpus used for this thesis contains 185,004 articles that mentioned cigarettes (Corpus A), 22,565 articles that referenced cigarettes and the United States (Corpus B), and 1,133 documents in which cigarettes and the United States appeared within a window of fifteen words (Corpus C) (table 4.1).² The presence of the words ‘cigarette’ and ‘United States’ in the same article (Corpus B) does not necessarily entail that they are semantically related. Therefore, Corpus C looks for the occurrence of the two words in closer proximity, namely fifteen words apart, which makes it more likely that a semantic relationship between the terms exists.

Table 4.1. The size and description of the corpora of articles on cigarettes

Corpus	Description	# of articles
Corpus A	Articles that mentioned ‘cigarettes’	185,004
Corpus B	Articles that mentioned ‘cigarettes’ and ‘the United States’	22,565
Corpus C	Articles that mentioned ‘cigarettes’ and ‘the United States’ within a span of 15 words	1,133

The distribution of documents in Corpus B and C shows that the United States was a constant presence from the 1920s onwards (figure 4.1).³ The dip between 1907 and 1912 relates to the general decrease in references to the United States in newspaper articles.⁴ Before the 1920s, the trend line

² The query for Corpus A: CIGARET* SIGARET*, and Corpus B: +(CIGARET* SIGARET*) + (“VEREENIGDE STATEN” “VERENIGDE STATEN” USA U.S.A. AMERI?A* “UNITED STATES”).

³ Figure 4.1. has a logarithmic y-scale, which makes it easier to compare the two trend lines that consist of large and small values. Furthermore, a logarithmic y-scale displays fractional changes, which allows for a comparison of the velocity of changes of two different trend lines.

⁴ See chapter 2 for more details on the dip between 1907 and 1912.

for Corpus A diverged from Corpus B and C, which indicates that newspapers wrote more about cigarettes while references to the United States did not increase. After 1920, the trend lines in Corpus A, B, and C closely mirror each other, which indicates that newspapers persistently mentioned the United States.

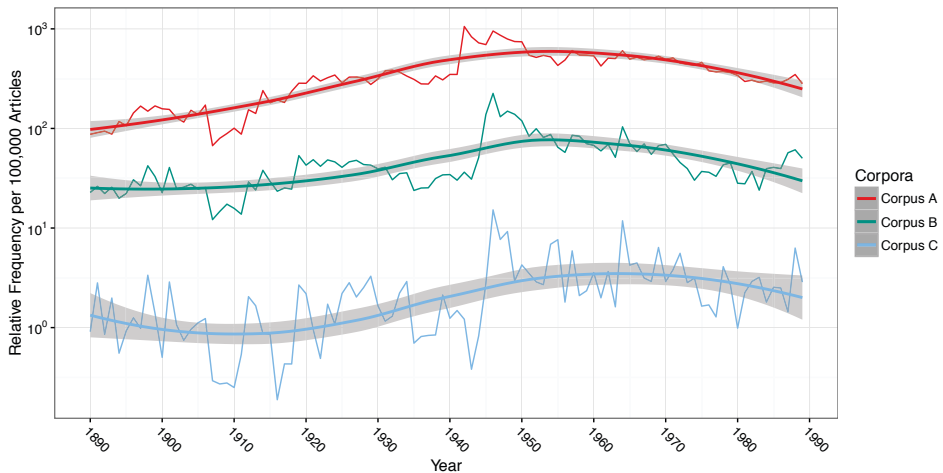


Figure 4.1. Relative annual frequency of articles in Corpus A ($n = 185,004$), B ($n = 22,565$), and C ($n = 1,133$)

Closer inspection of the peaks in document frequency in Corpus A and B shows that Corpus B moves toward Corpus A around the turn of the twentieth century, the 1920s, mid-1940s, mid-1960s, late 1970s, and late 1980s. The decreased difference between the corpora in these periods suggests that more articles on cigarettes mentioned the United States. The higher number of articles that mentioned the cigarette and the United States does not necessarily mean that the articles associated the two. Indeed, the two words might not have a semantic relationship at all.

Corpus C offers additional information on the link between cigarettes and the United States. Because of the closer proximity of the United States and cigarettes in the articles within Corpus C, these articles are more likely to associate cigarettes with the United States. The trend line for Corpus C (fig. 4.1) shows that newspapers related cigarettes to the

United States more explicitly in the 1920s, that the association was most present in the 1950s and 1960s, and that the link slowly decayed from the 1970s onwards. The trend line also confirms that the peaks in Corpus B were also present in Corpus C, which indicates that the peaks resulted from articles that related cigarettes to the United States.

Closer examination of the distribution of documents in Corpus C shows that articles in which cigarettes co-occurred with the United States peaked in the following periods: 1890-1902 ($n = 38$), 1912-1913 ($n = 20$), 1919-1920 ($n = 26$), 1925-1934 ($n = 235$), 1946-1948 ($n = 59$), 1954-1957 ($n = 82$), 1964 ($n = 53$), 1972 ($n = 24$), 1978 ($n = 16$), and 1987-1989 ($n = 40$). I generated word clouds for the seventy-five most frequent words in these periods to determine whether specific events or debates boosted the number of articles.⁵ In what follows, I briefly outline the trends and significant words in these word clouds. The second half of this chapter zeroes in on the most significant findings derived from these word clouds.

The set of word clouds suggests two trends. First, the United States became more prominent over time, which is represented by terms such as ‘America’ (*Amerika*) and ‘American’ (*Amerikaanse / Amerikaansche*) moving to the center of the word cloud. Second, newspapers shifted their focus from ‘tobacco’ (*tabak*) and ‘cigars’ (*sigaar*) to ‘cigarettes’ (*sigaretten*) and the practice of ‘smoking’ (*roken*).

⁵ The word clouds display the seventy-five most frequent terms per year in articles from Corpus C. The word clouds only show words longer than three characters that appeared in less than 99 percent of all documents. I also applied the Dutch stop word list from the R package ‘tm’.



Figure 4.2. Word cloud
1890-1902



Figure 4.3. Word cloud
1912-1913



Figure 4.4. Word cloud
1919-1920

In 1890-1902 (fig. 4.2), the United States was one of many players on the global tobacco market as indicated by the presence of various other countries, such as England (*Engeland*), Spain (*Spanje*), Cuba, and Germany (*Duitschland*). The United States (*Amerika / Vereenigde / Staten*) appears in the periphery of the word cloud, which implies that the country only played a minor role. The cigarette was mentioned alongside tobacco (*tabak*) and cigars (*sigaren*), which demonstrates that the product did not yet dominate the tobacco trade.

The word cloud for 1912 and 1913 (fig. 4.3) shows a more regional perspective with the Netherlands (*Nederland*) and Germany (*Duitschland*) appearing. The cigarette still figured alongside cigars and tobacco. The word cloud also included the words ‘factories’ (*fabrieken*), ‘personnel’ and ‘laborer’ (*personeel / arbeiders*), which suggests that the American cigarette was not only seen as an imported product but also part of an industry. Figures 4.3 and 4.4 show that newspapers also mentioned ‘women’ (*dame / dames / vrouw*) in the context of the cigarette. This trend denotes that the consumption of cigarettes by women was a noteworthy topic in newspapers.

During the 1920s, the United States acquired a stronger association with cigarettes as exhibited by the central position that ‘America’ occupied in the word cloud (fig. 4.4). Also, the words ‘capital’ (*kapitaal*),

World War when the importation and production of cigarettes was rationed by the Dutch government.⁶

Figure 4.7 reveals that between 1954 and 1957 newspapers placed the cigarettes and the United States in a medical context. Words such as ‘lung cancer’ (*longkanker*), ‘cancer’ (*kanker*), ‘medical’ (*medische*), and ‘danger’ (*gevaar*) all point to articles that discuss the health risks of cigarettes. Moreover, the centrality of ‘smoking’ (*roken*) illustrates how the act of smoking became a topic in this period. Previous word clouds mostly discussed cigarettes as an object of trade.



Figure 4.8. Word cloud
1964

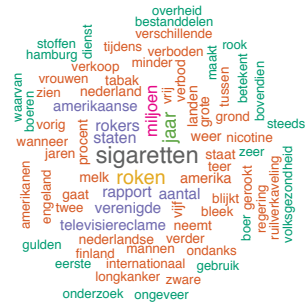


Figure 4.9. Word cloud
1972



Figure 4.10. Word cloud
1978



Figure 4.11. Word cloud
1987-1989

⁶ See for instance: “Sigarettenmokel in haven,” *De Waarheid*, July 21, 1947.

Newspapers continued to position cigarettes in a medical context in the 1960s. In 1964, Surgeon General Luther Terry published the Report on Smoking and Health that linked smoking to cancer. The word cloud for 1964 (fig. 4.8) confirms that newspapers discussed this publication. The word cloud contains ‘lung cancer’ (*longkanker*), ‘report’ (*rapport*), ‘connection’ (*verband*), ‘health’ (*gezondheid*), and ‘research’ (*onderzoek*). These words all come from articles that reported on the publication of this particular report.

The word clouds for 1972 and 1978 (figs. 4.9 and 4.10) introduce the words ‘television advertising’ (*televisiereclame*), ‘nicotine’, ‘tar’ (*teer*), ‘coronary disease’ (*vaatziekte*), ‘public health’ (*volksgezondheid*), ‘non-smokers’ (*niet-rokers*), and ‘Califano’. These words demonstrate that Dutch newspapers continued reporting on the health risks associated with smoking. Moreover, ‘public health’, ‘television advertising’, and ‘non-smokers’ point to the increasing political power of the anti-smoking movement, which led to the 1970 ban on cigarette advertisements on radio and television. The term ‘Califano’ refers to Joseph Califano, President Jimmy Carter’s Secretary of Health, who was a driving force behind the ban on smoking in public spaces in the United States.

In the late 1980s cigarettes no longer were a central notion (fig. 4.11). Smoking (*roken*) itself had become the core issue in this period. Peripheral terms such as ‘banned’ (*verboden*) and ‘less’ (*minder*) suggest that newspapers in the late 1980s wrote about cigarette bans and the decreasing cigarette consumption in the United States. The aspect of health (*gezondheid*) was also mentioned.

In conclusion, the distribution of documents on cigarettes and the United States shows that newspapers started to link cigarettes to the United States in the 1920s. Both cigarette and the United States became central concepts in the interwar period. Newspapers discussed the economic

aspects of the American cigarette industry and the growing importation of American cigarettes. In the 1950s, the issue of health became a topic of debate and it remained part of the discourse on cigarettes until 1990. In the 1980s, the American cigarette was no longer a distinctive entity in Dutch newspapers. However, smoking and anti-smoking movements were related to the United States.

With 1964 as an exception, word clouds indicated that newspaper discourse did not seem to be driven by one single event. The absence of a core issue does not mean that there might not have been smaller events associated with the United States that fueled particular debates as indicated by the previous figures. These figures also demonstrate that word clouds based on word frequencies, however, are not the best way to uncover the words related to these events. Word clouds do offer evidence of the existence of particular topics that deserve further scrutiny, such as the act of smoking, gender, health risks, and the increase and decrease of cigarette consumption in the United States.

4.1.2 Plotting the Product Nationalities of Cigarettes

In the second step of the analysis, I plotted the nationalities that newspapers associated with cigarettes. The annual relative frequencies of these product nationalities disclose when the American cigarette emerged and how popular it was compared to other nationalities. Figure 4.12 displays the relative annual frequency of occurrences of bigrams that contained a nationality and the word ‘cigarette’ in Corpus A.⁷

⁷ The queried bigrams were: AMERI?A* ?IGARET*, ENGELS* ?IGARET* | BRITS* ?IGARET*, TURKS* ?IGARET*, EGYPTIS* ?IGARET*, NEDERLANDS* ?IGARET*.

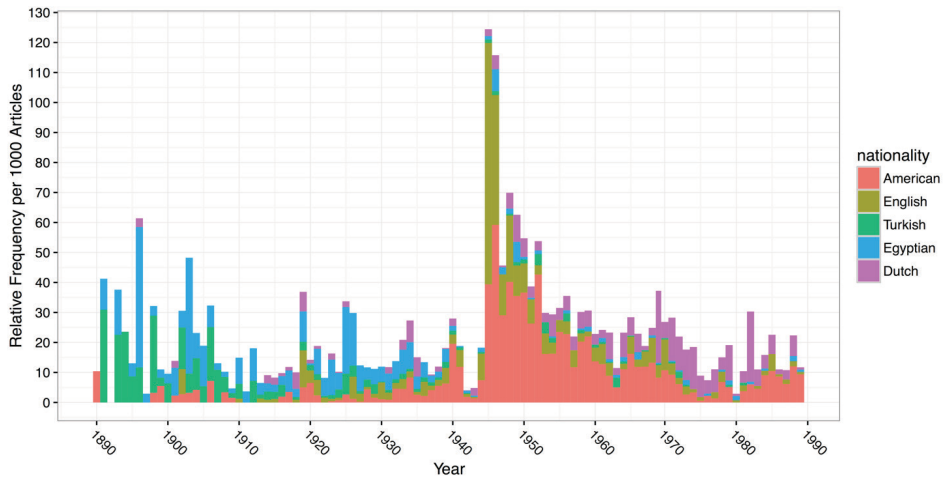


Figure 4.12. A stacked bar chart of the relative annual frequency of ‘cigarettes’ and nationality as an adjective in Dutch newspaper articles

The stacked bar chart (fig. 4.12) shows that before the First World War, Turkish and Egyptian cigarettes dominated Dutch newspaper discourse. Newspapers only occasionally mentioned American cigarettes around the turn of the century. This trend continued until 1930, after which the number of references to the United States slowly grew. Simultaneously, the popularity of Egyptian and Turkish cigarettes waned in the 1930s. This drop suggests that the cigarette was losing its public image as an Oriental product and was more clearly perceived as an American and English one.

After 1945, American and English cigarettes dominated newspaper discourse. Similar to trends in advertising discourse (see chapter 3), the popularity of the English cigarette quickly diminished in the first years after the Second World War. In the years that followed, the American cigarette continued to be the most prominent, which underlines Brandt’s claim that the American cigarette came to define modern cigarettes. Nonetheless, from the 1950s onwards the number of references to the American cigarette also declined.

In the postwar period, the bigram DUTCH CIGARETTE* became a stronger presence in newspaper discourse. Closer examination shows that this phrase appeared in articles that discussed Dutch cigarettes as well as the Dutch cigarette industry.⁸ After 1970, newspapers associated cigarettes more frequently with the Netherlands than with other nationalities. This trend suggests that newspapers were less oriented toward foreign businesses and more invested in the domestic cigarette industry.

Figure 4.12 demonstrates that Dutch newspapers talked most actively about the American cigarette during the interwar period and the first twenty-five years after the Second World War. The trend in articles closely mirrors that in advertisements (cf. chapter 3). Moreover, the emergence of the United States as a dominant product nationality aligns with the research results in the previous section that was derived from the word frequency counts and document distributions.

4.1.3 Extracting Domains

This section discusses how I used topic modeling and frequency counts of bigrams to discern the context in which newspapers linked cigarettes to the United States. The section first interprets the topic models generated from Corpus B. Then it presents a visual representation of the most frequent bigrams with American as an adjective. This representation demonstrates which American entities newspapers most commonly discussed in the context of cigarettes.

⁸ Two prominent bigrams included ‘Dutch cigarette industry’ (*Nederlandse sigarettenindustrie*) and ‘Dutch cigarette market’ (*Nederlandse sigarettenmarkt*).

Topic Modeling

Topic modeling uses an unsupervised data-driven approach to identify the domains in which newspapers discussed cigarettes and the United States. For the topic modeling, I used the R package ‘STM’ (structural topic model).⁹ I applied STM to subsets of Corpus B.¹⁰ These subsets corresponded to consecutive ten-year periods between 1890 and 1990. Appendix 4.1 contains the most significant topics that resulted from the topic modeling of Corpus B. I relied on three types of word weighting to determine the order of the words in each topic. *Highest Prob* selects the words with the highest probability. *FREX* includes frequent and exclusive words, and *LIFT* highlights particular words within phrases that are more prevalent within a group of documents compared to the average across the corpus.¹¹ Whenever it was unclear what a topic referred to, I examined articles that contained distinctive words from that particular topic.¹² After describing the topics, I arranged them into five categories: trade, domestic events, international events, culture, and health.

1890-1919

The topic modeling output (appendix 4.1) reveals that before the interwar period the articles in Corpus B can be categorized into four domains: trade (A1, A7, B1, B4, B14, C1, C5, C12, C13, and C15), domestic events (A5,

⁹ Molly Roberts, Brandon Stewart, and Dustin Tingley, “Stm: A R Package for the Structural Topic Model,” accessed May 17, 2016, <http://structuraltopicmodel.com/>.

¹⁰ I segmented the corpus on the article level, which means that the topic modeling algorithm approached each article as a single document. In the case of longer documents, such as novels, people often segment on paragraph level or by a set number of words.

¹¹ For more on these measure see the reference manual at: Molly Roberts, Dustin Tingley, and Brandon Stewart, *Stm: Estimation of the Structural Topic Model*, version 1.1.3, 2016, <https://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/stm/index.html>. For more on the *LIFT* measure see: Matt Taddy, “Multinomial Inverse Regression for Text Analysis,” *arXiv:1012.2098 [Stat]*, December 9, 2010, <http://arxiv.org/abs/1012.2098>.

¹² Even after iterating between the topic modeling output and the underlying texts, it was not always clear what certain topics denoted. I removed these topics from appendix 4.1.

B3, C2, and C8), international events (B6, B8, B15, and C4), and the cultural connotations of smoking (A8 and C6).

Articles on trade formed the most dominant topic. Before 1910, these articles predominantly discussed the tobacco and cigar market. An important entity within articles on trade was the American Tobacco Trust (B4 and C1). The section “Dutch Distrust of the American Tobacco Trust” explores how newspapers discussed the American Tobacco Trust.

After trade, the most prominent domain was domestic events, which shows that newspapers focused on local events. Articles on domestic incidents ranged from stories on fires (*brand / vlammen*) caused by cigars and cigarettes to theft (*stolen / police*) of tobacco and cigarettes. These stories usually were rather short and offered little information on the association between cigarettes and the United States.

Despite the emphasis on domestic affairs, international events also found their way into the newspaper discourse on cigarettes. Between 1890 and 1920, newspapers mentioned the Boer War (B8), the Japan-Russian War (B15), and, unsurprisingly, the First World War (C4). Newspapers related cigarettes to these global events in articles that discussed how these wars impacted the global trade of tobacco, cigars, and cigarettes. This underscores the prominence of trade and the economy in newspapers in this period.

The topics that discussed cigarettes within a cultural context were sparse. Newspapers talked about the World Expositions in 1893 and 1897 (A8). Moreover, reporters penned articles about cigarettes in the context of female smokers (A8 and C6). Section 4.2.2 investigates the representation of women smokers in the United States in more detail.

1920-1950

The high number of topics on trade between 1920 and 1950 shows that these topics had gained even more prominence (D1, D2, D4, D12, E1, E2, E11, F2, F7, F10, F14, and F17). Also, the international events domain remained a strong presence in newspapers (D3, F8, F13, and F20). Reports on domestic events decreased, which might stem from a shift in the focus of newspaper reporting: newspapers professionalized and shifted their focus on events of national and international importance.¹³

In the thirty years after the First World War, the number of topics that framed the cigarettes within a cultural context increased. Newspapers discussed the American style of advertising (E2), and cigarettes within movies (D7 and E8). The former might result from an increase in advertisements for American cigarettes in the Netherlands. The latter was ostensibly related to the popularity of American movies in the Netherlands.¹⁴ Also, the discourse on female smokers continued after the First World War (D11). Lastly, in the 1920s, newspapers discussed the health risks associated with smoking for the first time (D9). Section 4.2.3 explores this particular topic in more detail.

Overall, the topic models for the Interbellum show that newspapers started to mention the cigarette outside of the sphere of trade and international events, which indicates that the cigarette had acquired cultural connotations and signified more than just a trading good.

¹³ Rooij, *Kranten*, 1974, 72–93; Wijfjes, *Journalistiek in Nederland, 1850-2000*, 143–77.

¹⁴ Karel Dibbets and Thunnis van Oort, “American Movies Reach the Netherlands,” in *Four Centuries of Dutch-American Relations, 1609-2009*, ed. Hans Krabbendam, Cornelis van Minnen, and Giles Scott-Smith (Albany: SUNY Press, 2009), 479–85.

1950-1989

In the topic models for the post-war period, trade (G1, G2, H17, I5, I13, J2, and J10) as well international events (G11, G15, H1, H5, I7, J4, and J17) continued to be well represented. The latter mostly mentioned the cigarette in reports on the Vietnam War and the Cold War. In the domain of international events, a number of topics specifically referred to American politics. The topics associated with politics after the Second World War included the names of American presidents such as Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon (G15, H1, and I7). The higher specificity of these words suggests an increase in interest in the American political system after the Second World War. How exactly cigarettes were related to these presidents cannot be discerned from the topic modeling. It could well be that the increase in topics on American politics stems from the overall growth of articles on this subject (see chapter 2).

The topic models after the Second World War display two other notable general changes that were more evidently related to cigarettes. First, newspapers placed more emphasis on the health risks and the growing anti-smoking movement in the United States (G17, H3, H11, H18, H19, I2, I10, J7, J9, and J11). Topics referred to the publication of reports that linked lung cancer to cigarettes in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, (G17, H3, and I10), research on the levels of tar and nicotine in cigarettes (I2 and J7), and smoking bans in the 1970s (J7, H11, and J11). Second, newspapers debated cigarettes and smoking as part of the American consumer culture (G14, H11, H14, H20, and I4). Specific themes in this domain included American advertising (G14, H11, and H14) and the level of consumption in the United States (H20 and I4). These two themes will be examined more closely in section 4.2.1.

To summarize, topic modeling shows that Dutch newspapers primarily discussed American cigarettes in two domains: trade and international events specifically related to the United States. Closer

examination of the articles related to these two domains disclosed that they offer little information on the Dutch perception of the relationship between cigarettes and the United States. During the interwar period, the cultural aspect of the cigarette received more attention as expressed by topics on advertising, cigarettes in movies, and female smokes. After the Second World War, newspapers put more emphasis on the health risks of cigarettes. The articles underlying the less prominent domains prove to be better suited to answer this chapter's central research question. Therefore, the second section of this chapter zeroes in on the following themes that were expressed in the less prominent domains: the characteristics of the American cigarette and the American cigarette industry, the representation of the American female smoker, and debates on the American anti-smoking movement.

Bigrams with the Adjective 'American'

The second method that I applied to identify the domains in which newspapers related cigarettes to the United States was the extraction of bigrams with the adjective American (*Amerikaanse / Amerikaansche*). These bigrams referred to American entities that newspapers mentioned in articles on cigarettes. Although this method is not as sophisticated and detailed as topic modeling, its results nonetheless aligned with those produced by topic modeling.

After extracting and ordering the bigrams on frequency, I categorized them into seven categories: military, trade, gender, media, culture, science, and government. Figure 4.13 displays a network graph of the bigrams and their categorization. The size of the categories is fixed, while the size of the nodes corresponds to the frequency of the bigram in Corpus B. The three most prominent domains—represented by the number of nodes in a domain and the size of the nodes—are the military, trade, and

government. This output corresponds to the topic models presented in appendix 4.1.

I used the bigrams in the domains as keywords to query the corpus and locate articles that offered information on the themes discussed in the second part of the chapter. In the domain Trade, I used ‘tobacco trust’ (*tabakstrust*) and ‘tobacco industry’ (*tabaksindustrie*). The most prominent bigrams associated with Gender were ‘female’ (*vrouw*) and ‘lady’ (*dame*). These bigrams pointed to articles on female smokers. Bigrams in the domain Science, such as ‘research’ (*onderzoek*), ‘physician’ (*arts*), ‘scholars’ (*geleerden*), ‘medical’ (*medische*), and ‘report’ (*rapport*) represented the health aspect of cigarettes. The domain Culture encompassed various general bigrams that deserved further examination, such as ‘public’ (*publiek*), ‘way’ (*wijze*), ‘citizens’ (*burgers*), ‘people’ (*volk*), and ‘origin’ (*oorsprong*).



Figure 4.13. Bigrams with the adjective 'American' in Corpus B between 1890 and 1990

4.1.4 Conclusion

Throughout the twentieth century, Dutch newspapers related cigarettes to the United States. Although the United States started producing cigarettes in the nineteenth century and the Dutch already imported American cigarettes in the late nineteenth century, newspapers only sporadically wrote about American cigarettes in the first decades of the twentieth century. In the 1920s, this link became more apparent as newspapers published more articles that related cigarettes to the United States. The most prominent themes were the economy and politics. In the two decades after the Second World War, newspapers devoted the most attention to these domains. In the same period, newspapers shifted their focus to certain medical connotations of American cigarettes. As I mentioned earlier, the key event linking cigarettes to the United States was the publication of the 1964 Report on Health and Smoking. During the 1970s, the number of articles that related cigarettes to the United States slowly declined.

The computational techniques I used in this section helped me to pinpoint debates and trends relevant to answering how newspapers linked cigarettes to the United States. By extracting keywords associated with these debates, I was able to locate meaningful articles in a vast body of texts. Consequently, I managed to peel away the dominant layers of the discourse to reach particular strands that were informative of the links between cigarettes and the United States. These strands included debates on the health risks associated with smoking, the American anti-smoking movement, the representation of the American female smoker, and the American cigarette as a signifier of American consumer culture. The second half of this chapter explores how newspapers discussed these themes in more detail.

4.2 The Cigarette as a Synecdoche for the United States

This second section explores how Dutch newspapers related cigarettes to the United States. Its first part unravels three characteristics that Dutch newspapers associated with the American cigarette: the artificiality of the American cigarette, the business politics of the American Tobacco Trust, and the success of the American cigarette. These aspects signify what the American cigarette symbolized for Dutch consumers. Moreover, the framing of these aspects indicates how Dutch consumers perceived American consumer culture. The central question underlying this part is: what ideas, practices, and values did Dutch newspapers associate with the American cigarette?

The second part discusses how newspapers represented the American female smoker. It addresses three aspects related to American women who smoked cigarettes: the response to women smoking in public, the American woman's abundant cigarette consumption, and the distinctions between American and European women. The questions underlying all three aspects are: how did Dutch newspapers present the American female smoker? Did she feature as an example of emancipation or as a lesser version of the European woman?

The third part depicts how Dutch newspapers framed the American anti-smoking movement, American research into *healthier* cigarettes, and the American influence on the Dutch perception of smoking. This final part argues that during the 1960s the United States moved from the symbol of cigarette consumption and a booming cigarette industry to that of a culture of anti-smoking.

4.2.1 The Characteristics of the American Cigarette

In 1890, *De Tijd* published a letter that spoke of pictures that came with packs of American cigarettes. The letter's anonymous author regarded the pictures as "to say the least, indelicate."¹⁵ The addition of sturdy paper cards with pictures of athletes or movie stars to packs of cigarettes did, indeed, originate in the United States in the 1870s.¹⁶ Manufacturers added the cards to strengthen the package and protect the cigarettes. Of course, the cards were also a device to sell more cigarettes because people wanted to collect all the pictures in a series.

The anonymous author's unfamiliarity with this practice suggests that American cigarettes were still relatively unknown to most Dutch consumers in the late nineteenth century. Moreover, this letter to the editor illustrates that consumers discussed the origin of cigarettes and attributed characteristics to cigarettes according to their product nationality. The bewilderment over the content of the images exemplified the strong attraction American imagery and branding had for Dutch consumers. The American cigarette in this example signified more than just a cigarette; it also denoted new branding techniques and vices associated with American culture. In other words, it operated as a synecdoche: a part that represents the whole. This example is one of many ways in which Dutch newspapers discussed American cigarettes and ascribed characteristics to the cigarette. The following section describes three characteristics that Dutch newspapers frequently attributed to the American cigarette: the artificial nature of the American cigarette, the shrewd business politics of the American Tobacco Trust, and the popularity of the American cigarette.

¹⁵ "Sigaretten met plaatjes," *De Tijd*, February 26, 1890.

¹⁶ Proctor, *Golden Holocaust*, 60.

Artificiality

Before the First World War, the adjective American in ‘American cigarette’ commonly referred to the actual location of production. In the interwar period, product nationality became detached from the product’s origin, when foreign tobacco companies settled in the Netherlands to manufacture American, Virginia, and Egyptian cigarettes. Dutch cigarette companies soon followed suit and also started to produce those varieties. The domestic production of Virginia and American blended cigarettes further disconnected these kinds of cigarettes from their American and British origins. The disconnect between product nationality and the actual location of production allowed manufacturers to refer more freely to nationality as part of a product’s brand identity.¹⁷ The newfound freedom to associate a product with a country changed product nationality from being an indication of origin to a descriptor of features, such as taste or branding. The domestic production of ‘foreign’ cigarettes made it more difficult for consumers to ascertain the actual origin of cigarettes in the interwar period.

When Dutch manufacturers started to endow their products with an American brand identity, this led to debates whether companies should be forced to include the actual country of origin in the branding of their cigarettes.¹⁸ Newspapers responding to the artificial nature of product nationalities for the American cigarette served as an example.¹⁹ Critics expressed their amazement over the attraction that American brand identities had on Dutch smokers. In an interview in *Het Vrije Volk*, Remi Mignot—CEO of the Crescent cigarette factory in Eindhoven—wondered

¹⁷ See chapter 3 for more on this particular transition in newspaper advertisements.

¹⁸ “Land van herkomst op sigaretten verplicht,” *Het Vrije Volk*, May 11, 1950.

¹⁹ “Zonderzorghemmetjes kopen wij niet,” *Het Vrije Volk*, October 20, 1956.

why Dutch smokers preferred cigarettes with a foreign image over Dutch cigarettes, even though most cigarettes were produced in the Netherlands.²⁰ Notwithstanding the constructed nature of its product nationality, the Dutch expressed a consistent preference for American brand identities. In 1960, *De Telegraaf* claimed that “for a cigarette to be successful in the Netherlands, its package needed to include English words.”²¹ The continued preference for American brand identities suggests that Dutch consumers either appreciated the association with the United States, or they were not bothered by the artificial nature of the product nationality, or perhaps failed to understand it.

Newspapers, on the other hand, did object to the artificial taste of American cigarettes. The papers characterized the flavor of the American cigarette as heavier than the Egyptian cigarette, albeit less penetrating and sharp than the English.²² The distinct mild, sweet taste and strong aromatic flavor of American cigarettes resulted from saucing, a process that involved the addition of taste enhancers to tobacco. Newspapers criticized saucing and labeled it a typically American practice.²³ The addition of flavoring agents gave the American cigarette an unsophisticated artificial character.²⁴ Many of the sauces used were a manufacturing secret, which led to speculation about the contents of these sauces, which ranged from natural products and sugars to alcohol and opium.²⁵ Critics claimed that saucing removed the pure taste of tobacco

²⁰ “De sigaret in Nederland,” *Noordbrabantsch Dagblad het Huisgezin*, May 23, 1940.

²¹ “Reclame,” *De Telegraaf*, April 16, 1960.

²² “Op en rond de Leeuwarder Markt,” *De Heerenveensche Koerier*, October 29, 1949.

²³ “De sigaret in Nederland,” *De Courant*, January 19, 1943; see also: “Zoete geuren,” *Mooi Limburg*, September 9, 1939.

²⁴ “Lof der tabak,” *De Tijd*, July 29, 1958.

²⁵ This claim appeared in numerous newspaper articles, such as: “De samenstelling van gesausde sigaretten,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, March 13, 1941; “Amerikaantjes,” *Rotterdamsch*

and allowed manufacturers to use inferior and unsafe tobaccos. Saucing would lead to a standardized bland tobacco taste.²⁶ This characterization of the American cigarette reflected back on the American smoker, who newspapers described as a “sauce smoker” and not a “tobacco smoker.”²⁷ The American smoker represented a lack of sophistication and a preference for artificially intense but also one-dimensional flavors.

The discourse on the taste of American cigarettes communicated specific ideas about the United States: American products were assumed to be artificial and not to be able to compete with the authentic taste of an Old World product. Moreover, the mechanization of production and the saucing of tobacco signified a modern consumer society characterized by blandness and artificiality instead of authenticity and sophistication. The criticism of the invented product nationality and the taste of the American cigarette signals unease over American methods of production and branding. At the same time, these stories were relatively uncommon, which raises the question how widespread the criticism of these American practices actually was among Dutch consumers.

Dutch Distrust of the American Tobacco Trust

In 1925, *Algemeen Handelsblad* listed facets of American society that had traveled to Europe, such as movies, boxers, jazz bands, technological marvels, and trusts. The article claimed that these facets signified a central tenet of American culture, namely the need to lead a good and desirable life.²⁸ In this particular example, trusts signified the

Nieuwsblad, March 13, 1941; “Saus-rookers kunnen gerust zijn,” *Limburger Koerier*, March 15, 1941; “Toenemende belangstelling voor Virginia tabak,” *De Residentiebode*, February 7, 1942.

²⁶ “Amerikanisme,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, November 14, 1925; “Hedendaagse smaak,” *De Telegraaf*, August 10, 1951.

²⁷ “Saus-rookers kunnen gerust zijn,” *Limburger Koerier*, March 15, 1941; “Geen tabaksgebrek meer te vreezen,” *De Noord-Ooster*, March 15, 1941.

²⁸ “Amerikanisme,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, November 14, 1925.

implementation of new organizational structures to improve the life of Americans.

Trusts in the United States first materialized at the end of the nineteenth century, a period known as the Gilded Age. During this period, the United States underwent rapid industrialization. Powerful companies formed trusts that controlled the production of particular resources, such as steel, oil, railroads, and tobacco. This paragraph describes how Dutch newspaper discourse reveals a distrust of American business politics, in particular the American Tobacco Trust.

The American Tobacco Trust was one of the major trusts in the United States. It played an instrumental role in the growth of the American cigarette industry in the US and abroad. James Buchanan Duke, who headed the Tobacco Trust, modernized the American tobacco industry by mechanizing the production process.²⁹ In the late nineteenth century, Duke expanded his business to Europe and purchased factories in Germany and the United Kingdom.³⁰

For a long time, the Tobacco Trust monopolized the American tobacco market.³¹ In 1907, the government's exercise of the Sherman Antitrust Act (1890) forced the American Tobacco Trust to disband, although this would only be effectuated in 1911 after a series of legal battles.³² The four corporations that emerged from the disbandment would ultimately control the American cigarette industry during the

²⁹ These books provide an in-depth analysis of the American cigarette history, with a specific focus on the role of James Duke. Cox, *The Global Cigarette*; Proctor, *Golden Holocaust*; Brandt, *The Cigarette Century*; Victor Kiernan, *Tobacco: A History* (London: Hutchinson Radius, 1991).

³⁰ Sander Gilman and Xun Zhou, eds., *Smoke: A Global History of Smoking* (London: Reaktion Books, 2004), 20.

³¹ Brandt, *The Cigarette Century*, 34.

³² Proctor, *Golden Holocaust*, 17.

remainder of the twentieth century. These companies were the American Tobacco Company, Liggett & Myers, R.J. Reynolds, and P. Lorillard.³³

Before the First World War, Dutch newspapers regularly mentioned ‘trusts’ in the context of tobacco and cigarettes (fig. 4.14).³⁴ Newspapers first mentioned the American Tobacco Trust in the late nineteenth century and continued to do so until the 1930s. Figure 14 shows that newspaper discourse before the Second World War peaked in two periods: 1902-1906, 1913-1916.

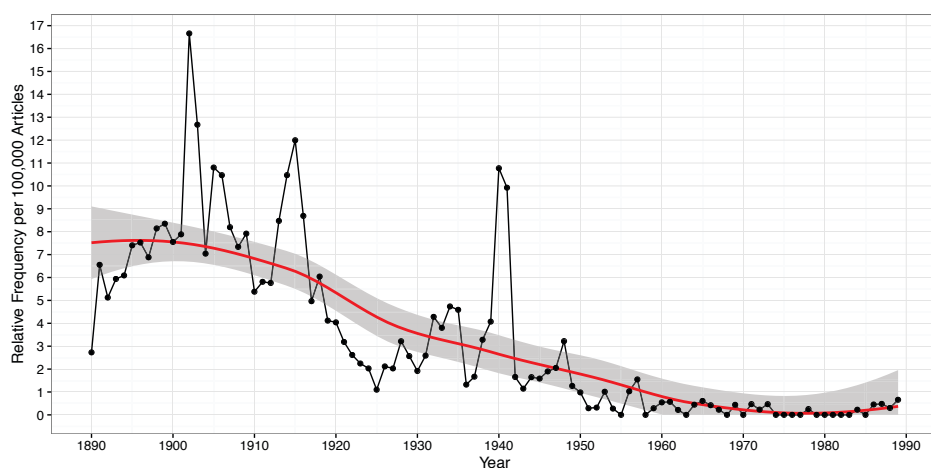


Figure 4.14. Relative annual frequency of articles ($n = 1,778$) that mentioned ‘trust’ or ‘tobacco trust’ and ‘tobacco’ or ‘cigarettes.’ See footnote 34 for more on this corpus.

Articles on the American Tobacco Trust reveal a pervasive distrust of American business tactics. Around the turn of the century, Dutch newspapers portrayed trusts as omnipresent in American daily life. In 1900, *Het Volk* wrote that “in America, soon one cannot eat or drink, or

³³ Brandt, *The Cigarette Century*, 41.

³⁴ Before cleaning, the corpus contained 23,846 articles based on the query: `+(TRUST TABAKTRUST) +(TABAK TOBACCO SIGARET* CIGARET*)`. After removing stock reports and duplicate articles based on their title only 1,778 articles remained. The cleanup script can be found here: https://github.com/melvinwevers/PhD/blob/master/Code/Python/Clean_dataset_trusts.ipynb.

clothe oneself without paying trust taxes.”³⁵ Other papers characterized trusts as “an organized gang of robbers” or “giant combinations of capitalists.”³⁶

Newspapers closely followed the Trust’s incursion into Europe. The papers related trusts to American capitalism by claiming that trusts were driven by “an American craving for money” and stated that trusts signaled that the “almighty dollar” was controlling the finest British businesses.³⁷ The socialist newspaper *Het Volk* labeled the disbandment of the Trust a “farce” and claimed with foresight that the companies that were part of the Trust would remain robust and powerful afterward.³⁸

Descriptions of James Duke, the head the Tobacco Trust, also confirmed that the trust represented American big business. Dutch newspapers referred to Duke as “the cigarette king” and characterized his wealth as “America on a large scale.”³⁹ When Duke passed away, *Het Vaderland* wrote that he had amassed his wealth in ways similar to the old bandits that roamed the banks of the Rhine.⁴⁰ These examples illustrate how the newspapers depicted the American Tobacco Trust and its chief executive Duke as driven by money and lacking in values.

There were also dissenting voices in the Netherlands that regarded the American Tobacco Trust as beneficial to the Dutch tobacco industry.

³⁵ “In de eeuw van de trusts,” *Het Volk*, April 23, 1900.

³⁶ “Weg met de trusts,” *De Volksstem*, September 26, 1900; “Sociale kroniek,” *Het Volk*, July 9, 1900.

³⁷ “Amerikaansche sigaretten,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, March 1, 1930; “Engelsche brieven. uit de city,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, September 19, 1901; “Buitenland,” *Middelburgse Courant*, December 28, 1901.

³⁸ “De strijd om den kleinhandel in tabak. Economische kroniek,” *Het Volk*, July 19, 1913.

³⁹ “Amerikaanse regering tegen sigaretten,” *Tilburgse Courant*, July 6, 1929; “Uit de Verenigde Staten,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, August 16, 1912; “Amerika op groote schaal,” *Nieuwe Tilburgsche Courant*, December 12, 1924.

⁴⁰ “Roosevelts belastingprogramma,” *Het Vaderland*, July 4, 1935.

In 1903, *Algemeen Handelsblad* published an exchange of letters between P.H. Smitshuysen—an importer of American tobacco and “expert” of trusts—and the editorial board of the Dutch tobacco industry’s newsletter *De Nederlandsche Tabakscourant*. Smitshuysen wrote a corrective to the negative reporting on the American Tobacco Trust.⁴¹ According to Smitshuysen, the trust could safeguard the interests of traders. The editorial board of *De Nederlandsche Tabakscourant* replied that the Trust was “an expression of pure egoism of capital in the most hateful form.”⁴² The board explained that the Trust dominated the American industry, and was now making its entry into Germany and the United Kingdom. “When faced with the choice between a state monopoly or an American monopoly, we prefer the former. For now, the Dutch tobacco industry needs to defend itself against every attack.”⁴³ This defense took form in the decision of the Dutch Committee of Cigar Retailers to form an anti-trust alliance in 1914.⁴⁴ Smitshuysen was not satisfied with the editorial board’s counterarguments and replied to them.⁴⁵ This correspondence illustrates that the Dutch tobacco industry viewed the American Tobacco Trust with a skepticism that some labeled as a conservative attitude toward innovative business practices.

References to discourse on the American Tobacco Trust undoubtedly determined and reflected the Dutch views of the American business in the interwar period. The United States represented both the power and dangers of large business structures. The public perception of the American Tobacco Trust possibly also shaped the perception of the

⁴¹ “Tabaktrust,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, September 9, 1903; more on Smitshuysen: “P.H. Smitshuysen,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, March 21, 1890.

⁴² Editorial Board of the “Nederlandse Tabakscourant,” “Waarom de vakbladen tegen de American Tobacco Trust Co. waarschuwen,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, December 9, 1903.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ “Anti-Trust-Vereeniging,” *De Tijd*, January 30, 1914.

⁴⁵ P.H. Smitshuysen, “Tabak-Trust,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, September 16, 1903.

American cigarette in the first decades of the twentieth century. At the same time, this form of bad publicity for the United States also solidified the connection between the United States and the cigarette.

An American Success Story

It was not all doom and gloom in reports on the American cigarette industry. Newspapers also habitually informed their readers of the successes of the American cigarette industry and the popularity of the American cigarette.⁴⁶ The majority of articles on the American cigarette industry stated plain facts, such as the annual growth of companies and the number of cigarettes sold in the United States. Whenever cigarette consumption in the United States went down, newspapers also immediately informed Dutch readers.⁴⁷ These stories reported on the actual development of the cigarette industry, but they also communicated the significance of cigarettes in American society and the American's plentiful consumer behavior. Both explicitly and implicitly these articles contributed to the image of the American cigarette as successful and the American consumer society as prosperous and of spending power for consumers.

The popularity of cigarettes in the United States was also expressed in stories about excessive smoking. Newspapers wrote about bizarre incidents and urban myths in the United States. A returning trope in these

⁴⁶ Two sets of queries that support this claim are: 1) +AMERIKA* +“ROKEN MEER” (59 articles); +AMERIKA* +“MEER SIGARETTEN” (198 articles). 2) +AMERIKA* “ROKEN MINDER” (38 articles); +AMERIKA* “MINDER SIGARETTEN” (87 articles). These queries indicate that newspapers wrote more often about an increase of consumption and growth of the American cigarette industry than the opposite.

⁴⁷ “Amerikanen roken minder,” *Het Vrije Volk*, March 13, 1954; “Amerikanen roken minder sigarettten,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, April 1, 1964; “Amerikanen roken minder sigarettten,” *De Waarheid*, June 10, 1971.

stories concerned children who smoked, signifying how Americans of all ages were preoccupied with cigarettes. These reports included stories about American mothers who gave cigarettes to children to keep them calm or about two-year-old toddlers who smoked two cigarettes per day.⁴⁸ Whether true or false, these outlandish stories added to the general idea that Americans loved their cigarettes and they presented cigarettes as pervasive in American daily life.

During the interwar period and immediately after the Second World War, newspapers tried to explain the popularity of cigarettes in the United States, for instance by pointing to American women who had discovered the cigarette. They also referred to the competition between brands which caused prices to drop in the United States, making cigarettes much more affordable.⁴⁹ After the Second World War, *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden* offered yet another explanation. It contended that the immense popularity of cigarettes was the consequence of the life of the modern American consumer: Americans smoked cigarettes to relieve stress caused by the fast pace of life in the United States. This explanation fed into the notion of American life as modern and hurried.⁵⁰ There is probably truth to all these explanations, but above all, they all related the cigarette to changes in American consumer society.

Newspapers also recounted how the American cigarette managed to become the most popular cigarette in the Netherlands, surpassing English,

⁴⁸ Nederland rookt per maand 890 miljoen sigaretten,” *De Heerenveensche Koerier*, December 8, 1948; “Roker van 29 maanden,” *Friese Koerier*, June 9, 1958.

⁴⁹ “Wat Amerika verrookt,” *De Gooi- en Eemlander*, February 8, 1931; “Sigarettenrooken door vrouwen,” *Limburger Koerier*, May 5, 1928; “De sigaret in Amerika,” *Limburgsch Dagblad*, May 8, 1928.

⁵⁰ “400 milliard Amerikaanse sigaretten,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, January 28, 1953.

Turkish, and Egyptian cigarettes.⁵¹ Stories about the popularity of the American cigarette in the Netherlands again contributed to the notion of the American cigarette as a success story. Just after the Second World War, newspapers still thought that the English cigarette would be the dominant cigarette in the Netherlands.⁵² By 1960, newspapers wrote that the Dutch smoker had embraced the American cigarette.⁵³ This embrace was also displayed in the figures in the first section of this chapter that showed the popularity in nationality. The conventional factory-made filter cigarette was an American cigarette. In the late 1970s, the preference of Dutch smokers moved toward rolling cigarettes with shag tobacco, which points to an overall decrease in popularity of American cigarettes.⁵⁴ Despite the increasing preference for shag tobacco, in 1979, the cigarette manufacturer Han Bik stated that the American cigarette dominated the Dutch cigarette market. Bik noted that 95 percent of all cigarettes smoked in the Netherlands belonged to a sauced American blend.⁵⁵

The consistent reporting on the popularity of the American cigarette and on the growth of the American cigarette industry reveals that Dutch public discourse was clearly oriented toward to the United States. These reports equated the American cigarette with success and presented the United States as an indicator of consumer trends. Newspapers regularly compared the level of consumption in the United States to the Netherlands

⁵¹ “Waarom en hoe lang roken wij,” *Provinciale Drentsche en Asscher Courant*, November 23, 1940; “Toenemende belangstelling voor Virginia tabak,” *Nieuwe Venlose Courant*, February 10, 1942.

⁵² “Sigaar, sigaret en pijp,” *De Heerenveensche Koerier*, September 2, 1950; “Zeven op tien mannen roken sigaretten,” *Het Vrije Volk*, July 11, 1950; “Smaakverandering,” *De Telegraaf*, September 21, 1951.

⁵³ “Voorkeur voor Amerikaans,” *Friese Koerier*, April 20, 1960.

⁵⁴ “Zelfgedraaide sigaret wordt populairder,” *Leeuwarder Courant*, February 17, 1977.

⁵⁵ “Verslaafd,” *De Telegraaf*, May 28, 1979.

and the success of the American cigarette industry ostensibly functioned as a benchmark for developments in the Netherlands.

Conclusion

Newspapers associated opposing ideas and values with the American cigarette. On the one hand, they criticized the American cigarette industry and presented the American cigarette as a signifier of a calculated attempt by the wealthy and powerful American cigarette industry to take over the European market using what Dutch newspapers perceived as an artificial, inauthentic product. On the other hand, newspapers expressed their admiration and presented the American cigarette as a successful product and industry. In this sense, the United States functioned as a model for Dutch consumers and producers.

One particular aspect of the American cigarette received considerable attention: its fabricated nature. In the interwar period, newspapers discourse on the artificiality of the American cigarette intensified. As Dutch manufacturers started to produce American cigarettes, the origin of the American cigarette was no longer exclusively American. Newspapers noticed this shift in the construction of product nationality and wondered why consumers were not bothered by the fabricated nature of American brand identities. After the Second World War, newspapers noted that products with an American brand identity were more successful, which underlines the attraction of the United States on Dutch consumers.

Critics also emphasized the artificial and inauthentic taste of the American cigarette. This criticism was most apparent during the interwar period when the American cigarette grew in popularity and Dutch consumers were still relatively unfamiliar with it. The criticism of the taste of American cigarette, however, was mostly voiced by Dutch producers and distributors of tobacco and cigarettes.

The American cigarette also signified the success and business strategies of the American cigarette industry. In the first decades of the twentieth century, newspapers closely associated the American cigarette with the American tobacco trust. General opinion was fairly critical of the trust and described them as egoistic, driven by money, and set on taking over European companies. The papers contrasted the American cigarette industry with European business practices, which were presented as more ethical and concerned about the quality of products.

Over the course of the interwar period, newspapers depicted the growth of the American cigarette industry as well as the increasing popularity of the American cigarette in the Netherlands as signs of success. After the Second World War, these reports continued, occasionally interspersed by stories on decreasing consumption. Overall, newspaper discourse on the American cigarette depicted American society as a place of wealth where both men and women smoked as much as they wanted. Moreover, this type of discourse illustrates that the United States functioned as a benchmark for Dutch levels of consumption.

4.2.2 The Morality of the American Female Smoker

Scholars contend that female smokers signified two opposing aspects of modern consumer society. On the one hand, the female smoker signaled emancipation—a subversion of existing gender roles that prescribed that women should not smoke.⁵⁶ On the other hand, the female smoker lacked morality and represented the perils of the modern consumer society.⁵⁷ This paragraph investigates the representation of the American female smoker

⁵⁶ Hilton, *Smoking in British Popular Culture*, 138.

⁵⁷ Cassandra Tate, *Cigarette Wars: The Triumph of "The Little White Slaver"* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Kerry Segrave, *Women and Smoking in America, 1880-1950* (London: McFarland, 2005), 132; Richard Klein, *Cigarettes Are Sublime* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993); quoted in Tate, *Cigarette Wars*, 98.

in Dutch newspapers. To what extent did she function as a symbol of emancipation or was she regarded as an example of the perils of the modern consumer society?

In the early twentieth century, female smokers in the United States were viewed with contempt. For many men and women in the United States, women who lighted a cigarette signaled sexual promiscuity.⁵⁸ Despite attempts by American anti-tobacco advocates, more American women started to smoke in public. The cigarette offered women a way to subvert gender roles. Rosemary Elliot points out that the access to cigarettes signifies changes in the circumstances of female consumers.⁵⁹ These advances had all unfolded before American cigarette companies began to target women actively as potential smokers in the 1920s.⁶⁰

In the 1920s a new youthful generation of American women challenged restrictive gender roles.⁶¹ This group of women was known as flappers: “ultramodern and audacious young [women] who danced and drank; smoked chic cigarettes; bobbed [their] hair and showed [their] shins; and shook and shimmied in jazz halls and clubs of uncertain reputation.”⁶² Alys Eve Weinbaum argues that the behavior of flappers was

⁵⁸ Tate, *Cigarette Wars*, 97–98.

⁵⁹ Elliot, *Women and Smoking since 1890*, 3.

⁶⁰ Segrave, *Women and Smoking in America, 1880-1950*, 1–2; For more on cigarette advertisement that targeted women see: Jim Cox, *Sold on Radio: Advertisers in the Golden Age of Broadcasting* (London: McFarland, 2008), 206; Emily Rosenberg, “The American Century: A Roundtable (Part II) - Consuming Women: Images of Americanization in the ‘American Century,’” *Diplomatic History*, no. 3 (1999): 481; Philip Scranton, *Beauty and Business: Commerce, Gender, and Culture in Modern America* (London: Routledge, 2014), 77–78; Allan Brandt, “Recruiting Women Smokers: The Engineering of Consent,” *Journal of the American Medical Women Association* 51, no. 1–2 (1996): 65–66.

⁶¹ Laura Hirshbein, “The Flapper and the Fog: Representations of Gender and Age in the 1920s,” *Journal of Family History* 26, no. 1 (2001): 120–21.

⁶² Kelly Boyer Sagert, *Flappers: A Guide to an American Subculture* (Santa Barbara: Greenwood Press, 2010), 11.

characterized by their incessant consumption of cigarettes and their explicit eroticism.⁶³ The flapper contributed to the image of the American woman as independent and modern. That particular image of the American female smoker also spread to Europe. Emily Rosenberg claims that American products confronted European consumers with representations of women that symbolized “the expansion of consumption, greater independence, and the power to command relatively unsupervised leisure time.”⁶⁴ Rosenberg describes products and advertisements as a means to spread ideas about the American woman.

This section turns to newspaper articles as a vehicle for diffusing ideas about American female smokers. Even though the number of articles in which they are explicitly framed is relatively sparse, the framing itself was powerful and offered insights into perceptions of American female smokers in Dutch public discourse. Thus, the first aim of the section is to examine how Dutch newspaper articles represented these female smokers. Second, it tries to uncover which image of the United States was put forth in these representations of the American female smoker. In the first section, gender was identified as a distinct topic. Even though the number of articles that contained an explicit framing of American female smokers were sparse, the framing itself was powerful and offered insights into perceptions of the American female smoker in Dutch public discourse.

The focus is on the interwar period, an era in which the emancipation of Dutch women stagnated. After notable progress during the feminist first wave (1880-1920), Dutch confessional parties gained political power

⁶³ Alys Eve Weinbaum et al., “The Modern Girl as Heuristic Device: Collaboration, Connective Comparison, Multidirectional Citation,” in *The Modern Girl around the World: Consumption, Modernity, and Globalization*, ed. Alys Eve Weinbaum et al. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 1.

⁶⁴ Rosenberg, “The American Century,” 481–82.

and implemented anti-feminist politics.⁶⁵ Members of the confessional parties argued that the most important task of women was “caring for their husband and children.”⁶⁶ The politicians of these parties thought that the excrescences of modern civilization, such as female employment, fashion, contraceptives, and entertainment needed to be tempered.

Before the First World War newspapers had regularly related women to smoking, during the war the number of articles dipped (fig. 4.15) to increase again in the 1920s.⁶⁷ After the Second World War, the number of newspaper articles that mentioned females and smoking increased and then slowly declined. This increase, however, followed the general increase of articles on cigarettes (fig 4.1). Topic modeling indicated that newspapers predominantly discussed females in the context of cigarettes between 1890 and 1950.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Anneke Ribberink, *Feminisme* (Leiden: Stichting Burgerschapskunde, 1987), 25.

⁶⁶ Maria Schwegman, “Tussen traditie en moderniteit. De Nederlandse vrouw tijdens het interbellum,” in *Bericht uit 1929. Het veelzijdige gezicht van de Nederlandse samenleving ten tijde van de oprichting van het PTT Museum* (The Hague: PTT-museum, 1990), 32.

⁶⁷ Figure 4.15 shows the distribution of articles based on the query (VROUW[A-Z]* DAME[S]*MEISJE[S]*) within 10 words to the left or right of ([C|S]IGARET[A-Z]* RO{1,2}KEN DAMPEN).

⁶⁸ See topics A8, C6, D11, E18, G14 in appendix 4.1. The topic G14 refers to newspaper articles from the 1950s that discussed women in the context of cigarette advertisements.

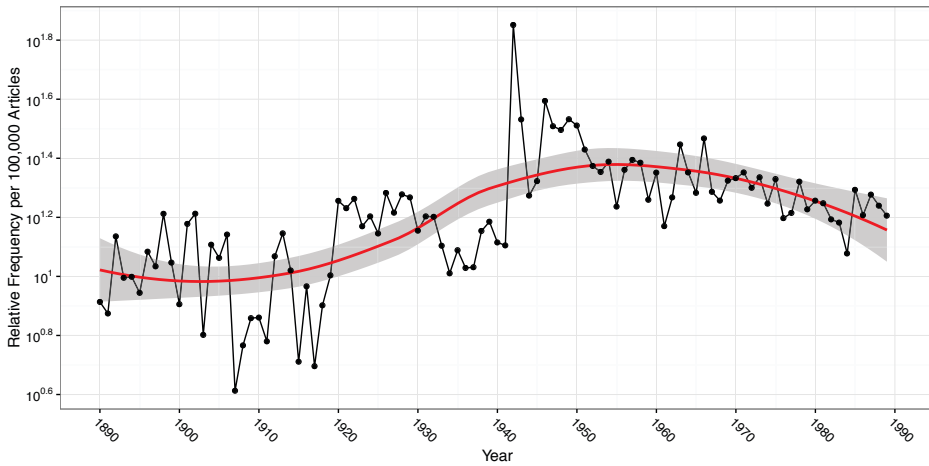


Figure 4.15. Relative annual frequency of articles ($n = 8,750$) that mentioned women and cigarettes in close proximity (10L-10R) in the digitized newspaper corpus

Dutch newspapers had already debated the American female smoker in the early decades of the twentieth century (fig. 4.16). They had talked about the subject before the American cigarette was popular in the Netherlands and advertisers started to target female consumers. Newspapers mentioned the phrase ‘American women’ repeatedly in articles on cigarettes. The appearance of this phrase shows that the American female smoker was already a point of reference before the branding of American cigarettes helped spread the image to the Netherlands.

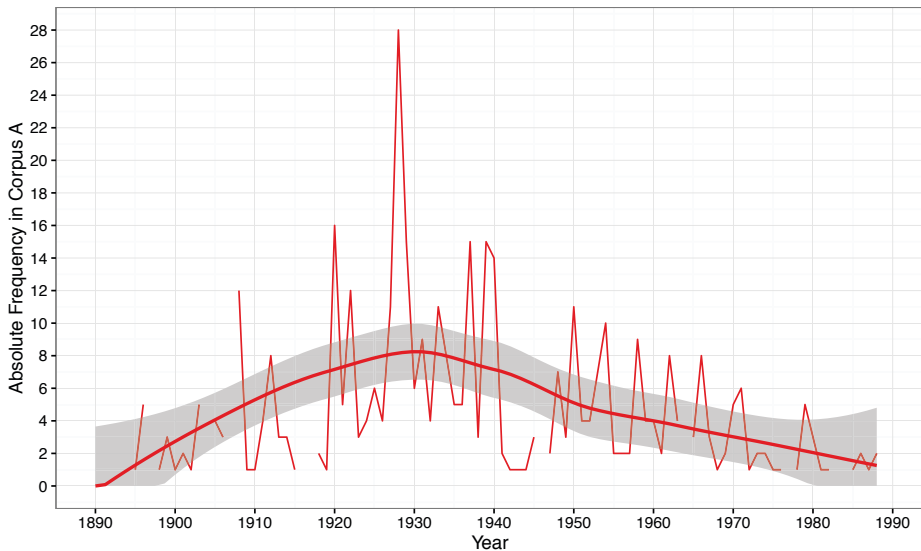


Figure 4.16. Absolute annual frequency ($n = 289$) of the phrase 'American woman' in Corpus A⁶⁹

This section zooms in on the period before American cigarettes became popular in the Netherlands, to see whether newspaper discourse helped spread images of American female smokers. Also, it explores to what extent the anti-emancipatory political climate permeated newspaper discourse on this particular topic. The emphasis will be on three themes in Dutch newspapers on the American female smoker: smoking in public, women's lack of restraint, and differences between American and European women. In all three themes, I examine which image of the United States these articles conveyed through their representation of the American female smoker.

⁶⁹ Distribution of articles with the following two bigrams: AMERIKAANS* VROUW* | AMERIKAANS* DAME*.

Smoking in Public

Maria Schwegman contends that the autonomy of Dutch women to buy consumer goods and to consume in public was a clear sign of emancipation.⁷⁰ The cigarette was one of the goods that women began to consume outside of the comfort of their homes in the interwar period. The ability to smoke a cigarette in public was also described as emancipatory by actress and feminist Caroline van Dommelen when she defended a woman's freedom to smoke in public in a newspaper article in 1920.⁷¹ Van Dommelen discussed the American temperance movement and its attempts to ban women from smoking cigarettes. Van Dommelen argued that women had smoked throughout history and that the movement to prohibit smoking was typical of Americans. She opined that Americans were always looking for things to protest against.

Dutch dailies regularly spoke about the American temperance movement. They informed their readers that the Methodist Episcopal Church, prohibition lawmakers, doctors, and the Non-Smoking Protective League played a significant role in banning women from smoking in the United States.⁷² The papers stressed the strong condemnation expressed by American physicians and anti-smoking advocates, who considered nicotine to be sinful and detrimental to a woman's health and charm.⁷³

⁷⁰ Schwegman, "Tussen traditie en moderniteit," 32–34.

⁷¹ "Onder de streep," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, April 21, 1920.

⁷² "Is voor vrouwen roken geoorloofd?," *Leeuwarder Nieuwsblad*, February 10, 1928; "De sigaret en de theologie," *Voorwaarts*, January 5, 1928; "De Methodisten en de sigaretten," *Limburgsch Dagblad*, July 8, 1929; "Amerika," *Het Vaderland*, June 24, 1921; "Mag de vrouw rooken?," *Nieuwsblad van Friesland*, April 23, 1920; "Sigaretten en broekrokken," *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, August 31, 1922.

⁷³ "Ter genezing van sigarettenrooksters," *De Telegraaf*, August 20, 1913; "Een waarschuwing tegen rooken," *Het Centrum*, January 24, 1925; "De dames geen sigaretten meer?," *Limburger Koerier*, September 26, 1932; "Ge zult niet rooken!," *Het Volk*, April 6, 1932.

These reports conveyed the idea that Americans frowned upon females smoking in public.

Occasionally articles framed public tobacco use in the United States as a subversion of reigning gender norms. For instance, in 1920, *Het Centrum* wrote about an American woman who demonstratively lighted a cigarette in a train.⁷⁴ The article explained that women were not allowed to smoke in trains and that American trains even had non-smoking carriages for women. In this article, American consumer society was presented as restrictive regarding female cigarette consumption, while it also depicted the American woman as subversive and emancipatory.

The societal and political backlash against American female smokers changed in the 1930s when the United States turned into a more evident exemplar of women's emancipation through consumption. In the mid-1930s, newspapers reported that smoking in public had become less contentious in the United States. Women in the United States could now smoke in trains and some train companies even installed smoking cars exclusively for women.⁷⁵

At the same time, Dutch public discourse showed a growing acceptance of female smokers. In 1932, the *Leeuwarder Courant* stated that that the "pretty sex did not walk down the path of immorality by allowing herself the pleasure of a cigarette."⁷⁶ This quote withheld judgment over women smoking in public and characterized it as an act of pleasure and not a lack of morals. In 1939, the same newspaper wrote that American women who smoked in the streets were not automatically unsophisticated; they could still be elegant. According to the author

⁷⁴ "De rookende dame en de merkwaardige rechter," *Het Centrum*, November 26, 1920.

⁷⁵ "De geliefde sigaret," *Nieuwe Tilburgsche Courant*, March 16, 1935; "Rookcoupes voor Amerikaansche dames in de treinen," *Limburger Koerier*, December 17, 1936.

⁷⁶ "Uit het verre westen," *Leeuwarder Courant*, March 12, 1932.

smoking in public was more than just an element of modern street life, it was a symptom of an “underlying battle” for equality.⁷⁷ These two examples show that in the 1930s, newspapers no longer expressed strong disapproval over female smokers and even regarded smoking by women as a sign of emancipation. Moreover, it suggests that despite antipathy from reigning political parties to feminist issues, Dutch newspapers showed tolerance toward females smoking in public—albeit sparingly. Still, in articles about American women who smoked in public, the papers did not depict the United States itself as a clear example of female emancipation.

Female Smokers Lack Restraint

A second aspect that Dutch newspapers associated with the American female smoker was her lack of restraint.⁷⁸ The newspapers supported this claim through reports on the number of cigarettes American women smoked, or the high percentage of women smokers in the United States. Dutch newspapers explained the high level of consumption of cigarettes as typical of American women. *Leeuwarder Courant* compared the American level of consumption to that of the Dutch and praised Dutch women for not smoking as much as American women.⁷⁹

In the interwar period, reporters habitually exaggerated the number of cigarettes American women consumed. For instance, in 1926, a foreign correspondent disclosed that he could not find a single woman who did not smoke in New York. American women smoked “at the dinner table, in bed, while eating, while dancing, while washing, while combing, doing their nails, and while they are flirting.”⁸⁰ *De Gooi- en Eemlander* expressed

⁷⁷ “Een Amerikaansch probleem: de vrouw,” *Leeuwarder Courant*, March 18, 1939.

⁷⁸ “Ge zult niet roken!,” *Het Volk*, April 6, 1932.

⁷⁹ “Een antwoord aan de rookers,” *Leeuwarder Courant*, February 6, 1935.

⁸⁰ “Hoeveel verrooken de vrouwen?,” *De Gooi- en Eemlander*, June 6, 1926.

similar concerns when an article half-jokingly reported that the American government was able to finance the United States Navy from the tax revenues raised by female smokers.⁸¹ These overstatements of American levels of consumption were widespread in the interwar period.⁸²

Newspapers also disparaged the way American women smoked and depicted them as unable to restrain themselves from smoking.⁸³ *Algemeen Handelsblad* portrayed the American flapper as smoking incessantly and lighting their cigarette with the previous one.⁸⁴ *Limburgsch Dagblad* claimed that American women did not enjoy their cigarettes even though they “smoked like chimneys.”⁸⁵ Others asserted that American women were wasteful because they drew smoke three or four times and then threw the cigarette away.⁸⁶ The incessant and careless consumption of cigarettes by American woman signified modern American life. In 1920, *Limburgsch Dagblad* wrote:

The modern female mouth is never without the taste of nicotine; the little female fingers are as stained as those of the most regular office clerk. Her nerves are over-stimulated and troublesome, and unfortunately, her morality is also in a fix.⁸⁷

The quote characterizes the modern American women as nervous, immoral, and marred by the smell and stains of cigarettes. Smoking

⁸¹ “Wat Amerika verrookt,” *De Gooi- en Eemlander*, February 8, 1931. See also: “Het land van den rijkdom,” *Limburger Koerier*, June 17, 1929.

⁸² Chapter 6 demonstrates that newspapers often reported on the ubiquitous the presence of Coca-Cola in American society. In these reports, they often resorted to hyperbole.

⁸³ “Rookten door vrouwen,” *Provinciale Drentsche en Asser Courant*, September 13, 1922;

“Bakvisschen,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, June 6, 1931.

⁸⁴ “Flapperisme,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, May 17, 1922.

⁸⁵ “Rookten vrouwen gaarne?,” *Limburgsch Dagblad*, March 23, 1922.

⁸⁶ “Hoeveel verrooken de vrouwen?,” *De Gooi- en Eemlander*, June 6, 1926; “Rookt uw sigaretten niet volledig op of gebruikt filter,” *Leeuwarder Courant*, September 21, 1954.

⁸⁷ “Cigaretten rooken door dames,” *Limburgsch Dagblad*, September 18, 1920.

epitomized the changing position of women in American society. The dismissive framing of the American female smoker in Dutch newspapers implies rather sharp criticism of the modernizing American consumer society.

Newspapers in the 1920s rarely framed the American female smoker as a sign of emancipation—which was indicative of the Dutch attitude toward women as consumers and, more clearly, of the Dutch attitude toward American consumer behavior. The general opinion voiced by newspapers was that American women were not able to restrain themselves from smoking, which turned a woman’s emancipatory gesture of smoking into an inability to withstand inner desires or external pressures. The interwar articles on the smoking behavior of American women illustrated a Dutch preoccupation in the interwar period with the changing position of women in modern American society. In the process, newspapers depicted the latter as one of rampant consumerism driven by a lack of restraint. At the same time, Dutch interwar newspapers distanced themselves from the United States by equating excessive consumption with the modern American consumer society.

American versus European Women

The third trait of the American female smoker that Dutch newspapers emphasized was how they differed from European women. The American woman was masculine and unsophisticated, as opposed to the feminine, elegant European lady.⁸⁸ Dutch newspapers considered smoking a male practice and labeled female smokers as another step in the

⁸⁸ “De een en zestigste seconde,” *Het Vaderland*, March 3, 1924.

“masculinization of women.”⁸⁹ *Algemeen Handelsblad* gave a stereotypical depiction of American women as having boyish looks, wearing pajama’s, smoking cigarettes, and preferring masculine sports.⁹⁰ These examples show how the public’s eye regarded smoking as a practice that masculinized women.

The masculinization of women was seen as part of modernization and typical of American consumer society. *De Telegraaf* claimed that female smokers were a sign that in our “hyper-civilized time” differences between men and women were disappearing.⁹¹ Dutch newspapers also signaled that European women were adopting features of the masculine American women:

The Americanized looks of the modern European ... the new type of woman that does not look like their grand- and great-grandmothers, whose body is boyishly slim, who wears short hair and shows self-consciousness in her performance, ways, and gestures.⁹²

This shows that people were tense about the effects of modernization and Americanization on European women. Interwar newspapers referred to the effects of Americanization on women as a tactic of deterrence, to stress that European women should not adopt the behavior and looks of American women. American women signified modern times which were characterized by a loss of decency and of female virtues.

This section investigated whether Dutch newspapers represented American female smokers as a sign of emancipation or as having loose

⁸⁹ “Ge zult niet rooken! Wijsheid in plaats van blauwen damp,” *Het Volk*, April 6, 1932;

“Rookmateriaal voor vrouwen,” *De Gooi- en Eemlander*, May 1, 1927.

⁹⁰ “Amerikanisme,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, November 14, 1925.

⁹¹ “Van de boulevards. Toekomst-mode,” *De Telegraaf*, May 30, 1927.

⁹² “Nicotiana,” *Het Vaderland*, June 22, 1928.

morals. Newspapers only infrequently represented the American female smoker as a symbol of freedom. By and large, she functioned as a sign of the moral deficit of American consumer society. Newspapers argued that the number of cigarettes American women consumed as well as their masculine looks represented the modernization and excessive consumerism of the American consumer society.

In the first decades of the twentieth century, Dutch newspapers also reported that anti-smoking movements in the United States condemned females who smoked. Dutch critics voiced similar concerns in Dutch papers, especially concerning smoking in public. In the 1930s, the Americans and the Dutch became more tolerant to females smoking in public. Even though it seemed as if public opinion in this period had become open-minded, critical voices in the newspapers still told Dutch women not to appropriate the looks and ways of their more unsophisticated and masculine American counterparts. However, in the end newspaper articles on the American female smoker challenged reigning Dutch views of the position of women. Representations of the American female smoker may even have functioned as a trailblazer that confronted Dutch consumers with their biases regarding female smokers. Articles on the American situation opened up public discussions on the emancipatory effects of consumer goods in the Netherlands. In a relatively small number of articles on American female smokers, I found that Dutch newspapers used social and cultural issues related to changing consumer practices in the United States to reflect on local developments. This particular subset of discourse on cigarettes disclosed how America exhibited a sizeable role as reference culture on the effects of a modernizing consumer society.

4.2.3 The American Anti-Smoking Movement

The United States has a history of movements that endeavored to ban cigarettes. Cassandra Tate claims that many of the issues raised by late nineteenth-century anti-cigarette advocates were still part of late twentieth-century debates on smoking. These issues included the health risks, and addictive nature of cigarettes, as well as their role as a sign of moral febleness.⁹³ Despite attempts of American anti-smoking advocates to ban or curtail cigarette consumption, the American cigarette industry managed to turn the cigarette into a global success.⁹⁴

In the early twentieth century, religious beliefs drove many anti-smoking advocates. The centrality of religious beliefs waned after the Second World War when the scientific community gained a strong voice in the anti-smoking movement. In the 1950s, the British researchers Richard Doll and A.B. Hill produced convincing evidence that tobacco smoking increased the risk of lung cancer.⁹⁵ In 1954, based on American research, the American Cancer Society produced compelling proof that smoking caused cancer.⁹⁶ This research paved the way for the publication of the 1964 Surgeon General Report on Health and Smoking that communicated the findings to a wider audience. According to Robert Proctor, this publication led to a decline in per capita consumption in the

⁹³ Tate, *Cigarette Wars*, 6–10.

⁹⁴ Brandt, *The Cigarette Century*; Cox, *The Global Cigarette*.

⁹⁵ Richard Doll and A. Bradford Hill, “Lung Cancer and Other Causes of Death in Relation to Smoking,” *British Medical Journal* 2, no. 5001 (November 10, 1956): 1071–81.

⁹⁶ Robert Proctor, “The History of the Discovery of the Cigarette–lung Cancer Link: Evidentiary Traditions, Corporate Denial, Global Toll,” *Tobacco Control* 21, no. 2 (March 1, 2012): 88; Hanspeter Witschi, “A Short History of Lung Cancer,” *Toxicological Sciences* 64, no. 1 (November 1, 2001): 4–6.

United States.⁹⁷ It also fired up public debates on legislative measures to curb cigarette use.

The American government started to implement legislation that banned smoking in public spaces in the late 1960s. Researchers had discovered that second-hand smoking also caused death and disease. This evidence energized the American debate on prohibiting smoking in public areas and workplaces.⁹⁸ From the 1970s onwards, the American government made considerable progress in this area. In 1970, the United States Congress passed the Public Health Cigarette Smoking Act which barred advertisements for cigarettes on radio and television.⁹⁹ The law's enactment underscores the success of the American anti-smoking movement.

The American cigarette industry was trying to thwart the attacks of the anti-smoking movement. Manufacturers swiftly responded to the reports and claimed that the research did not convincingly show a causal link between smoking and cancer.¹⁰⁰ Scientists were discovering the health risks of smoking cigarettes, while researchers employed by the cigarette industry questioned these results in an attempt to safeguard the sector's revenue.¹⁰¹ The American anti-smoking movement was up against the powerful American conglomerate of cigarette producers.

This third section studies how Dutch newspapers wrote about the American anti-smoking movement, dealing with three related topics: American attempts to ban smoking, American research on the health risks of smoking, and the impact of the American anti-smoking movement on

⁹⁷ Proctor, "The History of the Discovery of the Cigarette–lung Cancer Link," 88–89.

⁹⁸ Proctor, *Golden Holocaust*, 543; Brandt, *The Cigarette Century*, 282–315.

⁹⁹ Office on Smoking and Health, National Center for Chronic Disease Prevention and Health Promotion, "Legislation," *Smoking and Tobacco Use*, November 15, 2012, http://www.cdc.gov/tobacco/data_statistics/by_topic/policy/legislation/.

¹⁰⁰ Brandt, *The Cigarette Century*, 131–57; Proctor, *Golden Holocaust*, 145–252.

¹⁰¹ Brandt, *The Cigarette Century*, 3–5, 124–27.

Dutch perceptions of smoking. The section focuses on the ways in which Dutch newspapers linked these aspects to the United States. Does newspaper discourse reveal explicit and implicit assumptions and ideas about the United States? Moreover, did newspapers talk about American anti-cigarette movements as more progressive than Dutch initiatives? Did the United States function as an example to follow or to avoid?

America Attempts to Ban Cigarettes

Anti-smoking movements and smoking bans were recurring topics of concern in Dutch newspapers (fig. 4.17). In the late nineteenth century, newspapers started to publish on the subject. The first peak in the number of publications emerged around 1917, the year in which the Dutch government enforced a ban on smoking for children.¹⁰² Newspapers, however, did not mention the United States during this initial period.

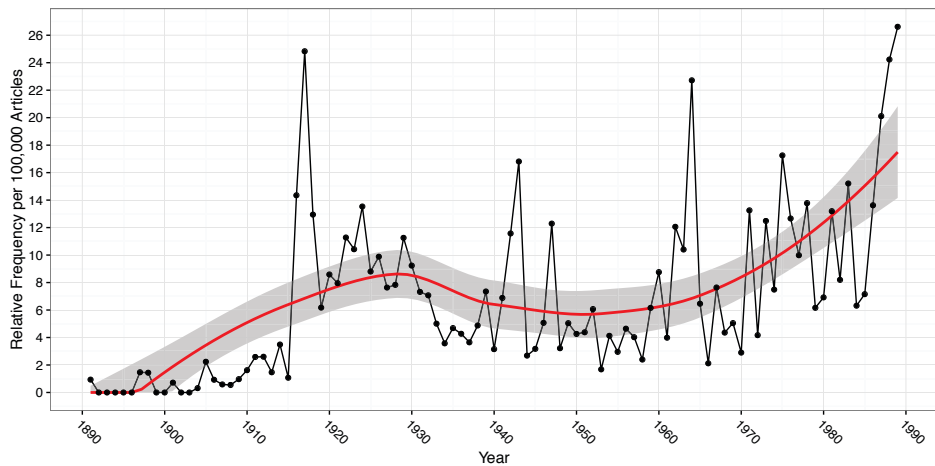


Figure 4.17. Relative annual frequency of articles ($n = 3,711$) with the terms ‘anti-smoking’ (*anti-roken*, *antiroken*, *anti roken*) and ‘smoking ban’ (*rookverbod*)

¹⁰² “Rookverbod voor kinderen,” *De Telegraaf*, April 7, 1917.

Figure 4.17 displays three additional noteworthy trends in newspaper discourse on smoking bans and anti-smoking movements. First, between 1917 and 1930, newspapers discussed bans and anti-smoking more frequently than before. Although anti-smoking advocates in the United States were already pleading for a ban in the late eighteenth century, it only became a concern in Dutch newspapers after 1917. This delay indicates that the American movement did not incite similar public debates in the Netherlands.

The second trend in figure 4.17 corresponds to an increase in the number of articles on anti-smoking and smoking bans in the post-war period. After a decrease in the 1930s, this upward trend illustrates that it grew into a topic of concern in the Netherlands after the Second World War.

Third, the graph shows a number of distinct peaks in 1924, 1943, 1947, 1964, 1975, and 1988-1989. Domestic events caused the first three peaks. In 1924, newspapers wrote about prohibiting smoking in buses in the Netherlands.¹⁰³ In 1943, the Dutch Railways enforced that smokers were not allowed to smoke on train balconies.¹⁰⁴ This ban was followed in 1947 by an increasing number of non-smoking carriages and a call for stricter enforcement of the ban on smoking in them.¹⁰⁵ In 1964, the United States first appeared as a distinct point of reference when newspapers wrote that the Surgeon General's report galvanized calls for a ban on smoking.¹⁰⁶ The other articles constitutive of the peak in 1964 referred to Danish anti-

¹⁰³ "Rookverbod in autobussen," *Het Volk*, October 1, 1924; "Rookverbod in bosschen," *De Tijd*, May 14, 1924.

¹⁰⁴ "Rookten op de balkons der treinen," *De Telegraaf*, November 15, 1943; "Rookten op de treinbalkons," *Dagblad van Noord-Brabant*, November 26, 1943.

¹⁰⁵ "Niet roken in niet-rookcoupe's," *De Tijd*, May 2, 1947; "Niet roken in 'niet-roken!'," *Het Vrije Volk*, May 2, 1947.

¹⁰⁶ "Na VS-rapport: rookverbod," *Friese Koerier*, January 15, 1964.

smoking policies and bans on smoking in train restaurants.¹⁰⁷ In 1975, another domestic event sparked an increase in articles: the Dutch member of parliament Van der Mei proposed a law implementing a ban on smoking in public spaces.¹⁰⁸ Reports on Van der Mei's proposal linked it to bans in West-Germany and the United States. More than one event fueled the final peak in the late 1980s. These events included the American ban on smoking in airplanes, a smoking ban in the Dutch parliament, and the postponement of the Dutch smoking ban in public spaces.¹⁰⁹ This diverse range of topics shows that during the end of the 1980s, smoking bans had become a widespread concern.

The United States played a minor, reoccurring role in newspaper discourse on smoking bans (fig. 4.18). Figure 4.18 shows the annual frequency of articles that mentioned smoking bans and the anti-smoking movements *and* the United States. The figure demonstrates that the United States most distinctly featured in newspapers in 1964. Other peaks in reporting occurred in the late 1920s, and at the end of the 1980s.

¹⁰⁷ "Rookverbod in Deense tram," *De Waarheid*, January 17, 1964; "Verbieden N.S. roken in treinrestauranties," *De Tijd-Maasbode*, March 6, 1964.

¹⁰⁸ "Kamerlid wil rookverbod in openbare gebouwen," *De Telegraaf*, February 19, 1975.

¹⁰⁹ "Rookverbod op 13.600 vluchten," *Het Vrije Volk*, April 25, 1988; "Rook-regels in de Tweede Kamer," *Het Vrije Volk*, October 18, 1988; "Dees stelt Rookverbod voor openbare gebouwen uit," *De Volkskrant*, July 5, 1989.

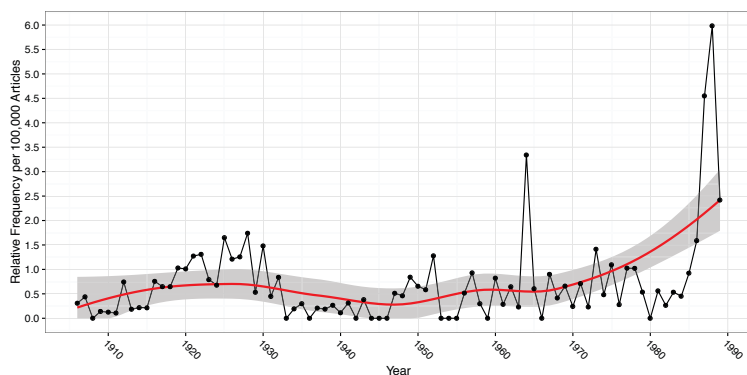


Figure 4.18. Relative annual frequency of articles ($n = 328$) with the words anti-smoking (*anti-roken*, *antiroken*, *anti roken*) and smoking ban (*rookverbod*) and references to the United States¹¹⁰

The peaks in these periods relate respectively to articles on an imminent smoking ban in the United States, the publication of the 1964 Report on Health and Smoking, and the prohibition of smoking in New York and on airplanes.¹¹¹ The spike in the late 1980s was to a large extent driven by the United States. The upticks in figure 4.18 correspond to peaks in figure 4.17, which demonstrates that the United States fulfilled a role in the Dutch debates concerning smoking bans and anti-smoking movements; especially in 1964 and in the late 1980s, the United States played a central role in this respect. In the 1920s, the United States featured as a main example in general debates on prohibiting smoking.

Even though there was only a small number of articles before the Second World War that linked the United States to anti-cigarette movements and smoking bans, Dutch newspapers kept a close eye on developments in the United States. In 1897, two years before the official

¹¹⁰ Because the graph includes no values after 1989, the upward trend in the late 1980s in the trend line might be too steep. Lower values in the 1990s might have attenuated the trend line.

¹¹¹ See for instance: “Vereenigde Staten. Naar een rookverbod,” *De Tribune*, February 20, 1920; “Na VS-rapport: rookverbod,” *Friese Koerier*, January 15, 1964; “Rookverbod op 13.600 vluchten,” *Het Vrije Volk*, April 25, 1988.

establishment of the Anti-Cigarette League, *Het Nieuws van den Dag* had already reported on the anti-cigarette movements in the United States.¹¹² In the early 1920s, the American anti-cigarette movement had surged in popularity only to die out by 1927.¹¹³ Dutch newspapers were quick to report on the resurgence of the movement in the 1920s.¹¹⁴ Numerous newspapers claimed that the United States was moving toward a universal ban on smoking.¹¹⁵ *De Telegraaf* compared the American movement to the Netherlands and noted that the Dutch were still not as organized, which in the United States “of course they were.”¹¹⁶ The Dutch regarded the American prohibition movement as determined and organized. *Limburger Koerier* practically ridiculed the United States for its preoccupation with prohibitions when it noted in 1925 that “first came the prohibition of alcohol. Then, the ban on smoking. And people are already talking about a ban on coffee.”¹¹⁷ In their opinions of American attempts to ban smoking, newspapers held America up as a negative and positive example.

Two post-war events related to the American anti-smoking movement garnered considerable attention in Dutch newspapers. The first incident was the 1954 study by the American Cancer Society that found that lung cancer was more common among cigarette smokers than non-smokers. Hence, the American Cancer Society recommended that people should quit

¹¹² “Hoe aan jongens het rooken te beletten,” *Het Nieuws van den Dag*, February 28, 1897.

¹¹³ Witschi, “A Short History of Lung Cancer.”; Tate, *Cigarette Wars*, 119–20.

¹¹⁴ “De president en de sigaretten,” *Voorwaarts*, December 28, 1920; “Amerika. Sigaretten-verbod,” *Nieuwe Tilburgsche Courant*, August 8, 1921; “Amerika. De strijd tegen het rooken,” *Limburger Koerier*, March 18, 1925.

¹¹⁵ “Naar een rookverbod in Amerika?,” *De Telegraaf*, February 19, 1925; “Woensdag,” *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, May 27, 1920; “beknopte mededelingen,” *Middelburgsche Courant*, December 13, 1927.

¹¹⁶ “Over rooken en vergiften,” *De Telegraaf*, March 2, 1924.

¹¹⁷ “Naar een rookverbod. Amerika,” *Limburger Koerier*, February 21, 1925.

smoking cigarettes. Dutch newspapers discussed the impact of the study and identified three responses to it.¹¹⁸ First, they pointed out that the American tobacco industry tried to discard the outcomes of the research.¹¹⁹ As a consequence, Dutch readers became aware of attempts by the American cigarette industry to shape the public perception of the health risks of smoking cigarettes. These depictions of the industry also contributed to the idea of American business as powerful and able to influence the lives of consumers. Second, newspapers stated that the report led to a slight decrease in cigarette consumption in the United States.¹²⁰

This demonstrated the effects of these reports on consumer behavior. Third, the report convinced lawmakers to require advertisers to be more transparent about the harmful nature of cigarettes.¹²¹ The latter two responses indicate that the study added to the public's perception of cigarettes as harmful which illustrates that the American anti-smoking movement had been making progress after the Second World War. Furthermore, the study implicitly associated the United States with the risks of smoking, whereas the United States in the interwar period had denoted carefree and almost unbounded smoking.

The second event that did not go unnoticed in Dutch newspapers was the publication of the Report on Health and Smoking by Surgeon General Luther Terry on January 11, 1964. Two days later, Dutch newspapers first discussed the report. *De Tijd-Maasbode* called it a "scathing report" and a "sensation in the United States," which plainly stated the report's impact

¹¹⁸ "De gevaarlijke sigaretten," *Leeuwarder Courant*, June 25, 1954; "Staak het roken van sigaretten," *Friese Koerier*, October 13, 1954.

¹¹⁹ For instance: "Tabaksindustrie verweert zich," *De Tijd*, April 15, 1954.

¹²⁰ "Amerikanen roken 9% minder," *Het Vrije Volk*, July 19, 1954; "Anderhalf miljoen Amerikanen geeft het sigarettenroken op," *Leeuwarder Courant*, July 9, 1955.

¹²¹ "Dit gebeurt in de wereld," *Het Vrije Volk*, October 9, 1958.

in American public discourse.¹²² Newspapers emphasized that the report claimed that regular smokers were more likely to get cancer and that Terry qualified cigarettes as a danger to public health and vowed to take necessary steps to curtail tobacco use.¹²³ As with the 1954 report, newspaper articles argued that the American anti-smoking movement led to legislative changes. Dutch newspapers presented the United States as a pioneer of government-sanctioned bans on smoking.

Journalists also pointed out that the new report explicitly countered the American cigarette industry's criticism of the 1954 report.¹²⁴ At the same time, they indicated that the industry responded with a study that found no evidence of a causal link between smoking and lung cancer.¹²⁵ Newspapers depicted the American cigarette industry as defensive and actively exerting its power to sabotage the results of studies that linked smoking to cancer. These reports fueled Dutch ideas about the lobbying power of American manufacturers of consumer goods.

After the 1964 report, the American government changed its strategy from convincing people to quit smoking to reducing cigarette consumption, developing purportedly healthier cigarettes, and putting a warning on cigarette packages.¹²⁶ In the wake of the 1964 publication, the Federal Trade Commission proposed that cigarette advertisers should warn

¹²² "Vernietigend rapport over het roken van sigaretten," *De Tijd-Maasbode*, January 13, 1964.

¹²³ "Zware roker 't meest bedreigd door kanker," *Friese Koerier*, January 13, 1964; "Schadelijke sigaretten," *Limburgsch Dagblad*, January 13, 1964.

¹²⁴ "In de Ver. Staten wordt meer gerookt dan eerst," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, January 27, 1964.

¹²⁵ "Meer sigarettenrokers dan ooit in de V.S.," *De Tijd-Maasbode*, August 18, 1964;

"Sigarettenverbruik VS sterk gestegen," *De Waarheid*, August 20, 1964.

¹²⁶ "Actieprogram tegen het roken in Amerika," *Het Vrije Volk*, January 19, 1964; "Waarschuwing op pakje sigaretten in Amerika," *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, June 25, 1964; "Vaker ziek,"

Leeuwarder courant, May 6, 1967; "Pleidooi voor 'veiliger' sigaret," *De Waarheid*, January 13, 1972.

consumers about the health risks of smoking.¹²⁷ The American cigarette industry resisted the inclusion of warnings on packages and managed to postpone the enforcement of the law.¹²⁸ Reports on this successful deferral strengthened the Dutch perception of the American cigarette industry as influential and set on defending its commercial interests irrespective of public health.

Despite the American cigarette industry's attempts to obstruct legislation, anti-smoking advocates managed to implement additional restrictions. In 1965, the American government implemented a code that stated that advertisers were no longer allowed to depict adolescents and needed to substantiate claims about the contents of cigarettes by scientific research.¹²⁹

Simultaneously with the events mentioned above, newspapers spoke of the American public's growing antipathy to the cigarette industry. After the publication of the reports on the carcinogenic nature of cigarettes, American consumers started to sue cigarette companies with success.¹³⁰ American consumers argued that the industry knowingly misled consumers and exposed them to health risks. Dutch newspapers presented the American response to the reports as a cat-and-mouse game between consumers, producers, researchers, and the government.

¹²⁷ "Maatregelen tegen sigarettenadvertenties in voorbereiding," *De Waarheid*, May 13, 1964; "In de Ver. Staten wordt meer gerookt dan eerst," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, January 27, 1964.

¹²⁸ "Tabaksindustrie in VS neemt waarschuwing niet," *Het Vrije Volk*, June 26, 1964;

"Waarschuwing tegen kanker uitgesteld," *Het Vrije Volk*, August 22, 1964.

¹²⁹ "Sigarettenreclame in Amerika wordt gecontroleerd," *Friese Koerier*, March 12, 1965.

¹³⁰ "Proefproces?," *Limburgsch Dagblad*, November 3, 1954; "Uitspraak in longkankerproces," *De Waarheid*, August 4, 1960; "Fabriek aansprakelijk gesteld voor kanker," *Friese Koerier*, August 4, 1960; "Proces tegen een sigarettenfabriek," *De Tijd-Maasbode*, August 4, 1960; "Sigarettenfirma is schuldig aan dood," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, January 27, 1968; "Europese commissie wil roken overal verbieden," *Het Vrije Volk*, December 22, 1988.

Following the issuing of the 1964 report, newspapers kept close track of its impact on cigarette consumption. Two weeks after Terry's announcement, *Algemeen Handelsblad* reported that cigarette consumption had gone up in the United States, which the paper called a "bizarre truth."¹³¹ In April, four months after the publication, papers reported that consumption had decreased, only to report in August that it had increased again.¹³² At the end of the year and in early 1965, newspapers claimed that the publication led to an overall decrease in cigarette consumption in the United States.¹³³ In the years that followed, newspapers reported that Americans consumed fewer cigarettes than in previous years.¹³⁴ The reoccurring nature of these accounts illustrates the concern of Dutch newspapers with the effects of the report on cigarette consumption.

Discourse on the 1954 and 1964 reports shows how the anti-smoking movement gained ground in the United States. The major difference with earlier anti-smoking movements was, first, that the American scientific community and government were the driving force, and second, that the American cigarette industry intensified its efforts to thwart policy that restricted cigarette consumption. In Dutch public perception, the United States was gradually transforming from a country of smokers and high cigarette consumption into the country of bans on smoking.

¹³¹ "In de Ver. Staten wordt meer gerookt dan eerst," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, January 27, 1964.

¹³² "Amerikanen roken minder sigaretten," *Leeuwarder Courant*, April 2, 1964; "Sigarettenverbruik in de VS sterk gestegen," *De Waarheid*, August 20, 1964.

¹³³ See for instance: "Dit jaar in de Verenigde Staten 32.000.000.000 minder sigaretten," *Limburgsch Dagblad*, December 1, 1964; "Dertien procent lager," *Leeuwarder Courant*, February 17, 1965.

¹³⁴ "Washington," *De Telegraaf*, January 8, 1964; "Amerikanen roken minder sigaretten," *Leeuwarder Courant*, April 2, 1964; "Amerikanen roken minder sigaretten," *Leeuwarder Courant*, June 11, 1971; "meer en minder roken," *De Tijd*, June 23, 1972; "Amerikanen kochten in 1971 12 miljard sigaretten meer," *Leeuwarder Courant*, February 14, 1972.

In the late 1970s, the tone of Dutch newspaper discourse on smoking bans in the United States altered. In the previous two decades, newspapers had used relatively neutral language to describe American anti-smoking initiatives. In the 1970s, newspapers disclosed a more judgmental tone when discussing American proposals to ban cigarettes from airplanes and public spaces. A central figure in newspaper discourse on American bans of cigarettes in the late 1970s was Joseph Califano.¹³⁵ In 1977, President Jimmy Carter appointed Califano, a strong opponent of cigarettes, as Secretary of Health. Califano was intent on banning smoking in planes and on increasing taxes on tobacco.¹³⁶ Newspapers reported that with the appointment of Joseph Califano, the American anti-smoking movement intensified.¹³⁷

Dutch newspapers were critical of the renewed attempts to curtail smoking in the United States. They typified the American Food and Drug Administration's renewed plans to reduce smoking as a "witch hunt."¹³⁸ Furthermore, they defined the attempt to ban smoking in public spaces as an attack by non-smokers on the cigarette industry.¹³⁹ In 1978, *Nederlands Dagblad* headlined with "dark future for American smokers?"¹⁴⁰ *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden* talked about a "smoking curtain" that was

¹³⁵ 'Califano' also appeared in the word cloud for 1978 (Figure 10).

¹³⁶ "Het blijft moeilijk," *Leeuwarder Courant*, January 23, 1978; "Gezondheidsdienst VS waarschuwt rokers weer," *Nederlands Dagblad*, February 26, 1979.

¹³⁷ "Praten helpt niet voor werkelijke anti-rookactie," *Het Vrije Volk*, August 29, 1978; "Campagne tegen roken," *De Waarheid*, January 12, 1978.

¹³⁸ "Amerikaanse minister van volksgezondheid wil het roken harder aanpakken," *Nederlands Dagblad*, February 4, 1978.

¹³⁹ "Aanval van niet-rokers op sigarettenindustrie," *Leeuwarder Courant*, November 1, 1978; "Anti-rokers opnieuw in de slag," *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, November 6, 1978.

¹⁴⁰ "Sombere toekomst voor Amerikaanse rokers?," *Nederlands Dagblad*, May 5, 1978.

emerging in the United States.¹⁴¹ These headlines do not beat about the bush and exemplify the change in tone.

By the 1980s, the United States no longer represented a consumer society of smokers. As *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden* noticed, it had become a “paradise for non-smokers.” The American public viewed smoking almost as a criminal and anti-social act.¹⁴² Henk Hofland wrote in 1987 that the American smoker had been defeated.¹⁴³ Others described the American smoker as an “outcast” and “pariah.”¹⁴⁴ Hofland noticed an “incredible difference between the position of the American and the Dutch smoker.” In his opinion, Americans exerted social pressure on smokers not to light a cigarette. At the end of the twentieth century, bans on tobacco use and a public condemnation of smoking in public spaces defined newspaper discourse on cigarettes and smoking in the United States.¹⁴⁵

American Research on the Health Risks of Cigarettes

In 1963, *De Tijd-Maasbode* wrote that “research is a code word in America. Just like the term ‘freedom.’”¹⁴⁶ The daily regarded research as an essential element of American culture. Other newspapers also explicitly associated research on cigarettes with the United States. The bigram analysis in section 4.1.3 shows that ‘American research’ and ‘American

¹⁴¹ “Rookgordijn trekt op in Amerika,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, July 15, 1978.

¹⁴² “Crimineel,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, July 21, 1984.

¹⁴³ “De Amerikaanse roker is verslagen,” *NRC Handelsblad*, January 10, 1987.

¹⁴⁴ “Rokers in Amerika: de nieuwe paria’s,” *Leeuwarder Courant*, May 21, 1988. See also: “Roken,” *Limburgsch Dagblad*, July 1, 1989.

¹⁴⁵ “De anti-tabac method,” *De Telegraaf*, November 7, 1987; “De vegetariër,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, July 8, 1987

¹⁴⁶ “Alles onderzocht,” *Limburgsch Dagblad*, April 25, 1956.

report’ were among the most frequent bigrams with ‘American’ as an adjective in articles on cigarettes.¹⁴⁷

Newspapers also used less explicit ways than the phrases ‘American research’ or ‘American report’ to discuss American research on cigarettes. The red lines in figures 4.19 and 4.20 display the annual relative frequency of articles in which ‘research’ (*onderzoek*) or ‘report’ (*rapport*) appeared close (15L-15R) to cigarettes or smoking.¹⁴⁸ The other line shows the annual relative frequency of articles that mentioned both the United States *and* ‘research’ or ‘report’ close to cigarettes or smoking.

In the early twentieth century and after the 1950s—with peaks in 1954 and 1964—newspapers mentioned cigarettes and ‘research’ or ‘report’ in the context of the United States. The variances between the two lines in Figures 4.19 and 4.20 confirm that the presence of the United States fluctuated and that those specific incidents fueled the public’s perception of the relationship between the United States and research on cigarettes. The United States played a more prominent role in the articles that mentioned ‘report’ than the ones that included ‘research’. Eight percent of the articles that included ‘research’ and cigarettes or smoking in close proximity ($n = 3,286$) also mentioned the United States ($n = 267$). Twenty-one percent of the articles that mentioned ‘report’ and cigarettes or smoking in close proximity ($n = 754$) also mentioned the United States ($n = 156$). It should be noted that articles on research and smoking were much more common than articles on reports. Still, the stronger presence of the United States in articles on reports affirms that

¹⁴⁷ The bigrams ‘American research’ (*Amerikaans onderzoek*) and ‘American report’ (*Amerikaans rapport*) appeared 56 and 80 times in Corpus A.

¹⁴⁸ The difference between the two trend lines was rather big. Therefore, I used a log scale to be better able to compare the similarities between the two trend lines.

the United States played an important role in the publication of official reports on cigarettes.

The papers associated three things with American research and reports on cigarettes. First, the link between cigarettes and lung cancer, second, the health risks of nicotine, and third, attempts to develop healthier cigarettes. By exploring these particular subjects, I examine how Dutch newspapers portrayed the United States and the relationship between lawmakers, researchers, and the American cigarette industry.

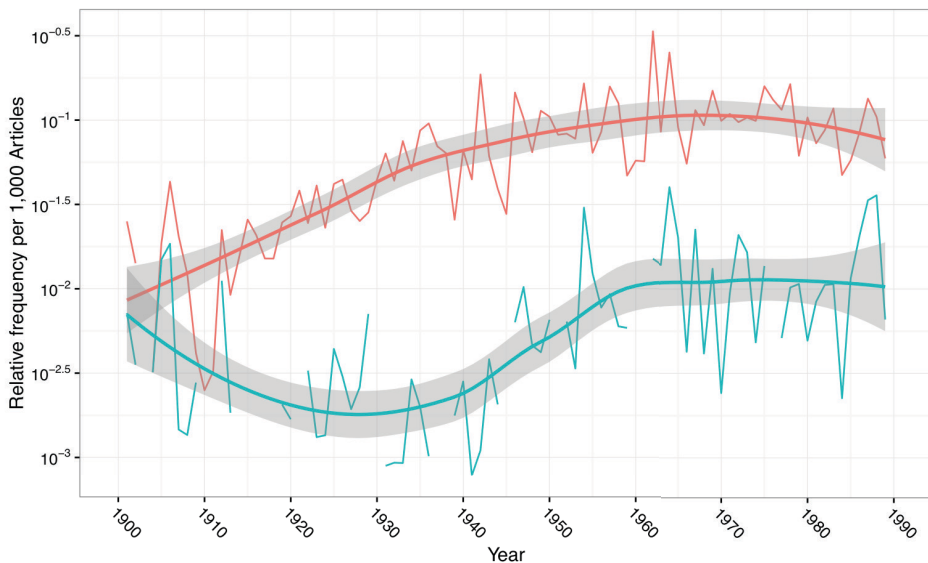


Figure 4.19. The red line shows the relative annual frequency of articles ($n = 3,286$) that included 'research' (*onderzoek**) nearby (15L-15R) cigarettes or smoking. The blue line refers to a subset ($n = 267$) of the articles, represented by the red line, which also mentioned the United States.

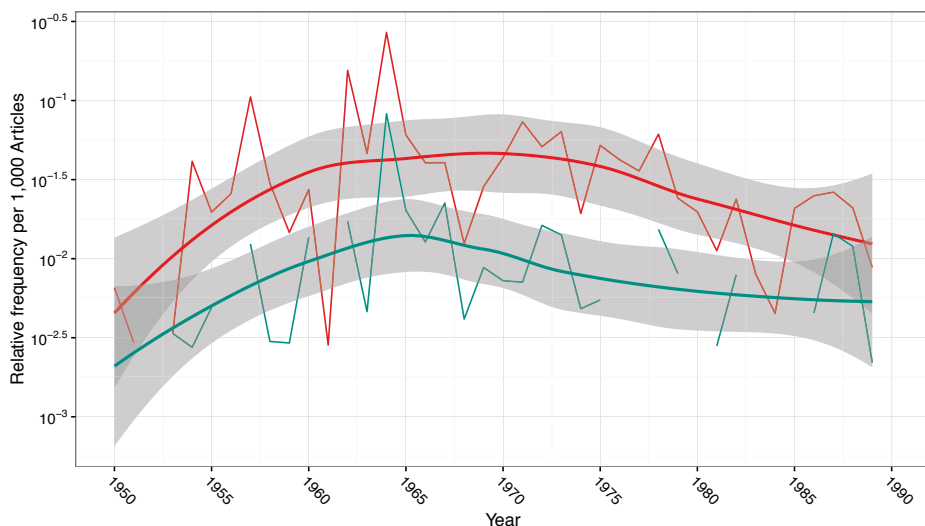


Figure 4.20. The red line shows the relative annual frequency of articles ($n = 754$) that included ‘report’ (*rapport*) close (15L-15R) to cigarettes and smoking. The green line refers to a subset ($n = 156$) of the articles, represented by the red line, which also mentioned the United States.

Lung Cancer

Lung cancer first became a topic of concern in Dutch public discourse in the 1950s. In this decade, the British researchers Richard Doll and A.B. Hill produced convincing evidence that smoking increased the risk of lung cancer.¹⁴⁹ Soon after, the American Cancer Society published analogous evidence.¹⁵⁰ Lung cancer only became a topic of concern after the publication of these studies, which suggest that they altered public perceptions of smoking and lung cancer (fig. 4.21). Cancer, on the other hand, was a topic of concern throughout the twentieth century (fig. 4.21). After the publications in 1954 and 1964, newspapers published more articles on cancer. Whether research on the link between cigarettes and lung cancer directly influenced the number of publications cannot be

¹⁴⁹ Doll and Hill, “Lung Cancer and Other Causes of Death in Relation to Smoking.”

¹⁵⁰ Proctor, “The History of the Discovery of the Cigarette–lung Cancer Link,” 88.

determined from this graph, but the upward trend in itself suggest a growing public concern regarding the disease.

Newspapers explicitly discussed cancer and lung cancer in relation to cigarettes (fig 4.22). Moreover, the trend in articles on lung cancer closely followed the trend in articles that mentioned lung cancer close to cigarettes (the red line in fig. 4.21 versus the blue line in fig. 4.22). This correspondence suggests that publication of the reports fueled broader discussions about lung cancer.

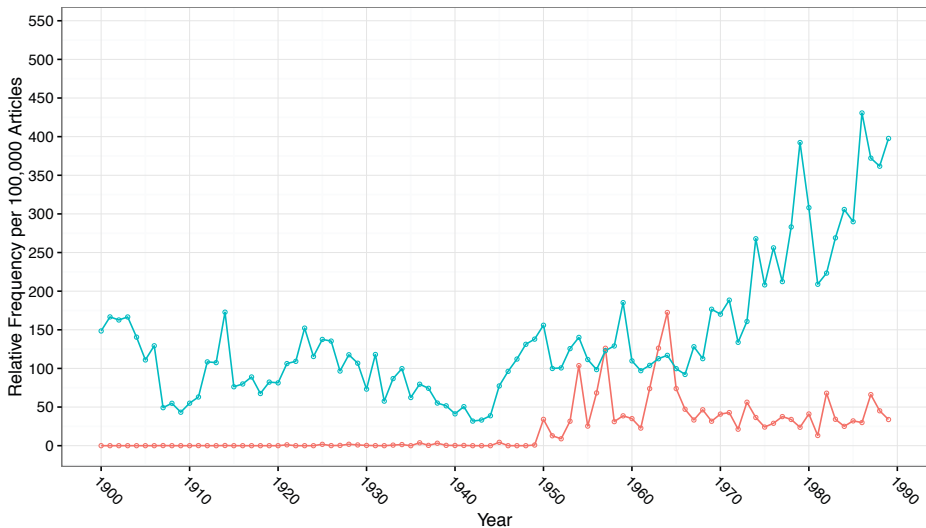


Figure 4.21. Relative annual frequency of articles that included 'cancer' (kanker) (blue line) ($n = 41,584$) or 'lung cancer' (longkanker) (red line) ($n = 4,237$) in the digitized Dutch newspaper corpus

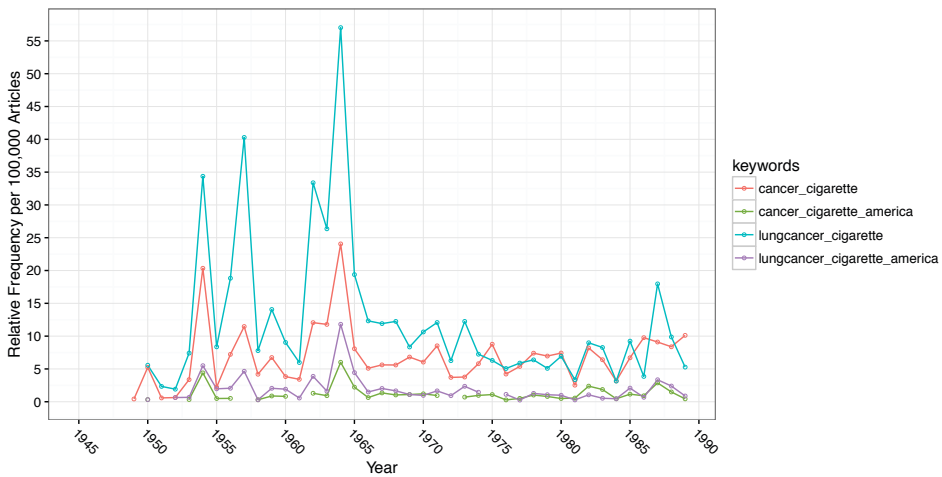


Figure 4.22. Relative annual frequency of articles that mentioned ‘cancer’ (*kanker*) or ‘lung cancer’ (*longkanker*) close (15L-15R) to cigarettes or smoking (red line ($n = 1,160$) and blue line ($n = 1,994$)). The green line refers to articles that mentioned ‘cancer’ close to cigarettes (15L-15R) as well as the United States ($n = 179$). The purple line refers to articles that mentioned ‘lung cancer’ close to cigarettes (15L-15R) and that also mentioned the United States ($n = 299$).

Whereas British and German researchers were the first to link lung cancer to smoking cigarettes, the United States became of importance in newspaper discourse on the topic in the 1950s and 1960s.¹⁵¹ In these two decades, newspaper articles that mentioned lung cancer in proximity to cigarettes or smoking also mentioned the United States (purple line in fig. 4.22). The trend line for cancer (green line in fig. 4.22) shows similar peaks.

The frequency of articles on lung cancer (figs. 4.21 and 4.22) peaked in 1954, 1957, and 1964. After 1964, discourse on lung cancer stabilized and remained a constant presence in Dutch newspapers. The first two peaks resulted from articles on the 1954 study by the American Cancer

¹⁵¹ In 1929, the German physician Fritz Lickint was the first to publish a paper that linked smoking to lung cancer. See: Witschi, “A Short History of Lung Cancer,” 4.

Society.¹⁵² The peak in 1964 relates to the Surgeon General Report on Health and Smoking.¹⁵³ This graph shows that the United States played a role in debates on cancer and cigarettes, but only at specific points in time.

Closer examination of the trends in figures 4.21 and 4.22 shows that Dutch newspapers kept a close watch on the latest explanations from American researchers as to why smoking cigarettes caused lung cancer. Newspapers published explanations that ranged from radioactive or poisonous substances in cigarettes that caused cancer to external factors such as the atmosphere and air pollution in urban areas.¹⁵⁴ These explanations also related the cigarette to contemporary concerns associated with the modernizing consumer society, such as the dangers of nuclear energy and the health risks of urban pollution.

Nicotine

The second aspect that researchers identified as an unhealthy aspect of cigarettes was nicotine—an alkaloid with addictive properties similar to caffeine and cocaine.¹⁵⁵ Dutch newspapers discussed nicotine at a continuously increasing rate throughout the twentieth century; a sign that nicotine became a common concern in public discourse (fig. 4.23). The

¹⁵² See for instance: “Longkanker en roken,” *Limburgsch Dagblad*, October 22, 1954; “Amerikaans rapport: verband roken en kanker duidelijk,” *Friese Koerier*, June 22, 1954; “Amerikaanse verklaring over het verband tussen roken en kanker,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, July 25, 1957.

¹⁵³ “Geen direct verband roken-longkanker?,” *Het Vrije volk*, August 17, 1964; “Amerikaans rapport bevestigt,” *Friese Koerier*, January 13, 1964.

¹⁵⁴ “Is arsenicum oorzaak van longkanker?,” *Leeuwarder Courant*, December 3, 1958; “Volgens Amerikaanse geleerden,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, January 22, 1964; “Rook van sigaretten is radio-actief,” *Leeuwarder Courant*, July 30, 1987; “Het roken van sigaretten,” *Limburgsch Dagblad*, November 19, 1954. “Andere oorzaken?,” *Leeuwarder Courant*, March 9, 1957; “Wordt onze dampkring langzaam vergiftigd?,” *De Telegraaf*, September 29, 1962; “Rokers extra gevoelig voor vuile atmosfeer,” *Limburgsch Dagblad*, March 8, 1969.

¹⁵⁵ Proctor, *Golden Holocaust*, 391.

papers framed nicotine as a health risk.¹⁵⁶ The significant collocates of nicotine included ‘poisoning’, ‘addicted’ and ‘harmful.’¹⁵⁷ These collocates underlined the damaging effects of the alkaloid on one’s health.

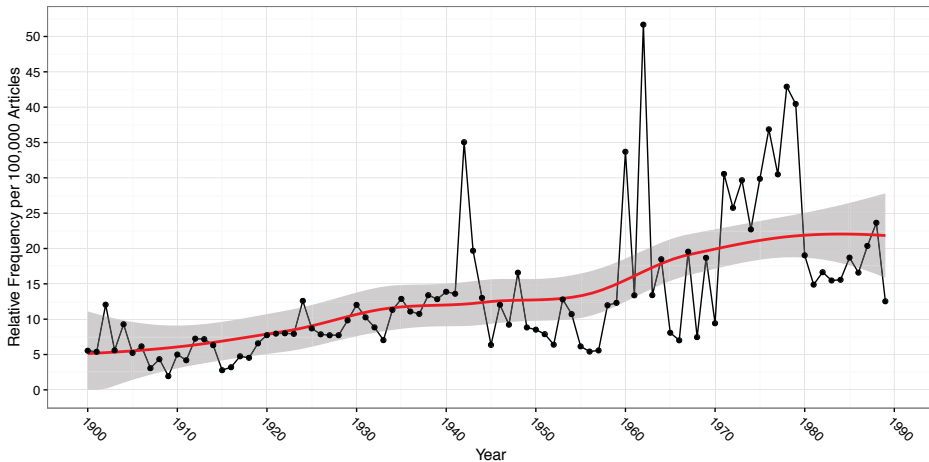


Figure 4.23. Relative annual frequency of articles ($n = 6,664$) that mentioned ‘nicotine*’ in the digitized Dutch newspaper corpus

One thread that ran through articles in the early twentieth century was the comparison between the amount of nicotine in cigarettes and cigars.¹⁵⁸ Researchers claimed that cigarettes were less harmful than cigars because the fuller combustion of the tobacco in cigarettes supposedly led to a lower

¹⁵⁶ “Sigaretten,” *De Telegraaf*, February 6, 1896; “Regelen bij het rooken,” *Nieuwe Tilburgse Courant*, December 11, 1898; “De giftigheidsgraad van nicotine,” *Haagsche Courant*, January 20, 1923; “Tabak en nicotine,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, March 17, 1923; “Over rooken en vergiften,” *De Telegraaf*, March 2, 1924; “Iets overrooken,” *Friesch Dagblad*, October 1, 1938; “Amerikaanse kinderen gewaarschuwd tegen roken,” *Friese Koerier*, November 11, 1962; “In sigaret zestien kankerverwekkers,” *De Telegraaf*, June 9, 1962; “Roken: naast psychologisch wellicht ook fysiologisch effect,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, May 8, 1970; “Nieuw rapport: roken van sigaretten kan leiden tot reeks van ziekten,” *Limburgsch Dagblad*, August 7, 1978; “Artsen VS waarschuwen tegen roken bij kinderen,” *Nederlands Dagblad*, May 7, 1984.

¹⁵⁷ Collocates of NICOTINE (5L-5R) in newspaper articles published between 1890 and 1990: ‘poisoning’ (*vergiftiging*), $n = 13$, $mi = 11.14$; ‘addicted’ (*verslaafd*), $n = 14$, $mi = 10.32$; ‘harmful’ (*schadelijke*), $n = 16$, $mi = 10.18$; ‘harmful’ (*schadelijk*), $n = 14$, $mi = 9.70$.

¹⁵⁸ For instance, “Wetenschappelijk allerlei,” *Het Volk*, June 2, 1901; “Ons lichaam en onze gezondheid,” *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, March 20, 1913.

intake of nicotine. Newspapers presented this argument when cigars were the most popular tobacco product, which raises the question whether the cigarette industry was fueling these debates to promote cigarettes. However, finding an answer to this question lies outside the scope of this chapter. These articles do show that newspapers in the early twentieth century already related nicotine to cigarettes.

At the beginning of the 1960s and 1970s, the number of publications on nicotine increased, which points to an underlying event or debate related to nicotine. The upward trend in the 1960s in articles on nicotine coincided with a peak in articles that discussed nicotine and cigarettes (fig. 4.24). Articles that discussed the health risks of nicotine in cigarettes produced this peak in articles. Before the 1960s, newspapers sporadically linked nicotine to cigarettes, which adds evidence to the idea that cigarettes pushed general newspaper discourse on the subject. In other words, discourse on the health risks of nicotine in cigarettes raised general awareness of its dangers.

American research efforts played a minor role in articles that discussed cigarettes and nicotine, as evinced by the considerable distance between the blue and red lines in figure 4.24. By comparison, the United States was more present in newspaper discourse on lung cancer (fig. 4.22). The United States was most present in 1962 and in the 1970s (fig. 4.24). In the events that drove these peaks, the United States played a minor but distinct role.

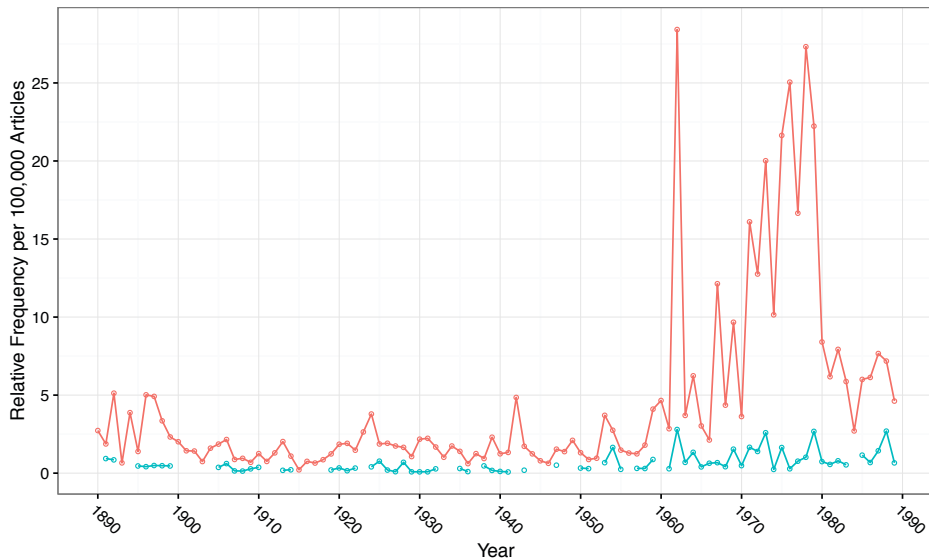


Figure 4.24. Relative annual frequency of articles ($n = 1,956$) that included ‘Nicotine*’ nearby (15L-15R) ‘cigarettes’ or ‘smoking’ (red line). The blue line refers to a subset of ($n = 211$) the articles, represented by the red line, which also mentioned the United States.

A domestic event caused the increase in articles in 1962. In this year, the Dutch cigarette importer Blok sued the Dutch *Consumentenbond*, a non-profit consumer protection organization. The reason for the lawsuit was a test that the *Consumentenbond* had published. In this test, researchers compared the nicotine and tar levels between different cigarette brands. The trial found that the cigarette brand Lexington, imported by Blok, contained the highest levels of nicotine and tar. Blok saw the sales of Lexington plummet and argued that the experiment was flawed and consequently sued the *Consumentenbond*. This incident is known as the Lexington affair.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁹ For instance: “Consumentenbond gedaagd door importeur,” *De Telegraaf*, May 26, 1962; “Kort geding Lexington-NCB deskundigen wapperen met statistieken en rapporten,” *Het Vrije Volk*, June 6, 1962; “Boeiend onderzoek Consumentenbond,” *Friese Koerier*, March 8, 1962. For more on this incident see: Joost de Waal, “De Lexington-Affaire,” *Andere Tijden*, 2002, <http://www.npogeschiedenis.nl/andere-tijden/afleveringen/2002-2003/De-Lexington-affaire.html>.

Newspapers occasionally mentioned the United States in articles on the Lexington affair. Proponents of the cigarette test used the example of the United States to claim that the outcome aligned with American research.¹⁶⁰ Opponents, such as Dutch cigarette importers, contended that American research on the contents of cigarettes often involved multiple laboratories, whereas the *Consumentenbond* only employed one.¹⁶¹ For both sides, the United States featured as an example of large-scale and thorough research, which shows the dual role of the United States in debates on the health risks of cigarettes.

The peak in the 1970s in figures 4.23 and 4.24 is to a large extent comprised of articles that mentioned low amounts of nicotine (*laag* nearby (3L-3R) *nicotine*), low-nicotine (*nicotine-arm*), or even no nicotine at all (*nicotinevrij*). Figure 4.25 shows that these words predominantly appeared in the 1970s, indicating that newspapers reflected on the effects of nicotine and the amount of nicotine in new brands with less nicotine.

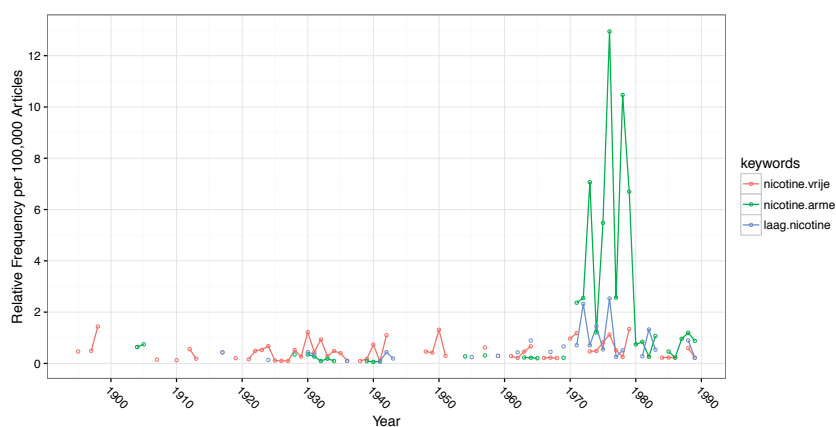


Figure 4.25. Relative annual frequency of articles that included ‘Nicotine free*’ (*nicotine vrij**) and ‘low nicotine’ (*nicotine arm**)

¹⁶⁰ “Deskundige in teeraffaire,” *De Waarheid*, June 9, 1962; “Lexington overweegt proces tegen consumentenbond,” *De Tijd-Maasbode*, April 17, 1962.

¹⁶¹ “Meer laboratoria bij het onderzoek inschakelen,” *Friese Koeier*, March 16, 1962.

Figure 4.25 also demonstrates that before the peak in the 1970s, newspapers more often mentioned nicotine free cigarettes than cigarettes with low amounts of nicotine. The American cigarette industry may have played a part in the popularization of low-nicotine in spite of nicotine free cigarettes. Even though nineteenth-century tobacco producers had already been able to produce cigarettes without nicotine, the American cigarette industry opted for cigarettes with the substance because of its addictive properties.¹⁶² Newspapers informed Dutch consumers about the possibility to produce nicotine free tobacco well before the 1960s.¹⁶³ Still, nicotine free cigarettes never really took off, as illustrated in figure 4.25.

Newspapers also reported on the American research community's attempts to negate the damaging effects of nicotine. In 1939, *Limburgsch Dagblad* conveyed that American researchers had made the remarkable claim that nicotine caused more harm to healthy people than people that were recovering from heart and other diseases.¹⁶⁴ Others argued that nicotine lowered blood pressure and cholesterol levels, or that coffee would neutralize nicotine.¹⁶⁵ In 1951, Dutch newspapers informed their readers of an international conference on smoking. During the conference, American researchers tried to downplay the harmful effects of nicotine and claimed that the lungs, kidneys, and liver neutralized 85 percent of the nicotine.

These explanations demonstrate how American researchers sought to counteract the claims that nicotine was unhealthy. Above all, the articles

¹⁶² Proctor, *Golden Holocaust*, 341–42, 553.

¹⁶³ "Binnenland," *Arnhemsche Courant*, September 20, 1882; "Hoe de wetenschap zich de toekomst indenkt," *Nieuwe Tilburgse Courant*, June 29, 1935.

¹⁶⁴ "Is rooken schadelijk?," *Limburgsch Dagblad*, August 10, 1939.

¹⁶⁵ "Sigaretten roken heeft ook zijn goede kanten," *Limburgsch Dagblad*, April 21, 1973; "Koffie goed voor rokers," *Het Vrije Volk*, June 20, 1984.

on nicotine show that Dutch newspapers closely followed American research efforts concerning the health risks associated with cigarettes. *De Telegraaf* observed this in 1951 when it wrote that “smokers considered it an honor that famous scholars in the United States researched the beloved tobacco with so much attention.”¹⁶⁶ This statement fittingly conveys America’s position as a reference culture in debates on the health risks of the cigarettes.

A Healthier Cigarette

The third aspect that regularly materialized in the context of American research on cigarettes were attempts to manufacture a *healthier* cigarette. In the wake of the 1954 and 1964 reports, the public awareness of the harmful nature of cigarettes grew in the United States as well as in the Netherlands. Consequently, American cigarette companies set out to find ways to reduce the health risks of cigarettes, or at least to alter their public perception.

Reports on attempts to make a healthier cigarette presented the United States as innovative and even eccentric. In 1954, *Algemeen Handelsblad* recounted that American scientists used x-rays to rid tobacco from its unhealthy components.¹⁶⁷ In 1959, *De Telegraaf* called cigarettes without tar and nicotine “American gimmicks”, which showed that the paper viewed them with a degree of skepticism.¹⁶⁸ Five years later, the news spread that American companies had created a menthol cigarette that contained no tobacco at all.¹⁶⁹ An even healthier cigarette was announced in 1964; a cigarette made from cabbage leaves. *Gereformeerd*

¹⁶⁶ “Is roken gezond?,” *De Telegraaf*, October 30, 1951.

¹⁶⁷ “Onschadelijke tabak,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, September 3, 1954.

¹⁶⁸ “Sigarettenrokers hebben hun eigen gewoonte,” *De Telegraaf*, August 15, 1959.

¹⁶⁹ “Amerikaanse sigaret die geen tabak bevat,” *Leeuwarder Courant*, November 6, 1959.

Gezinsblad reported in a deadpan fashion that the cigarette tasted like “burning cabbage.”¹⁷⁰ The newest fad in the early 1970s was the synthetic cigarette. American and British manufacturers were developing a ‘safe’ cigarette made of sawdust, charcoal, plastic and “something else.”¹⁷¹ The synthetic contained less tar and no nicotine.¹⁷²

None of these inventions would eventually replace the existing cigarette. Nonetheless, Dutch newspapers were eager to report on these American attempts to create healthier cigarettes, while also expressing some skepticism regarding these American innovations. The articles on this topic reveal an ambivalent yet strong attachment to the United States; for Dutch consumers, the United States was both familiar and influential, but also exotic and eccentric.

Among the failed and eccentric innovations, one did turn out to be successful: the filter cigarette. The use of filters runs back to the nineteenth century when manufacturers included materials inside the cigarette that would prevent toxic elements from entering the smoker’s lungs.¹⁷³ Brown & Williamson produced the first American filter cigarette in 1936. Cigarette companies presented the filter cigarette as a safer alternative after smokers became more aware of the health risks. This rebranding of the cigarette further popularized cigarettes in the United States, even though extensive evidence indicates that filters have not made cigarettes safer. As it happens, the addition of filters made cigarettes even deadlier.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁰ “Roken en de gezondheid,” *Gereformeerd Gezinsblad*, February 15, 1964.

¹⁷¹ “Veilige sigaretten,” *Limburgsch Dagblad*, March 4, 1972.

¹⁷² “Synthetische sigaret 1976,” *Het Vrije Volk*, February 4, 1974; “synthetische tabak,” *De Waarheid*, February 2, 1974; “Kunstabak: minder ongezond,” *NRC Handelsblad*, February 4, 1974; “Experiment met synthetische sigaret,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, February 8, 1973.

¹⁷³ Proctor, *Golden Holocaust*, 341.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 340–56.

The Dutch market for filter cigarettes only started to grow rapidly in the late 1960s.¹⁷⁵ This growth in sales was mirrored by newspaper discourse on filter cigarettes (fig. 4.26). Figure 4.26 demonstrates that the filter cigarette received considerable attention ($n = 1,047$) in the papers between 1950 and 1990. Before the 1950s, newspapers wrote only sporadically about them ($n = 22$).

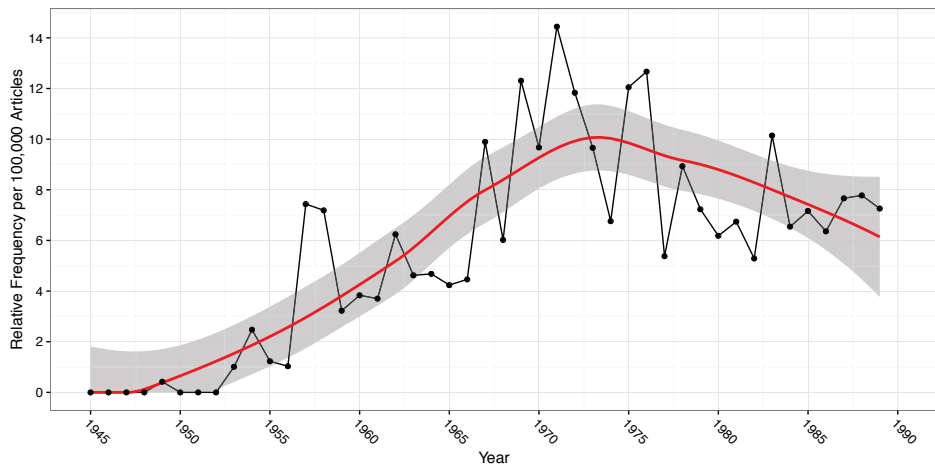


Figure 4.26. Relative annual frequency of articles ($n = 1,069$) with the words ‘filter’ and ‘cigarette’ (sigaret*) or ‘filter cigarette’ (filtersigaret*) in the digitized Dutch newspaper corpus

Dutch newspapers presented the filter cigarette as a so-called healthier alternative by proclaiming that filters blocked carcinogenic substances. In 1957, *De Tijd* reported that the prominent cancer researcher Ernst Wynder had developed a method to produce a cigarette that would not cause lung cancer. The cigarette included a filter and special cigarette paper which would block the tar from entering the smoker’s lungs.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁵ Six percent in 1955, 13% in 1961, and 27% in 1968. Linde, *1906-1986 B.A.T. Nederland B.V.*, 76.

¹⁷⁶ “Drie eisen voor de anti-kanker-sigaret,” *De Tijd*, April 13, 1957; “Sigaret zonder kanker gevolgen?,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, April 15, 1957.

Other reports claimed that American researchers discovered that filters did not block but reduce the amount of tar inhaled, which decreased smokers' risks of contracting of lung cancer.¹⁷⁷

At the same time, the papers conveyed that the filter cigarette had been met with some skepticism in the United States itself. In the late 1950s, American government officials declared that cigarette producers cheated on the American public with advertising campaigns for filter cigarettes. They claimed that they produced as much tar and nicotine as regular cigarettes.¹⁷⁸ The skepticism of American cancer specialists and government officials continued after the cigarette industry improved the filter cigarette.¹⁷⁹ Such suspicions informed Dutch consumers of the changing American attitude toward smoking, cigarettes, and the cigarette industry.

Dutch smokers were slow in adopting the filter cigarette, despite recurring reports on its success in the United States. Popularity in the United States previously heralded popularity in the Netherlands. In 1957, the *Leeuwarder Courant* said that the American consumption of filter cigarettes had increased, as more smokers became aware of the link between smoking and cancer.¹⁸⁰ Dutch smokers did not follow the

¹⁷⁷ "Roken en longkanker," *De Tijd-Maasbode*, August 25, 1962.

¹⁷⁸ "Filtersigaret is bedrog," *Het Vrije Volk*, February 21, 1958; "Roken en longkanker," *De Tijd-Maasbode*, November 27, 1959; "Meer teer in filtersigaretten dan gewone?," *Het Vrije Volk*, August 30, 1966.

¹⁷⁹ "Roken," *Limburgsch Dagblad*, July 18, 1967; "Nieuwe Amerikaanse sigarettenfilter," *De Waarheid*, July 13, 1967; "De opmars van 'aërodynamisch' roken," *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, July 30, 1983.

¹⁸⁰ "Nieuw rookrecord in Verenigde Staten," *Leeuwarder Courant*, September 28, 1957.

American example and stuck to their old habits and continued to smoke cigarettes without a filter.¹⁸¹

Despite initial caginess, by the late 1960s the Dutch smoker was gradually adopting the filter cigarette. Newspapers speculated that this was probably related to research conducted in the United States.¹⁸² Also, Dutch newspapers compared the Dutch consumption of filter cigarettes to the high levels of consumption in the United States and West-Germany.¹⁸³ Even as the cigarette was losing its American product nationality in the early 1970s, the United States still functioned as an important touchstone regarding cigarette use. The slow adoption of the filter cigarette, however, indicates that the Netherlands no longer blindly followed trends in the United States.

The persistent reporting by Dutch newspapers demonstrates that the Dutch were clearly oriented toward the United States for the newest insights concerning possible health risks associated with smoking. More importantly, these reports depicted the United States as a nation worried about containing the health hazards related to cigarettes. Thus, this idea runs counter to the interwar image of the United States as a nation of unbridled consumption.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸¹ "Nederland rookt minste filtersigaretten," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, September 28, 1964; "Nederlanders roken nog slechts heel weinig filtersigaretten," *Leeuwarder Courant*, September 30, 1964.

¹⁸² "Goedkope sigaret rukt op," *De Tijd*, February 9, 1970; "Nederland blijf toch roken," *De Telegraaf*, April 16, 1960; "Filters tegen de schrik," *De Telegraaf*, August 30, 1958.

¹⁸³ "Caballero is het meest verkocht," *De Tijd*, January 23, 1969; "Nieuwe 'filters' voor f 1.40," *De Tijd*, August 27, 1969; "Veertig procent is filter," *Leeuwarder Courant*, September 10, 1971; "Filtersigaret steeds populairder," *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, September 22, 1972; "zachter roken, vaak met filter," *Het Vrije Volk*, October 13, 1973; "filtersigaret in opmars," *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, October 16, 1974; "Nederland rookt 57% filter," *Limburgsch Dagblad*, May 12, 1978.

¹⁸⁴ See chapter 5 and 6 for more on this perspective on the United States.

The Impact of the American Anti-Smoking Movement on Dutch Perceptions of Smoking

The newspaper's representation of the American female smokers demonstrated that Dutch newspapers paid considerable attention to the American anti-smoking movement. This paragraph shows to what extent newspapers believed these movements had shaped Dutch perceptions of smoking.

American publications that linked cigarettes to cancer initially seemed to have little effect on Dutch smokers.¹⁸⁵ The Dutch government took a clear stance against cigarettes when it sided with the outcome of the 1964 report. The Dutch State Secretary of Public Health and Social Affairs Louis Bartels accepted the report's conclusions. He stated that the Dutch government supported the American report and considered smoking a cause of cancer.¹⁸⁶ By 1967, the *Leeuwarder Courant* stated that the results of American research impacted the level of cigarette consumption in the Netherlands.¹⁸⁷ It took until 1980, however, before Dutch cigarette consumption started to decrease. The reports apparently did not turn the tide in the Netherlands, as they had done in the United States. This underlines the limited direct impact of American research and policy on Dutch consumer behavior.

In the 1960s and 1970s, Dutch newspapers often compared the American to the Dutch anti-smoking movement. One person was essential to these comparisons: Dr. Lenze Meinsma. After writing his thesis on the health risks of smoking, Meinsma became an active voice in the Dutch

¹⁸⁵ "Ondanks verontrustende berichten: Nederlanders roken steeds meer," *Het Vrije Volk*, August 3, 1954.

¹⁸⁶ "De gevaren van het roken," *Gereformeerd Gezinsblad*, January 20, 1964; "Staatssecretaris Bartels: conclusies Amerikaanse rapport ernstig," *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, January 17, 1964.

¹⁸⁷ "Oorlog aan de sigaret," *Leeuwarder Courant*, September 14, 1967.

anti-smoking movement; he essentially kick-started it.¹⁸⁸ Between 1963 and 1981, Meinsma was also a vocal presence in Dutch newspapers (fig. 4.27).¹⁸⁹

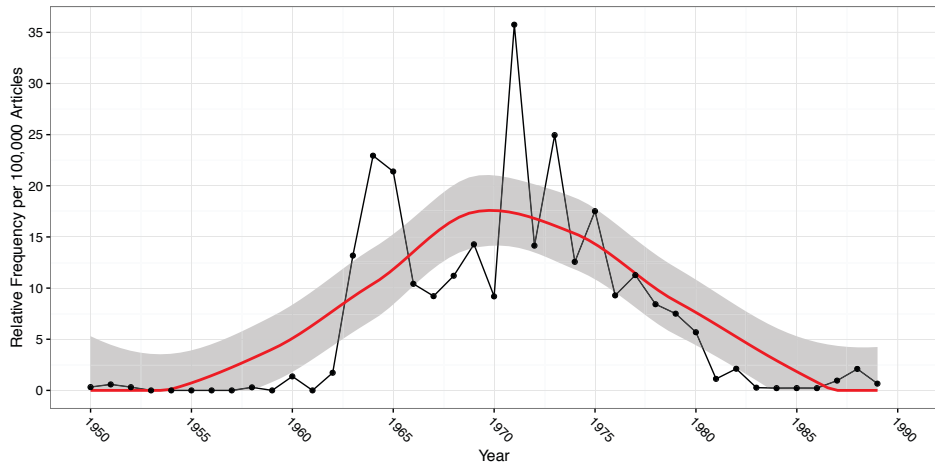


Figure 4.27. Relative annual frequency of articles ($n = 1,275$) with the words ‘Meinsma’ and ‘smoking’ (*roken*), ‘cigarette’ (*sigaret**) or ‘tobacco’ (*tabak*) between 1950 and 1989 in the digitized Dutch newspaper corpus

Meinsma closely followed developments in the United States and informed Dutch consumers about the ways the American cigarette industry tried to trick consumers. He presented the American cigarette industry as wrongdoers that needed to be blocked through legislation. For instance, he argued that the king-size filter cigarette should be banned because the length of the cigarette did not improve the purifying effects of the filter—which the cigarette companies claimed it would.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ Joop Bouma, *Het rookgordijn: de macht van de Nederlandse tabaksindustrie* (Amsterdam: Veen, 2001), 42–52, 60–64, 131–35.

¹⁸⁹ The query +MEINSMA +(ROKEN SIGARET* TABAK) yielded 1,275 articles between 1950 and 1989.

¹⁹⁰ “Roken is gevaarlijker dan men denkt,” *De Tijd-Maasbode*, December 31, 1963; “Dr. Meinsma wil verbod van super-sigaret,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, September 15, 1967.

Apart from assailing the American cigarette industry, Meinsma praised the American anti-smoking movement.¹⁹¹ In 1967, Meinsma visited the World Conference on Smoking and Health in New York City. Inspired by American anti-smoking initiatives during this conference, he also pledged to strive for a ban on smoking in public spaces.¹⁹² Meinsma was disappointed with the Dutch anti-smoking movement and pointed out that the Dutch trailed behind the United States.¹⁹³ Reporting on Meinsma contributed to the idea that the United States was a leading country concerning cigarette regulations. Dutch newspapers regularly used the United States as an example of successful policies that led to declining cigarette consumption.¹⁹⁴ The papers compared the Dutch anti-smoking laws to the United States and concluded that the Netherlands had not yet made this much progress. In 1975, *Het Vrije Volk* praised the American attitude toward non-smokers as more open-minded and considerate than the Dutch. The author stated that in the Netherlands “asking for fresh air is considered a joke.”¹⁹⁵ More than ten years later, *Limburgsch Dagblad* repeated claims that the United States was much more advanced in implementing anti-smoking laws. “Smoking is no longer the norm” in the United States, according to this article.¹⁹⁶

Comparisons between the Netherlands and the United States continued to be made until the late 1980s. In 1988 and 1989, two fascinating articles appeared that compared Dutch and American

¹⁹¹ “Anti-rookactie op scholen begint eind januari,” *Het Vrije Volk*, January 23, 1964; “Kastje kijken,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, January 9, 1971.

¹⁹² “Rookverbod in openbare gebouwen,” *De Waarheid*, September 15, 1967; “Na rookcongres in New York,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, September 15, 1967.

¹⁹³ “Premie voor nietrokers goedkoper,” *De Tijd*, June 4, 1969.

¹⁹⁴ “De Nederlanders rookten vorig jaar meer dan ooit,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, January 14, 1972.

¹⁹⁵ “Roken steeds meer aan banden,” *Het Vrije Volk*, November 8, 1975.

¹⁹⁶ “Niet-rokers stuiten op onbegrip en agressie,” *Limburgsch Dagblad*, August 9, 1986. See also: “Roker bedreigd,” *Leeuwarder Courant*, August 2, 1988.

attitudes toward smoking. *NRC Handelsblad* maintained that even though people considered the Netherlands a “guiding country” (*gidsland*) regarding abortion, euthanasia, gay marriage, and soft drugs, it apparently did not fulfill that role as far as banning tobacco use in public spaces was concerned. The article claimed that the United States, the country of “*laissez-faire*”, was much more audacious in implementing policies that restricted tobacco consumption. Notwithstanding these advances in the United States, the author asked non-smokers to be patient since cultural changes were known to blow over from the United States to the Netherlands.¹⁹⁷ This article evidently presented the United States as more progressive than the Netherlands, and it also reiterated the notion that social changes transferred from the United States to the Netherlands. Even though the direct effects of American policies and research on Dutch cigarette consumption were limited, newspapers kept on presenting the United States as an example.

In 1989, Sante Brun, the editor of *Limburgsch Dagblad*, explained why the Dutch trailed behind the Americans. He argued that Dutch people still considered smoking to have an emancipatory effect. Dutch women held on to their cigarettes and smoked in public spaces as a gesture of freedom.¹⁹⁸ This is a remarkable observation that echoes the interwar period when the idea that smoking signified emancipation for women moved from the United States to the Netherlands. In the 1920s and 30s, the United States signified the freedom for women to smoke wherever they pleased, whereas, in the 1980s, the United States denoted the opposite: the cigarette was blocking social change instead of enabling it. This article

¹⁹⁷ “Rokers: een verdacht gezelschap,” *NRC Handelsblad*, September 8, 1987. See also: “Ook in Nederland klaart de lucht binnen verder op,” *Nederlands Dagblad*, September 4, 1987; “Kinderarts Knol en zijn strijd tegen het roken,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, June 21, 1988.

¹⁹⁸ “Roken,” *Limburgsch Dagblad*, July 1, 1989.

perfectly captured how the position of America as a reference culture had shifted. Before 1940 and right after the Second World War, the United States led the way in popularizing cigarettes. In the 1960s and 1970s, the United States was the standard-bearer of anti-smoking laws. In the 1970s the narrative changed, and the newspapers framed the United States as almost too strict regarding smoking regulations.

This final section has demonstrated that Dutch newspapers after the Second World War equated the United States with a progressive and successful anti-smoking movement and with legislation to ban cigarettes in public spaces. At the same time, newspapers wrote about the interplay between American researchers, government, and the American cigarette industry. This interaction came to the fore in the context of three aspects: the link between cigarettes and lung cancer, the health risks associated with nicotine, and the development of a *healthier* cigarette. In these examples, the United States signified both a strong cigarette industry that tried to circumvent laws as well as an active research community that pointed out the dangers of cigarettes. The United States represented research on the dangers of smoking, but it also signified attempts by research communities to mitigate the health risks of cigarettes. The latter might have raised concerns about the entanglement of the American cigarette industry with the research community, although Dutch newspapers did not extensively reflect on this.

The United States played a significant role in the Dutch perception on smoking. It acted as a sounding board for Dutch smokers, policy makers, and anti-smoking advocates. Although Dutch smokers were somewhat hesitant in following the American smoker in transitioning to the filter cigarette, in the late 1960s the filter cigarette did become more popular in the Netherlands. Regarding legislation, Dutch anti-smoking advocates and governmental officials regularly pointed to the United

States as an example of a country which had been successful in implementing smoking bans.

In the 1950s, discourse on American research efforts communicated that American public opinion was becoming more critical of smoking, cigarettes, and the cigarette industry. For Dutch consumers, the United States increasingly signified a more restrictive attitude toward cigarettes. In the 1970s, criticism of this policy grew in the Netherlands and newspapers reported that smokers had become outcasts in the United States. Seen from a macroscopic perspective, in Dutch newspapers between 1950 and 1990, the United States developed from a nation of smokers to a paradise for non-smokers.

4.3 Conclusion

Newspapers between 1890 and 1990 clearly associated cigarettes with the United States. Articles often discussed cigarettes in relation to the economy and politics. These articles, however, offered little information on the cultural position of the American cigarette in the Netherlands. By combining multiple computational techniques, I managed to weed out the dominant signals and pick up the weaker but more significant ones. By iteratively switching between the *distant* and *close reading* of articles, I managed to peel away layers of the discourse to reach particular strands of newspaper discourse on links between cigarettes and the United States. These links were expressed in a wide range of debates, ranging from discussions on the characteristics of the American cigarette and the cigarette industry, to the representation of the American female smoker, and the role of the American anti-smoking movement.

Newspaper discourse on cigarettes shows that the United States functioned as a point of reference in social and cultural debates associated with the cigarettes, which often signified larger discussions on

modernization, the health risks related to consumer products, consumerism, and the emancipation of women.

In the interwar period, newspapers voiced both distrust and awe for the American cigarette and the cigarette industry. On the one hand, the cigarette pointed to artificiality and cutthroat capitalism, while on the other, the success of the industry and the omnipresence of consumer goods in American society turned the United States into a benchmark for Dutch consumers and producers.

In debates on the American female smokers, there was a turning point around 1930. Between 1890 and 1930, the United States represented a strong prohibition movement driven by conservatism, which aligned with Dutch anti-feminist politics. After 1930, newspapers expressed more acceptance toward female smokers and used the United States as an example of a country in which women had emancipated themselves through consumer goods. It seems that criticism of American female smokers was driven by a disapproval of the American consumer society rather than by issues pertaining to gender. The representation of the American female smokers in the United States newspapers did confront Dutch consumers with the idea that consumption could be an emancipatory move.

After the Second World War, newspapers turned their focus toward the health risks associated with cigarettes. Newspapers highlighted the publication of reports in 1954 and 1964 that claimed that cigarettes led to lung cancer. In the discourse on these reports, the interplay between consumers, producers, policy makers, and researchers defined the American cigarette landscape. From this interplay, the United States emerged as a country of cigarette bans and ever-decreasing cigarette consumption. This image contrasted with the earlier image of a country of boundless consumption of cigarettes in which the cigarette represented modernization and emancipation.

Throughout the twentieth century, Dutch newspapers kept a close eye on the United States. Newspapers quickly published on American events and debates. Moreover, between 1930 and 1960, the United States functioned as a yardstick in Dutch public discourse, despite occasional reflections on the differences between the two nations. After the publication of the 1964 report, the Dutch seemed to distance themselves from developments in the United States. Innovations to the cigarette such as the filter cigarette were not appropriated instantaneously. Moreover, the reporting on smoking in the United States expressed a more detached and critical attitude toward the nation. The Dutch seemed to have developed their smoking culture separately from the United States. The disapproval of the strict smoking bans in the United States in the late 1980s did, however, eventually function as an example for future Dutch legislation. The United States cradled the modern cigarette but also took smoking in public to the grave.

To sum up, the longevity and range of issues by which newspapers related smoking and cigarettes to the United States solidified the relationship between the country and the consumer good. In these debates the United States emerged as a reference culture; it was not only the country most closely related to cigarettes, Dutch newspapers also used the United States as a means to position themselves in these debates.

Case Study 2

Coca-Cola

"The Coke bottle is not only known all over the world, it is also of local importance."¹

¹ "De Coca-Cola fles is thans niet alleen over de gehele wereld bekend, zij is tevens van lokaal belang." in "Coca-Cola advertisement," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, January 15, 1955.

In 1938, the American newspaper editor William Allen White famously described Coca-Cola as the “sublimated essence of all that America stands for—a decent thing, honestly made, universally distributed, conscientiously improved with the years.”¹ Two decades later, publicist E.J. Kahn labeled Coca-Cola “a fluid that, like petrol, is indispensable to, and symbolic of, the American way of life.”² For these American commentators, Coca-Cola clearly represented a set of values, ideas, and practices associated with the American way of life.

During the interwar period, American businesses introduced Europeans to American products that confronted them with ideas, values, and practices that scholars have viewed as constitutive of the American way of life.³ Richard Pells opines that no other “export served as a more potent symbol of the American way of life than Coke.”⁴ Greg Castillo, however, points out that scholars should not approach American products, such as Coca-Cola, as “ironclad vehicles of an American way of life.” He argues that scholars need to study American products as “indeterminate signifiers” within a local context, separated from their original US context.⁵ The specific interpretation of an iconic brand such as Coca-Cola within a national context can, according to Douglas Holt, reveal the “collective anxieties and desires of a nation.”⁶ He argues that iconic brands served as “society’s foundational compass points—anchors of

¹ Pendergrast, *For God, Country and Coca-Cola*, 183.

² Kahn, *The Big Drink*.

³ Nolan, *The Transatlantic Century*, 36.

⁴ Pells, *Not like US*, 199.

⁵ Greg Castillo, *Cold War on the Home Front: The Soft Power of Midcentury Design* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), xiv.

⁶ Holt uses the example of ritual action to describe how identity myths associated with a brand were experienced and shared by consumers. See: Holt, *How Brands Become Icons*, 6–10.

meaning continually referenced in entertainment, journalism, politics, and advertising.”⁷

Research has shown that the local interpretation of Coca-Cola cannot be separated from larger historical processes such as the increasing presence of American culture in Western Europe fueled in part by the Marshall Plan, the growing global influence of American multinationals, the burgeoning Cold War, and the development of a Dutch soft drink industry.⁸ Within this junction of local and global forces, consumers and producers negotiated the values, practices, and ideas associated with twentieth-century consumer goods.⁹ Mark Pendergrast underlines that the local interpretation of Coca-Cola has functioned as “the best barometer of the relationship with the US.”¹⁰ Hence, Dutch newspaper discourse offers a lens on the local framing of Coca-Cola and its symbolic connotations, but also on the position of Dutch consumers vis-à-vis the United States.

This second case study conceptualizes Coca-Cola as a cultural icon driven by a large multinational company within an emerging Dutch soft drink market. It is useful in this respect to distinguish between push and pull factors to account for the dynamic between producers and consumers. Advertisements represent this push factor in that they demonstrate how the branding of products introduced Dutch consumers to aspects of the

⁷ Ibid., 1.

⁸ Nolan, *The Transatlantic Century*; Pells, *Not like US*; Marja Roholl, “Uncle Sam: An Example For All?,” in *Dutch-American Relations, 1945-1969: A Partnership: Illusions and Facts*, ed. Hans Loeber (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1992), 105–52; Frank Inklaar, *Van Amerika geleerd: Marshall-hulp en kennisimport in Nederland* (Den Haag: SDU, 1997); Frank Inklaar, “America: Land of Milk and Honey?,” in *American Culture in the Netherlands*, ed. Doeko Bosscher, Mel van Elteren, and Marja Roholl (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1996), 150–64.

⁹ Adri Albert de la Bruhèze and Ruth Oldenziel, “Theorizing the Mediation Junction for Technology and Consumption,” in *Manufacturing Technology, Manufacturing Consumers: The Making of Dutch Consumer Society*, ed. Adri Albert de la Bruhèze and Ruth Oldenziel (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2009), 9–39; Roberta Sassatelli, *Consumer Culture History, Theory and Politics* (Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, 2007), 115.

¹⁰ Pendergrast, *For God, Country and Coca-Cola*, 243.

United States and American culture. Chapter 5 studies the language in advertisements to show what image of consumers and consumption the Coca-Cola company promoted. Advertisements for Coca-Cola in local Dutch newspapers also offer information on the ways in which producers helped shape the Dutch perception of the United States. Does this image reveal traces of what can be read as an American way of life?

Newspaper articles, on the other hand, represent the pull factor. Articles might reflect on how Dutch consumers perceived Coca-Cola as a shorthand for ideas, values, and practices associated with the United States. Chapter 6 examines to what extent newspaper discourse propagated Coca-Cola as a cultural icon that represented the United States. The chapter also outlines how newspapers turned to Coca-Cola to debate the effects of modernization, globalization, and Americanization in a national and global context. This can help explain how the United States functioned as a reference culture in Dutch public discourse.

In sum, this case study sets out to describe the dynamic between the brand identity that was pushed by the Coca-Cola Company in advertisements, and the local Dutch interpretations of Coca-Cola's associations with the United States in newspaper articles. By juxtaposing newspaper advertisements and articles, the following two chapters expose how the two shaped and reflected the emergence and role of America as a reference culture in Dutch public discourse.

A Short History of Coca-Cola in the Netherlands

Coca-Cola has its origin in Atlanta, Georgia, where the apothecary John Pemberton created the caramel-colored drink for medicinal purposes in 1886. Two years later, shortly before his death, he sold the drink's formula to local business tycoon Asa Candler.¹¹ Candler promptly re-branded it and began to sell it as an everyday beverage. He standardized Coca-Cola's packaging and set up a nation-wide distribution system, which fueled Coca-Cola's national popularity. In 1919, Candler sold the company to Ernest Woodruff, whose son Robert Winship Woodruff focused on expanding the company to foreign markets. He did so quite successfully. By 1929, the company was selling the drink in 66 countries.¹²

The Coca-Cola Company first promoted its flagship product in the Netherlands during the 1928 Amsterdam Olympics. The company's first Dutch offices opened just two years later, which underscores the success of its first advertising campaign.¹³ During the Second World War, the importation and subsequent sale of Coca-Cola in Europe halted. Despite the discontinued ingress of Coca-Cola, the soft drink giant continued to provide the American soldiers stationed in Europe with the beverage. It did so by setting up distribution networks and factories, first in North Africa, and subsequently in France and Germany.¹⁴ These plants and distribution networks gave the company a head start immediately after the war.¹⁵ Because the Coca-Cola Company subsequently oversaw the

¹¹ Ibid., 7–8.

¹² Cross, *An All-Consuming Century*, 31.

¹³ Peter Zwaal, *Frisdranken in Nederland: een twintigste eeuwse produktgeschiedenis* (Rotterdam: Stichting BBM, 1993), 72–74.

¹⁴ Pells, *Not like US*, location 2798.

¹⁵ Schröter, *Americanization of the European Economy*, 64.

local production and branding of its top product, it was able to push its brand identity abroad efficiently.

One of the company's most distinct features was its franchise model, which it also implemented in the Netherlands.¹⁶ This model allowed local bottlers, also known as Coca-Cola Enterprises, to manufacture the drink by combining the imported patented syrup with local mineral water.¹⁷ In 1949, the first Dutch bottling plant opened in Dongen. It took until the 1950s before the Dutch production of sugar—an essential ingredient for Coca-Cola—was running at full capacity again. Around this time, the Dutch soft industry took off, and Dutch consumers embraced soft drinks. In 1938, the Dutch had consumed five liters per capita per year. By 1958, this was almost ten liters, after which consumption rose to a staggering fifty liters in 1968. Coca-Cola quickly became, and remains to this day, the most popular soft drink in the Netherlands, consumed by hundreds of thousands of people every year.¹⁸ For many scholars, Coca-Cola represents an American way of life and the process of Americanization. The question remains as to whether the popular soft drink was also framed as such in Dutch newspapers. Alternatively, was the internationally successful drink seen as a truly global product separated from its American roots?

¹⁶ Zwaal, *Frisdranken in Nederland*, 148–51.

¹⁷ Pendergrast, *For God, Country and Coca-Cola*, 68–69; Zwaal, *Frisdranken in Nederland*, 149.

¹⁸ Zwaal, *Frisdranken in Nederland*, 20.

Chapter 5

The Real Thing | Advertising the American Way of Life

"Coca-Cola quickly conquered the entire world. In Europe, Coca-Cola is now the most beloved drink in all the trendsetting places."¹

¹ "Coca-Cola veroverde spoedig de gehele wereld. In Europa, is Coca-Cola nu de meest geliefde drank in alle toonaangevende plaatsen." in "Coca-Cola advertisement," *Het Volk*, June 3, 1929.

This chapter investigates the language of Coca-Cola advertisements to understand how the Coca-Cola Company depicted consumers and consumption, and possibly advertised an American way of life. It consists of four sections. The first describes the construction of a corpus of Coca-Cola advertisements. The second section establishes whether advertisers explicitly linked Coca-Cola to the United States or the American way of life. The third section applies computational techniques from corpus linguistics to discern discursive trends in the advertisements. The final section examines to what extent these trends signified an American way of life, singling out four themes that contributed to the Dutch perception of the American way of life: Coca-Cola's paradoxical *glocal* character, relaxation and invigoration as modern consumer needs, the notion of a democratized consumer society, and finally, the bottle as an expression of the brand's popularity, authenticity, and quality.

5.1 Constructing a Corpus of Coca-Cola Advertisements

In this section, I describe how I constructed a corpus of Coca-Cola advertisements. From the corpus of digitized newspapers, I extracted ads that mentioned 'Coca-Cola'. Querying for COCA-COLA also returned advertisements for the soft drinks Fanta and Sprite. The Coca-Cola Company produced these drinks, which explains why Coca-Cola was mentioned in the advertisements.¹ Since this chapter's focus is on the soft drink Coca-Cola, documents that mentioned 'Coca-Cola' *and* 'Cola', 'Sprite', or 'Fanta' were excluded.² The resulting corpus contained 2,905

¹ For instance, "Coca-Cola advertisement," *Het Vrije Volk*, September 24, 1963.

² For this I used the following query: +("COCA-COLA"-"COLA" "SPRITE" "FANTA").

advertisements from regional and national newspapers between 1928 and 1990.

Coca-Cola was a prominent Cola brand in Dutch newspapers. The 2,905 advertisements for Coca-Cola formed a significant portion (39.1%) of the total number of advertisements for Cola beverages ($n = 7,422$).³ Advertisements for the latter constituted only a small part of the ads in the entire digitized newspaper corpus ($n = 18,645,511$); only 0.016% contained ‘Coca-Cola’ and 0.040% ‘Cola’. In relation to the overall advertising corpus, advertisements for colas constituted a relatively weak signal.

I also weeded out the corpus of advertisements by removing ads that were not authored by the Coca-Cola company, which were especially numerous in the 1970s. This subset of advertisements mentioned ‘Coca-Cola’ in the context of the stock exchange, job ads, or weekly supermarket sales.⁴ They offer little information on the branding of Coca-Cola.⁵ After data curation, 1,743 advertisements remained in the corpus.

The timeline in figure 5.1 displays the relative annual frequency of the 1,743 Coca-Cola advertisements studied in this chapter.⁶ The first Coca-Cola advertisement appeared during the 1928 Olympics in Amsterdam

³ $(2,905 \text{ Coca-Cola advertisements} / 7,422 \text{ Cola advertisements}) * 100 \approx 39.1$.

⁴ Corpus analysis corroborated that the corpus included a great number of job ads. This is indicated by the occurrence of words such as ‘job interview’ (*sollicitatie**, $n = 463$), ‘asked’ (*gevraagd*, $n = 428$), ‘experience’ (*ervaring*, $n = 260$), ‘wage’ (*salaris*, $n = 181$), and ‘education’ (*opleiding*, $n = 170$).

⁵ I filtered out 1,162 advertisements that contained the following high frequency terms: ‘stock’ (*aandelen*), ‘job interview’ (*sollicitatie*), ‘asked’ (*gevraagd*), ‘experience’ (*ervaring*), ‘wage’ (*salaris*), ‘education’ (*opleiding*), ‘puzzle competition’ (*puzzelactie*), ‘margarine’, ‘unox’, ‘calvé’, ‘mayonnaise’, and ‘peanut butter’ (*pindakaas*).

⁶ The relative annual frequency expresses the number of Coca-Cola advertisements per 1,000 advertisements per year.

when the Coca-Cola Company launched the beverage in the Netherlands.⁷ Figure 5.1 also demonstrates that the number of Coca-Cola advertisements dwindled after 1929. Until 1949, newspapers published few Coca-Cola advertisements. The number of advertisements steadily rose between 1949 and 1960, after which the relative number of advertisements slowly decreased again.

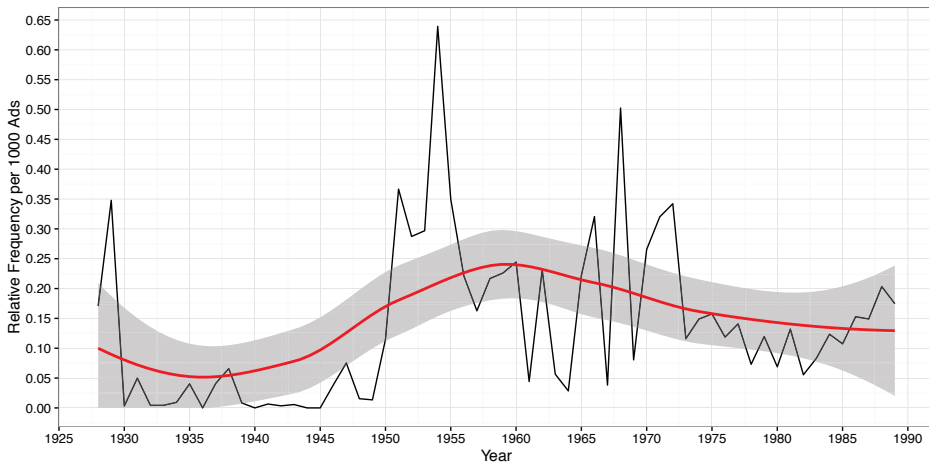


Figure 5.1. Relative annual frequency of Coca-Cola advertisements in the digitized newspaper corpus ($n = 1,743$)

Figure 5.2 shows the distribution of newspapers in the corpus of Coca-Cola ads. The following newspapers most frequently published Coca-Cola ads: *De Telegraaf*, *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, *Limburgsch Dagblad*, *Het Vrije Volk*, and the *Leeuwarder Courant*. The most prominent newspapers in the corpus are evenly distributed between regional (*Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, *Limburgsch Dagblad*, and the *Leeuwarder Courant*) and national newspapers (*De Telegraaf*, *Het Vrije Volk*, and *De Tijd*). *De Telegraaf*

⁷ This is the first advertisement in this corpus. The digitized newspaper corpus does not contain all newspapers, and the digitized newspapers contain frequent OCR errors. Therefore, it is difficult to ascertain with absolute certainty that this is actually the first time that newspapers advertised Coca-Cola in the Netherlands.

was a significant newspaper with regard to Coca-Cola advertisements; almost twice as many advertisements appeared in this newspaper than in the second most popular one, *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*. The distribution shows that the corpus of advertisements includes the major national and regional newspapers present in the digitized newspaper corpus.

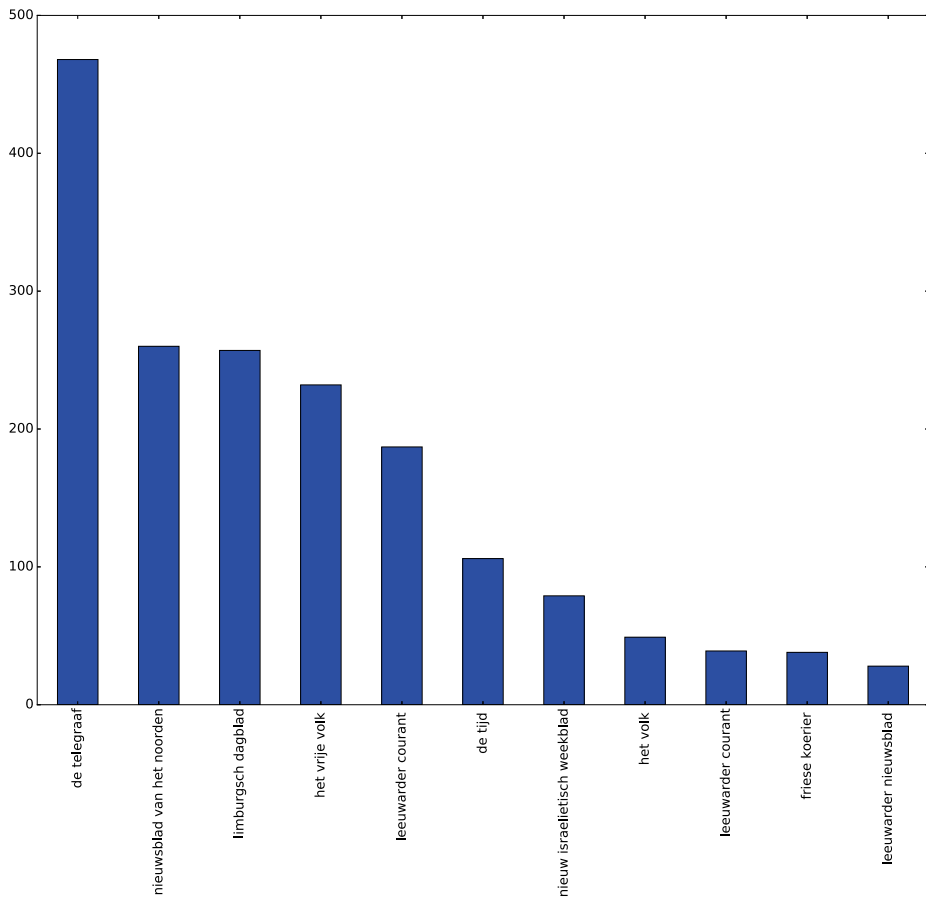


Figure 5.2. Distribution of newspapers in the corpus of Coca-Cola advertisements 1928-1989

5.2 Discursive Trends in Coca-Cola Advertisements

This section examines the discursive trends in Coca-Cola advertisements. Before examining whether Coca-Cola represented particular themes that signified an American way of life, this section shows that the Coca-Cola Company never explicitly presented their drink as American. I came to this conclusion by querying for references to the United States in Coca-Cola advertisements.⁸ The existence of references to the United States in proximity to ‘Coca-Cola’ is an indicator of a semantic relationship between the two. Surprisingly, the ads contain no references to the United States within a search window of ten words to the left or right of ‘Coca-Cola’.⁹ The absence of references to the United States is a strong indication that advertisers did not explicitly associate Coca-Cola with the United States. A query for the phrase ‘American way of life’ also produced no results. Even though the OCR quality of the texts is suboptimal, these results suggest that the Coca-Cola Company did not plainly connect Coca-Cola to the United States or an American way of life.

There is, however, a relationship between the United States and cola that occurs sporadically throughout the entire corpus of digitized advertisements. For example, sixty-six advertisements contained the phrase ‘American Cola’.¹⁰ Closer examination of these advertisements shows that from 1964 onwards, retailers and producers other than the

⁸ I queried the following references: “VEREENIGDE STATEN”, “VERENIGDE STATEN”, AMERI?A*, “USA”, “U.S.A.”, “UNITED STATES”.

⁹ A query without the search window yielded 141 advertisements. These included advertisements that were either not authored by the Coca-Cola Company or advertisements in which the reference to the United States and Coca-Cola were not meaningfully related to each other. This result also confirmed that the use of search window is an effective method for looking for meaningful co-occurrences.

¹⁰ + (“AMERIKAANSE COLA” “AMERIKAANSHE COLA” “AMERICAN COLA” “COLA UIT AMERIKA”).

Coca-Cola Company occasionally advertised colas as American. For instance, the American brand Royal Crown branded its drinks as “real American Cola.”¹¹ Although Dutch newspapers sometimes advertised cola as an American drink, they never presented Coca-Cola as such. If advertisements for Coca-Cola depicted an American way of life, they did so in implicit terms.

To be able to pick up on these more implicit ways through which Coca-Cola depicted the United States and an American way of life, I investigated trends in keyword use in Coca-Cola advertisements. These trends provide information on more implicit and symbolic ways by which advertisements expressed an American way of life. I divided the corpus into three ten-year periods and one twelve-year period: 1928-1937 ($n = 192$), 1948-1957 ($n = 311$), 1958-1967 ($n = 315$), and 1968-1977 ($n = 523$). This partitioning allowed me to track possible trends in language use in specific periods. I excluded two periods from the analysis: 1938-1947 and 1978-1989. The former contained only 28 advertisements, which was caused by the halted importation and sale of Coca-Cola during the Second World War. The latter period contained almost no advertisements authored by the Coca-Cola Company. Coca-Cola appeared predominately in the context of classified ads and weekly sale ads from supermarkets.

The analysis of the advertisements consisted of three steps. First, I extracted a list of keywords (appendix 5.1) that frequently co-occurred with ‘Coca-Cola’ from the ads.¹² The lists of keywords show two changes in advertising discourse: the number of keywords declined over time and

¹¹ “Royal Crown Cola advertisement,” *Limburgsch Dagblad*, December 20, 1966.

¹² I extracted collocates within a window span of five words to the left and five to the right, and a minimum collocate frequency of ten. I relied on collocate frequency and not MI-score to select collocates because this score is not very reliable when the total number of words is rather low. The advertisements were fairly short which explains the low number of total words.

the variation in keywords also decreased.¹³ Advertisements became less wordy and relied on more concrete keywords. Images became more central to ads, and text and slogans appeared as part of an image. These slogans in images are harder to convert into text with OCR, which made it more difficult to analyze the text in ads in later periods. Second, I grouped the extracted keywords into four categories: product features, materiality, popularity, and consumer identity. Third, I plotted the keywords and their relative frequencies per period as a network graph.¹⁴ The network graphs in the following sections illustrate the development of discursive trends and themes in Coca-Cola advertisements.

5.2.1 1928-1937

The distribution of keywords in figure 5.3 illustrates three distinct elements in Coca-Cola's advertising discourse between 1928-1937. First, advertisers emphasized Coca-Cola's 'distinct' (*apart**, *bijzonder**) and 'refreshing' (*fris*, *verfris**) 'taste' (*smaak*). Moreover, advertisers mentioned the use of 'fruit' (*vruchten*) in the 'composition' (*samenstelling*) of the drink. In later periods, advertisements no longer associated Coca-Cola with fruit, which indicates that during the first wave of ads, the Coca-Cola Company was still experimenting with Coca-Cola's product description. The reference to the supposed addition of fruit might have served to present Coca-Cola as a healthy product.

¹³ The sum of relative frequencies of the keywords decreased in each period: 1928 (1205.9), 1948 (504), 1958 (576.9), 1968 (295). The number of keywords that appeared more than 10 times decreased in each period: 1928 (32), 1948 (20), 1958 (18), 1968 (7).

¹⁴ (Term Frequency / Number of Coca-Cola advertisements in that period) * 100. See appendix 5.1 for the relative frequency of the keywords per period. I used regular expressions to query the terms in the advertising corpus.

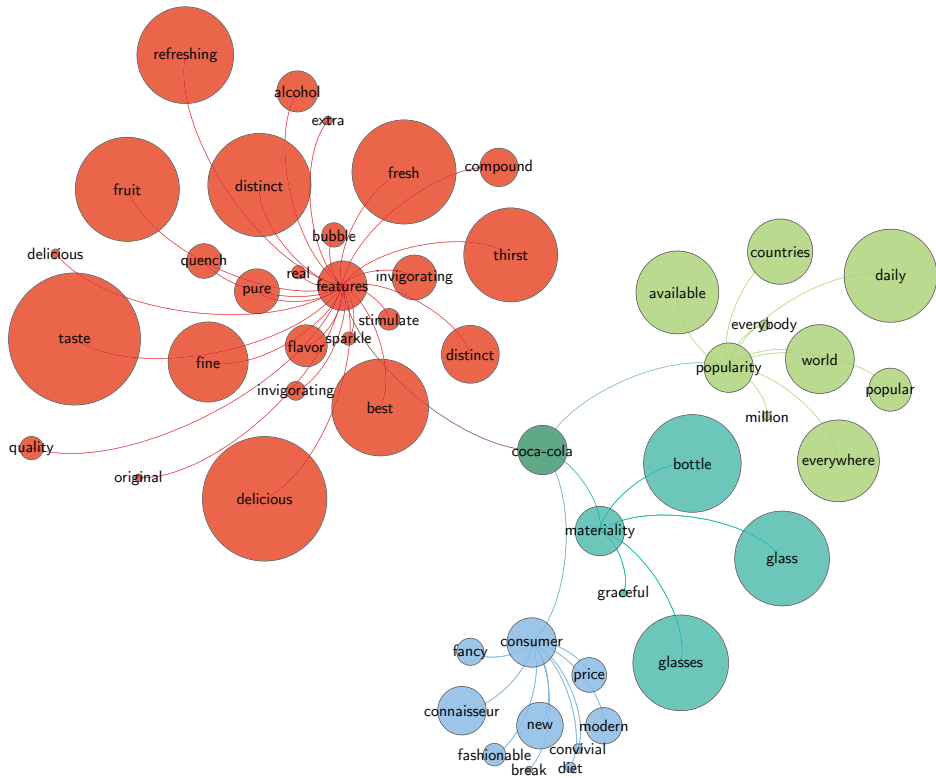


Figure 5.3. Network graph of keywords in Coca-Cola advertisements 1928-1937 ($n = 192$)

Second, advertisers referred to the popularity of Coca-Cola among ‘fashionable’ (*mondain**) and ‘modern’ (*modern**) ‘connoisseurs’ (*kenner**) as a technique to entice Dutch consumers to buy Coca-Cola.¹⁵ In the interwar period, advertisers used the preference of American consumers to position Coca-Cola as a product of high quality. In this way, advertisements helped push the image of the United States as an example, which contributed to its function as a reference culture.

The third distinct element in advertisements was the use of the brand’s global popularity as a marketing strategy. The words ‘countries’

¹⁵ See for instance: “Coca-Cola advertisement,” *Leeuwarder Nieuwsblad*, June 29, 1929.

(*landen*), ‘world’ (*wereld*), ‘popular’ (*populair*), and ‘popularity’ (*populariteit*) stemmed from advertisements that praised the drink’s global popularity. For instance, in 1929, an advertisement in *De Telegraaf* wrote that “Coca-Cola is the most loved drink in 78 countries.”¹⁶ This strategy was used more prominently during the drink’s introduction than in later periods. During the beverage’s launch in the Netherlands, advertisers called on global popularity alongside the acknowledgment of higher social classes to promote the new drink Coca-Cola to Dutch consumers. The Coca-Cola Company wanted ‘the common man’ to believe that he too was a connoisseur.

5.2.2 1948-1957

After the Second World War, the advertising discourse for Coca-Cola did not change considerably. Between 1948 and 1957, advertisers again noted the global popularity and the refreshing character of the beverage. Notwithstanding the general consistency of the language in the ads, two discursive shifts did take place (fig. 5.4). First, the introduction of the word ‘break’ (*pauze*), which signals a change in marketing. Advertisers no longer described Coca-Cola as a beverage that consumers could only order in bars to quench their thirst, but as a drink that consumers could drink during breaks at work or for relaxation at home.¹⁷ The drink’s ability to relax was introduced after the Second World War. Second, the word ‘economical’ (*voordelig**) indicates that advertisers started to promote Coca-Cola for its low price.¹⁸ This resulted from the brand’s increased competition with other soft drink brands, which forced the Coca-Cola Company to lower its price.

¹⁶ “Coca-Cola advertisement,” *De Telegraaf*, June 7, 1929.

¹⁷ “Coca-Cola advertisement,” *De Telegraaf*, June 21, 1957.

¹⁸ “Coca-Cola advertisement,” *De Telegraaf*, April 29, 1960.

After the war, consumers could purchase Coca-Cola outside of bars and restaurants for the first time. The lowered price and the sale of the drink through grocery stores made Coca-Cola less exceptional and more of a common good. After the war, Coca-Cola democratized, it had turned into a consumer goods that could be consumed by everyone, everywhere, and at any time. The Coca-Cola company presented soft drinks such as Coca-Cola as an integral part of a consumer's daily life; in a way, the company turned Coca-Cola into a staple good—a product consumed on a regular basis.

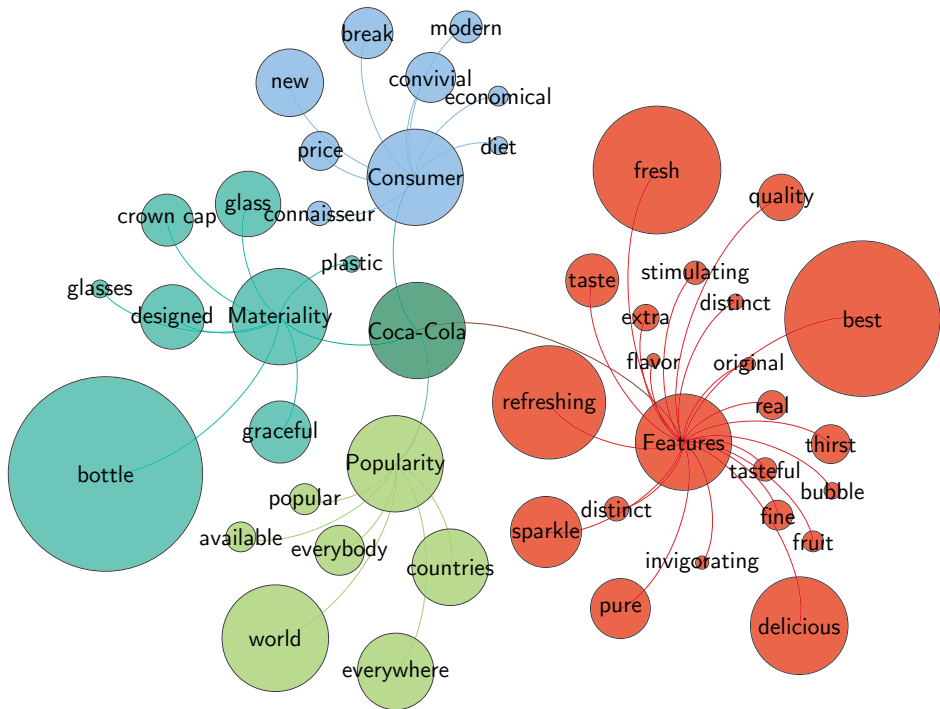


Figure 5.4. Network graph of keywords in Coca-Cola advertisements 1948-1957 ($n = 311$)

5.2.3 1958-1967

Advertising discourse between 1958 and 1967 (fig. 5.5) changed slightly in comparison to the previous decade. An evident mainstay in advertisements was the importance of the drink's refreshing and invigorating character. Furthermore, the increased relative frequency of 'break' (*pauze*) illustrates that advertisers put more emphasis on the casual consumption of Coca-Cola during breaks. This seemed to be a response to the growing leisure time of Dutch consumers.¹⁹

The most apparent difference was the lack of references to Coca-Cola's global popularity. During the introduction of the beverage, advertisers more clearly promoted the drink's global popularity. In this period, Coca-Cola also introduced its beverage in different sizes, which shows that the Coca-Cola Company set out to differentiate its brand. Before then, consumers could only buy Coca-Cola in small bottles, but between 1958 and 1967 the Coca-Cola Company introduced larger king-size, 'regular bottles' (*standaardfles**), 'family bottles' (*gezinsfles**), as well as 'plastic bottles' (*plastic*). Through lower pricing of the larger bottles, the Coca-Cola Company tried to acquire a competitive edge over other brands.²⁰ By selling its product in different sizes, the Coca-Cola Company targeted different consumer groups and settings of consumption. Increased competition had led to brand differentiation in the 1950s.²¹ Paradoxically, the homogenization of the market is often connected to Americanization, while in this case the differentiation also originated from the United

¹⁹ Hans Righart, *De eindeloze jaren zestig: geschiedenis van een generatieconflict* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 16.

²⁰ "Coca-Cola advertisement," *Friese Koerier*, October 10, 1962. See also: Zwaal, *Frisdranken in Nederland*, 302–10.

²¹ Pendergrast, *For God, Country and Coca-Cola*, 243–45.

States.²² Of course, the extent to which the different Coca-Cola bottles signified heterogeneity is debatable. One could argue that despite these variations in bottle size, they all signify the same brand.

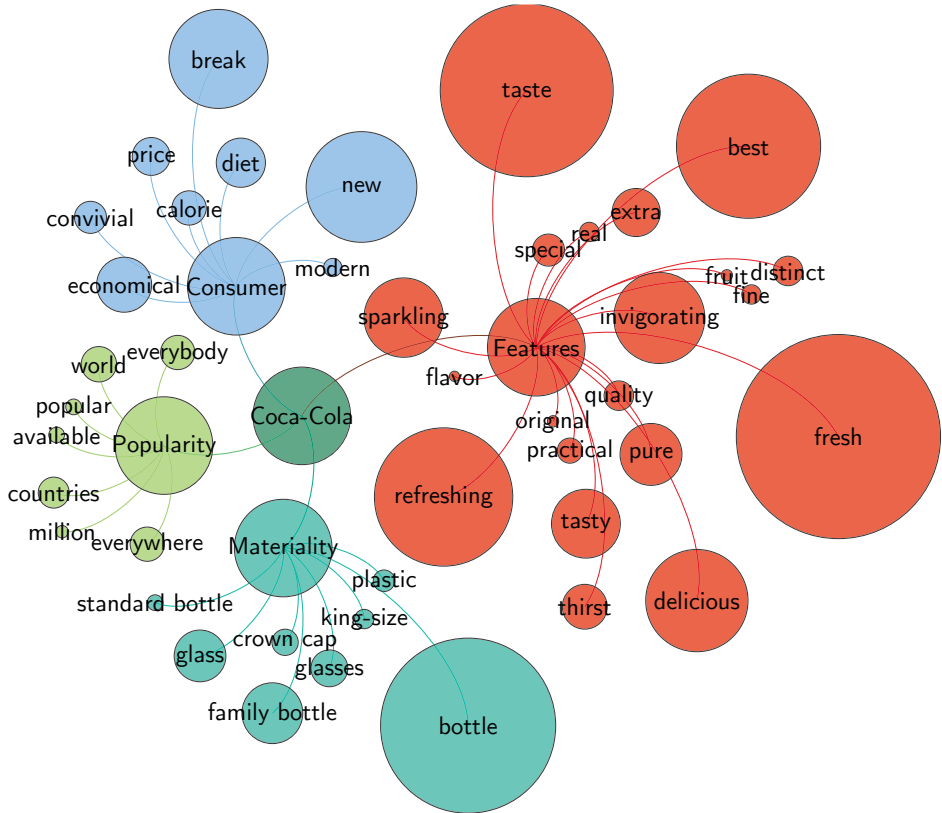


Figure 5.5. Network graph of keywords in Coca-Cola advertisements 1958-1967 ($n = 315$)

²² Others discussed the extent to which Coca-Cola represented homogenization or heterogenization. They attributed the heterogeneity to the different ways of appropriation and not to the Coca-Cola Company. Miller, “Coca-Cola: A Black Sweet Drink from Trinidad”; Güliz Ger and Russell Belk, “I’d like to Buy the World a Coke: Consumptionscapes of the ‘less Affluent World,’” *Journal of Consumer Policy* 19, no. 3 (September 1, 1996): 271–304.

5.2.4 1968-1977

Between 1968-1977 advertisements for Coca-Cola were relatively similar to those of the previous decade (fig. 5.6). The clearest change is the increased relative frequency of the words ‘real’ (*echte*), ‘irreplaceable’ (*onvervangbare*), and ‘original’ (*originele*). The increased presence of these words demonstrates that advertisers put more emphasis on Coca-Cola’s originality and authenticity in this period. As the competition grew with Pepsi and other brands, the Coca-Cola Company clearly aimed to distinguish itself by highlighting its authenticity.²³

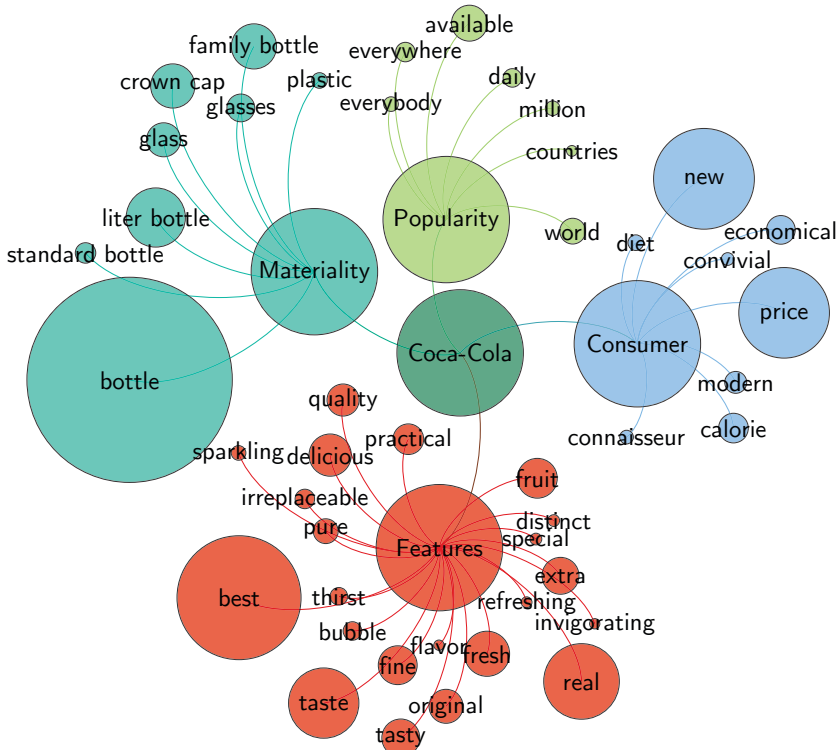


Figure 5.6. Network graph of keywords in Coca-Cola advertisements 1968-1977 ($n = 523$)

²³ “Coca-Cola advertisement,” *De Telegraaf*, May 10, 1972.

5.3 Depictions of an American Way of Life

The five network graphs discussed in the previous section give an overview of the discursive trends in Coca-Cola advertisements. For a closer examination of the ads, I used the keywords in the networks to locate particular ads in the corpus. The closer reading of the ads revealed four distinct themes: the drink's *glocal* connotation, relaxation and invigoration as modern consumer needs, the democratization of Coca-Cola, and the symbolism inherent to the Coca-Cola bottle. This section describes how all of these contributed to the Dutch perception of the American way of life.

5.3.1 Both Global and Local: Glocal

The first central theme in Coca-Cola advertisements was the drink's global popularity. The focus on popularity in the advertisements endowed Coca-Cola with an international character. The following words expressed this particular theme: 'world' (*wereld*), 'countries' (*landen*), and 'international'.²⁴ Figure 5.7 shows a timeline of the annual relative frequency of these words in Coca-Cola advertisements.²⁵

²⁴ I queried *international*, *internationale*, and *internationaal*.

²⁵ The relative frequency is calculated by dividing the absolute frequency of the term by the total number of Coca-Cola ads.

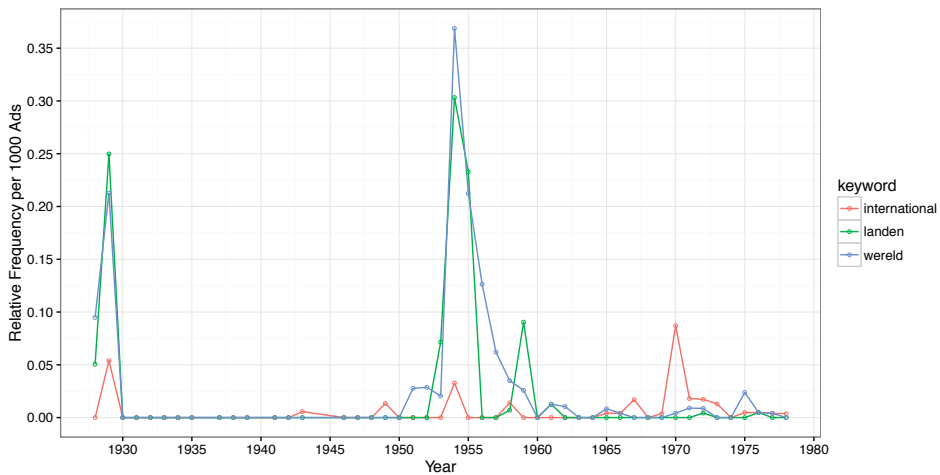


Figure 5.7. Relative annual frequency of ‘international’, ‘countries’ (*landen*), ‘world’ (*wereld*) in Coca-Cola advertisements

The graph discloses that Coca-Cola’s internationalism had already been part of its brand identity during its introduction in 1928 and 1929. As early as 1929, one advertisement read: “Coca-Cola quickly conquered the entire world. In Europe, Coca-Cola is the most beloved drink in all the trendsetting places.”²⁶ After 1929, the connotation to the brand’s global popularity seems to have disappeared from advertisements. It is important to keep in mind that the number of advertisements between 1930 and 1950 was relatively low, which explains why the term might not have been found through querying. In the 1950s—when the corpus also contains a sizeable number of ads—internationalism re-emerged as part of Coca-Cola’s brand identity.

In the following years, advertisements continued to highlight the global character of the drink.²⁷ Advertisers repeatedly mentioned the

²⁶ “Coca-Cola veroverde spoedig de gehele wereld. In Europa, is Coca-Cola nu de meest geliefde drank in alle toonaangevende plaatsen.” in “Coca-Cola advertisement,” *Het Volk*, June 3, 1929.

²⁷ See for instance: “Coca-Cola advertisement,” *Het Vrije Volk*, June 7, 1952.

number of countries and continents in which the Coca-Cola Company sold it.²⁸ This number grew from seventy-eight in 1929 to more than a hundred countries in 1959.²⁹ This expansion established the idea with Dutch consumers that the global popularity of Coca-Cola was growing.

After 1960, advertisers no longer emphasized Coca-Cola's global popularity, even though a spike of the word 'international' in 1970 suggests otherwise. Closer examination revealed that advertisers did not use this word to promote Coca-Cola's global character but an associated product's international success. In 1970, the Coca-Cola Company endorsed the international reinvention of an age-old pastime: yo-yoing. A yo-yo is a toy that consisted of a spool and a wire that people used for all kinds of tricks. In the 1960s, yo-yoing became popular again and Coca-Cola started promoting the fad in the 1970s by connecting Coca-Cola to yo-yo champions from all over the world.³⁰ Despite the indirect association of Coca-Cola to 'international', the link to yo-yo still presented Coca-Cola as a product in touch with global cultural developments.

In addition to the drink's international character, advertisers also tied the drink to the Netherlands. They did so by mentioning Dutch bottling companies in advertisements. Figure 5.8 displays the relative annual frequency of the following words: 'bottler' (*bottelaar*), 'bottling company' (*bottelmaatschappij*), the verb 'bottle' (*bottelen*), and 'local' (*plaatselijke*). The majority of advertisements that included these words appeared between 1950 and 1970.

²⁸ 'Countries' (*landen*) appeared in 1928-1937 ($n = 65$); 1948-1957 ($n = 60$); 1958-1967 ($n = 21$). See for instance: "Coca-Cola advertisement," *Het Vrije Volk*, June 10, 1959.

²⁹ "Coca-Cola advertisement," *Het Vrije Volk*, June 25, 1959.

³⁰ "Coca-Cola advertisement," *Leeuwarder Courant*, September 16, 1970.

After the Second World War, the Coca-Cola Company allowed local Dutch bottling plants to import Coca-Cola’s trademarked syrup, which the bottlers mixed with local mineral water.³¹ The names of towns—such as Schiedam, Nuth, and Groningen—that housed the bottling plants appeared in small print at the bottom of advertisements. The appearance of these city names in ads connected Coca-Cola to these Dutch places.³² Advertisers further emphasized the ‘local’ (*plaatselijke*) nature of franchises when they claimed that “everywhere bottling and distribution of Coca-Cola is a local enterprise.”³³ In 1955, *De Tijd* wrote that “the Coke bottle is not only known all over the world, it is also of local importance”, which further underlines the entanglement of the global and local.³⁴

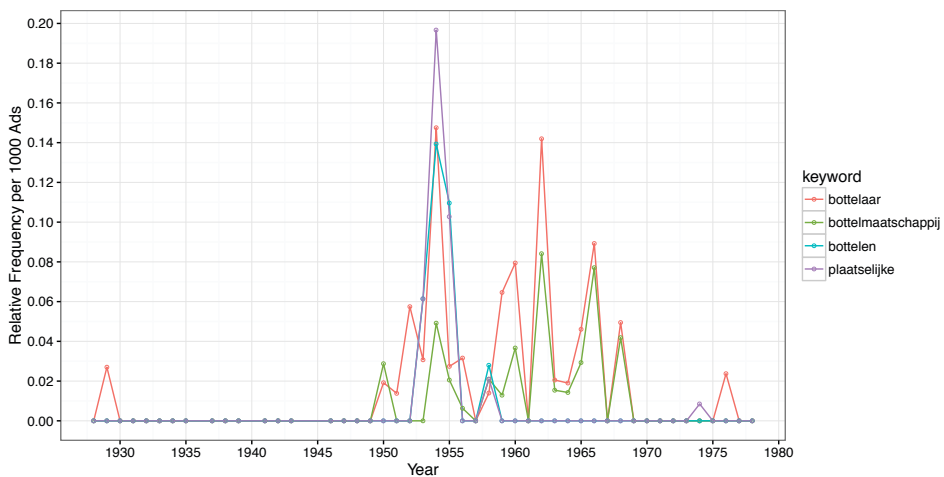


Figure 5.8. Relative annual frequency of ‘bottler’ (*bottelaar*), ‘bottling plant’ (*bottelmaatschappij*), ‘bottle’ (*bottelen*), ‘local’ (*plaatselijke*) in Coca-Cola advertisements

³¹ Zwaal, *Frisdranken in Nederland*, 145–9; For more on Coca-Cola’s bottling and franchise system: Pendergrast, *For God, Country and Coca-Cola*, 66–81.

³² See for instance: “Coca-Cola advertisement,” *Leeuwarder Courant*, July 18, 1929; “Coca-Cola advertisement,” *Het Vrije Volk*, July 19, 1963.

³³ “Coca-Cola advertisement,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, October 16, 1954.

³⁴ “Coca-Cola advertisement,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, January 15, 1955.

The Coca-Cola Company's franchising system enabled the company to situate its brand in the Netherlands. The use of local bottling plants disconnected the brand from its American origins and added a local flavor to the global brand. At the same time, the Atlanta headquarters still exerted a firm grip over the ways in which the brand was advertised in other countries.³⁵

In addition to mentioning the locations of local bottling plants, advertisers also linked Coca-Cola to other Dutch towns, such as Scheveningen, Amsterdam, and Leeuwarden. In 1928, the regional newspaper the *Leeuwarder Courant* wrote that, after its global success, Dutch consumers could now also buy a Coke in Leeuwarden.³⁶ After the opening of a new factory in Amsterdam in 1961, an ad in *De Telegraaf* announced that "Amsterdam and Coca-Cola belonged together!"³⁷ These ads illustrate how Coca-Cola symbolized the entwinement of the global with the local. The association between the global and the local is an example of what Roland Robertson labels *glocalization*, the interplay between local developments and currents of globalization.³⁸ Advertisements presented Coca-Cola as a global, international brand somewhat tailored to the local context. The Coca-Cola Company acquainted many Dutch consumers in the 1950s and 1960s with a product with a *glocal* brand identity, which made *glocalization* one of the ideas that traveled alongside with Coca-Cola to the Netherlands.

³⁵ Pendergrast, *For God, Country and Coca-Cola*, 245.

³⁶ "Coca-Cola advertisement," *Leeuwarder Courant*, July 18, 1929.

³⁷ "Coca-Cola advertisement," *De Telegraaf*, April 17, 1961.

³⁸ Roland Robertson, "Glocalization: Time-Space and Homogeneity-Heterogeneity," in *Global Modernities*, ed. Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash, and Roland Robertson (London: SAGE Publications, 1995), 25–44.

The Coca-Cola Company did not explicitly relate Coca-Cola to the United States in advertisements. However, the references to the drink's *glocal* character can be read as uniquely American. Ruth Oldenziel alludes to this particular feature by describing America as having the “uncanny ability [...] to be everywhere and nowhere at the same time: omnipresent globally, but territorially deterritorialized.”³⁹ The *glocalizing* ability of prominent American brands, such as Coca-Cola, also explains how consumers came to equate the process of Americanization with globalization.⁴⁰ Advertisements helped construct the global spread of consumer products as a central element of the American consumer society.

5.3.2 A Refreshing and Invigorating Taste for Everybody

The second element that dominated Coca-Cola advertisements was its taste.⁴¹ The Coca-Cola Company set its product apart from other drinks by accentuating its idiosyncratic taste using these four adjectives: ‘fine’ (*fijne*), ‘distinct’ (*aparte*), ‘delicious’ (*heerlijke*), and ‘special’ (*bijzondere*).⁴² Figure 5.9 displays the annual relative frequency of these

³⁹ Oldenziel, “Is Globalization a Code Word for Americanization?: Contemplating McDonalds, Coca-Cola, and Military Bases,” 87 Oldenziel refers to a discussion by ; Bright, Charles and Geyer, Michael, “Where in the World Is America? The History of the United States in the Global Age,” in *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*, ed. Thomas Bender (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 63–100.

⁴⁰ Oldenziel discusses how Americanization and globalization are entangled but also should not be seen as one and the same. Ruth Oldenziel, “Is Globalization a Code Word for Americanization?: Contemplating McDonalds, Coca-Cola, and Military Bases,” *Tijdschrift voor sociale en economische geschiedenis* 4, no. 3 (2007): 84; John Muthyala also signals the entanglement of modernization, Americanization, and globalization in: John Muthyala, *Dwelling in American: Dissent, Empire, and Globalization* (Hanover: Dartmouth College Press, 2012).

⁴¹ ‘Taste’ (*smaak*) appeared 489 times between 1928 and 1977.

⁴² Collocates of TASTE (5L-5R): *heerlijke* ($n = 54$), *fijnen* ($n = 44$), *aparten* ($n = 40$), *heerlijken* ($n = 33$), *aparte* ($n = 29$), *bijzonder* ($n = 14$), *bijzonderen* ($n = 13$), *bijzondere* ($n = 11$).

terms.⁴³ The timeline shows that the four terms were already introduced in the first wave of advertisements. All four adjectives returned after the Second World War and except for ‘delicious’ (*heerlijke*) their frequency all decreased around 1960. By that time, Coca-Cola was already a common consumer goods that was no longer advertised for its distinct and special taste but more clearly for the fact that many people appreciated the drink.

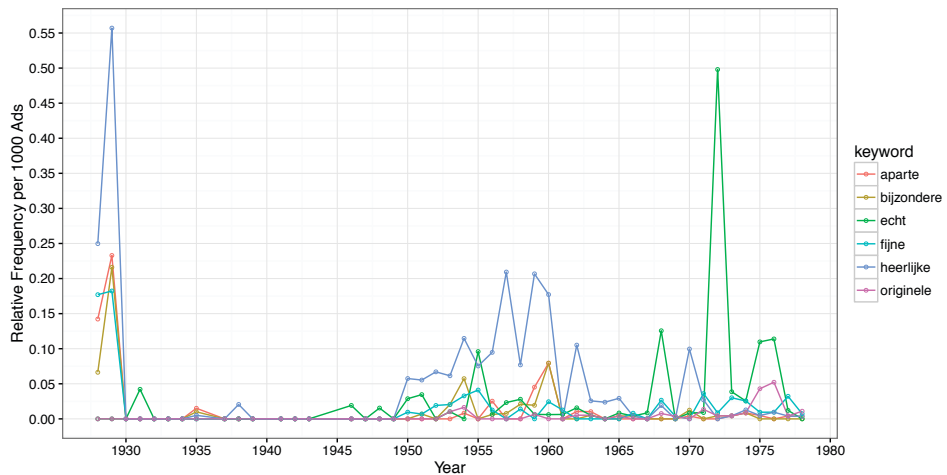


Figure 5.9. Relative annual frequency of ‘distinct’ (*aparte*), ‘special’ (*bijzondere*), ‘authentic’ (*echt*), ‘fine’ (*fijne*), ‘delicious’ (*heerlijke*) and ‘original’ (*originele*) in Coca-Cola advertisements

After 1968, advertisers shifted their focus to the ‘authentic’ (*echt*) and ‘original’ (*originele*) character of Coca-Cola (fig. 5.9). By then Coca-Cola was one of many cola drinks in the Netherlands. Advertisers used Coca-Cola’s history to present the brand as more authentic than other cola drinks. In 1972, the Coca-Cola Company introduced the slogan “Real is Real” (*Echt is Echt*) that accentuated the brand’s authenticity even more.⁴⁴

⁴³ I queried these terms: APART[A-Z]*, BIJZONDER[A-Z]*, FIJN[A-Z]*, HEERLIJK[A-Z]*.

⁴⁴ “Coca-Cola advertisement”, *NRC Handelsblad*, May 4, 1972.

Apart from the unique and authentic taste of Coca-Cola, advertisements cited the refreshing and invigorating nature of the drink (fig. 5.10).⁴⁵ The ads linked the drink’s refreshing bubbles to invigoration: “how invigorating that tingling sparkle.”⁴⁶ The following catchphrases also connected the drink’s ability to refresh to the tactile sensation caused by the drink’s carbonated nature: “Coca-Cola bubbles in your glass,” “Coca-Cola is deliciously refreshing,” and “Coca-Cola’s fizzes and bubbles.”⁴⁷ The Coca-Cola Company also claimed that its ability to stimulate led to its popularity and turned it into the “drink cherished by modern people.”⁴⁸ The fizziness of the drink improved its taste, invigorated its consumer, and when it was first introduced, it also functioned as a sign of modernity.

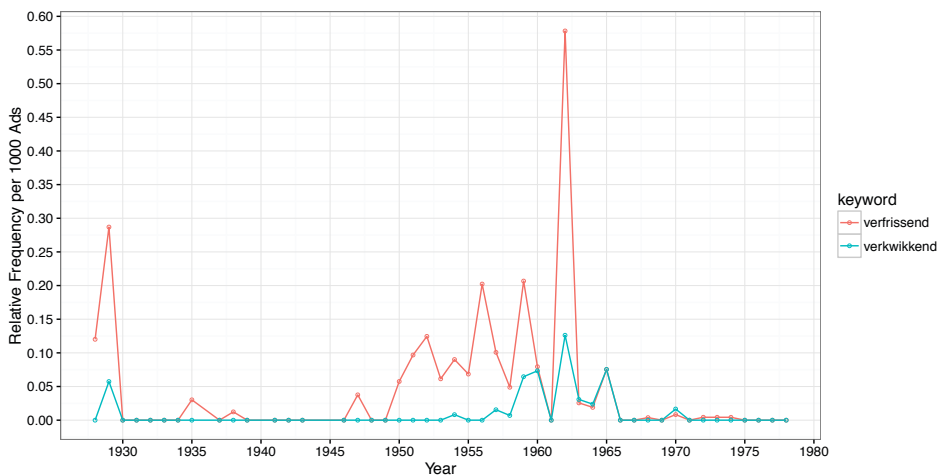


Figure 5.10. Relative annual frequency of ‘refreshing’ (*verfrissend*) and ‘invigorating’ (*verkwikkend*) in Coca-Cola advertisements

⁴⁵ These aspects were expressed via the following keywords: ‘refreshing’ (*verfris**, $n = 438$), ‘invigorating’ (*verkwik**, $n = 99$).

⁴⁶ “Hoe verkwikkend, die tintelende sprankeling” in “Coca-Cola advertisement, *De Telegraaf*, August 14, 1959.

⁴⁷ ‘Coca-Cola parelt in uw glas’ ($n = 6$), ‘Coca-cola is heerlijk verfrisschend’ ($n = 6$), ‘Coca-cola parelt en bruist’ ($n = 4$).

⁴⁸ “Coca-Cola advertisement,” *Het Volk*, August 16, 1928.

The link between carbonated drinks and refreshment can be traced back to the nineteenth century. In 1767, Joseph Priestley created the first soda by adding carbon dioxide to mineral water. In the nineteenth century, druggists infused soda waters with herbs and chemicals, which supposedly gave the drinks medicinal side effects. American drug stores sold soft drinks through soda fountains—a dispenser of carbonated soft drinks. This sales location strengthened the bond between soft drinks and health. The connection was, according to John Burnett, a distinctly American phenomenon.⁴⁹ By advertising Coca-Cola's as invigorating, the Coca-Cola Company transplanted this American phenomenon onto Dutch soil and confronted Dutch consumers with the notion that soft drinks came with health benefits.

Advertisers lauded Coca-Cola for its ability to stimulate consumers, but also—rather paradoxically—its power to relax consumers. In one of the first Coca-Cola advertisements in Dutch newspapers, the drink was associated with leisure time.⁵⁰ This theme continued to pop up throughout the corpus of ads. In 1954, for instance, an advert claimed that Coca-Cola would provide “rest, relaxation, and new energy.”⁵¹ Advertising discourse on the refreshing and invigorating taste of Coca-Cola also displayed how Coca-Cola could enhance leisure time. The act of consumption depicted in Coca-Cola ads was closely related to recreation and relaxation. Gary Cross argues that Coca-Cola functioned as an “enhancer of whatever the drinker did”, which could be either sport, work, or relaxation.⁵² This

⁴⁹ John Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures: A Social History of Drinks in Modern Britain* (London: Routledge, 1999), 93–103.

⁵⁰ “Coca-Cola advertisement,” *Het Volk*, July 22, 1929.

⁵¹ “Coca-Cola advertisement,” *Limburgsch Dagblad*, November, 12, 1954.

⁵² Cross, *An All-Consuming Century*, 57.

symbolic subtext of Coca-Cola was also communicated to Dutch consumers.

By focusing on relaxation, the advertisements also called attention to its counterpart: stress. The stress-reducing effects of Coca-Cola have a genealogy that runs back to its first American advertisement, which presented the drink as a cure for many medical and psychological conditions: “not only a delicious, exhilarating, refreshing and invigorating beverage ... but a valuable brain tonic and a cure for all nervous affections – sick head-ache, neuralgia, hysteria, melancholy, etc.”⁵³

The advertisements in Dutch newspapers were less explicit but nonetheless promoted Coca-Cola as a stress reliever during office work or household chores (fig. 5.11). An advertisement from 1957 (fig 5.12) instructed consumers to “stop rushing for a minute! Your nerves will quiet down, and all tension will disappear.”⁵⁴ Advertisements presented the modern homemaker as having a refreshing bottle of Coke during her breaks. These examples demonstrate that advertisers related the drink’s relaxing effects to its carbonated nature.

⁵³ Pendergrast, *For God, Country and Coca-Cola*, 29.

⁵⁴ “Coca-Cola advertisement,” *Het Vrije Volk*, July 26, 1957. See also: “Coca-Cola advertisement,” *Het Vrije Volk*, July 13, 1956.



Figure 5.11. “Coca-Cola advertisement,” *Het Vrije Volk*, July 26, 1957



Figure 5.12. “Coca-Cola advertisement,” *Het Vrije Volk*, July 24, 1953

Furthermore, ads for Coca-Cola informed Dutch consumers that stress and relaxation were part of a modern lifestyle. They communicated that the modern business person and homemaker drank a refreshing bottle of Coke during breaks to alleviate stress. Advertisements advocated a way of life in which consumer goods could counter the perils of modern life. The image of an American consumer culture resonated with modernity. The idea of consumption as a stress reliever was considered part of modern American consumer culture. In 1963, correspondent P.J.G. Korteweg wrote that “the American strives for relaxation to endure the pressure of

time, work, and circumstances.”⁵⁵ Korteweg described the twin nature of the American lifestyle: on the one hand, making and saving money through hard work, and on the other, a desire to relax.

To summarize: advertisements that highlighted the refreshing and invigorating character of Coca-Cola helped spread the idea that relaxation and stress were part of the American way of life. Moreover, ads communicated that consumer products such as Coca-Cola were able to relieve stress and relax consumers. Ad makers did not explicitly relate Coca-Cola to the United States or an American way of life, but the association ran as a subtext through the advertisements.

5.3.3 A Democratized Consumer Good for the Modern Consumer

The third distinctive element in advertisements for Coca-Cola was its depiction of the consumer as a modern male or female who could drink Coca-Cola whenever and with whomever.⁵⁶ Coca-Cola explicitly pointed out that its “sparkling refreshment” and “unchanging quality” caused people of all ages and in all settings to consume the drink.⁵⁷ Phrases such as ‘during work’ (*onder werk*), ‘during dinner’ (*bij de maaltijd*), ‘during sports and play’ (*bij sport en spel*), and drunk by ‘young and old’ (*door jong en oud*) demonstrate that the Coca-Cola Company set out to democratize the drink.⁵⁸ Advertisers targeted both male and female

⁵⁵ “Mensen in Amerika,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, February 5, 1963.

⁵⁶ “Coca-Cola advertisement,” *De Waarheid*, January 14, 1950.

⁵⁷ “Coca-Cola advertisement,” *De Tijd*, April 19, 1952.

⁵⁸ “Coca-Cola advertisement,” *De Telegraaf*, November 19, 1954; “Coca-Cola advertisement,” *De Telegraaf*, December 14, 1951; “Coca-Cola advertisement,” *De Telegraaf*, December 31, 1958; “Coca-Cola advertisement,” *Het Vrije Volk*, July 16, 1959.

consumers by depicting men and women in social settings, men at work in the office, or women as homemakers. The ads also addressed women for their responsibility to purchase Coca-Cola.⁵⁹

Figure 5.13 shows the relative annual frequency of the words: ‘everybody’ (*iedereen*), ‘everywhere’ (*overal*) and ‘available’ (*verkrijgbaar*). All three words appeared regularly in Coca-Cola ads with clear peaks during the brand’s introduction in the interwar period, and its re-introduction after the war. The third peak in the 1970s was the result of the introduction of a new product: Lift.⁶⁰ This was a soft drink with a pineapple and grapefruit taste. The advertising campaign again used the words ‘available’ and ‘everywhere’ to promote the new beverage.⁶¹

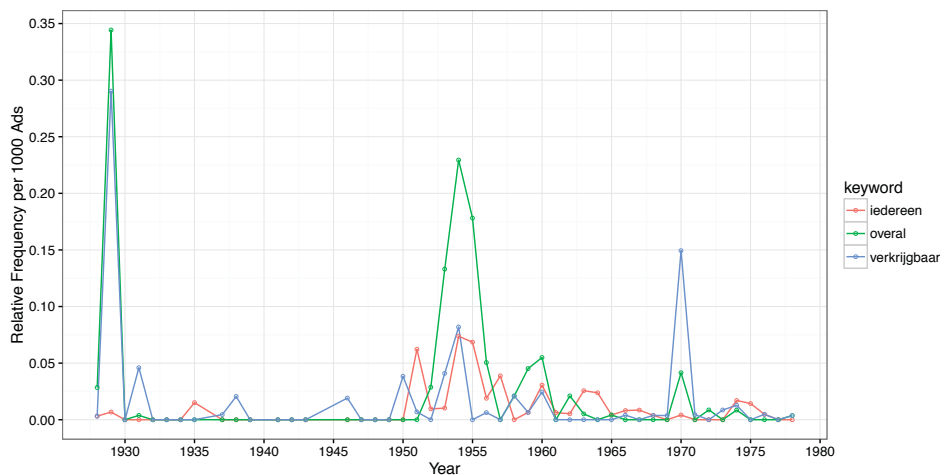


Figure 5.13. Relative annual frequency of ‘everybody’ (*iedereen*), ‘everywhere’ (*overal*), ‘available’ (*verkrijgbaar*) in Coca-Cola advertisements

⁵⁹ “Coca-Cola advertisement,” *Het Vrije Volk*, May 31, 1952; “Coca-Cola advertisement,” *De Waarheid*, February 11, 1951.

⁶⁰ “Coca-Cola advertisement,” *Limburgsch Dagblad*, October 8, 1970.

⁶¹ I attempted to exclude advertisements with the term ‘lift’ from the corpus since the focus is on Coca-Cola. The exclusion, however, was not possible because the brand name only appeared as an image, which was not transformed into text by during digitization.

Advertisers actively sought to evoke depictions of a modern lifestyle dominated by consumption. The Coca-Cola Company presented Dutch consumers with a vision of a modern consumer society in which everybody could imbibe the same consumer good. This vision captures what Richard Pells, T.J. Jackson Lears, and Charles McGovern describe as an American way of life.⁶² At the same time, the Coca-Cola Company was somewhat ambivalent in explicitly linking the drink to the modern consumer, as it also tried to maintain the drink's nostalgic, hospitable aura. One of the simplest ways the brand solved this dilemma was by presenting Coca-Cola as a "very modern way of being hospitable."⁶³ This tagline illustrates how advertisers were able to combine seemingly conflicting ideas within a brand identity. The democratized vision of the consumer society depicted in Coca-Cola advertisements was both modern and nostalgic.

Other ads, however, disregarded the attraction of the modern aspect of the drink and stated that people loved the drink "not because it is modern, not because in other countries everybody drinks it, but because it is so surprisingly tasteful."⁶⁴ These contrasting views in advertisements show that the values that characterized Coca-Cola were not always clear-cut, which added ambiguity to the lifestyle that the brand promoted. It seems that the notion of an American way of life can be characterized by a duality that vacillated between modernity and nostalgia.

⁶² Lears, *Fables of Abundance*, 235–36; Charles McGovern, *Sold American: Consumption and Citizenship, 1890-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 262; Pells, *Not like US*, location 4932.

⁶³ "Coca-Cola advertisement," *De Waarheid*, October 12, 1951.

⁶⁴ "Coca-Cola advertisement," *De Telegraaf*, November 27, 1953.

5.3.4 The Bottle as an Expression of the American Way of Life

The final dominant theme in Coca-Cola advertisements centers on Coca-Cola's bottle. A silhouette of the bottle or consumers drinking from the bottle adorned many of the Coca-Cola advertisements. The repeated depiction of the bottle turned it into a strong visual element of Coca-Cola's brand identity. This material object signified the brand, but it also expressed specific values and ideas associated with Coca-Cola.

The repeated depiction of the bottle turned it into "an exemplary symbol that people accept as a shorthand to represent important ideas."⁶⁵ The bottle signified the growing global influence of American consumer goods. Advertisements used the bottle to describe Coca-Cola's global success and its American roots. In 1955 when the drink was already sold in more than eighty countries, advertisers continued to emphasize the bottle's origin in the United States.⁶⁶ Moreover, according to advertisements, the 'graceful' (*sierlijke*) bottle symbolized authentic Coca-Cola.⁶⁷ After recognizing the bottle, consumers knew that they were drinking *real* Coca-Cola.⁶⁸ The iconic bottle functioned as a seal of quality and authenticity that communicated "Made in the U.S.A."

The increasing size of the bottle signified a shift in American consumer culture in which products became bigger and relatively cheaper.⁶⁹ The peaks in figure 5.14 indicate when Coca-Cola introduced specific product differentiations. In 1958, Coca-Cola presented the family-size (*gezinsfles*) bottle, followed by the king-size bottle in 1962, and the liter bottle

⁶⁵ Holt, *How Brands Become Icons*, 1.

⁶⁶ "Coca-Cola advertisement," *Het Vrije Volk*, July 16, 1955.

⁶⁷ "Coca-Cola advertisement," *Limburgsch Dagblad*, July 3, 1954.

⁶⁸ "Coca-Cola advertisement," *Limburgsch Dagblad*, April 16, 1955.

⁶⁹ Pendergrast, *For God, Country and Coca-Cola*, 244.

(*literfles*) in 1970.⁷⁰ Advertisers praised the practical nature of the family-size bottle, which allowed people to serve the drink in a wide range of different settings. The continuous innovation in bottle design fit with the Coca-Cola Company's attempt to democratize their product further. The two selling points of the king-size bottle were that consumers could share it with each other and that its price was less than five cents higher than a regular bottle.⁷¹

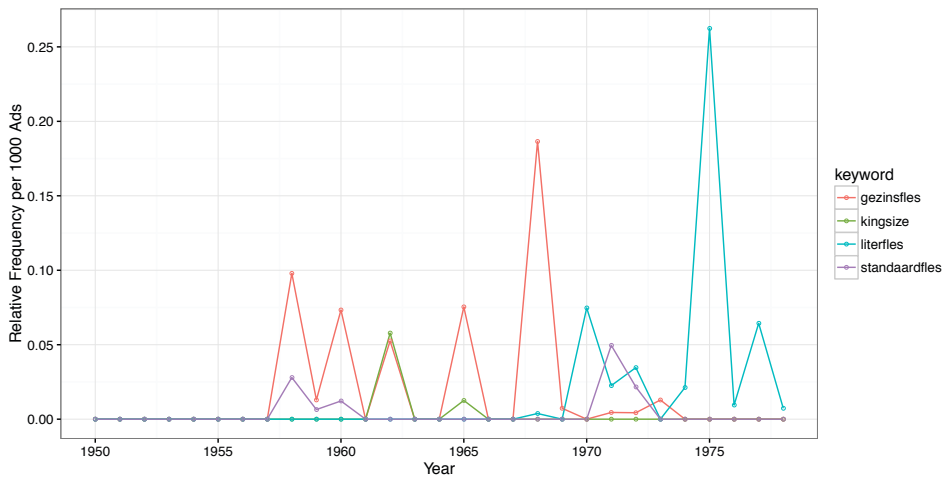


Figure 5.14. Relative annual frequency of ‘family bottle’ (*gezinsfles*), ‘king-size’ (*literfles*), ‘standard bottle’ (*standaardfles*) in Coca-Cola advertisements

In general, advertisers projected values such as the drink's international character, authenticity, modernity, and democratization of goods, onto the bottle. These values implicitly represented a particular lifestyle that centered on consumption. Advertisers claimed that the bottle originated in the United States which implicitly related these values to the United

⁷⁰ “Coca-Cola advertisement,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden* May 2, 1958; “Coca-Cola advertisement,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, May 6, 1958.

⁷¹ “Coca-Cola advertisement,” *Friese Koerier*, October 12, 1962.

States, which turned the bottle into an implicit representation of the American way of life.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has described how advertisements for Coca-Cola injected specific elements into the Dutch public consciousness that contributed to the ways in which the Dutch viewed the American way of life. Richard Pells argues that Coca-Cola was the quintessential representation of the American way of life. This chapter's examination of Coca-Cola advertisements in Dutch newspapers shows that these advertisements indeed communicated ideas, values, and practices that symbolized a particular lifestyle dominated by consumption.

Advertisers, however, did not explicitly present Coca-Cola as an American brand, which is remarkable for a product that publicists and scholars describe as the very definition of the American way of life.⁷² The Coca-Cola Company made use of more implicit techniques to establish a brand identity that resonated with American values, ideas, and practices. The brand identity helped shape the Dutch perception of the American way of life—a modern lifestyle characterized by consumption.

Coca-Cola represented elements of an American way of life, while at the same time its global spread disassociated the product from its actual origins. This is similar to what Rob Kroes calls a “resemanticization of reality” in which American life is turned into an “imaginary realm to be experienced by those who bought a product.”⁷³ Through an exploration of Coca-Cola's advertising discourse, I uncovered four themes in Coca-Cola's

⁷² Lears, *Fables of Abundance*, 235–36; McGovern, *Sold American*, 262; Pells, *Not like US*, Location 4932.

⁷³ Kroes, *Them and Us*, 152.

brand identity that conveyed an American way of life: its *glocal* character, its invigoration and refreshing taste, its democratized nature, and its bottle.

Instead of presenting itself as an American brand, the Coca-Cola Company accentuated Coca-Cola's international as well as its local character, a phenomenon described as *glocalization*. The *glocalizing* ability of Coca-Cola allowed the product to transfer depictions of an American way of life outside of US borders into the Netherlands. The Coca-Cola Company made its brand less exotic by infusing it with local elements while retaining elements of its international aura. The degree of freedom in which the brand was able to adapt to the local context, however, was relatively limited. The references to the local context in the advertisements included infrequent mention of Dutch towns or the location of Dutch bottling plants. This substantiates that the Coca-Cola Company's American headquarters largely determined the brand identity in countries outside of the United States.

The advertisements depicted a modern, urban lifestyle—a simulacrum of the burgeoning American consumer society. The Coca-Cola Company presented Coca-Cola as a democratized product, available to all and consumed whenever and wherever, and at the same time a unique, authentic product, more *real* than other soft drinks, turning every moment of consumption into an event and making its consumer more modern than others. Consumers in Coca-Cola advertisements were either male or female, and they were engaged in activities of leisure or work. In their emphasis on refreshment and invigorating as modern consumer needs, advertisers presented Coca-Cola as a remedy against the stress and pressure of the modern consumer life. The repeated use of a patented bottle design helped to iconize this material object into a signifier of the company, the drink, and its associated values.

Chapter 6

World of Coca-Cola | The Sublimated Essence of America

“Coca-Cola culture had pervaded into the furthest outskirts. Almost everywhere in the world ... the typical American drink is available.”¹

¹ “De Coca-Cola-cultuur is inmiddels tot in de verste uithoeken doorgedrongen. Vrijwel overal ter wereld is het ... typische Amerikaanse drankje verkrijgbaar.” in “Cola-Cultuur,” *De Telegraaf*, August 10, 1988.

In 2015, *De Telegraaf* celebrated the one-hundredth anniversary of Coke's iconic bottle. The newspaper referred to Coca-Cola as "the symbol of the United States."¹ Since 1886, when the American John Pemberton first concocted the drink, Coca-Cola has become a common beverage in bars, restaurants, and homes all over the planet. Coca-Cola truly is a global soft drink that can be bought and consumed in almost every nook and cranny of the world. At the same time, in the perception of consumers Coca-Cola retained its link to its country of origin—the United States. This is more than just a denotation of the product's source: it expresses ideas, values, and practices associated with America. According to Douglas Holt, Coca-Cola has functioned as a cultural icon, an "exemplary symbol[s] that people accept as a shorthand to represent important ideas."² The brand's link to the United States has shaped many of these associations.

In general, scholars contend that Coca-Cola has signified Americanization, a historical process that Francis Williams describes as "the spread of American ideas, customs, social patterns, industry, and capital around the world."³ Berghoff and Spiekermann identify a tension in the way people viewed Americanization after the Second World War. On the one hand, the brand expressed Americanization through the global spread of ideas such as youthfulness, democracy, and personal freedom. These ideas promote heterogeneity as a result of personal freedom. On the other hand, the product symbolized how Americanization led to cultural homogenization, the growing power of multinationals, and the promotion

¹ "Foutje met grote gevolgen; het beroemde glazen Coca-Colaflesje bestaat 100 jaar," *De Telegraaf*, February 28, 2015.

² Holt, *How Brands Become Icons*, 1.

³ Francis Williams, *The American Invasion* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1962).

of unhealthy lifestyles.⁴ On the whole, Coca-Cola represented the global spread of ‘American’ ideas—a form of homogenization, while the ideas themselves also promoted cultural heterogeneity.

Scholars such as Berghoff and Spiekerman contend that products can represent different aspects of Americanization. This difference in meaning has led to debates on how much freedom people actually had in their response to Americanization. For Richard Pells, Coca-Cola represented Americanization as a form of cultural imperialism.⁵ He argues that that the United States operated as an imperialistic multinational force that relied on cultural imperialism to expand its markets. In the same vein, Reinhold Wagnleitner characterizes the transfer of American practices, ideas, and values to Europe as a process of “Coca-Colonization.”⁶ These approaches highlight the dominance of the United States over European nations, while they underemphasize whether consumers actually perceived products such as Coca-Cola as a symbol of American dominance or Americanization.

For this reason, other scholars have shifted their focus to ways in which receiving countries appropriated and received American consumer goods.⁷ This school of thought highlights local particularities in the attribution of meaning to consumer products.⁸ The central questions in

⁴ Berghoff and Spiekermann, “Taking Stock and Forging Ahead: The Past and Future of Consumption History,” 2.

⁵ Pells, *Not like US*, location 2804-2809.

⁶ Wagnleitner, *Coca-Colonization and the Cold War*.

⁷ David Howes, “Introduction: Commodities and Cultural Borders,” in *Cross-Cultural Consumption: Global Markets, Local Realities*, ed. David Howes (London: Routledge, 1996), 3; Kroes, “American Empire and Cultural Imperialism”; Kroes, “Americanization: What Are We Talking About?”; Askegaard and Csaba, “The Good, the Bad and the Jolly,” 126.

⁸ Ger and Belk, “I’d like to Buy the World a Coke”; Søren Askegaard, “Brands as a Global Ideospace,” in *Brand Culture*, ed. Jonathan Schroeder and Miriam Salzer-Mörling (New York: Routledge, 2006), 81–91.

these studies are: Did national consumer societies fall prey to the enticements of American culture? Alternatively, was the receiving end able to selectively appropriate, mimic, or resist the powerful push of American cultural expressions? This shift in focus follows a larger trend in globalization studies that disputes the theory that globalization unequivocally leads to cultural homogenization. Rather, they argue for a more varied *glocalized* culture—an amalgamation of global and local cultures.⁹ Daniel Miller, for example, studied the local reception of Coca-Cola in Trinidad. Miller conceptualizes Coca-Cola as a meta-symbol that “may be filled with almost anything those who wish to either embody or critique a form of symbolic domination might ascribe to it.”¹⁰ These studies offered a much-needed corrective to the unidirectional view of Americanization.

This revisionist approach has also been mitigated by a nuanced theoretical middle ground. Douglas Holt criticizes the idea of Coca-Cola as a meta-symbol on which consumers can project a whole gamut of ideas. He correctly emphasizes that while brands might acquire local meanings, we should not ignore that the Coca-Cola company is a big multinational corporation, which sets it apart from local alternatives.¹¹ The technological, economic, and political dominance of American multinational corporations has determined in part how consumers

⁹ Robertson, “Glocalization: Time-Space and Homogeneity-Heterogeneity.”

¹⁰ Miller, “Coca-Cola: A Black Sweet Drink from Trinidad,” 170.

¹¹ Douglas Holt, “Why Do Brands Cause Trouble? A Dialectical Theory of Consumer Culture and Branding,” *Journal of Consumer Research* 29, no. 1 (June 1, 2002): 70. For a similar perspective see also: Ruth Oldenziel, “Is Globalization a Code Word for Americanization?: Contemplating McDonalds, Coca-Cola, and Military Bases,” *Tijdschrift voor sociale en economische geschiedenis* 4, no. 3 (2007): 84; Oldenziel, Ruth, “Islands: The United States as Networked Empire,” in *Entangled Geographies: Empire and Technopolitics in the Global Cold War*, ed. Gabrielle Hecht (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2011), 13–42.

perceived their products. Moreover, people exaggerated the power of American multinationals which even led consumers to overstate the homogenizing effects of “global market-driven experiential brands.”¹² To put it in other terms, the actual and observed dominance of American companies shaped how free people were in their perception of consumer goods. I take this theoretical middle ground as a starting point by placing the representation of Coca-Cola in twentieth-century Dutch newspapers next to the dominant economic position of the Coca-Cola Company and the general perception of American multinationals in Dutch newspapers.

By investigating the values, ideas, and practices that newspapers ascribed to the brand, this chapter examines to what extent Coca-Cola was perceived as a symbol of Americanization. Was it presented as a clear-cut symbol of Americanization, or was there room for local and even contesting interpretations? Did Coca-Cola manifest itself as a brand that included contradictory meanings, in which both localized particularity and globalized homogeneity could find a place?

This investigation of the symbolic connotations of Coca-Cola in newspaper discourse also sheds light on perceptions of American culture and American businesses. Such an analysis adds to our understanding of how consumer goods were a factor in the perception of the United States as a reference culture in the Netherlands. As Mark Pendergrast puts it, the perception of Coca-Cola functioned as “the best barometer of the relationship with the US.”¹³ This chapter examines Pendergrast’s claim within the context of twentieth-century Dutch newspaper discourse.

This chapter consists of two sections. The first section focuses on distant reading, a process that uncovers the trends in the discourse on

¹² Thompson and Arsel, “The Starbucks Brandscape and Consumers’ (Anticorporate) Experiences of Glocalization.”

¹³ Pendergrast, *For God, Country and Coca-Cola*, 243.

Coca-Cola and the domains in which newspapers discussed Coca-Cola. For distant reading, I relied on topic modeling to discern in which context newspapers discussed Coca-Cola, and I utilized named entity recognition to reveal the people, organizations, and locations associated with Coca-Cola. These themes and entities are examined in more detail in the second half of this chapter. In the second section, I paint a fuller picture by adding a thicker cultural description to the macroscopic structure constructed in the first section. This thick description stems from a *close reading* of newspaper articles paired with additional computational explorations and analyses of minor trends and themes associated with Coca-Cola. For the latter, I turn to full-text searches and corpus linguistics.

The Construction of a Corpus of Articles on Coca-Cola

This chapter focuses chiefly on articles in the digitized newspaper corpus that contain at least one reference to Coca-Cola (Corpus A). I also assembled a more specific corpus that contains articles that mention both the United States and Coca-Cola (Corpus B).¹⁴ After cleaning the datasets, Corpus A consisted of 3,029 articles and Corpus B of 1,422 articles.¹⁵ All articles in both corpora were published between 1928 and 1990. Figure 6.1 shows the annual relative frequency of articles in Corpus A and Corpus B; I calculated the relative frequency by dividing the number of articles mentioning Coca-Cola per year by the total number of newspapers articles in that year.

¹⁴ Corpus A: +("COCA-COLA" "COCA COLA") -(FANTA SPRITE). This query finds articles that mention Coca-Cola but that do not mention Fanta or Sprite. Corpus B: +(AMERI?A* "VEREENIGDE STATEN" "VERENIGDE STATEN" U.S.A. USA "UNITED STATES") +("COCA-COLA" "COCA COLA") -(FANTA SPRITE). This query finds articles that mention the United States and Coca-Cola but that do not mention Fanta or Sprite.

¹⁵ The cleaning entailed the removal of duplicate articles based on their titles, television guides, and stock exchange reports.

The figure demonstrates that during the interwar period, Coca-Cola was not a prominent topic in Dutch newspapers. Moreover, the line graph reveals a slight dip in the prominence of Coca-Cola in the papers between the mid-1950s and 1970. Corpus A and Corpus B follow a similar pattern, which confirms the persistent role that the United States played in newspaper discourse on Coca-Cola.

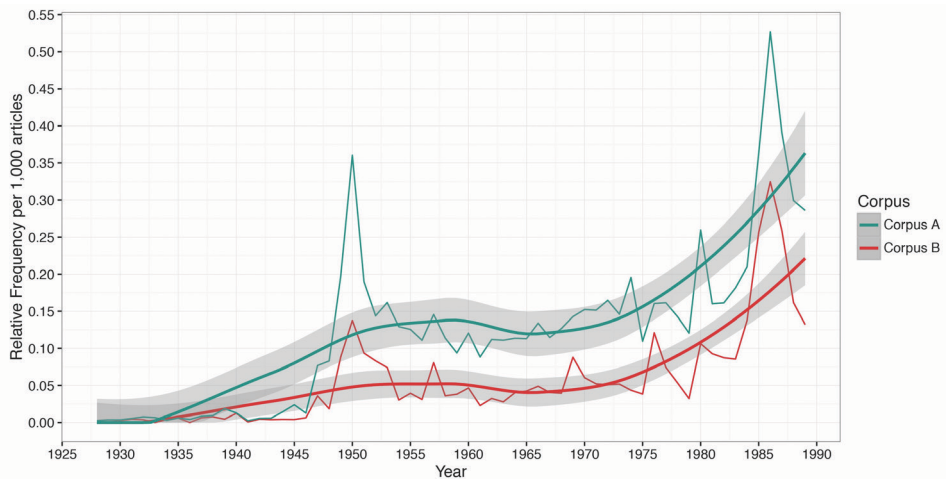


Figure 6.1. Relative annual frequency of articles in Corpus A ($n = 3,029$) and Corpus B ($n = 1,422$)

The main newspapers in Corpus A (fig. 6.2) are *Het Vrije Volk* (20.1%), *De Telegraaf* (14.9%), *Leeuwarder Courant* (13%), *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden* (12.7%), *Limburgsch Dagblad* (12.4%), and *De Waarheid* (7.3%). The newspapers in the second corpus have a distribution that is similar to the first corpus (fig. 6.3): *Het Vrije Volk* (20.9%), *De Telegraaf* (17.4%), *Leeuwarder Courant* (13.7%), *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden* (11.3%), *Limburgsch Dagblad* (8.9%), and *De Waarheid* (7.7%). The higher percentage of articles in *De Telegraaf* in figure 6.3 indicates that articles that mentioned both Coca-Cola and the United States appeared more often in this newspaper than in the other papers.

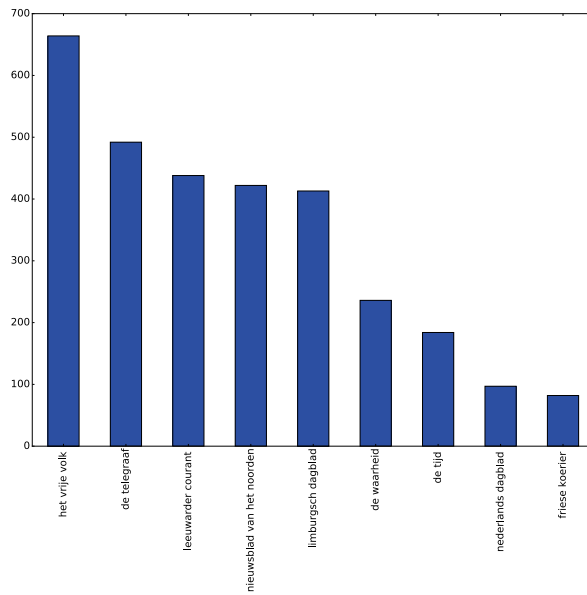


Figure 6.2. Distribution of the top nine newspapers in Corpus A

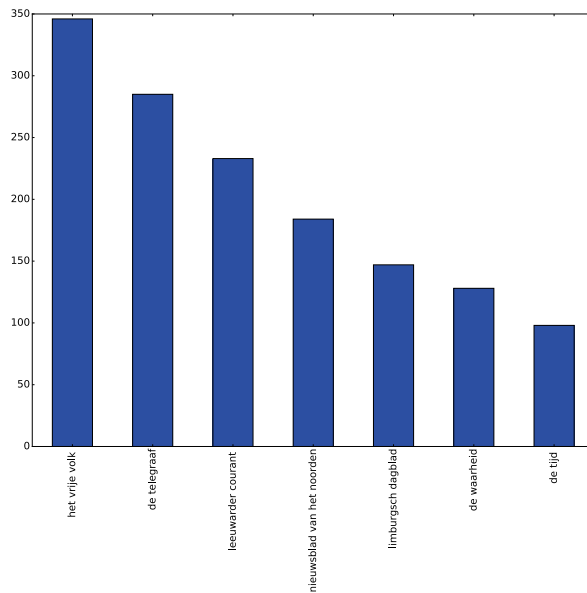


Figure 6.3. Distribution of the top seven newspapers in Corpus B

6.1 Distant Reading Newspaper Discourse on Coca-Cola

This section describes the results gathered by two computational techniques: topic modeling and named entity recognition. Topic modeling serves three main purposes. First, topic modeling uncovers the thematic structure of the corpus by clustering articles in semantically related groups of topics, showing the domains in which newspapers discussed Coca-Cola. Second, I used the words in the topics generated by topic modeling as query terms to locate articles in Corpus A. Third, I turned to topic modeling to filter out unwanted articles from my dataset. For instance, a dominant topic in articles on Coca-Cola were stock exchange reports. These reports offered little information on perceptions of the United States as Coca-Cola was only mentioned matter-of-factly. I used the words that stemmed from articles on the stock exchange, such as abbreviations of stocks, to filter out articles on this topic. Above all, topic modeling provided an analysis of the corpus as a whole and it guided explorations of the corpus. In section 6.1.1, I will discuss the topic model.¹⁷

I employed named entity recognition in tandem with the network visualization software Gephi to respectively extract and depict the people, organizations, and locations that appeared in articles on Coca-Cola. For the extraction of persons, organizations, and locations, I used Stanford's Named Entity Recognizer.¹⁸ I relied on my domain knowledge for the

¹⁷ The verbose output generated by topic modeling—the topic model—can be found in appendix 6.1.

¹⁸ I used the Stanford English 3-class classifier, which outperformed the Dutch Europeana classifier in speed. I did not extensively compare the results, but after inspecting them, the English classifier did not underperform with regards to recall to the Dutch one. More on the classifiers here: “The Stanford Natural Language Processing Group,” accessed May 17, 2016, <http://nlp.stanford.edu/software/CRF-NER.shtml>; KB, “Europeana Newspapers NER Dataset,” *KB Research Lab*, accessed May 17, 2016, <http://lab.kbresearch.nl/static/html/eunews.html>; Jenny

removal of the recognized entities and when I was uncertain about the validity of an entity, I cross-examined the articles that mentioned them. After filtering the lists of entities, I visualized the entities in a network graph, which reveals the social structure that undergirds the newspaper discourse. Section 6.1.2 describes the construction and analysis of these graphs. As with topic modeling, these graphs offer information about the corpus, but they also direct further exploration of the newspapers.

Both techniques are data-driven and produce results that might not be included in a sample of the articles, or that might be overlooked, undervalued, or overestimated by domain experts. Both topic modeling and the visualization of entities place specific terms within a historical context. This adds perspective to the dataset, as topic modeling and named entity recognition bare noteworthy entities and themes.

6.1.1 Topic Modeling

This section discusses the topics generated from Corpus A.¹⁹ I generated a topic model from the entire corpus (A, $n = 3,029$) as well as from the following subsets: 1928-1944 (B, $n = 125$), 1945-1954 (C, $n = 403$), 1955-1964 (D, $n = 437$), 1965-1974 (E, $n = 637$), and 1975-1989 (F, $n = 1,427$). In what follows, the letters in parentheses refer to the topic model and the numbers to the topic in that model, for example, F3. The first period runs from the moment at which Coca-Cola was first introduced up until the

Rose Finkel, Trond Grenager, and Christopher Manning, "Incorporating Non-Local Information into Information Extraction Systems by Gibbs Sampling," in *Proceedings of the 43rd Annual Meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics*, 2005, 363–70.

¹⁹ I experimented with topic modeling on the Corpus A and Corpus B in an attempt to acquire more detailed information on the language used. I expected Corpus B to provide more specific information on the relationship between Coca-Cola and the United States. After optimization of the parameters and cleaning the dataset, however, Corpus A provided almost the same level of information as Corpus B.

end of the Second World War. For the next three periods, I selected ten-year intervals, and the fifth interval spans fifteen years. The topic modeling on these subsets allowed me to roughly date the topics found within both corpora.²⁰ The downside is that the lower number of articles for each period reduced the precision of the modeling.

Topic modeling based on Corpus A as a whole produced twenty-eight meaningful topics, which are presented in Figure 6.5. Despite some meaningless topics, the list of topics provides an overview of the domains in which Coca-Cola appeared in newspapers. Appendix 6.1 contains additional information on the topics and the parameters. As described in chapter 1, domain experts are necessary to determine what the words in a topic refer to. I was not always able to determine what a topic was about just by looking at the words in a topic. In these cases, I generated lists of the most frequent words in articles associated with the topics. In addition, I read a sample of the articles related to the topics by querying the corpus using the keywords taken from the topics. However, even after these iterations between the output and the underlying texts, the subject of a topic was not always clear to me.

²⁰ Analyzing the distribution of topics over documents in Corpus A and B offered no clear information on when a topic emerged and disappeared. Further development on techniques to analyze the dispersion of topics over time is needed. Work on this subject has been done by: Wang and McCallum, “Topics over Time”; Chong Wang, David Blei, and David Heckerman, “Continuous Time Dynamic Topic Models,” *arXiv:1206.3298 [Cs, Stat]*, June 13, 2012, <http://arxiv.org/abs/1206.3298>.

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- Topic 38: cola, coca, pepsi, amerikaanse, plastic, flessen, sevenup, volgens, markt, coke
 - Topic 7: miljoen, jaar, gulden, procent, liter, ruim, bedrag, twee, vorig, nederland
 - Topic 35: mensen, reclame, alleen, maken, goed, waar, zegt, natuurlijk, gaat, zeggen
 - Topic 34: oorlog, land, amerikaanse, regering, leger, alle, amerikanen, militaire, amerika, jaar
 - Topic 12: nederland, nederlandse, bedrijf, heer, volgens, aldus, zullen, merk, consument, gaan
 - Topic 13: rotterdam, zullen, festival, grote, zaterdag, twee, gehouden, werden, komen, juni
 - Topic 22: film, films, gaat, twee, zien, waarin, meisje, godard, waar, maken
 - Topic 40: amerikaanse, verenigde, staten, zuidafrika, bedrijven, israël, arabische, president, land, buitenlandse
 - Topic 29: koffie, cent, thee, wijn, water, bier, melk, glas, moeten, goed
 - Topic 5: eten, amerikanen, amerikaanse, amerika, drinken, onze, melk, alle, cocacola, gaan
 - Topic 24: voetbal, klasse, wedstrijd, eerste, spelers, twee, jaar, tweede, fifa, elftal
 - Topic 15: regering, coca, jaar, mensen, negros, twee, land, cola, arbeiders, stemmen
 - Topic 14: tour, ploeg, jaar, ronde, renners, eerste, weer, france, trui, grote
 - Topic 16: fles, flessen, vrouw, twee, steeds, waar, jaar, weer, stategie, plastic
 - Topic 3: cocacola, atlanta, drank, italië, rome, smaak, jaar, oude, nieuwe, staat
 - Topic 21: heer, amsterdam, jaar, waar, alle, teddy, weer, scholten, onze, nederland
 - Topic 39: spelen, olympische, dollar, landen, cocaine, olympisch, moskou, japanse, wereld, miljoen
 - Topic 26: kunst, grote, museum, werk, tentoonstelling, kalender, fotos, zien, eigen, jaar
 - Topic 25: minister, moeten, waar, plaats, alle, sponsors, programma, weer, jaar, komen
 - Topic 37: muziek, band, jaar, groep, alleen, goed, eerste, rock, publiek, tijd
 - Topic 10: nederlandse, reclame, nederland, bureau, televisie, adverteerder, grote, alleen, commerciële, programma
 - Topic 41: duitse, jaar, amerikaanse, duitland, waar, amerika, staat, twee, eerste, nieuwe
 - Topic 23: show, miljoen, dollar, john, jackson, michael, jaar, trax, nederland, channel
 - Topic 31: mexico, wereld, meisjes, jaar, grote, staat, jeugd, nieuwe, vrouwen, twee
 - Topic 11: makavejev, cola, coca, becker, frans, amerikaanse, dusan, australië, australische, frank
 - Topic 30: leeuwarden, china, chinese, chinezen, club, peking, drachten, cinema, africa, hoop
 - Topic 1: verwacht, firma, kort, maatschappij, scène, company, frisdrank, concern, geding, produkt
 - Topic 6: radio, sport, einde, japanse, japan, world, heel, motor, super, leder

Figure 6.5. Topic distribution in Corpus A sorted on their proportional distribution, i.e. in how many texts did a particular topic appear

Figure 6.5 and appendix 6.1 illustrate that Coca-Cola appeared in the context of culture, economy, sports, and politics. Some topics referred to a singular event, such as the performance of Dutch singer Teddy Scholten at the Coca-Cola show in the United States (A21), while others were indicative of reoccurring debates in the newspapers, such as the growing economic dominance of the Coca-Cola Company (A7).

Moreover, figure 6.5 illustrates that the United States played a role in several of these domains—it explicitly appears in eight of the twenty-four topics selected from Corpus A. The list of topics, however, offers little information on how newspapers linked Coca-Cola to the United States, or to what extent newspapers constructed Coca-Cola as a symbol of Americanization. For this reason, I used the terms in the topic models to locate specific articles related to my research questions which added historical framing to the topic models.

This examination of the five topic models shows that newspapers discussed the relationship between Coca-Cola and the United States in

five different ways. First, between 1928 and 1945, Coca-Cola featured in descriptions of life in the United States (A3, A5, B5, and B9). Second, after the Second World War, newspapers shifted their focus to a discussion of Coca-Cola within the context of European culture (A41, A45, C1, C9, and D12). Articles that discussed the product's reception in particular countries, such as France and Germany, produced these topics. The third group of topics (A11, A23, A26, C8, D3, E2, E4, F12, and F17) referred to articles that mentioned Coca-Cola within the context of popular culture. This topic became more prominent from the 1950s onwards. The fourth group (A15, A35, A40, C7, E3, E9, F2, F7, and F14) debated Coca-Cola within the sphere of politics and emphasized the brand's global presence. This type of articles gained prominence after 1965. The last cluster of articles (A7, A38, B2, B11, D2, D6, E1, E11, E13, F1, F7, F15, and F18) placed Coca-Cola within the context of national and global economies.

These topics provide empirical evidence for a link between the United States and Coca-Cola. References to the United States can be found in divergent clusters of topics, which suggests that the United States carried different connotations in public discourse. Moreover, the temporal shifts in the prominence and content of these connotations signal a transformation in the relationship between Coca-Cola and the United States. References to the United States shifted from denoting the American domestic context to signifying an extra-national, global entity. During the interwar period and the first decade after the Second World War, newspapers used Coca-Cola to discuss life in the United States, after which they turned to reporting on the introduction of Coca-Cola in Europe. After 1945, the Coca-Cola company manifested itself as a cultural and economic force associated with the strong economic and military presence of the United States. In a way, the company functioned as a

proxy for the global economic dominance and political presence of the United States.

The trends expressed by topic modeling are rather crude; therefore, the second half of this chapter adds empirical evidence to support them. It does so by diving deeper into the representations of Coca-Cola as a symbol of the American consumer society, and into its role as a symbol of Americanization in the domains of culture, economy, and politics.

6.1.2 Entity Analysis

This section lists and discusses the locations, organizations, and persons that newspapers associated with Coca-Cola. In what follows, I reflect on the continuity and changes of these entities and relate them to broader shifts in the geopolitical position of Coca-Cola and the United States. For the extraction of named entities, I used the same periodic subsets of Corpus A that I used for topic modeling.

After extraction, I removed tagged entities that appeared fewer than five times and in fewer than two articles. Also, I removed locations in the Netherlands because I wanted to focus on the European and global context of Coca-Cola. Moreover, newspaper articles often include the city in which the article was written, which led to the extraction of many Dutch locations. Often these locations were unrelated to the article's content and skewed the lists of extracted entities. For this reason, I also opted to exclude Dutch locations. Next, I cleaned the lists of entities by inspecting samples of the articles in which the entities appeared to validate whether they related to Coca-Cola in a meaningful manner. Finally, I transformed the cleaned datasets into network graphs. I grouped entities based on my domain knowledge. The construction of these network graphs was thus supervised. I used color coding to indicate the different types of entities: purple refers to locations, green to persons, and blue to organizations. I

added orange nodes that function as group nodes to further structure the graphs.

These graphs do not take into account the frequency of the references, for two reasons. First, the frequency of the entities did not differ considerably. Moreover, I chose to set a relatively low threshold which allows for a relatively granular overview of the different entities. As a consequence, I was able to pick up groups of minor entities associated with Coca-Cola, which taken together signified larger trends. For instance, repeated, infrequent references to locations in South-America are an indication of a trend in discourse associated with this region, despite the lack of frequent references to one particular location. Second, I did not visualize frequency because of spelling variations and errors caused by OCR, which limited the ability of NER to identify locations, persons, and organizations. Especially the latter two were affected by this.²¹

1928-1944

Between 1928 and 1944, newspapers only linked a few individuals and places to Coca-Cola (fig. 6.6). The majority of these entities connected Coca-Cola to the United States. Figure 6.6 shows that newspapers wrote about Asa Candler, the company's founder, as well as Atlanta, the city in which Candler founded the company. Other entities expressed the link between Coca-Cola and the United States in more implicit ways: San Francisco, New York, and New Yorkers appeared in articles that described Coca-Cola as part and parcel of American consumer life. A prominent author of this type of articles was the Dutch columnist Eduard Elias ('E.

²¹ A possible workaround could have been to query the extracted locations with regular expressions to account for the spelling differentiations. For exploratory purposes, my approach sufficed.

Elias'), who published articles on the United States in *Algemeen Handelsblad*.²² Overall, interwar newspapers only occasionally wrote about Coca-Cola, but when they did, they presented Coca-Cola as part of American life. Apart from this association, Coca-Cola did not carry any other symbolic connotation in this period.

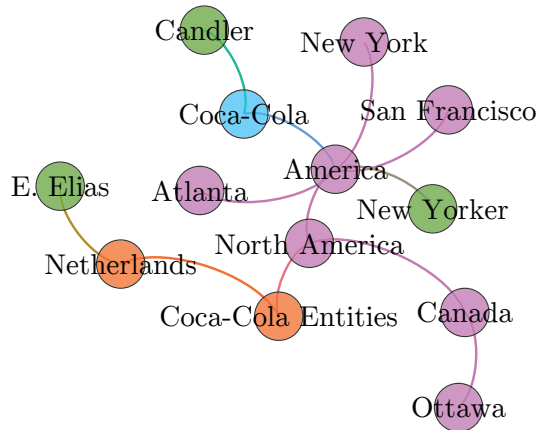


Figure 6.6. Network graph of entities in Corpus A ($n = 125$) between 1928-1944

1945-1954

The network graph (fig. 6.7) representing the decade after the Second World War presents a markedly different picture than the previous one (fig. 6.6). The clearest difference is the higher number of entities which stems in part from the increase in articles in this period (403 articles compared to 125 articles between 1928 and 1944). As more articles on Coca-Cola appeared, the diversity of topics also increased.

²² See for instance: "Hoe is de New-Yorker?," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, May 20, 1939.

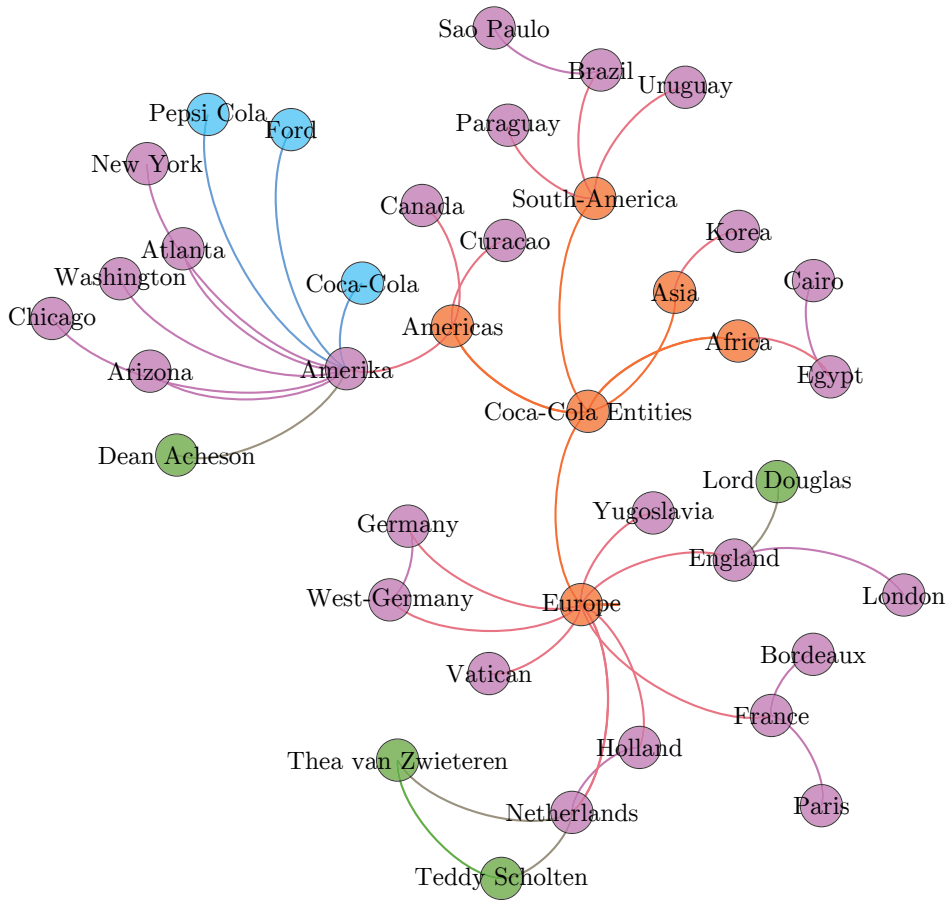


Figure 6.7. Network graph of entities in Corpus A ($n = 403$) between 1945-1954

In particular, the number of different locations grew, which coincided with the global expansion of the brand after the Second World War. Newspapers now clearly related Coca-Cola to countries other than the United States, including European countries such as Germany, France, the United Kingdom, and Yugoslavia, as well countries in South America, Asia, and Africa. This indicates that Coca-Cola’s cultural presence reached beyond Europe and that Dutch newspapers framed the drink as an international product. This shift in discourse helped establish the drink as a symbol of Americanization that found its expression through the global spread of American consumer products.

Figure 6.7 also includes two prominent people that newspapers associated with Coca-Cola: Teddy Scholten and Lord Douglas. The first was the stage name of the Dutch singer and television host Thea van Zwieteren. In 1950, Scholten was one of the first Dutch artists to go on tour in the United States. She performed the song *Snoezepoes* (honeybunch) on the Coca-Cola show.²³ Newspapers devoted considerable attention to Scholten's tour through the United States, which confirms the novelty of a Dutch artist performing on American television, while also establishing Coca-Cola's link to popular culture.

The second person, Lord Francis Douglas, was a British Labour Party politician. In 1951, he vocally opposed the consumption of Coca-Cola because it contained phosphoric acid, which he claimed damaged tooth enamel.²⁴ The attention given to this news report signals that the health effects of Coca-Cola were a topic of interest between 1945 and 1954. In the years that followed, newspapers would continue to stress the adverse health effects of Coca-Cola.

Finally, Dutch newspapers mentioned Coca-Cola's main competitor PepsiCo ('Pepsi'). Articles on PepsiCo confronted Dutch consumers with the rivalry between the two American soft drink producers. This rivalry was a recurrent topic in discourse, as the section on "Cola Wars" will show.

To summarize: In the first decade after the Second World War, the role of Coca-Cola in Dutch newspapers clearly differed from the interwar period. Coca-Cola no longer featured as just an element of American consumer life; it symbolized an international product that was becoming part of European consumer life as well. Also, the occurrence of locations in South America and Egypt were among the first signs of Coca-Cola's

²³ See for example: "Teddy Scholten treedt op voor C.B.S.," *De Gooi- en Eemlander*, June 23, 1950; "Teddy Scholtens liedjes in New York groot succes," *Het Vrije Volk*, August 15, 1950.

²⁴ "Chemie vergiftigt voedingsmiddelen," *De Heerenveensche Koerier*, July 7, 1951.

role as a symbol of American international politics, a role that would become more prominent in the subsequent decades.

1955-1964

The network graph (fig. 6.8) for 1955-1964 contains fewer entities than the previous one, which corresponds to the decrease in topics found in the same period. This decline is related to the relative decline of articles on Coca-Cola, which surprisingly runs counter to the increased consumption of Coca-Cola in this period.²⁵

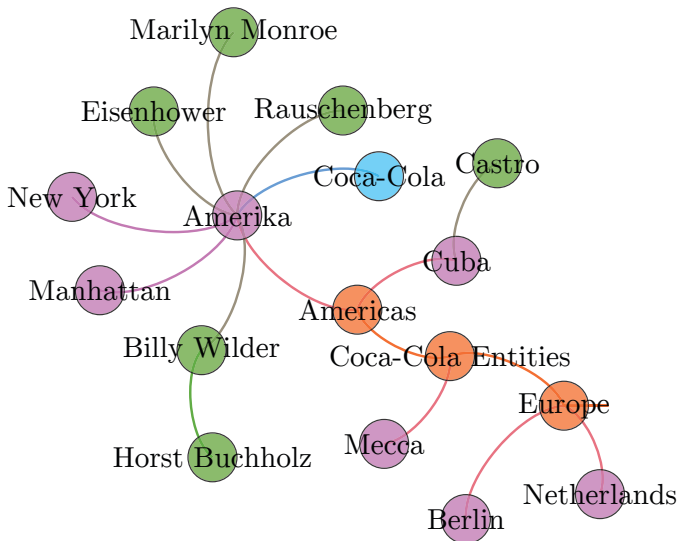


Figure 6.8. Network graph of entities in Corpus A ($n = 437$) between 1955-1964

Despite this decrease in articles, the graph shows two apparent developments. First, the entities ‘Billy Wilder’, ‘Horst Buchholz’, and ‘Robert Rauschenberg’ indicate that Coca-Cola had materialized in the domain of popular culture and art. In the Billy Wilder movie *One, Two,*

²⁵ Peter Zwaal, *Frisdranken in Nederland: een twintigste eeuwse produktgeschiedenis* (Rotterdam: Stichting BBM, 1993), 20.

Three (1961), which also starred Horst Buchholtz, James Cagney plays C.R. MacNamara, an executive of the Berlin branch of the Coca-Cola Company. The movie deals with the rivalry between the Coca-Cola Company and PepsiCo, but also the tension between the United States and the Soviet Union.²⁶ Articles on the movie communicated Wilder's idea that Coca-Cola represented the American presence in Europe as a counterweight against the Soviet presence.

The artist Robert Rauschenberg appears in articles on the art movement Pop Art, in which artists used the iconography of Coca-Cola to reflect on the American consumer society.²⁷ These reports depicted Coca-Cola as an ideal target for artists to vent their criticism on consumerism and American consumer culture. Newspapers helped transfer the ideas about American consumer culture represented in these artistic expressions to a wider audience, in effect popularizing Coca-Cola's role as a symbol of American consumerism.

The other development signaled by the graph is the emergent association of Coca-Cola with capitalism. The nodes 'Cuba' and 'Castro' come from articles that discuss the relationship between socialist Cuba and the capitalist United States. Newspapers symbolically represented the complicated relationship between the two countries through Coca-Cola and rum.²⁸ At first sight, the drinks seem to be opposites—one alcoholic, based on the age-old technique of distillation, and the other sugary and factory-made—while they are also often combined in cocktails. This juxtaposition symbolized how capitalism was mixing into socialist societies through the spread of American consumer goods. Newspapers collectively

²⁶ David Bathrick, "Billy Wilder's Cold War Berlin," *New German Critique* 37, no. 2 (June 20, 2010): 42.

²⁷ "Pop Art: specifiek Amerikaans wereldstadleven," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, March 11, 1964.

²⁸ "Rum en Cola," *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, April 19, 1961.

helped to disseminate Coca-Cola as a symbol of capitalism and the spread of American political and economic values and practices.

1965-1974

The network graph (fig. 6.9) for the period 1965-1974 shows that the number of entities grew significantly compared to earlier periods. The chart reveals three clear trends in the entities associated with Coca-Cola. First, artists and moviemakers (‘Andy Warhol’, ‘Jean-Luc Godard’) continued to use Coca-Cola in their art, and newspapers pointed out how they did so.²⁹ The French-Swiss director Jean-Luc Godard included the phrase “the children of Marx and Coca-Cola” in the 1966 movie *Masculin Feminine*. For Godard, Coca-Cola was the antithesis of Marx. In other words, artists such as Andy Warhol and movie maker Jean-Luc Godard upheld the notion of Coca-Cola as a symbol of American consumerism and capitalism. Dutch newspapers reported on Coca-Cola’s role in popular culture and art, which attests to the permanency of Coca-Cola as a proxy for the United States in the cultural imagination of Dutch consumers.

²⁹ “Pop-Artiest Andy Warhol,” *Het Vrije Volk*, September 18, 1968.

signals the business relations between the Coca-Cola Company and local distributors and retailers. Among other things, the distributors commented on the rivalry between PepsiCo and the Coca-Cola Company, which forced prices to drop.³⁰ The second group included Wim Verstappen, Hugo Metsers, Alicia, and Pim de La Parra, who worked on the erotic movie *Alicia* (1974).³¹ In 1974, the papers extensively reported on the Coca-Cola Company suing the movie's production company Scorpio Productions.³² The soft drink company considered the graphic use of its iconic bottle in the movie undesirable. In 1975, after a brief legal battle, Scorpio lost the case, and the court forced the filmmakers to reshoot the scene using an unbranded bottle. While Coca-Cola signified Americanization across the globe, this incident illustrates that it also represented the growing power of American multinational companies in interventions on a local level.

In general, between 1965 and 1975, the economic and political dimensions of the brand became more salient in newspapers. Newspapers highlighted Coca-Cola's global character as well as its meddling in local affairs. To put it in other words, Coca-Cola grew as a symbol of American affairs globally, while the brand also became more entangled in the local consumer societies.

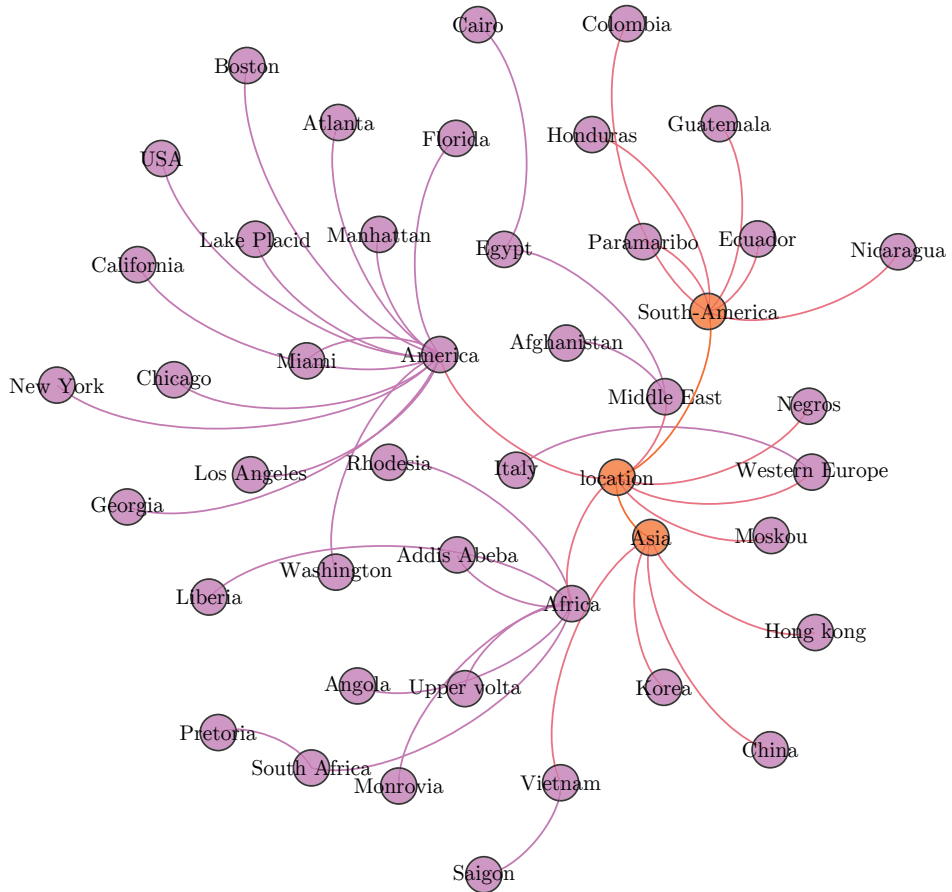
³⁰ "Cola-oorlog gauw voorbij," *Het Vrije Volk*, September 3, 1968.

³¹ Wim Verstappen, *Alicia*, Movie (Netherlands: Scorpio Productions, 1974).

³² See for instance, "Geding om colafles in sexfilm," *De Telegraaf*, September 14, 1974; "Coca-Cola dagvaardt Scorpio films," *NRC Handelsblad*, September 17, 1974; "Scorpio verliest kort geding tegen Coca-Cola," *De Telegraaf*, September 21, 1974.

1975-1989

The final graph (fig. 6.10) displays the entities that occur in articles published between 1975 and 1989. Due to the high number of entities, the topology differs from the previous graphs. I divided the graph into three separate clusters that contain locations (purple), organizations (blue), and persons (green), instead of linking the latter two to the locations with which they are associated. I also created additional subgroupings (orange) such as ‘pop musicians’, ‘popular culture’, and ‘multinationals.’



The cluster Persons reveals the close relationship between Coca-Cola and popular culture. The list of persons includes movie directors ('Dusan Makavejev', 'Jean-Luc Godard') and pop-art artists ('Roy Lichtenstein', 'Andy Warhol') who continued to refer to Coca-Cola through their artistic expressions. Also, in the 1980s, the Coca-Cola Company and its main competitor PepsiCo began to use pop musicians in their advertising campaigns, exemplified by the presence of popular music artists such as Madonna, Tina Turner, and Michael Jackson.

Also, the graph shows that newspapers revisited the company's story of origin. In 1986, newspapers commemorated Coca-Cola's Centennial by publishing articles that reflected on the company's history. These publications mentioned the company's founding fathers Asa Candler and John Pemberton.³³ The brand's origin endowed it with a mythical origin story, and although by 1986 Coca-Cola was a global brand, by retelling its origin story newspapers still linked the soft drink to the United States.

The graph also reflects Coca-Cola's global dominance. European locations were not as prominent as in the previous period, but North American, Asian, African, and South American locations densely populated the network. The increase in global locations coincided with a strong presence of international politicians and multinational organizations. The co-occurrence of these two types of entities shows that newspapers wrote about Coca-Cola in the context of international politics or in comparison to other multinational corporations such as Shell, Kodak, and General Motors.

Furthermore, the manifestation of Dutch organizations and persons in the graph exhibits Coca-Cola's involvement in Dutch politics and businesses; a trend that was absent from the previous graphs.

³³ See for instance: "Coke: een bruisende 100-jarige," *Het Vrije Volk*, May 15, 1986.

Organizations such as *Milieudefensie* (Environmental Defense) and the Dutch Media Authority, as well as individuals such the Dutch Minister of Health and Environment Leendert Ginjaar; the Minister of Health, Welfare, and Culture Elco Brinkman; and the *Konsumentenman* (a national spokesperson for consumer rights) Frits Bom, point to growing public and political debates on Coca-Cola. The presence of these entities suggests a burgeoning political and public movement to curtail the ability of multinationals to shape national consumer markets.

The data represented in the five network graphs reveal how the context in which newspapers discussed Coca-Cola shifted from the United States via Europe to the whole world. Parallel to this shift toward a global perspective, the graphs also show a trend in which the Coca-Cola Company became more intertwined with local Dutch politics and businesses. The increasing number of organizations and persons associated with Coca-Cola expresses the brand's increasing economic and symbolic power in the domains of culture, politics, and the economy. The trends found through entity extraction correspond to changes found in the topic models. The remainder of this chapter analyzes these trends and demonstrates how twentieth-century Dutch newspapers framed Coca-Cola as a symbol of American cultural, economic, and political power.

6.2 Exploring the Rich Symbolism of Coca-Cola

In this section, I examine the trends found through distant reading of the newspaper discourse on Coca-Cola in greater detail. Section 6.2.1 describes how newspapers promoted Coca-Cola as a symbol of the American consumer society. They did so by retelling Coca-Cola's story of origin and by using Coca-Cola to characterize American consumer culture as modern and prosperous. Section 6.2.1 deals with Coca-Cola's connection to the United States; section 6.2.2 deals with Coca-Cola's function as a symbol of Americanization in terms of culture, politics, and the economy.

6.2.1 A Symbol of the American Consumer Society

The Dutch fascination with American consumer culture germinated in the interwar period and was reflected in newspaper articles that depicted daily life in the United States. Even though newspapers devoted relatively little attention to Coca-Cola in the interwar period, when the papers did mention the brand, it often appeared as part of a broader depiction of the American consumer society.

After the Second World War, the Dutch became more interested in American society and Dutch newspapers sent their reporters across the Atlantic to portray social life in the United States. These reporters wrote series of articles on the United States in which they often used Coca-Cola as a rhetorical device to discuss American consumer life.³⁴ In their reports, they disclosed a more open-minded and inquisitive attitude toward American culture than the harsh criticism expressed by earlier Dutch

³⁴ These included *Naar Amerika* (1948-1953), *Eenmanskijs op Amerika* (1952), *Paradijs in Cellophaan* (1949-1952), *Impressies van een emigrante* (1957), en *Kris-Kras door Amerika* (1958).

interwar intellectuals.³⁵ Using the pseudonym A. den Doolaard, Cornelis Spoelstra Jr. wrote one of the most comprehensive reports. Between 1948 and 1953, he published over seventy articles on the United States in the regional newspaper *Limburgsch Dagblad*.

In this section, I describe two ways in which newspapers helped establish Coca-Cola as a symbol of the American consumer society. First, reports on Coca-Cola's origin story added affective elements to the brand's link with the United States. The creation of Coca-Cola and its swift development into a global brand constituted a foundational myth that resonated with the success story of the American consumer society. Second, in the first decade after the Second World War, Dutch newspapers portrayed Coca-Cola as a symbol of the modern and prosperous aspects of the American consumer society.

Coca-Cola's American Origins

During the 1928 Summer Olympics in Amsterdam, the Coca-Cola Company introduced Dutch consumers to its carbonated beverage. *Algemeen Handelsblad* explicitly pointed to the drink's American origins and described it as a "brand-new American product for [the] alcohol-shunning throats."³⁶ The lack of alcohol in Coca-Cola was also reported by other newspapers, which suggests the unfamiliarity of Dutch consumers with soft drinks as non-alcoholic beverages.³⁷ Around a decade later, when reporters attended the 1939 World Exposition in New York, they still

³⁵ The criticism of intellectuals is discussed by: Bob de Graaf, "Bogey or Saviour? The Image of the United States in the Netherlands during the Interwar Period," in *Anti-Americanism in Europe*, ed. Rob Kroes, Maarten van Rossem, and Marcus Cunliffe (Amsterdam: Free University Press, 1986), 51–71; Bosscher, "Introduction: Toward a Community of Interests."

³⁶ "Olympische leekenpraatjes," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, August 7, 1928.

³⁷ See for instance: "Rustige zomervakantie in Canada," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 17 September 1939.

labeled Coca-Cola as a non-alcoholic product. Even though bars and restaurants in the Netherlands were already selling Coca-Cola, reports described it as a non-alcoholic “sweet bubbling drink, served ice-cold.”³⁸ This description reveals that well after its introduction Coca-Cola, journalist still had to point out that Coca-Cola was a non-alcoholic beverage, indicating that the drink had not yet been fully domesticated and still carried an aura of foreignness.

When the production of Coca-Cola resumed after the Second World War, newspapers again pointed to the drink’s American origins.³⁹ In 1949, *Limburgsch Dagblad* wrote that “Cola—in case you didn’t know—was an American invention, just as American as the drug store, Marshall Aid, Ice-Water.”⁴⁰ The list of American innovations in this article disclosed what consumers at the end of the 1940s considered to be typically American. Coca-Cola was seen as American even though it was not advertised as such—as chapter 5 has already demonstrated. With the increasing popularity of Coca-Cola in the Netherlands in the 1950s, the foreignness of the drink waned, which coincided with less explicit descriptions of Coca-Cola as an American product.

Apart from explicitly describing Coca-Cola as an American product, articles on the product’s origin story recurrently tied the product to the United States. Essential elements in these accounts were Asa Candler, John Pemberton, Atlanta, and the drink’s formula. Figure 6.11 shows the relative number of articles in Corpus A that mentioned these features.

³⁸ “Babbeltjes uit een miljoenenstad,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, August 3, 1939.

³⁹ They also did this by referring to the drink as an “American product” and the company as an “American soft drink concern.”

⁴⁰ “Parijse notities,” *Limburgsch Dagblad*, December 15, 1949. The author of this article described the American inventions using English words, even though Dutch synonyms also existed.

This bar chart shows that newspapers only intermittently referred to elements of the drink's origin story.

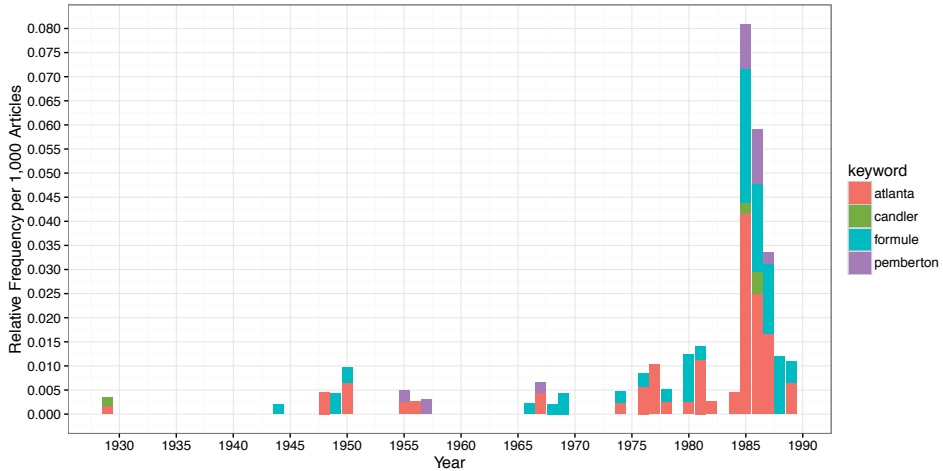


Figure 6.11. The relative frequency of articles in Corpus A that include keywords associated with Coca-Cola's origin story

The first references coincided with the drink's introduction in the late 1920s. After the Second World War, newspapers again linked Coca-Cola to Pemberton and Atlanta. At the end of the 1970s, the connection to Atlanta and the drink's secret formula drew more attention. During the election campaign and early presidency of Jimmy Carter, who hailed from Atlanta, reporters spoke about Carter's business ties with the Coca-Cola Company. The occurrence of 'formula' (*formule*) in this given period did not result from articles that explicitly discussed the drink's formula. In the 1980s, newspapers displayed a renewed attention to the origins of Coca-Cola as well as the secrecy that surrounded the drink's formula. Of the forty-one articles in the corpus that include 'Cola' or 'Coca', and 'Pemberton' or 'Candler', twenty-seven appeared in the 1980s. The peak in 1986 coincides with the brand's centennial. A closer examination of the individual elements helps explain the peaks in newspaper discourse.

The founder of the Coca-Cola Company, Asa Candler, took up a central role in the origin story of Coca-Cola. Newspapers praised the wealth and expertise of Candler and highlighted his clever use of advertising, which helped turn the product into a worldwide brand.⁴¹ The positive framing of Candler by newspapers increased the allure of Coca-Cola. In 1929, only three days after the death of Asa Candler, *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* published his eulogy.⁴² The swift reporting on Candler's passing illustrates the Dutch attention paid to American business and consumer goods. The eulogy recounts how Candler managed to acquire Coca-Cola's recipe and employed innovative branding techniques to convert the drink into a national success. In the days that followed, many other newspapers also published stories about Candler, which confirms the widespread interest in the Netherlands for the death of this enigmatic and self-made American businessman.⁴³

The second central character in reports on Coca-Cola's origin was the apothecary John Pemberton. He first appears in the digitized newspaper archive in 1955, when the *Leeuwarder Courant* announced the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Dutch branch of the Coca-Cola Company. In the short article, the newspaper chronicled Coca-Cola's history, describing how Pemberton first brewed the drink in Atlanta in 1886.⁴⁴ In the years to come, newspapers kept on mentioning Pemberton and Atlanta, thus reinforcing the product's ties to this city and the United States.⁴⁵

⁴¹ "De Coca-Cola koning," *Leeuwarder Nieuwsblad*, March 16, 1929.

⁴² "Vereenigde Staten," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, March 15, 1929.

⁴³ "De Coca-Cola koning," *Leeuwarder Nieuwsblad*, March 16, 1929; "Gemengde nieuwsberichten," *Limburger Koerier*, March 18, 1929; "Wat er in de wereld gebeurt," *Delftsche Courant*, March 20, 1929.

⁴⁴ "Wat er ook nog gebeurde," *Leeuwarder Courant*, May 11, 1955.

⁴⁵ Twenty articles published between 1947 and 1990 linked Pemberton to Atlanta.

Moreover, the stories on these two men tied the idea of self-reliance and perseverance to the perception of American corporations and business persons.

The brand's anniversaries were powerful incentives to retell Coca-Cola's origin story. These recurring events helped to reconnect the brand to its American roots amid growing internationalization. Newspapers widely covered the brand's centennial in 1986.⁴⁶ Articles recounted how John Pemberton created the drink and how the smart millionaire Asa Candler acquired the recipe and founded the Coca-Cola Company.⁴⁷ Consumers are often unaware of a brand's origin or inventor, but in the case of Coca-Cola, this seems inconceivable, since these have been an integral part of its identity.

The third component in the origin story was Atlanta. Corpus A contains 128 articles that mention the city. The references to Atlanta peaked during the introduction of Coca-Cola in 1929, at its re-appearance after the Second World War, during the presidential election of Jimmy Carter in 1976, and during its centennial celebration in 1986.

At the time of the introduction and re-introduction of the product, its geographical association gained prominence. In 1929, when the drink first appeared in the Netherlands, Dutch newspapers labeled Atlanta: the home of Coca-Cola.⁴⁸ After the war, importation slowly picked up pace in the Netherlands, and in 1947, Dutch factories first started bottling Coca-

⁴⁶ "Coke de grenzeloze opmars van een 100-jarige," *Het Vrije Volk*, May 10, 1986; "De machtige stem van Coca-Cola," *NRC Handelsblad*, May 14, 1986. "Coke: een bruisende 100-jarige," *Het Vrije Volk*, May 15, 1986.

⁴⁷ "Het flesje van Joseph Biedenharn," *NRC Handelsblad*, January 7, 1980; "385 liter per seconde," *NRC Handelsblad*, November 15, 1980; "Zoeter," *Het Vrije Volk*, June 7, 1985.

⁴⁸ "Vereenigde Staten," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, March 15, 1929.

Cola.⁴⁹ The domestic production of Coca-Cola coincided with a renewed interest in Coca-Cola's origin story.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, Jimmy Carter's presidency fueled interest in Georgia and its capital Atlanta. *De Telegraaf* described Georgia as the state of Cola and Carter.⁵⁰ In this period, newspapers reflected more on the symbolism of the link between Coca-Cola and Atlanta. For instance, newspapers pointed out that Coca-Cola had given Atlanta its history and also endowed Atlanta with strong affective connotations.⁵¹ In 1967, *Het Vrije Volk* described Atlanta as "Atlantis [sic] (the legendary city of residence of inventor Pemberton) [as] ...the Jerusalem of the Coca-Cola religion, the holiest of holies, from which the Coca-Cola fluid radiated over the entire world."⁵² This vibrant description is telling in more ways than one: it includes the mythical elements that people ascribed to the product's origin but also shows how globalization was viewed as a process that originated from the United States.

The last integral part of the drink's origin story is its secret formula. Newspapers wrote that only two people, who were never in the same room together, knew the recipe.⁵³ This seemingly far-fetched story further glorified the brand's identity. In addition, via the formula the drink retained its connection to the United States. The Coca-Cola Company employed a franchising model in which it licensed local bottling plants to produce Coca-Cola by mixing domestic water with the imported syrup

⁴⁹ Zwaal, *Frisdranken in Nederland*, 119.

⁵⁰ "In de stad van Cola en Carter is alles het grootst," *De Telegraaf*, September 13, 1980; "Atlanta nieuwe poort tot de Verenigde Staten," *De Telegraaf*, April 4, 1981.

⁵¹ "Atlanta. Beton, glas, luxe en kindermoorden," *Het Vrije Volk*, March 14, 1981; "Internationaal Congres in Amerikaans Atlanta," *Nieuw Israëlitisch Weekblad*, June 9, 1978.

⁵² "Marx en Coca Cola," *Het Vrije Volk*, January 28, 1967.

⁵³ "Ondernemen is in dit bedrijf vrijwel niet meer mogelijk," *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, August 22, 1981.

based on the company's secret formula. Newspapers mentioned that the "secret aromatic powders" that gave the drink its "distinct taste" had American origins.⁵⁴ As *De Waarheid* explained, the "Coca-Cola essence—the patented syrup—that came from America, [...] makes the product American."⁵⁵ While the local production of Coca-Cola disconnected the drink from the United States, its formula preserved the connection to its country of origin.

Newspapers also gave room to people who criticized the mythical nature of Coca-Cola's origin story. In 1986, media sociologist Peter Hofstede portrayed John Pemberton as a third-rate, fake apothecary and a quack. Hofstede attributed the success of Cola to Candler's clever use of advertising and not to the intrinsic quality of the product, which he described as "sugar water."⁵⁶ Hofstede's analysis demonstrates an awareness of the branded nature of American products, but also a personal frustration over the Dutch fixation on the global success of American consumer goods, and perhaps the United States in general.

Despite occasional skepticism about the brand's link to the United States, the repeated re-telling of its history imprinted the notion of Coca-Cola as American in the cultural memory of Dutch consumers. Even though the company advertised the beverage more clearly as a global product—as discussed in the previous chapter—newspaper discourse promulgated the link between the drink and the United States through its origin story. Events in the history of Coca-Cola sparked interest in the brand's origin. The recurrence of the story in Dutch newspapers firmly

⁵⁴ "Nu is er 7-up," *Friese Koerier*, November 26, 1954.

⁵⁵ "Coca-Cola is troef," *De Waarheid*, October 4, 1949.

⁵⁶ "Eind van een mythe," *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, April 12, 1986.

established Coca-Cola as an American product in the minds of Dutch consumers.

The Modern and Prosperous American Consumer Culture

Newspapers presented Coca-Cola as an integral part of American society. Just after the war, newspapers characterized the United States as “the land of Coca-Cola and chewing gum,” or as the “fatherland of Truman, Coca-Cola, and plastic.”⁵⁷ By associating these goods with the United States, the papers characterized the American national identity as shaped by rampant consumerism. This characterization shows how the United States was emerging as a reference culture for Dutch consumers—it functioned as a frame of reference in discussions on consumerism.

Not everybody painted such as a uniform picture of the United States. The travel series *Eenmanskijk op de Verenigde Staten* concluded with an article titled “The average American is nowhere to be found. Uniformity or diversity?”⁵⁸ In this lengthy article, the author claimed that the United States was more than just “the country of skyscrapers, cowboys, and chewing gum.” The author explained the diversity of the United States by arguing that “every state has its own views, which are expressed in the laws of that state.” The author’s attempt to deconstruct essentialist notions of the United States originated from a strong desire in the Netherlands to better understand American culture.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ “Doelen,” *De Waarheid*, April 25, 1949; “Tony uit Amsterdam verovert Amerika,” *Limburgsch Dagblad*, November 17, 1950.

⁵⁸ “De gemiddelde Amerikaan is nergens te vinden. Uniformiteit of verscheidenheid?,” *Limburgsch Dagblad*, September 30, 1952.

⁵⁹ After the war, as described in Chapter 1, the Dutch became more interested in the United States and its culture. See for instance: Roholl, “Uncle Sam: An Example For All?” Moreover, in this period numerous books appeared in the Netherlands in which the authors documented their trips to the United States. For instance, E. Elias, *Paradijs in cellophaan: uit een journalistiek dagboek*

Generally speaking, Dutch newspapers turned to Coca-Cola to underline two specific aspects of the American consumer society: first, the country's modern way of producing, distributing, and selling the soft drink; second, the economic prosperity of the United States as expressed by the high level of soft drink consumption and the ubiquity of Coca-Cola in American society.

Let us first turn to the aspect of modernity associated with Coca-Cola. Right after the war, Coca-Cola was emblematic of two key elements of the modern consumer society: efficiency and rationalization. *Limburgsch Dagblad* published a laudatory piece on the technological advances of the United States, which had led to the production of Coca-Cola. The article contrasted the sophomoric America to the "mildewed and moldered" Europe. The American model of capitalism and technocracy was younger, more humane, and more vibrant than the European model; according to this article, Americans tried to "combine mass production with quality and humanity."⁶⁰ *Het Vrije Volk* also depicted the American consumer society as more civilized and argued that the efficiency of the American consumer market allowed companies to care better for their customers.⁶¹ The use of automated dispensers and the size and quality of food functioned as positive aspects of a modern consumer society that was unique to the United States.⁶² Thus, the modernization of American society was not necessarily detrimental to a society's well-

(Maastricht: Leiter-Nypels, 1947); Rudolf van Reest, *Van kust tot kust* (Goes: Oosterbaan & Le Cointre, 1948); Karel van 't Veer, *Op houten schoenen kriskras door Amerika* (Utrecht: De Fontein, 1962); Abraham de Swaan, *Amerika in termijnen: een ademloos verslag uit de U.S.A.*, ed. Ed van der Elsken (Amsterdam: Polak, 1968).

⁶⁰ "Ik huil niet om Amerika," *Limburgsch Dagblad*, October 6, 1956.

⁶¹ "Eetschuren en snoeptentjes aan de grote weg," *Het Vrije Volk*, July 5, 1950.

⁶² "Automatisering," *Limburgsch Dagblad*, June 2, 1956.

being, according to these articles, which were published shortly after the Second World War and contrasted with the view of intellectuals during the Interbellum. The latter had regularly pointed to the adverse effects of modernization in the United States.⁶³

Amid these acclamatory accounts of the American consumer society, some displayed skepticism about the American preoccupation with efficiency and rationalization. In 1950, *Limburgsch Dagblad* reflected that “efficiency means money, means profits for the employee,” but also noted that for the sake of “efficiency other values have to go.” The unbridled focus on efficiency would lead to cultural homogenization; a situation in which everybody would drink Coca-Cola from identical cups.⁶⁴ The idea that Americanization facilitates cultural homogenization would appear regularly in Dutch newspapers, as section 6.2.2 corroborates.

The second aspect of American consumer society that newspaper articles on Coca-Cola underscored was the economic prosperity of the United States. Newspapers used the high level of Coca-Cola consumption in the United States as a bellwether of wealth and also contrasted the United States with the Netherlands in this respect.⁶⁵ Consequently, the United States featured as an exemplar of a successful consumer society.

In the first years after the war, Coca-Cola’s availability in the Netherlands was limited, due to sugar rations and war-damaged Coca-Cola factories. During this time of economic hardship and industrial recuperation, the papers depicted the United States as a country with an

⁶³ Bosscher, “Introduction: Toward a Community of Interests”; Minnen, “Dutch Perceptions of American Culture and Promotion of Dutch Culture in the United States”; Graaf, “Bogey or Saviour? The Image of the United States in the Netherlands during the Interwar Period.”

⁶⁴ “Commentaar. Efficiency,” *Limburgsch Dagblad*, September 15, 1950.

⁶⁵ “Uw frisse dorst wordt van jaar tot jaar groter,” *Het Vrije Volk*, July 2, 1960; “Frisdranken binnen vijf jaar getapter dan bier,” *De Telegraaf*, September 3, 1968.

unlimited supply of the latest consumer goods. In one article, *De Telegraaf* characterized the America as “dollar country,” “the domain of abundance,” and the “territory of refrigerators and Convairs, Coca-Cola, and Christian Science.”⁶⁶ All of these monikers accentuated the prosperity and abundance of consumer products in the United States. The term ‘dollar country’ (*dollarland*) peaked in newspapers around 1930 and 1950, while by 1960s it had already largely disappeared from the papers (fig. 6.12). The popularity of this pejorative phrase in these two periods illustrates how Dutch newspapers painted the United States as preoccupied with money and economic growth.

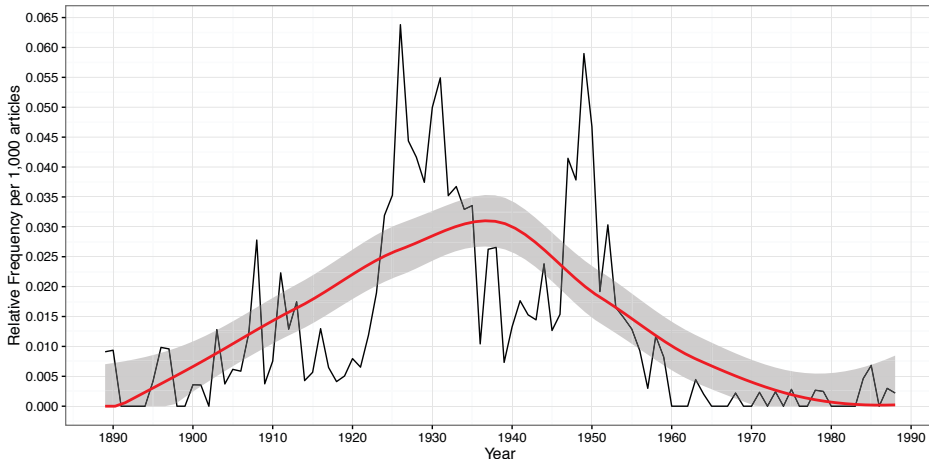


Figure 6.12. Relative frequency of articles with the phrase ‘dollar country’ ($n = 916$) in the Dutch newspaper archive

The ubiquity of Coca-Cola was a common theme in accounts of daily life in the United States. Newspapers conveyed the idea that every American could buy Coca-Cola whenever and wherever he or she desired. *Limburgsch Dagblad* called Coca-Cola “the milk of the Americans,” and

⁶⁶ “Opvallende feiten van de R.A.I.,” *De Telegraaf*, April 24, 1950.

reported that “babies received coca in their bottles, and entire generations were raised with Coke, the drug-store could just as well be named the Coke-store.”⁶⁷ Even in small, less modern, rural American towns, one still found “glaring advertisements for Pepsi Cola and 7-Up,” which reminded the authors of an article in *De Tijd* that they were in “the land of Uncle Sam.”⁶⁸ The persuasiveness of Coca-Cola signaled the notion of a democratic consumer society, which also aligned with the brand identity that the Coca-Cola Company pushed in its advertisements.⁶⁹

By 1950, the production of Coca-Cola in the Netherlands was again up and running, a feat which the company celebrated in advertisements with the line “Finally Coca-Cola is now available without limits.”⁷⁰ The seemingly unlimited availability of the beverage heralded a new era for producers and consumers of soft drinks in the Netherlands. Before, the production of soft drink had been limited by importation or rations.

While the seemingly unbounded production of Coca-Cola represented a revitalizing Dutch industry after the Second World War, the success of the soft drink industry across the Atlantic made Dutch producers anxious about their domestic sales. Dutch soft drink producers viewed the dominant market position of Coca-Cola as a benchmark. In 1956, company executives and Dutch government officials opined in newspapers that Dutch consumers did not drink enough soft drinks. In that year, the Dutch consumed only eight liters per capita per year, whereas the Americans drank at least fifty.⁷¹ This vexed the Dutch soft drink industry, which tried to counter the bad sales by organizing a *Miss Fris* (Miss Fresh)

⁶⁷ “Maria-lied,” *Limburgsch Dagblad*, March 16, 1955.

⁶⁸ “Impressies van een emigrante naar de V.S.,” *De Tijd*, December 21, 1957.

⁶⁹ See chapter 5.

⁷⁰ “Coca-Cola advertisement,” *De Waarheid*, January 14, 1950.

⁷¹ “Wie weet wat fris drinken betekent?,” *Friese Koerier*, August 4, 1956.

pageant to promote soft drink consumption. The campaign to promote soft drinks presented soft drink consumption as a typical American phenomenon. The winner Ria Kuyken won a trip to the United States, which included a tour of the Coca-Cola Company headquarters in Atlanta.⁷² The prize itself confirms how soft drinks were viewed as an American consumer good.

Even after a clear increase in consumption in the 1960s, Dutch soft drink companies kept comparing themselves to their American counterparts. In 1969, the executive president of the Raak Company still used the United States as a yardstick and estimated that the Dutch consumption per capita would reach the American level in 1975.⁷³ As late as 1987, newspapers compared Dutch consumption levels to those of the United States: 60 liters per year per capita vis-à-vis 168 in the United States.⁷⁴ By this time, Coca-Cola had already become a staple product in many Dutch households; nevertheless, Coca-Cola retained its connection to the United States, which continued to function as the reference culture in terms of soft drink consumption and economic prosperity.

Conclusion

Newspapers presented Coca-Cola as a symbol of American consumer culture, while its popularity in the United States also functioned as a yardstick for Dutch soft drink companies. After the introduction of Coca-Cola in the interwar period and its re-introduction after the Second World War, Dutch newspapers informed their readers that Coca-Cola was an American drink and an integral part of American society. Newspapers not

⁷² "Miss Fris gekozen," *Nieuwblad van het Noorden*, August 20, 1956.

⁷³ "Directeur NV Raak verwacht: Nederlander drinkt in 1975 70 liter frisdrank," *Leeuwarder Courant*, May 28, 1969.

⁷⁴ "Coca Cola wil meer greep op 'fris' markt," *Limburgsch Dagblad*, March 5, 1987.

only stated the connection between Coke and the United States as a fact; they also represented Coca-Cola as a symbol of the modern, prosperous American consumer society.

In the period of economic recovery after the Second World War, Dutch public discourse was clearly oriented toward the United States. The introduction of Coca-Cola in the Netherlands prompted debates about consumerism and modernization, in which the United States acted as the benchmark. Newspapers used the example of Coca-Cola to discuss the positive and negative outcomes of the modernization of society. Newspapers employed Coca-Cola to distinguish between Europe as the Old World and the United States as the New World. The United States was presented as a place in which efficient soft drink dispensers provided thirsty consumers with unlimited supplies of Coca-Cola. However, examples that highlighted the negative effects of modernization countered the idealized depiction of the American consumer society. By the late 1980s, when soft drinks were an integral part of Dutch consumer society, the United States still functioned as a guideline for soft drink consumption in the Netherlands. This shows the longevity of the association between Coca-Cola and the United States. It is these kinds of associations that turned the United States into a reference culture with regard to debates on consumerism and consumer goods.

6.2.2 A Symbol of Americanization

For Dutch consumers, Coca-Cola represented American consumer culture, but it also represented the historical process of Americanization—the diffusion of American ideas, practices, and products across the globe. In this section, I show how newspapers represented Coca-Cola as a symbol of Americanization, even after the soft drink had become available in many countries all over the world to such an extent that it should perhaps be regarded as a clear symbol of globalization.

While scholars regularly use the ‘Americanization’, the term was uncommon in Dutch newspapers, whereas the more pejorative terms ‘dollar imperialism’ and ‘American imperialism’ were less exceptional.⁷⁵ The latter two terms were used to discuss the cultural, economic, and political dominance of the United States. The three peaks in figure 6.13 indicate that the bigram ‘dollar imperialism’ appeared every so often in newspapers between the late 1920s to the 1940s, with slight reoccurrences in the 1960s. The phrase ‘American imperialism’ emerged around 1900 and grew in popularity in the 1930s when newspapers used it to discuss the growing global presence of the United States. The term grew in popularity in the 1950s. It stayed part of Dutch discourse until the 1980s when it slowly disappeared. This shows that Dutch newspapers continuously discussed the expansion of American power as a form of imperialism (fig. 6.13).⁷⁶

The terms ‘American imperialism’ and ‘dollar imperialism’ mostly appeared in the communist newspaper *De Waarheid*. Forty-one percent of the articles that mentioned ‘American imperialism’ or ‘dollar imperialism’ came from this journal. The other references appeared most frequently in *De Tribune* (7%), *Leeuwarder Courant* (5%), *Het Vrije Volk* (5%), *De Tijd* (5%), *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden* (4%), and *De Telegraaf* (4%). To compensate for this bias, I made sure to include newspapers other than *De Waarheid* when close reading articles that mentioned these terms.

⁷⁵ ‘Americanization’ was mentioned in only 507 articles and ‘American imperialism’ and ‘dollar imperialism’ in 6,213 articles.

⁷⁶ I grouped together spelling variations of ‘dollar imperialism’ and ‘american imperialism’ in the calculations of the article counts.

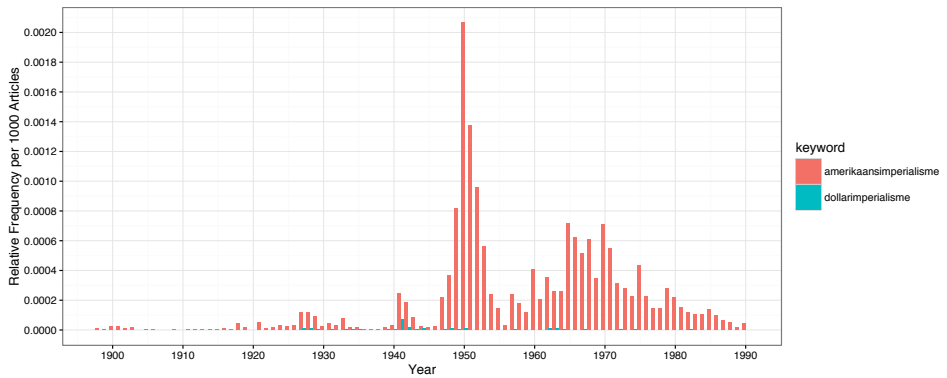
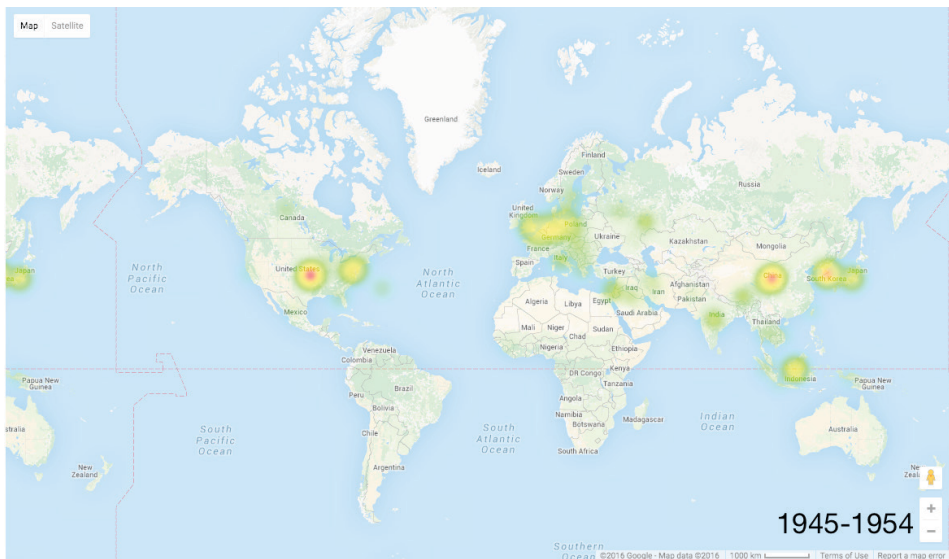
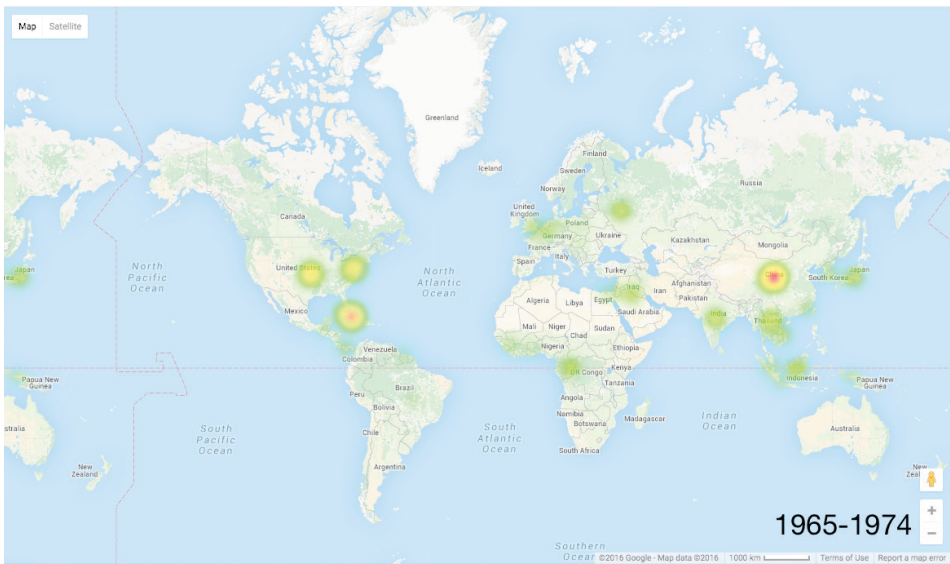
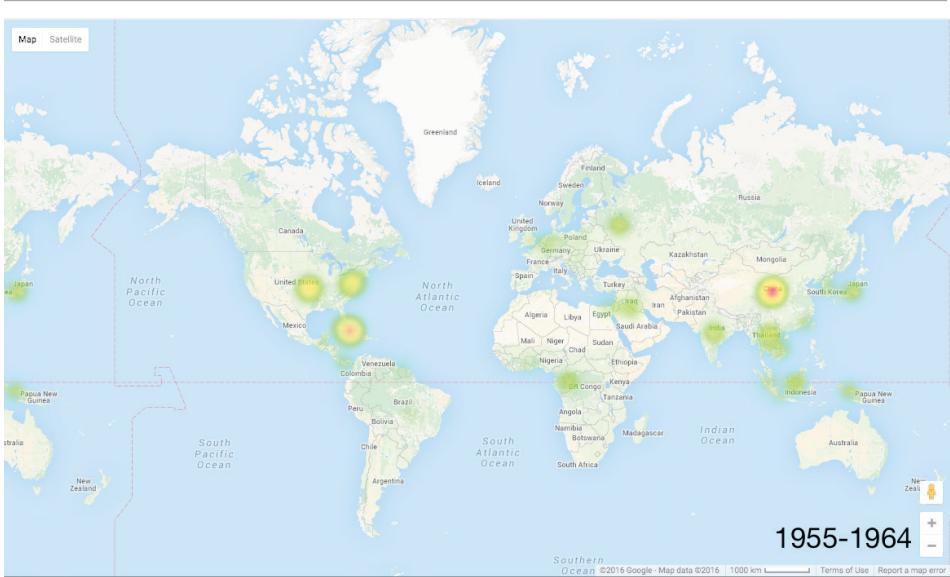


Figure 6.13. Relative frequency of articles with the phrases ‘American imperialism’ and ‘dollar imperialism’ in Dutch newspapers

To get a better idea of the contexts in which newspapers used the terms ‘dollar imperialism’ and ‘American imperialism’, I extracted locations that appeared in articles mentioning these two phrases. I then cleaned the dataset and visualized locations that appeared more than fifteen times in the periods 1945-1954, 1955-1964, 1965-1974, and 1975-1989 using the Google Maps API. Figure 6.14 displays in which geographical context the papers discussed American imperialism.



Chapter 6 | World of Coca-Cola



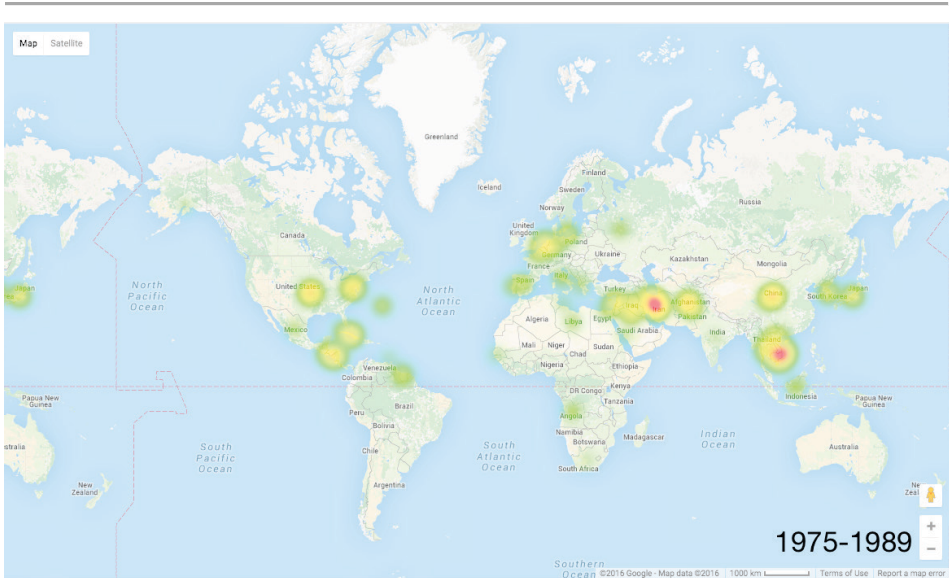


Figure 6.14. Heat maps of locations associated with ‘dollar imperialism’ or ‘American imperialism’ in four periods: 1945-1954, 1955-1964, 1965-1974, and 1975-1989

Between 1945-1954, newspaper articles associated ‘American imperialism’ and ‘dollar imperialism’ with Europe, China, South Korea, and Indonesia. In the following two decades, Europe became less prominent, whereas Cuba, Vietnam, Moscow, and Japan gained importance. Between 1965 and 1989, ‘American imperialism’ appeared more clearly in the context of the Middle East. This trend follows the US military presence in the world, which shifted from Europe to Asia and the Americas, and more recently to the Middle East. The military presence in these regions also fueled debates on the effects of American culture and products.

In the following sections, I discuss how Dutch newspapers used Coca-Cola to discuss Americanization in the domains of culture (“Symbol of the Cultural Effects of Americanization”), the economy (“Symbol of American Business: Multinational and Competitive”), and politics (“Symbol of American Politics: A Polarized World”). Although newspapers did not use the word ‘Americanization’ habitually, I argue that Coca-Cola symbolized Americanization in a less explicit manner in newspaper reports on the

globalization of American culture, the global power of American big businesses, and the increasing polarization between the East and the West during the Cold War.

Symbol of the Cultural Effects of Americanization

As the visibility of American culture grew outside the United States, Dutch newspapers debated how Americanization would affect local cultures. The general tone of the debate was critical and reserved, although occasionally the positive aspects of Americanization received attention too. In these discussions, Coca-Cola exemplified the spread of American culture. These discussions also revealed a shift in geographical orientation. Dutch newspaper discourse on Americanization shifted from the European to the global context. After the Second World War, the papers first discussed the effects of Americanization on European culture. They reported on resistance to Coca-Cola in other countries, such as France, the United Kingdom, and Germany. They also used the example of Coca-Cola to discuss how the United States used the Marshall Plan to distribute American products in Europe.⁷⁷ During the 1960s, discourse gradually expanded into reports on the implications of Americanization on a global scale.

The use of Coca-Cola to describe the effects of globalization highlighted the role of the United States and American products in the process, while it also caused people to conflate Americanization with

⁷⁷ Sheryl Kroen claims that after 1945, the Marshall Plan helped spread the ideology of what Lizabeth Cohen calls the Consumers' Republic, in which consumption was a form of democratic citizenship and free enterprise was the perfect medium for democracy. See: Sheryl Kroen, "A Political History of the Consumer," *The Historical Journal* 47, no. 3 (September 1, 2004): 709, 731; Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Knopf, 2003).

globalization, even though globalization was not unequivocally tied to the United States. Although the spread of American culture, or Americanization, was a pivotal phase in the larger process of twentieth-century globalization, scholars stress that globalization and Americanization are not the same.⁷⁸ As Whatmore and Thorne reason, globalization did not spread out like an ink stain from one single origin; globalization was a process that sprung from multiple sources.⁷⁹

The Americanization of Europe

After the Second World War, Dutch newspapers reported on critical responses to Americanization in countries such as England, Belgium, Germany, Poland, and France. Coca-Cola served as an example of this kind of Americanization. The articles reported on possible bans in these countries because Coca-Cola contained phosphoric acid and caffeine.⁸⁰ The health effects of phosphoric acid and caffeine were a common concern after the war and anxieties about the effects of Coca-Cola on health would again flare up in the 1960s, although they were then directed at the

⁷⁸ Muthyala, *Dwelling in American*; Oldenziel, "Is Globalization a Code Word for Americanization?: Contemplating McDonalds, Coca-Cola, and Military Bases"; Ritzer and Stillman, "Assessing McDonalozation, Americanization and Globalization," 42–43; Trentmann, "Crossing Divides Consumption and Globalization in History," 188–91.

⁷⁹ Sarah Whatmore and Lorraine Thorne, "Nourishing Networks: Alternative Geographies of Food," in *Globalising Food: Agrarian Questions and Global Restructuring*, ed. David Goodman and Michael Watts (London: Routledge, 1997), 211.

⁸⁰ "Chemie vergiftigt voedingsmiddelen," *De Heerenveensche Koerier*, July 7, 1951; "Franse stakingen breiden zich uit," *De Waarheid*, March 1, 1950; "Ook in Belgie thans een Coca-Cola proces," *Het Nieuwsblad voor Sumatra*, June 12, 1951; "Gevaar der chemie," *Leeuwarder Courant*, July 6, 1951; "Anti-coca-cola-front," *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, January 24, 1950; "...," *Friese Koerier* April 5, 1957; "Polen over Cola," *De Tijd*, April 20, 1957.

amount of sugar and the use of artificial sweeteners in Coca-Cola, and no longer at phosphoric acid or caffeine.⁸¹

The French were among the first to describe the damaging effects of the *invading* American culture, i.e. Americanization, as “coca-colonization.”⁸² The use of this term shows that Coca-Cola epitomizes the influx of American consumer products at the time. In 1949, two years after its introduction in France, the term first appeared in Dutch newspapers, primarily to describe the situation in France.⁸³ The papers equated the French resistance to Coca-Cola with “slapping America in the face.”⁸⁴ According to Dutch media, French wine producers were especially vocal in their opposition to new transatlantic trade agreements. The winemakers claimed that these agreements would force them to replace wine—their national drink—with the American “tire-fluid” Coca-Cola, a pun clearly directed at the popularity of automobiles in the United States.⁸⁵ This article juxtaposed Coca-Cola to wine, contrasting the American economic power with the French cultural tradition, highlighting the distinction between Europe and the United States in the process.

On the whole, reports such as these informed Dutch readers about events in other countries, but they also conveyed a more general, unforthcoming European attitude toward the United States. Dutch

⁸¹ “Suiker,” *Limburgsch Dagblad*, August 16, 1967; “Frisdrank ook zonder hitte in opmars,” *Limburgsch Dagblad*, August 16, 1969; “Zoetstof Cyclamate in de VS en Zweden verboden,” *Limburgsch Dagblad*, October 20, 1969; “Amerika: Europese kaas bevat grote doses insecticide,” *Limburgsch Dagblad*, September 15, 1969.

⁸² See the Google N-gram viewer for a possible first entry in French books.

https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=cocacolonisation&year_start=1800&year_end=2000&corpus=19&smoothing=3&share=&direct_url=t1%3B%2Ccocacolonisation%3B%2Cc0.

⁸³ Vrijmoedig commentaar,” *De Tijd*, December 9, 1949; “Symbool der Marshallpolitiek,” *De Gooien Eemlander*, January 17, 1950.

⁸⁴ “Wordt Frankrijk ‘ge-coca-coloniseerd?’,” *Limburgsch Dagblad*, March 23, 1950.

⁸⁵ “Coca-Cola,” *De Tijd*, March 7, 1950.

newspapers raised awareness among Dutch consumers of the possible dangers of Americanization; Coca-Cola often served as the example of these unfavorable effects.

Dutch newspapers also articulated their criticism of Americanization by criticizing the Marshall Plan. This American initiative, which was officially called the European Recovery Program, introduced several elements of the American consumer society into the Netherlands, such as self-service stores, supermarkets, and new models of business organization.⁸⁶ A particular topic of concern in the papers was the introduction of American products as part of the Marshall Plan. The communist newspaper *De Waarheid* was the most prominent and vocal critic of the arrival of American products in the context of the Marshall Plan.⁸⁷ This newspaper described the method of introducing American products as driven by the same “pragmatism and hard-boiled calculation [the Americans used] to set up an army that is supposed to defend the free world.”⁸⁸ After initial criticism from this left-wing newspaper, the debate spread to other newspapers in the 1950s and 1960s, which expressed similar anxieties and projected their concerns onto Coca-Cola, confirming that the concerns over Americanization in Europe were shared more broadly. For instance, *De Gooi- en Eemlander* described Coke as the “fluid symbol of post-war Marshall politics.”⁸⁹ Amid growing Cold War

⁸⁶ Frank Inklaar, “The Marshall Plan and the Modernization of Dutch Society,” in *Four Centuries of Dutch-American Relations, 1609-2009* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2009), 771; Frank Inklaar, *Van Amerika geleerd: Marshall-Hulp en kennisimport in Nederland* (Den Haag: SDU, 1997).

⁸⁷ Forty-one percent of the articles that mentioned ‘dollar-imperialism’ or ‘American imperialism’ appeared in *De Waarheid*.

⁸⁸ “De Yankee toeter,” *De Waarheid*, September 13, 1951.

⁸⁹ “Symbool der Marshallpolitiek,” *De Gooi- en Eemlander*, January 17, 1950. See also: “...,” *Friese Koerier* April 5, 1957; “Polen over Cola,” *De Tijd*, April 20, 1957; “Met bier tegen de bierkaai,” *De Telegraaf*, January 29, 1962.

tensions, newspapers also defended the American presence in Europe and claimed that it functioned as a barrier against the waxing communist threat.⁹⁰

Newspapers not only reported critically on the effects of Americanization. Some journalists attempted to describe anti-Americanism as the result of envy and old-fashionedness. In 1956, a reporter for *Limburgsch Dagblad* argued that anti-American sentiments were fueled by “jealousy and lack of power to acquire these [American] goods.” He contended that Europeans were envious of the American culture of Coca-Cola, televisions, cars, and refrigerators.⁹¹ Others labeled these sentiments as remnants of critical voices from the interwar period. For instance, *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden* found the critique of Americanization in the movie *The Cola Kid* antediluvian. In this film—in which Coca-Cola symbolized American cultural imperialism—an American marketing expert sets out to penetrate the Australian soft drink market.⁹² The movie serves as a critique of the invasiveness of American multinationals. The reviewer added that such a critique of the United States would have been more successful fifteen years earlier.⁹³

A reporter of *De Tijd* made a similar claim when he wrote that pre-war books on the rejection of American culture were pedantic. According to this reporter, the introduction of American culture in Europe was more

⁹⁰ “Principe,” *De Telegraaf*, March 5, 1966.

⁹¹ “We kunnen in Europe zo heerlijk afgeven op die coca-cola, televisie-, auto- en ijskastcultuur van de Amerikanen (alleen) die er van bezeten zijn; het zijn wij Europeanen zelf, die geïrriteerd door jaloezie en onmachtig onszelf die dingen te verschaffen, er over praten.” in “Ik huil niet om Amerika,” *Limburgsch Dagblad*, October 6, 1956.

⁹² “Coca-Cola Kid zet Amerikanen te kijk,” *De Telegraaf*, May 7, 1986. “Vaart, humor en karakter in Coca-Cola Kid,” *Het Vrije Volk*, May 9, 1986; “Subtiele spanning en psychodrama in Police,” *Nieuw Israelitisch weekblad*, May 23, 1986.

⁹³ “The Coca-Cola Kid: milde maar smakelijke satire,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, September 5, 1986.

civilized than “the ways in which the Roman subjected the Greeks, Islam settled in Byzantium, and the Spanish eradicated the Aztecs.”⁹⁴ Regardless of the triteness of these comparisons, it signals that there was a countermovement that supported the Americanization of European culture and that attributed anti-American sentiments to interwar intellectuals.

Through articles that expressed pro- and anti-American sentiments, newspapers propagated Coca-Cola as a signifier of the growing American cultural presence in Europe. Coca-Cola appeared as an illustration as well as a symbol of Americanization. After the Second World War, newspapers evidently propagated this particular symbolic connotation of Coca-Cola.

Americanization Gone Global

From the 1960s onwards newspapers expanded their coverage of the spread of American culture to non-European countries.⁹⁵ For instance, the papers pointed out that the omnipresence of advertising for Coca-Cola in Cuba, Vietnam, the Philippines, and Ethiopia was a clear indication of expanding American cultural influence in these parts of the world.⁹⁶ Again, *De Waarheid* was outspoken on the global expansion of American culture when it wrote that “the global influence of America can be measured by the number of Coca-Cola bottles in the streets.”⁹⁷

⁹⁴ “Beschavingen zijn vergankelijk en de manier waarop Amerika de onze beïnvloedt, ten dele ook de onze assimileert, lijkt beschaafder, after all, dan de manier waarop de Romeinen de Grieken hebben onderworpen, de Islam zich in Byzantium heeft gevestigd en de Spanjaarden de Azteken hebben verdelgd.” in “Een beter beeld van Amerika,” *De Tijd*, April 4, 1953.

⁹⁵ As was also shown in sections 2.1 and 2.2.

⁹⁶ “Amerikaanse invloed van vele jaren nog op Cuba te merken,” *Leeuwarder Courant*, December 12, 1964; “Een dubbele lijfwacht voor Spiro Agnew,” *De Waarheid*, August 8, 1970; “Belegerd,” *Leeuwarder Courant*, December 6, 1980.

⁹⁷ “In de achtertuin van Washington,” *De Waarheid*, March 16, 1981.

As the Coca-Cola Company moved their business to other parts of the world, Coca-Cola transformed from a symbol of American culture into a more general symbol of Western culture. In 1974, *De Telegraaf* deemed the Americanization of the West unstoppable, since everybody in the West was consuming hamburgers, hot dogs, and Coca-Cola while wearing an “American uniform.”⁹⁸ When Japan appropriated many elements of American culture in the 1980s, newspapers described the spread of American products to Japan as a “piece of Western culture,” or “Coca-Cola culture.”⁹⁹ Still, the association to the United States persisted, for instance, when *Nederlands Dagblad* labeled the impact of Coca-Cola on African countries and the popularity of Coca-Cola, hamburgers, and fried chicken in Liberia as “America in pocket format.”¹⁰⁰

Thus, Coca-Cola came to represent both the West in general and American culture in particular. This was also made clear at the 1982 World Conference on Cultural Policies. The French Minister of Culture Jack Lang attacked the United States and expounded that the country used its “military power, money, and mass media to impose American civilization onto the world in the form of jeans and t-shirts, hot dogs and cola, rock and pop music, pinball machines and television quizzes, Hollywood and Dallas.”¹⁰¹ Lang’s warning was part of a wider, shared idea that American culture had merged with local cultures into a “Coca-Cola culture.”¹⁰² In 1988, *De Telegraaf* reported that the “Coca-Cola culture

⁹⁸ “Leve de vooruitgang,” *De Telegraaf*, July 26, 1974.

⁹⁹ “Waarom zijn de mensen zwart?,” *Nederlands Dagblad*, January 19, 1980; “Japan: Land van traditie en industrialisatie,” *De Waarheid*, August 27, 1980.

¹⁰⁰ “Nieuwe verhoudingen in Liberia,” *Nederlands Dagblad*, April 17, 1980.

¹⁰¹ “Verdallast de wereld?,” *Leeuwarder Courant*, August 5, 1982.

¹⁰² Lang later pointed out that Americanization was a two-way street in which receiving cultures were able to selectively appropriate particular elements of American culture. David Ellwood,

had pervaded into the furthest outskirts. Almost everywhere in the world ... the typical American drink is available.”¹⁰³

Reports on the homogenization of local cultures around the world regularly turned to the example of Coca-Cola to illustrate this cultural process. The unremitting use of consumer goods typically associated with the United States, such as Coca-Cola, to symbolize the cultural homogenization of local cultures exposed readers to the idea that globalization was an American phenomenon. In discussions on the global effects of Americanization—for which Coca-Cola served as the perfect example—newspapers conflated Americanization and globalization. In addition, the Coca-Cola Company’s strategy to brand Coca-Cola as a global product when people also viewed the company and product as American further strengthened the idea of globalization as originating from the United States, and Americanization as the prime example of globalization.

Debates on Coca-Cola as a symbol of Americanization and American consumer culture strengthened the position of the United States as a reference culture. The interplay between the dominant position of an American multinational on the one hand, and Dutch public discourse that projected ideas onto a brand on the other hand, transformed Coca-Cola into a brand with strong symbolic power. Coca-Cola had turned into a cultural icon that represented specific ideas about the United States. In this development newspapers had played an important part by communicating the idea of a powerful multinational that was pushing the

“French Anti-Americanism and McDonald’s - ProQuest,” *History Today* 51, no. 2 (February 2001): 34–36; Kuisel, “Commentary.”

¹⁰³ “Cola-Cultuur,” *De Telegraaf*, August 10, 1988.

brand while also reinforcing ideas associated with the brand through advertisements for and articles on Coca-Cola.

Symbol of American Business: Multinational and Competitive

Coca-Cola also symbolized economic Americanization. In the two decades after the war, newspapers presented Coca-Cola as a symbol of modernity, efficiency, and prosperity. This changed in the 1970s when there was a stronger emphasis on the American economy and the internationalization of American business models. In this decade of economic hardship and global oil crises, Dutch newspapers presented the Coca-Cola Company as a multinational driven by profit and cutthroat competition. In 1976, *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden* clearly illustrated this when it named Coca-Cola the “symbol of imperialistic venture capitalism also known as the American way of life.”¹⁰⁴ Others similarly claimed that Coca-Cola represented “American imperial big business” and “American imperialist venture capitalism.”¹⁰⁵ These depictions fit in with a redefinition of the perception of the United States and its economic power and ideology.¹⁰⁶ Right after the war, the United States was an example of economic success, whereas in the 1970s the criticism of American businesses grew, changing America’s role as a reference culture.

This section calls attention to two themes in the discourse on Coca-Cola as a symbol of American business: the power of multinationals and the competition between Coca-Cola and PepsiCo. Multinationals seemingly separated companies from their countries; however, as Onno de

¹⁰⁴ “Klein landje,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, February 17, 1976.

¹⁰⁵ “...,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, February 16, 1976; “Flesje,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, February 17, 1976.

¹⁰⁶ See the first chapter.

Wit argues, they sometimes reflected their nationalities more strongly than national companies.¹⁰⁷ In this section, I show that newspapers associated multinationals such as the Coca-Cola Company with the United States, and that they used the example of the Coca-Cola Company to label American multinationals as profit-driven and extremely competitive. The rivalry between the Coca-Cola Company and PepsiCo shaped the Dutch perspective of American corporate culture and the business politics of American multinationals.

American Multinationals

In the 1960s, Dutch newspapers started to refer to businesses that operated in multiple countries as multinationals (fig. 6.15). The digitized newspaper corpus contains 11,855 articles that mention multinationals (Corpus C).¹⁰⁸ The number of articles on multinationals skyrocketed in the early 1970s when the number went up from 49 articles in 1971 to 621 in 1974. The use of the term in newspaper discourse subsequently leveled out, which suggests that the concept became more commonplace (fig. 6.15). The peak around 1973 consists in part of articles that discussed whether multinational companies were responsible for the global oil crisis.¹⁰⁹ Newspapers debated whether the enormous capital of American multinational corporations led to the global economic crisis: they pointed

¹⁰⁷ Onno de Wit, "Corporate Mediation Junctions: Philips and the Media in the Netherlands," in *Manufacturing Technology, Manufacturing Consumers: The Making of Dutch Consumer Society*, ed. Adri Albert de la Bruhèze and Ruth Oldenziel (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2009), 159–83.

¹⁰⁸ Based on the query: +(MULTINATIONAL* MULTI?NATIONAL*).

¹⁰⁹ Between 1972 and 1974, the following words appeared next to MULTINATIONAL*: 'oil company' (*olieconcerns*) ($n = 13$), 'oil corporations' (*oliemaatschappijen*) ($n = 26$), 'enterprise' (*onderneming*) ($n = 174$), and 'enterprises' (*ondernemingen*) ($n = 543$). The close proximity of these words confirmed the relative importance of oil companies and the oil crises in this period.

out that this was a European perspective, one that contrasted with American ideas about the economic crisis.¹¹⁰

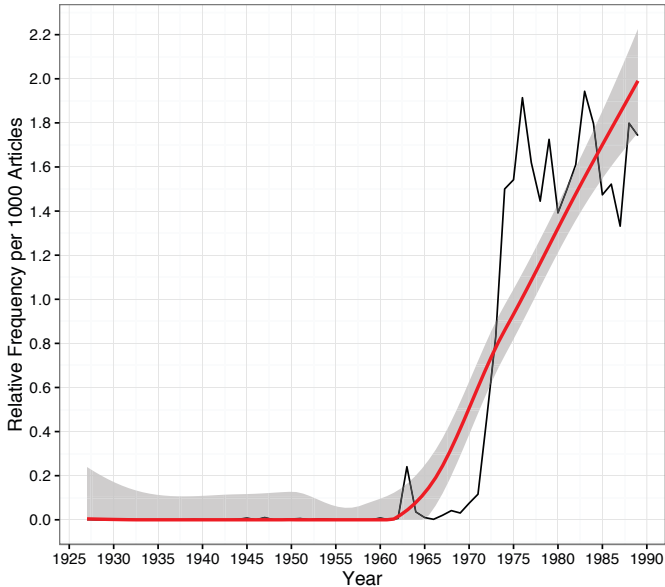


Figure 6.15. Relative number of articles on multinationals
(Corpus C) ($n = 11,855$)

The word cloud in figure 6.16 demonstrates that newspapers discussed both the geographical and economic aspects of multinationals.¹¹¹ The most common adjectives used to describe multinationals referred to their size.¹¹² The dominance of this group of adjectives suggests a

¹¹⁰ “Nixon overweegt toeslag op invoer in VS in te stellen,” *Leeuwarder Courant*, February 9, 1973; “Twee concepties,” *De Tijd*, February 23, 1974.

¹¹¹ **Political aspects:** politics (*politiek*), power (*macht*), government (*regering*), secretary (*minister*), president; **economic aspects:** companies (*bedrijven*), corporations (*ondernemingen*), economic (*economische*).

¹¹² Bigram analysis showed that the words ‘big’ (*grote / groot*) and ‘biggest’ (*grootste*) were the most frequent adjectives to multinational*. In 11.3% of the cases multinational* was preceded by one of these adjectives (524 mentions of multinational with adjective ‘big’ / 4,626 mentions of ‘multinationals’ * 100 \approx 11.3).

main geographical connotation of multinationals in Dutch newspapers was American. In articles on multinationals ($n = 11,855$), the words ‘American’ (*Amerikaanse*) and ‘America’ (*Amerika*) frequently appeared (respectively, $n = 1,495$; $n = 594$). Other dominant reference cultures regarding multinationals were Japan, Britain, Sweden, Switzerland, and Europe.

Only a few newspaper articles ($n = 68$) related ‘Coca-Cola’ to ‘multinational’. Nonetheless, newspapers regularly mentioned the Coca-Cola Company alongside other multinational companies, such as IBM, Kodak, Philips, and Esso.¹¹⁵ By grouping the Coca-Cola Company with other multinationals, newspapers obviously framed the company as a multinational. In the small number of articles that described the Coca-Cola Company as a multinational some depicted multinationals as an exponent of the American economic system, whereas others took up a globalist viewpoint and characterized multinationals as the “melting pot of the world,” which would lead to the disappearance of nationalism and increasing prosperity.¹¹⁶

American imperialism also resurfaced in debates on the political aspect of multinationals. More critical voices argued that the United States imposed its economic model onto other countries as a form of American imperialism. According to *Het Vrije Volk*, Coca-Cola represented the dominant global “synthetic money culture of white

¹¹⁵ See for instance: “Goudmijn,” *Limburgsch Dagblad*, December 19, 1981. The following companies co-occurred with Coca-Cola (5L-5R in Corpus A): IBM ($n = 21$), Kodak ($n = 18$), Philips ($n = 16$), Adidas ($n = 13$), Esso ($n = 12$), Heineken ($n = 11$), Ford ($n = 11$), General Electric ($n = 9$), Transavia ($n = 7$), Shell ($n = 7$), Levi ($n = 7$), Canon ($n = 7$), Gillette ($n = 6$), and Fiat ($n = 5$).

¹¹⁶ “Ecuador – land vol tegenstelling,” *De Waarheid*, February 12, 1976; “Rol multinationale onderneming niet geheel duidelijk,” *De Tijd*, May 23, 1973.

America.”¹¹⁷ In this quote, “synthetic” denoted the artificiality of American culture. *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden* criticized American multinationals for “fooling around, being egocentric, speculating with exchange rates, being the new colonizers, avoiding taxes, and disengaging themselves from community control.”¹¹⁸ They added that the US government protected multinational companies such as the Coca-Cola Company from legal suits filed by other countries. Similar to reports on cigarette companies, newspaper discourse on Coca-Cola also discussed the interplay between the American government and corporations.

Newspapers started to write about the powerful influence that American companies had on the government, either through lobbying or through personal connections with high-ranking officials, such as the American president.¹¹⁹ *NRC Handelsblad* observed that Pepsi was popular during Nixon’s presidency and that Coca-Cola’s popularity increased when Carter became president.¹²⁰ This shift in popularity led to questions about the might of the American multinational, and the extent to which the Coca-Cola Company could influence politics.¹²¹ President Carter considered giving the former CEO of the Coca-Cola Company Paul Austin a key position in his administration. In the end, he was not appointed although in December 1976 Carter did appoint Charles Duncan, another Coca-Cola CEO, as his Deputy Secretary of Defense.¹²² Dutch newspaper articles presented American businesses as having lobbying power and close ties to the American government.

¹¹⁷ “Negers, zwarte schaduwen op ‘n wit doek,” *Het Vrije Volk*, January 26, 1973.

¹¹⁸ “Met invaller,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, March 3, 1975.

¹¹⁹ “Carter zoekt steun bij de olieconcerns,” *De Waarheid*, October 19, 1979.

¹²⁰ “Het bewind van Carter is puur theater,” *NRC Handelsblad*, June 11, 1977.

¹²¹ “Coca-Cola’s wereldmacht,” *De Telegraaf*, September 6, 1979.

¹²² “Carter en Kissinger,” *Nederlands Dagblad*, November 5, 1976; “Harold Brown benoemd tot defensie-minister,” *Nederlands Dagblad*, December 23, 1976; “Ford speelde overall golf,” *Het Vrije Volk*, September 30, 1976.

These debates show how newspapers viewed the Coca-Cola Company as a multinational global corporation, while simultaneously linking it to the United States. Even though the perception of Coca-Cola as an American product became more diffuse as it became more global, the emergence of multinationals gave a new impetus to the understanding of the Coca-Cola Company as an American company. Newspapers debated how multinational enterprises affected the economy in the United States and in other countries. Coca-Cola was infrequently described as a multinational but did often appear in the context of other companies that were described as multinationals. The papers were predominantly negative about the role of multinationals in American politics and described the behavior of multinationals as a form of American imperialism. Although newspapers were fairly dismissive of American business practices, this type of bad publicity still contributed to and reflected the United States' position as a reference culture. For many, the country still functioned as a model, albeit one that increasingly carried negative connotations.

Cola Wars

The second aspect related to American business practices that newspapers associated with the Coca-Cola Company was its competition with rival PepsiCo. This rivalry first manifested in the papers in 1954, when the organizing committee of the annual flower parade in The Hague banned a float sponsored by PepsiCo from participating. The committee had signed an exclusivity agreement with the Coca-Cola Company, which foreclosed competing companies from participating. PepsiCo Company responded by filing a court case, which they would ultimately lose. Newspaper reports

on this particular event familiarized Dutch readers with the antagonism between the two soft drink giants.¹²³

In the ensuing years, newspapers occasionally mentioned Pepsi in the context of Coca-Cola (fig. 6.17). In the middle of the 1980s, the competition between the two escalated. In an attempt to portray Coca-Cola and its high levels of caffeine as unhealthy, PepsiCo introduced the brand Like Free, a soft drink that contained less caffeine.¹²⁴ PepsiCo also claimed that its taste was superior to Coca-Cola and introduced the Pepsi Challenge, an event in which consumers were asked to participate in a blind taste test. This challenge added fuel to the fire. PepsiCo claimed that more than 60 percent of participants opted for Pepsi, which led the Coca-Cola Company to allege that Pepsi manipulated the data.¹²⁵

PepsiCo also attacked the Coca-Cola for being an old-fashioned drink and turned to pop musicians such as Lionel Richie and Michael Jackson to highlight the brand's youthful character. The Coca-Cola Company reacted and rebranded its drink as more energetic and youthful and also started to feature pop musicians in its branding.¹²⁶

¹²³ "Pepsi-cola in ongelijk gesteld," *Friese Koerier*, August 12, 1954.

¹²⁴ "Oorlog om de cola-markt appelleert aan gezondheid," *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, August 19, 1983.

¹²⁵ "Cola-oorlog storm in glas water," *De Telegraaf*, August 26, 1985.

¹²⁶ "Muziek wapen in cola-oorlog," *De Telegraaf*, October 29, 1984; "Coca en Pepsi in popoorlog," *De Telegraaf*, May 12, 1984; "Pepsi geeft rondje Cola-tic in Ahoy," *De Telegraaf*, March 30, 1987.

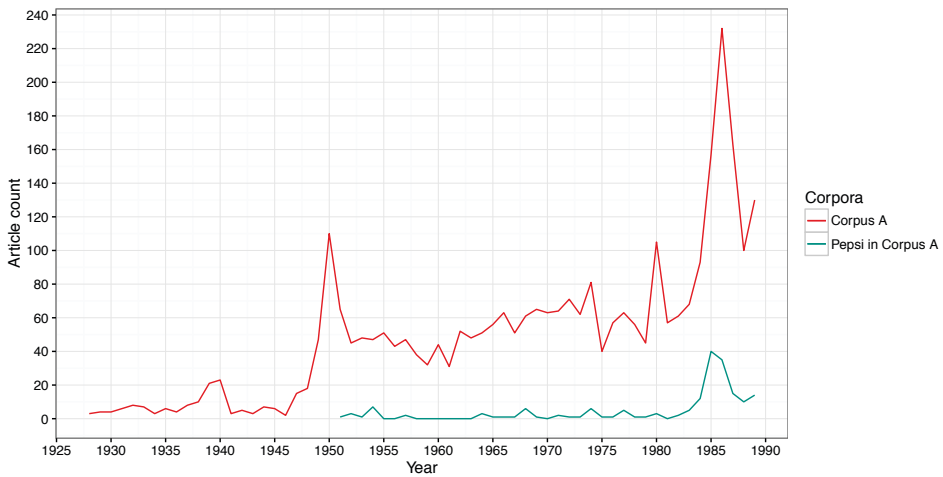


Figure 6.17. Absolute number of articles in Corpus A and number of articles that mentioned Pepsi or Pepsico* in Corpus A

The constant back-and-forth between the companies was a prominent theme in newspaper discourse on Coca-Cola. Newspapers framed the public conflict between the two soft drink companies as an affair between American companies, which strengthened the link between the United States and the two multinationals. The commercial competitiveness between the two brands was dubbed a genuinely American phenomenon, in which brands used slogans, commercials, and pop stars as weapons. Dutch newspapers also noted that the companies were moving their Cola war from the United States to the Netherlands.¹²⁷

¹²⁷ "Marketing-oorlog Pepsi tegen Coca Cola," *Leeuwarder Courant*, August 21, 1985; "Cola-oorlog, bizarre commerciële veldslag," *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, August 22, 1985; "Intuïtie is de nieuwste trend in reclame," *De Telegraaf*, April 22, 1985.

Symbol of American Politics: A Polarized World

The third symbolic connotation of Coca-Cola is political. This section discusses how Coca-Cola represented the increasing polarization of global politics after the Second World War. This polarization unfolded against the backdrop of the Cold War. After 1945, the capitalist United States and the socialist Soviet Union engaged in a long-term power struggle.¹²⁸ Gienow-Hecht defines the Cold War as “two ways to organize cultural life, two possibilities of defining modernity and grappling with its most daunting cultural challenge; how to preserve cultural tradition in the face of impending massive social change.”¹²⁹ The two power blocs tried to shape the world through their opposing core ideologies: liberal democracy versus socialism.¹³⁰

Cold War politics shaped the political relationship between Europe and the United States after the Second World War.¹³¹ As Gienow-Hecht points out: “the Cold War provided new tools and new avenues for ... cultural debate[s] in a new context.”¹³² A shared set of democratic ideals and values brought Europe and the United States together as a front against the Soviet Union as their common enemy. At the same time, the

¹²⁸ Nolan, *The Transatlantic Century*, 154–229.

¹²⁹ Jessica Gienow-Hecht, “Culture and the Cold War in Europe,” in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, ed. Melvyn Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 399.

¹³⁰ Annette Vowinckel, Marcus Payk, and Thomas Lindenberger, “European Cold War Culture(s)? An Introduction,” in *Cold War Cultures: Perspectives on Eastern and Western European Societies*, ed. Annette Vowinckel, Marcus Payk, and Thomas Lindenberger (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012), 1.

¹³¹ Alexander Stephan, “Cold War Alliances and the Emergence of Transatlantic Competition: An Introduction,” in *The Americanization of Europe: Culture, Diplomacy, and Anti-Americanism after 1945*, ed. Alexander Stephan (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), 1–20; Nolan, *The Transatlantic Century*, 154.

¹³² Gienow-Hecht, “Culture and the Cold War in Europe,” 399.

influence of socialist ideas amplified European criticism of the American way of life associated as consumerist and capitalist.

This section analyzes how newspapers reported on Coca-Cola as a symbol of American politics during the Cold War. Did Coca-Cola symbolize the polarization between East and West, or was it mainly used to condemn American global politics? This section first discusses how newspapers used Coca-Cola to debate the schism between the socialist East and capitalist West. Subsequently, it examines how boycotts of Coca-Cola signified the opposition between the United States on the one hand, and the Middle East and South America on the other hand.

Symbol of the Capitalist West

During a scene in the movie *Masculin Fémin* (1966) the following quote is prominently displayed on screen: “this film could be called the children of Marx and Coca-Cola.”¹³³ This quote astutely sums up how Coca-Cola signified one pole in the Cold War dialectic between capitalism and socialism. In an interview with *Het Vrije Volk*, the movie’s director Jean-Luc Godard referred to Coca-Cola as a symbol of the “enticements of unbridled capitalism,” and the “antithesis of Marx.”¹³⁴ This interpretation of Coca-Cola was not confined to this particular artistic expression but was also voiced in newspapers at the time.

In addition to using Coca-Cola to reflect on the implications of the cultural and economic Americanization, the Dutch newspapers used the soft drink to discuss the political aspects of Americanization, i.e. the positive and negative aspects of capitalism in socialist countries. Unsurprisingly, *De Waarheid* framed capitalism negatively. The

¹³³ Jean-Luc Godard, *Masculin Féminin*, Movie (France: Columbia Films, 1966).

¹³⁴ “Marx en Coca-Cola,” *Het Vrije Volk*, January 28, 1967.

communist newspaper argued that American capitalism led to social inequality in Havana. They described Cuba's capital as "abundantly lit with neon billboards for Coca-Cola and Wrigley chewing gum", while they added that a significant part of the population up until then had never seen electric light.¹³⁵ Other more centrist newspapers such as *De Leeuwarder Courant* also noted that the presence of Coca-Cola in Cuba signified an encroachment of the American capitalist ideology on socialism.¹³⁶ Coca-Cola, as a representative of American capitalism, signified how capitalism created a divide between the haves and the have-nots. Two decades later in 1982, a similar trope appeared in *Nederlands Dagblad* in a portrayal of the socio-economic disparity in Mexico.¹³⁷ This recurrence shows how particular tropes related to the United States functioned as faint but recurring signals in newspaper discourse.

Of course, not all newspapers derided the influence of capitalism. Some reiterated the rationale voiced by the US that held that capitalism led to economic prosperity, which would subsequently deter communism. *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden* subscribed to this reasoning in an article that set out to explain why Uruguay was so rich compared to its neighbor Paraguay. The author stressed that Uruguay imported Coca-Cola and placed billboards for the drink all over the country, signaling that it had welcomed the United States. The author stated, "Uruguay has fully converted to Americanism; as Coca-Cola is more than a drink; it is a cultural phenomenon, a symbol." The article explained how the American influences had altered the country in a positive way, exemplified by the improvements to its infrastructure, the love of skyscrapers, and the design

¹³⁵ "In het Cubaanse paradijs werd honger geleden," *De Waarheid*, July 14, 1960.

¹³⁶ "Amerikaanse invloed," *Leeuwarder Courant*, March 28, 1959.

¹³⁷ "Tegenstelling in Mexico nog altijd heel groot," *Nederlands Dagblad*, December 9, 1982.

of coastal areas that resembled California.¹³⁸ This article contended that the arrival of Coca-Cola signified the appropriation of a broad repertoire of practices, ideas, and organizational structures that improved Uruguay's social standing. In contrast, Paraguay was cast as unwelcoming toward the American influences, and served as an example of a failed socialist experiment. Through this example, the author expressed a belief in the nation building capabilities of the United States.

The Company's Interest versus the National Interest

As the tension grew between the Soviet Union and the United States, the Coca-Cola Company was confronted with a dilemma: either support the American government and ban sales in countries associated with the Soviet Union or act as a truly global company and provide service in every country regardless of its ideology. The company had to balance the national interests of the United States and the economic benefits of maintaining and expanding the drink's global availability. Articles mentioned the close ties between Coca-Cola and the American government, but more importantly, they revealed how Dutch newspapers thought about the role of multinationals in political affairs.

During the Cold War, out of economic interests, governments and big businesses tried to keep international trade going between the United States and the Soviet Union. In 1956, Vice President Richard Nixon managed to arrange that PepsiCo could sell Pepsi in the Soviet Union in exchange for vodka. *De Tijd* called this a form of "vodka-colonization."¹³⁹ The juxtaposition of Coca-Cola and vodka in public discourse was a metaphor for the détente politics of the two Cold War powers; Cola

¹³⁸ "De grote verschillen," *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, May 2, 1953.

¹³⁹ "...," *De Tijd*, August 30, 1958.

represented the United States and vodka featured as the Soviet Union's national drink.¹⁴⁰ In 1977, *Het Vrije Volk* still expressed amazement over the fact that business interests could supplant political differences. Looking back on the deal, it christened Nixon as "nothing more than an ordinary Pepsi-Cola salesman."¹⁴¹

Coca-Cola also became embroiled in a political dispute between the United States and the Soviet Union in the build-up to the 1980 Olympics in Moscow. For this sporting event, the Coca-Cola Company was destined to be the main sponsor. *Het Vrije Volk* disclosed that the company used a combination of money and shrewd business tactics to convince the Soviets to accept Coca-Cola as a health drink.¹⁴² In December 1979, Jimmy Carter announced a boycott of the Olympic games if the Soviet Union would not withdraw its military forces from Afghanistan. Despite huge financial losses, the Coca-Cola Company followed the American government's stance and boycotted the 1980 Olympics.¹⁴³ It took until 1985 for Coca-Cola to be officially sold again in the Soviet Union.¹⁴⁴ Ronald Reagan then lifted the Soviet embargo on Coca-Cola, after which Dutch newspapers stressed that the Coca-Cola Company had convinced the American government to do so through active lobbying.¹⁴⁵

The Coca-Cola Company had to walk a tightrope between shaping the global perception of its brand identity and aligning with the position of the American government. Cold War tensions reaffirmed the close ties between the Coca-Cola Company and the US political machinery. Also,

¹⁴⁰ "Communisme en wodka," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, January 9, 1958.

¹⁴¹ "De geheimzinnige samenzwering van Oost en West," *Het Vrije Volk*, June 18, 1977.

¹⁴² "Miljardendans rond de Olympische Spelen," *Het Vrije Volk*, January 10, 1980.

¹⁴³ "Raad van Europe tegen boycot Olympische Spelen," *De Leeuwarder Courant*, March 21, 1980.

¹⁴⁴ "Russen nu ook aan de Coca-Cola," *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, January 14, 1985.

¹⁴⁵ "Reagan wordt verkocht als Coca-Cola," *Het Vrije Volk*, August 25, 1984.

the oppositional political climate of the Cold War in effect boosted the symbolic alliance of Coca-Cola with the United States.

Boycotting Coca-Cola

The boycott of American products took place amid growing concerns over the cultural, political, and economic dominance of the United States. During the Vietnam War, Dutch protest groups unsuccessfully demonstrated for a boycott of a range of brands that in their eyes symbolized American imperialism, such as Esso, Chevron, Chiquita, Coca-Cola, and Gillette.¹⁴⁶ The reasoning behind the plea for boycotts was that they would disrupt the American economy, forcing the United States to change its economic policies and international politics.¹⁴⁷ At the same time, newspapers discussed whether boycotts that targeted specific countries were effective. *Het Vrije Volk* claimed that such boycotts were futile since products produced by multinational companies could not be traced back to one specific country.¹⁴⁸ Nonetheless, the boycott of Coca-Cola was a political gesture that indubitably targeted the quintessential symbol of the United States.¹⁴⁹ Thus, the specific boycott of Coca-Cola demonstrates that despite its global brand identity, Coca-Cola was seen as an American product by Dutch consumers.

¹⁴⁶ "Steun van Alfrink voor Vietnamdemonstratie," January 6, 1973; "Boycot Amerikaanse producten op lange baan," *De Tijd*, January 18, 1973.

¹⁴⁷ Donald Losman, "The Arab Boycott of Israel," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 3, no. 2 (1972): 99.

¹⁴⁸ "Amerika-boycot," *Het Vrije Volk*, March 16, 1973.

¹⁴⁹ "Jongen ziek – geen cola in Italië," *Het Vrije Volk*, Februari 2, 1983; "Scandinavisch boycot krijgt Coca-Cola op de knieën," *De Waarheid*, July 18, 1984; "Oproep tot Cola-Boycot," *Het Vrije Volk*, February 5, 1980; "Verschrikkelijk," *Het Vrije Volk*, October 3, 1987; "Boycot Coca-Cola in koffielanden?," *Leeuwarder Courant*, January 13, 1977.

Newspapers related a number of boycotts to Coca-Cola.¹⁵⁰ Figure 6.18 shows the relative frequency of the words ‘Arabic’ (*Arabische*), ‘American’ (*Amerikaanse*), ‘Israel’, ‘Olympic’ (*Olympische*), and ‘South Africa’ (*Zuidafrika*) in a corpus of articles that included the word ‘boycott’.¹⁵¹

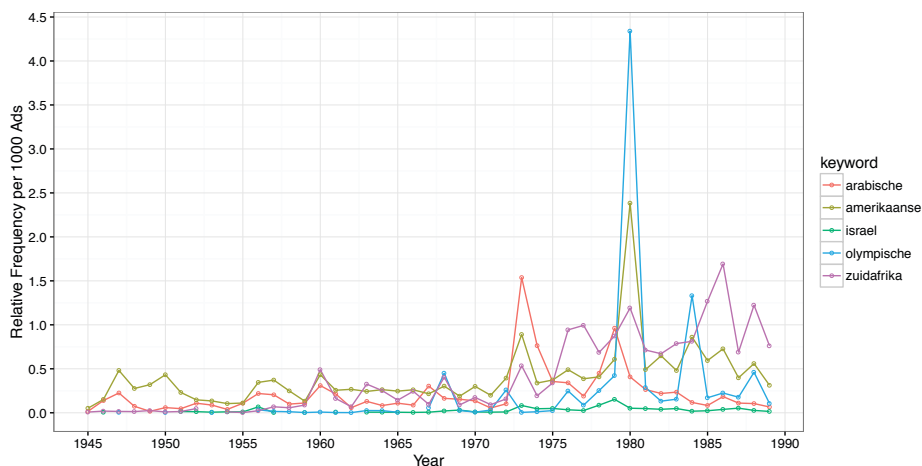


Figure 6.18. Relative frequency of articles with the keywords ‘Arabic’ (*arabische*), ‘American’ (*amerikaansche*), ‘Israel’, ‘Olympic’ (*olympische*), and ‘South Africa’ (*zuidafrika*) in the corpus of articles on boycotts.

There was considerable debate about the boycott of Coca-Cola that resulted from a political power play between the League of Arab States, the United States, and Israel. The graph shows that the word ‘Arabic’ peaked in 1973 and again in 1979.¹⁵² After opening a Coca-Cola franchise in Israel in 1966, the Arab League responded by putting Coca-Cola on a

¹⁵⁰ Collocates of BOYCOTT in the Corpus A with a MI-score higher than 6.00: ‘Arabic’ (*arabische*), ‘israel’, ‘league’ (*unie*), ‘Moscow’ (*moskou*), ‘products’ (*produkten*), ‘Olympic’ (*Olympische*), ‘games’ (*spelen*), and ‘American’ (*amerikaanse*).

¹⁵¹ The query ‘zuidafrika’ looks for the keywords ‘Zuid Afrika’, ‘Zuidafrika’, ‘Zuid-Afrika’. In Dutch, the League of Arab States is ‘Arabische Liga’.

¹⁵² I constructed a corpus of 73,401 articles from national and regional newspapers on boycotts based on the query: (BOYCOT) (BOYCOTT) (BOYCOTTS) (BOYCOTTEN).

blacklist.¹⁵³ The League did not acknowledge the state of Israel, and one of its objectives was to frustrate economic development in Israel.¹⁵⁴ Other countries, such as China and the Soviet Union followed suit and aligned with the Arab League.¹⁵⁵ The boycott of Coca-Cola turned into a global issue informed by Cold War politics.¹⁵⁶

The boycotts of Coca-Cola by countries in the Arab World also represented a growing opposition against the United States in this region. The heat maps in figure 6.14 show the clear opposition between the Soviet Union and the United States, but also a lingering tension between the Middle East and the United States. Between 1975 and 1989 countries such as Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Afghanistan prominently appeared in the discourse on American imperialism, which confirms the mounting tension between the United States and the Middle East.

Two other boycotts associated with Coca-Cola also received a considerable amount of attention, namely boycotts of the Olympic games and Coca-Cola's boycott of South Africa. 'Olympic' peaked in 1980 (the earlier-discussed Moscow Olympics) and the 1984 when the Summer Olympics took place in Los Angeles. After revoking the sponsorship of the Moscow Olympics, Coca-Cola was reinstated as the main sponsor for the 1984 Olympics. The Soviet Union threatened with a boycott of the latter event.¹⁵⁷ Again, the Coca-Cola Company was associated with boycotts.

¹⁵³ Losman, "The Arab Boycott of Israel," 109.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 100.

¹⁵⁵ "Boycot boekt succes," *Nieuw Israelitisch Weekblad*, December 2, 1966.

¹⁵⁶ Newspapers continued to report on the issue in the ensuing years, see for instance: "Geen Coca-Cola meer in Saoedi-Arabie," *De Tijd*, September 9, 1967; "Boycot tegen Zion," *Leeuwarder Courant*, March 6, 1975; "Egypte ruilt Ford en Coca-Cola," *Het Vrije Volk*, September 9, 1977; "Geen Coca-Cola," *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, December 11, 1985.

¹⁵⁷ "Geen boycot Russen," *Limburgsch Dagblad*, April 17, 1984.

The relationship between Coca-Cola, boycotts, and South Africa was expressed in articles on companies that boycotted the country because of Apartheid—the country’s system of racial discrimination and segregation. In 1986, the Coca-Cola Company alongside other American companies left South Africa in protest against Apartheid.¹⁵⁸ In contrast to the boycott of the Moscow Olympics, the American government deplored the company’s decision.¹⁵⁹ During the Moscow Olympics, the company sided with the American government whereas the boycott of South Africa exposed a more autonomous company willing to confront government policies.

Boycotting Coca-Cola as a means to express discontent with American politics fed into a polarized view of the world. At the height of the Cold War, newspapers defined the United States in part through its opposition to non-European nations, whereas in the first decades after the Second World they more clearly differentiated between Europe and the United States. As Europe Americanized, the disparities with the United States became less clearly defined, which changed the way in which the United States functioned as a reference culture. At the same time, criticism of the United States also grew in the 1970s, and newspapers projected their dissatisfaction with US global politics onto Coca-Cola and the Coca-Cola Company. The negative framing of the United States still reinforced its position as a reference culture albeit in a more negative way than before.

¹⁵⁸ “Coca-Cola weg uit Z-Afrika,” *Het Vrije Volk*, September 18, 1986.

¹⁵⁹ “VS betreuren vertrek Coca-Cola uit Zuid-Afrika,” *De Waarheid*, September 19, 1986.

6.3 Conclusion

This chapter has employed topic modeling, corpus linguistics, named entity recognition, and close reading to identify and analyze the discursive and social structures that shaped the content and nature of the United States as a reference culture in newspaper discourse on Coca-Cola. These techniques enabled the analysis of a large set of digitized newspapers and aided the discovery and contextualization of discursive trends, the extraction of thematic structures and entities from newspaper discourse on Coca-Cola, and the unearthing of articles that offered more detailed information on the framing of Coca-Cola as a symbol of American consumer culture and Americanization.

This chapter has shown that Coca-Cola displayed a certain elasticity of meaning in referencing the United States, American culture, the West, and global culture. In the interwar period, Coca-Cola had not yet acquired strong symbolic connotations, but mostly appeared in descriptions of American day-to-day life. After the Second World War, this changed when Coca-Cola obtained a strong symbolic connection with the United States. After 1945, the brand transformed from a signifier of the modern, prosperous American consumer society into a symbol of Americanization.

Even though countries all over the world produced and sold Coca-Cola, the product retained its function as a symbol of American culture and of Americanization. This finding diverges from Ritzer and Stillman's claim that Coca-Cola lost its distinction as an American product when it became "the global soft drink of choice."¹⁶⁰ The previous chapter showed how advertisements in Dutch newspapers did, indeed, present Coca-Cola as a global product. Newspapers articles, however, continuously noted the

¹⁶⁰ Ritzer and Stillman, "Assessing McDonalozation, Americanization and Globalization," 43.

product as American. They even discussed the globalization of the product as an American phenomenon.

Newspapers turned to Coca-Cola to discuss the global spread of American culture, business, and politics, which were conceived as part of the larger process of Americanization. In the first decades after the Second World War, newspapers opposed the United States to Europe. They cautioned against the consequences of the growing presence of American products and elements of American culture in European societies. This attitude was in part a continuation of the critical intellectual discourse characteristic of the interwar period.

In the mid-1960s, the tone altered: the general opinion seemed to be that the American cultural colonization of Europe was an irreversible process. Newspapers started to discuss the effects of Americanization on a global scale. During the Cold War Europe aligned more closely with the United States, which transformed Coca-Cola from a symbol of the United States into a symbol of the West. Whereas the opposition used to be between Europe and the United States, Coca-Cola now functioned to demarcate the distinction between the socialist East and the capitalist West. At the same time, newspapers were critical of American multinationals and held them accountable for the economic crises in the 1970s. They were also critical of the increasing lobbying power of American companies, such as the Coca-Cola Company.

The persistent use of Coca-Cola as an example of the global spread of American culture shows the entanglement of modernization and globalization with Americanization in public discourse. Because newspapers represented Coca-Cola as a symbol of both the American consumer society and Americanization, and also often used Coca-Cola as an example of globalization and modernization, they in effect linked these ideas to the United States. When people talked about modernization between 1945 and 1965, the United States informed their ideas. The same

holds true for the notion of globalization in the period between 1965 and 1989. Coca-Cola functioned as “a kind of lubricant for meta-historical developments” in Dutch society.¹⁶¹ It helped people to understand these developments and also to position themselves vis-à-vis the United States and its cultural, economic, and political forms of Americanization.

This chapter has argued that newspapers reflected and shaped the United States as a reference culture through a layered and consistent narrative on Coca-Cola’s relationship with the United States. It could be argued that for a nation to serve as a cultural model such as strong, persistent narrative is mandatory. The long-term analysis of newspapers shows how the link between Coca-Cola and the United States was established in many different domains. Although discourse was sometimes sparse, the longevity and range of topics helped to establish Coca-Cola’s symbolic connotations in Dutch cultural memory. Many of the connotations that Coca-Cola acquired in the first two decades after the Second World War remained part of the discourse on the soft drink and shaped how Dutch consumers perceived the United States. The reiteration of specific ways of framing American culture shaped the role of America as a reference culture. There was room for contestation, but alternative views never truly became part of the public perception of the United States.

On the whole, newspaper discourse on Coca-Cola demonstrates how the United States served as a reference culture between 1945 and 1989. Scholarship on the Americanization of the Netherlands and Europe has largely highlighted the period between the end of the war and the start of the Vietnam War. It describes this era as the heyday of Americanization

¹⁶¹ Schutts, “Coca-Cola History: A ‘Refreshing’ Look at German-American Relations,” 127.

and pro-Americanism in the Netherlands.¹⁶² This chapter has shown that in the 1970s and 1980s, newspapers still turned to Coca-Cola to discuss the cultural, economic, and political position of the United States. Albeit with more negative connotations, the United States was still in the limelight, confirming that it continued to act as a dominant reference culture in the 1970s and 1980s.

¹⁶² Roholl, "Uncle Sam: An Example For All?"; Kennedy, "Cultural Developments in the Dutch-American Relationship since 1945."

Chapter 7

Conclusion I The Enduring Stability of the United States as a Reference Culture

This thesis has studied the mechanisms that have underpinned a long-term, layered cultural-historical process: the emergence of the United States as a reference culture in Dutch public discourse between 1890 and 1990. It is an effort to understand how public media, such as newspapers, have contributed to the formation of popular perceptions of countries and the dynamics that underpin the formation of these perceptions. This knowledge helps to explain how public discourse contributed to the perceived dominance of specific countries, while it also shows how global dynamics were reflected in public media.

This thesis offers a systematic and longitudinal examination of how the United States functioned as a reference culture in twentieth-century Dutch public discourse on consumer goods. In this discourse, represented by advertisements and articles in newspapers, the United States symbolized a broad range of sometimes contrasting ideas, practices, and values. This core of values gradually evolved over time, while the country's function as reference culture stayed remarkably steady. Using a combination of computational techniques and the close reading of texts, I have established that newspaper discourse on consumer goods, in particular Coca-Cola and cigarettes, offers instrumental insights into the ways in which Dutch consumers and producers depicted and perceived the United States. Newspapers frequently discussed these two products and in the process also proffered colorful descriptions and assessments of American consumer society, Americanization, and the global economic, cultural, and military position of the United States.

The computer-assisted exploration of this rich corpus has revealed that preconceptions about the United States were established over a longer period and were firmly rooted in public discourse. Newspapers turned to the United States to address and give a voice to collective anxieties and aspirations in the Netherlands regarding its transformation into a modern consumer society. In the process, the United States acted as both a

positive and a negative example against which the Dutch positioned themselves. This thesis places current research on the Dutch perceptions of the United States and of Americanization in a larger time frame, and it also underpins these findings with more data and with a more rigorous and more explicit methodology.

Four conclusions may be drawn from the analysis offered in this thesis. First and foremost, the United States obtained and maintained a dominant and exceptional position as a reference culture in twentieth-century Dutch public discourse. This position was reflected in the central role the country took up in newspaper discourse on issues related to consumer goods and the emergence of a modern Dutch consumer society. In the late nineteenth century, the United States had not yet taken up this dominant role and still functioned as a nation among nations. Together with France, England, Russia, and the Orient, it was one of the geographical entities typically associated with consumer products.¹ In the early twentieth century, newspapers began to more prominently associate the United States with consumer goods, in particular in reports on the economic aspects related to the modern consumer society. Newspapers discussed the growing American economy, and the ubiquity of consumer products in American society functioned as a sign of the nation's growing wealth.

The country's position as a dominant reference culture materialized in the 1920s when the images of the United States communicated via advertisements for, and articles on, consumer products became more pronounced than before. Previously, the link between the United States and consumer goods had typically indicated the country of importation; it did not yet signify a strong cultural imaginary—there existed no

¹ Nolan, *The Transatlantic Century*, 10; Iriye, *The Globalizing of America, 1913-1945*.

pronounced product-country image. This transition was part of an overall shift in advertising discourse, in which advertisers also described other countries in more colorful and evocative language. As the popularity of American products grew, the image of the United States became more pronounced than that of other countries, such as England, Egypt, and France, which to varying degrees also functioned as reference cultures in Dutch public discourse on consumer products and issues related to consumerism.

Through product branding in advertisements and debates on the role of products in the United States, the relationship with the United States was endowed with a rich repertoire of meanings. The American product nationality no longer merely signified the country from which the product was imported, but presented consumers with a product-country image that signified particular values and ideas, such as authenticity, quality, artificiality, superabundance, mechanization, modernity, civilization, and democracy. These ideas were transmitted via advertisements for consumer goods and reiterated in debates on the global economic, cultural, and technological position of the United States. Dutch newspapers reflected on the impact of the growing popularity of American products and the American 'way' of consuming on Dutch society. In these reflections, the newspapers took the American consumer society as an example, demonstrating that in the early twentieth century the United States already functioned as a reference culture.

After the Second World War, this function became even more dominant. In this period, the number of consumer goods that reached the Netherlands increased greatly, a growth to some extent driven by the recently implemented Marshall plan. Also, investments from the United States in the Netherlands and vice versa increased, which resulted in a stronger economic entanglement between the two nations. Alongside an increase of American products in the Netherlands and stronger advertising

for American products, the product-country image of the United States became much more pronounced in public discourse after the Second World War.

In newspaper discourse on consumer goods during the Cold War period, the United States came to represent the capitalist West, whereas the Soviet Union embodied the socialist East. This dialectic between the two superpowers had an effect on the United States' role as the most dominant reference culture. Where public discourse used to refer to the United States in opposition to national identities or Europe in general, during the Cold War, the United States and Europe were defined in opposition to the socialist East. Notwithstanding this transition, Dutch newspapers often aimed their criticism of globalization and the increasing power of multinationals at the United States, even though globalization and multinationals were not one-sidedly tied to the United States. The association between big business, consumer goods, and globalization on the one hand, and the United States on the other was already firmly rooted in public discourse, which made it somewhat immutable despite contrarian information. This illustrates that the role of reference cultures was slow to adapt to changing global dynamics.

This study of the Dutch perception of the United States between 1890 and 1990 places Dutch pro-American attitudes after the Second World War in a larger timeframe and adds to existing studies of Americanization and cultural transfer. Scholarship on Americanization contends that the Dutch held a favorable opinion of the United States during the 1950s and 1960s. This thesis has found that well before the Second World War, the wider Dutch public was already opening up toward the United States despite anti-American discourse among intellectuals in the Netherlands. Moreover, amid a more vocal, negative attitude toward the United States in the 1970s and 1980s, the country managed to retain its central role in debates concerning the power of multinationals and the effects of

globalization, strengthening its position as a reference culture. On the whole, this study offers a corrective to existing scholarship that is biased toward the 1950s and 1960s. The pro-American attitude after the Second World War and the continued strong position of the United States as a reference culture in the 1970s and 1980s—despite vocal anti-American sentiments—built upon a cultural imagery constructed in the early twentieth century. The Dutch predilection for the United States originated well before the 1950s and 1960s. While newspapers revealed the emergence of a more welcoming attitude in the early twentieth century, additional research is needed to show to what extent public discourse in Netherlands had already opened up to the United States before then.

The second conclusion of this thesis is that consumer goods played a significant role in the transfer of American values, ideas, and practices to the Netherlands. The role of consumer goods in cultural transfer has been studied by other scholars, but never explicitly for the Netherlands and certainly not for the entire twentieth century.² Advertisements and articles in Dutch newspapers associated products such as Coca-Cola and cigarettes explicitly and implicitly with the United States, American culture, and the process of Americanization. In these associations with the United States, newspapers used the United States to discuss both the positive and negative aspects of a modernizing consumer society. The United States functioned as a point of reference in national debates on a range of issues related to the emergence of the modern consumer society, including the health risks associated with consumer products; the emancipation of female consumers; the business politics of multinationals; the effects of globalization; and the interplay between consumers,

² de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire*; Pells, *Not like US*; Schuyt and Taverne, “Sounds and Signals of America.”

researchers, producers, and the government. These debates helped individuals to position themselves vis-à-vis the role of consumer goods in the United States and to come to terms with the effects of Americanization. Whereas existing studies placed these developments in the decades after the Second World War, this study has shown that its groundwork had already been laid in the 1920s. In an alternating and repetitive motion, newspaper discourse propagated both the freedom to consume and attempts to restrain unbounded consumption as aspects of American consumer society. The long history of this dichotomy in newspaper discourse helps to explain why a notion of duality still dictates the public image of the United States in contemporary public discourse.

Advertisements provided consumers with a romanticized image of the United States that represented both an authentic, rugged, adventurous nation of unspoiled nature and cowboys as well as a cosmopolitan, modern, efficient consumer society populated by forward-looking consumers. This geographical imaginary was partly rooted in reality and partly fictional. A central element in this image of the American consumer society was the notion of a self-reliant consumer who formed his or her identity through the consumption of modern, mass-produced consumer goods. Ads presented the freedom of consumers to consume whenever, wherever, and with whomever they wanted as a means to self-realization. The American consumer was depicted as a connoisseur and pioneering figure. Moreover, advertisers used a product's popularity in the United States as a sign of that product's quality and authenticity. Also, in both Coca-Cola and cigarettes increasing size was a theme in the 1960s. The introduction of the liter bottle and the king-size both promoted larger-sized products and a different way of consuming. This particular cultural imaginary associated with the United States motivated Dutch consumers to purchase the products associated with it. The exposure to American products also domesticated the image of the United States. In its role as a reference

culture, the United States helped Dutch consumers to familiarize themselves with new ways of consuming, with their power as consumers, and with the changing role of advertising in society.

These depictions of the United States not only manifested themselves in advertisements, but also permeated newspaper articles, which represented the United States as a bountiful, democratized consumer society, in which Americans could consume whatever they wanted. Conversely, newspapers also emphasized the legislative power of the American government to curtail the production and consumption of unhealthy consumer goods, such as cigarettes. Discourse on the American government's legislative power flared up during a number of key events, namely the Prohibition era, the disbandment of trusts, as well as after the publications of studies on the health risks of consumer goods, and also after reports on the lobbying power of American corporations.

Even though the Coca-Cola Company never explicitly branded Coca-Cola as American, Dutch public discourse clearly perceived the beverage as American and depicted it as a symbol of Americanization and of the growing global cultural, political, economic, and military dominance of the United States. In contrast, until the 1970s, cigarette manufacturers deliberately associated their products with the United States. The increasing backlash against cigarettes and smoking that followed after American reports disclosed the product's carcinogenic nature tainted the product's link to the United States. Newspapers associated the United States with research on cancer, dubious practices by cigarette manufacturers to cover up the health risks, and growing public and political opposition to smoking. This possibly enticed cigarette manufacturers to sever the connection between their brands and the United States. At the same time, journalists did not refrain from associating cigarettes and smoking with the United States and continued to report on American consumer behavior and American attempts to

curtail the consumption of cigarettes. Both for Coca-Cola and cigarettes, the link between the products and the United States was very clearly maintained and retold through newspaper articles and not always explicitly driven by advertisements.

The third conclusion is that the ideas, values, and practices that newspapers associated with the United States remained relatively steady over time, which might explain the country's longevity as a reference culture and its power in shaping sociocultural debates. I argue that a country can only function as a reference culture if it consists of a stable core of associations, and I have shown that newspapers fulfilled an essential role in establishing that core. This robust core of ideas, values, and practices was partly driven by events in the United States and the nation's actions on the global stage, but for a large part it also resulted from the fact that newspapers narrated a particular perception of the United States. This leads me to conclude that newspapers themselves played an important part in essentializing this particular image of the United States by repeating the values, practices, and ideas associated with it, thus creating a stereotype. The reverberation of specific ways of framing American culture in newspapers discourse reflected the persistent role of America as a reference culture. Despite efforts to nuance images, or counter stereotypes, a consistent depiction of the United States allowed it to function as a model to follow or to avoid, or occasionally even both.

The discrepancy between the perception of the United States and the sociocultural realities in the United States help explain the country's longevity and power as a reference culture. The fictionalization of the United States took shape in the 1930s when non-American corporations started producing American products, which severed product nationality from a product's actual country of production. After the Second World War, the increased importation of American goods, the growing global presence of American multinationals, and the local production of

‘American’ products further disconnected the idea of the United States from reality. Scholars have described this as a process of deterritorialization in which culture and its origin are separated. Although this separation allowed for more freedom in the interpretation of ideas about the United States, newspaper discourse shows that it actually led to the construction of stereotypical, mythical images that were not directly counteracted by the simultaneous intricacies of American culture and society.

In studies on Americanization, the multifaceted nature of images of the nation and freedom by which people could appropriate aspects of American culture has gained much traction. Scholars in American studies argue for an emphasis on the complexities of American culture as a way to counter essentialist notions of the United States. While scholars have emphasized the heterogeneity and the local appropriations of American culture, this empirical study of newspapers has demonstrated that the papers articulated a rather consistent, uniform image of the United States. Even though Dutch newspapers expressed a stable image that was likely shared by many of its readers, this does not rule out that divergent ideas about the United States existed. Hence, this thesis does not claim that there existed a *singular* American identity, but it does show that twentieth-century newspapers—an important source of information for the general public—propagated an essentialist vision of the United States and its culture. This vision did not always convey the complexities of American culture and the multilayered process of cultural transfer.

The fourth conclusion is that computational text mining methods and large-scale digitized sources enrich the study of cultural history and enable a more systematic analysis of long-term historical processes in ways hitherto impossible. Computation makes it feasible to examine an extensive set of source material that includes more than fifty million articles and close to twenty million advertisements. By iteratively

switching between *distant* and *close reading* of articles, I extracted themes from the corpus, constructed subsets of data, detected trends, and explored the data for meaningful articles. Consequently, I was able to identify and analyze the discursive and social structures that expressed the position of the United States as a reference culture. The analytical and heuristic capabilities of computational methods allowed me to uncover long-term trends and patterns from large swaths of data and, subsequently, made it possible to extract weaker signals and particularities that deviated from these general trends. Occasionally these weaker trends, consisting of infrequent data points, were still culturally significant because of their immutability. In other words, weak but consistent discursive trends within a large dataset might seem irrelevant but the fact that they existed over longer periods of time made them culturally significant. In other instances, these weaker trends functioned as early indicators of related, more prominent debates.

Finally, there are a couple of overall remarks I would like to make concerning the use of computation in humanities research. Concerning source material, the current quality of the newspaper data limits the actual amount of usable data and the ability to extract and analyze information. To overcome these limitations, digitized material needs to be improved, or analyses need to be supplemented by additional digitized sources. In terms of tools, I believe that digital humanities projects focus too much on the development of monolithic tools and devote too little attention to the research questions, research design, and methodology. This thesis has demonstrated that no single textbook solution exists for data cleaning, the analysis of language trends, or the visualization of results. To be better able to apply computation to answer questions relevant to the humanities, scholars need to develop a basic understanding of programming languages, which makes them more flexible in thinking about research workflows and less dependent on existing tools. I believe

that the capacity to use and reflect on the added value of computation and engage with digitized sources is an essential skill for historians in the twenty-first century.

Moreover, humanities research that relies on computational methods would benefit from the execution by high-performance teams, which includes members with varying backgrounds and an openness to interdisciplinary work. One of the hurdles that interdisciplinary research needs to overcome is the institutional emphasis on single-author scholarship. For this reason, I believe that the model of the exact sciences in which research groups produce multi-authored research may serve as an example. With this thesis, I hope to have contributed to a transition toward a more interdisciplinary approach to cultural history in particular and the humanities in general.

Appendices

Appendix 3.1 | Brands, Companies, and Locations in Cigarette Advertisements 1919-1970

Egyptian 1919-1940		Virginia 1919-1940		American 1919-1940		Virginia 1945-1970		American 1945-1970	
Keyword	Abs freq	Keyword	Abs freq	Keyword	Abs freq	Keyword	Abs freq	Keyword	Abs freq
Mavrides	231	Ardath	312	Buffalo	159	Essex	53	Tobacco	293
Vittoria	195	Whip	266	Drhdushkind	133	Golden	51	British	249
Cairo	191	Chief	255	Tobacco	91	Fiction	44	Roxy	195
Victoria	90	London	159	Ctate	63	Sirpercy	42	Camel	179
Simon	85	Miss	125	Winfield	61	Cross	38	Winner	150
Sultana	79	Star	96	British	60	Dobbs	33	Lexington	102
Maspero	47	Blanche	91	North	59	Sketch	32	Lucky	82
Nestor	44	Chiefwhip	73	United	52	Traffic	29	Company	64
Gianaclis	37	Triumph	51	Red	50	Percy	25	Filtra	49
Splendo	35	Pirate	46	Yellow	45			Astor	44
Melkonian	31	Olympia	40	Blue	45			Everest	40
Alex	29	Club	35	Roy	44			Triumph	38
Freres	29	Golden	26	Factories	43			Golden	34
Laurens	22	Wills	26	Morth	39			Hunter	32
Prince	20	Flag	22	Cocktail	35			Richard	30
Couvet	19	Super	19	Camel	31			Continental	29
Batco	18	Cocktail	18	Garvey	31				
Hestor	18	Bristol	17	Dushkind	25				
Adamas	16	Army	15	State	25				
Taya	16			Miss	24				
				William	222				
				Blanche	22				
				Batco	16				
				Skippy	15				

Appendix 3.2 | Distinctive Keywords in Cigarette Advertisements 1919-1970

Cigarette Advertisements 1919-1940								
Keyword	Query	American Cig. Ads 1919-1940 (n = 1,853)		Egyptian Cig. Ads 1919-1940 (n = 1,800)		Virginia Cig. Ads 1919-1940 (n = 2,035)		Most distinct ³
		Rel. freq ¹	Distinct ²	Rel. freq	Distinct	Rel. freq	Distinct	
Amerikaan	Amerikaan	37.8	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	American
Aroma	aroma*	29.7	29.5	39.4	39.2	31.4	31.3	-
Best	best / beste	123.0	30.8	24.4	6.1	252.6	63.1	Virginia
Blend	blend / blended	10.3	52.7	7.2	37.1	2.0	10.1	-
Box	doosje*	33.5	20.6	77.2	47.6	51.6	31.8	-
Calm	kalm*	34.0	98.4	0.6	1.6	0.0	0.0	American
Connoisseur	liefhebber / liefhebbers	2.2	19.6	4.4	40.3	4.4	40.1	-
Cork	kurk*	6.5	4.6	14.4	10.2	120.9	85.2	Virginia
Creation	creatie	1.6	7.3	20.6	92.7	0.0	0.0	Egypt
Extra	extra	25.9	64.5	8.3	20.8	5.9	14.7	American
Famous	beroemd*	20.0	34.6	15.6	27.0	22.1	38.4	-
Fat	dikke*	3.2	14.3	19.4	85.7	0.0	0.0	-

¹ Values higher than 20 are underlined.

² Distinct. signifies distinctiveness. I determined their distinctiveness by calculating the proportion of a word's relative frequency within one sub corpus to the entire corpus. $\text{Rel. freq A} / (\text{rel. freq A} + \text{rel. freq B} + \text{rel. freq C}) * 100$. Values that exceeded the second highest values with more than 20 were underlined.

³ If a keyword passed both thresholds, I marked it as distinctive for one particular type of cigarettes. In cases where the thresholds were almost evenly divided between two types of cigarettes, I marked both.

Appendices

Filter	filter*	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	100.0	-
Fine	fijne / fijnste	63.7	32.2	96.7	48.9	37.3	18.9	-
Flavored	geurig*	31.3	61.7	6.7	13.1	12.8	25.2	American
Fresh	vers / verse / versche / versch	47.0	71.8	2.2	3.4	16.2	24.8	American
Golden	goud / gouden	23.2	14.2	32.8	20.1	107.1	65.7	Virginia
Golden-yellow	goudgele / goud- gele / goudgeel	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.4	100.0	-
Greatest	greatest	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	13.3	100.0	-
Health	gezondheid	2.2	1.0	0.6	0.2	222.6	98.8	Virginia
Import	import	56.7	38.5	72.8	49.5	17.7	12.0	Virginia
International	internationaal / international*	2.7	63.7	0.6	13.1	1.0	23.2	-
King size	king size	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	-
Known	bekend*	56.1	42.5	53.3	40.4	22.6	17.1	American / Egyptian
Light	lichte / lichtste	4.3	17.7	3.3	13.7	16.7	68.6	-
Melange	melange*	21.0	54.8	5.6	14.5	11.8	30.7	American
Mild	mild*	45.3	35.1	82.8	64.1	1.0	0.8	Egypt
Mouthpiece	mondstuk	10.8	10.0	40.6	37.4	57.0	52.6	-
New / newest	nieuwe / nieuwste	95.0	48.0	75.0	37.9	28.0	14.1	-
Old	oude / oudste	17.3	27.3	27.2	43.1	18.7	29.6	-

Appendices

Original	origin?!* / origineel	15.7	97.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	3.0	
Package	pakje*	96.6	88.4	3.3	3.1	9.3	8.5	American
Perfect	volmaakt*	0.0	0.0	2.2	10.2	19.7	89.8	-
Piece	stuk / stuks	104.7	29.7	165.0	46.8	83.0	23.5	-
Pleasure	genot	4.3	14.6	6.7	22.5	18.7	63.0	
Pure	zuiver*	16.7	10.0	9.4	5.6	141.0	84.3	Virginia
Quality	kwaliteit*	76.1	21.2	78.9	22.0	203.9	56.8	Virginia
Quality	quality	1.6	30.1	2.8	51.6	1.0	18.3	-
Real	echt / echte / real	65.8	69.7	22.8	24.1	5.9	6.2	American
Ripe	rijp*	9.2	33.6	3.9	14.2	14.3	52.2	
Round	ronde	2.7	10.2	23.3	88.0	0.5	1.9	Egypt
Smoker	roker / rokers / rooker / rookers	89.0	52.7	24.4	14.5	55.5	32.9	American
Smoking pleasure	rookgenot	2.2	42.3	0.0	0.0	2.9	57.7	-
Soft	zacht*	47.5	45.3	16.7	15.9	40.8	38.9	American / Virginia
Taste	smaak*	47.5	29.1	30.6	18.7	85.0	52.1	Virginia
Tin packaging	blikverpakking / blikken	1.6	5.9	20.6	74.5	5.4	19.6	Egypt
World	wereld / world	29.7	29.3	11.1	11.0	60.4	59.7	Virginia
World-famous (wereldberoemd*)	wereldberoemd*	3.2	34.0	3.3	35.0	2.9	31.0	-

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Cigarette advertisements 1945-1970										
		American Cig. Ads 1919-1940 (n = 4,105)			Virginia Cig. Ads 1945-1970 (n = 1,185)					
Keyword	Query	rel.freq ⁴	Distinct ⁵	Diff. in rel.freq compared to 1919-1940 ⁶	rel.freq	Distinct	Diff. in rel.freq compared to 1919-1940	Most distinct ⁷ 1919-1940	Most distinct 1945-1970	Biggest diff. ⁸
Aroma	aroma*	65.8	75.7	36.1	21.1	24.3	-10.4	Egypt	USA	USA
Best	best / beste	118.4	51.7	-4.7	110.5	48.3	-142.0	Virg.	-	Virg.
Blend	blend / blended	40.2	96.0	29.9	1.7	4.0	-0.3	-	USA	USA
Connaissanceur	liefhebber / liefhebbers	45.3	66.5	43.2	22.8	33.5	18.4	-	USA	USA
Cork	kurk*	0.0		-6.5	0.0		-120.9	Virg.	-	Virg.
Famous	beroemd*	119.9	92.2	99.9	10.1	7.8	-12.0	-	USA	USA
Filter	filter*	276.7	85.9	276.7	45.6	14.1	43.6	-	USA	USA
Fine	fijne / fijnste	11.0	22.0	-52.7	38.8	78.0	1.5	Egypt	Virg.	USA
Flavored	geurig*	32.2	48.8	0.9	33.8	51.2	21.0	USA	-	Virg.

⁴ Values higher than 20 are underlined.

⁵ Distinct. signifies distinctiveness. I determined their distinctiveness by calculating the proportion of a word's relative frequency within one sub corpus to the entire corpus. $\text{Rel.freq A} / (\text{rel.freq A} + \text{rel.freq B} + \text{rel.freq C}) * 100$. Values that exceeded the second highest values with more than 20 were underlined.

⁶ This column shows the differences in relative frequency between the two periods. If the values differ more than 10, I color-coded them green for a positive difference and red for a negative difference.

⁷ If a keyword passed both thresholds, I marked it as distinctive for one particular type of cigarettes. In cases where the thresholds were almost evenly divided between two types of cigarettes, I marked both.

⁸ This column shows which type of cigarette exhibited the biggest difference between the two periods. The color indicates whether the difference was positive (green) or negative (red).

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Fresh	vers / verse / versche / versch	95.7	94.2	48.8	5.9	5.8	-10.3	USA	USA	USA
Full	volle	29.7	71.6	-	11.8	28.4	-		USA	
Golden	goud / gouden	3.9	11.4	-19.3	30.4	88.6	-76.7	Virg.	Virg.	Virg.
Golden- yellow	goudgele / goud-gele / goudgeel	0.7	2.3	0.7	30.4	97.7	26.9	-	Virg.	Virg.
Import	import	27.5	45.5	-29.1	32.9	54.5	15.2	Egypt	-	USA
Internatio nal	internationa l / internationa l*	29.7	97.2	27.0	0.8	2.8	-0.1	-	USA	USA
King size	king size	100.1	92.2	100.1	8.4	7.8	8.4	-	USA	USA
Light	lichte / lichtste	1.2	6.4	-3.1	17.7	93.6	1.0	Virg.	-	-
Long	lange	21.4	45.0	-	26.2	55.0	-		-	
Melange	melange*	16.1	34.0	-5.0	31.2	66.0	19.4	USA	Virg.	Virg.
Mild	mild*	54.1	47.8	8.7	59.1	52.2	58.1	Egypt	-	Virg.
Modern	modern*	25.6	70.0	-	11.0	30.0	-		USA	
Most	meest	61.6	85.9	-	10.1	14.1	-		USA	
Mouth piece	mondstuk	9.3	49.9	-1.5	9.3	50.1	-47.7	Virg.	-	Virg.
New / newest	nieuwe / nieuwste	111.1	53.4	16.1	97.0	46.6	69.0	USA	-	Virg.
Original	origin?!* / origineel	15.3	24.5	-0.3	47.3	75.5	46.8	USA	Virg.	Virg.
Package	pakje*	158.1	74.8	61.5	53.2	25.2	43.8	USA	USA	USA
Perfect	volmaakt*	2.7	4.3	2.7	59.1	95.7	39.4	Virg.	Virg.	Virg.
Pleasure	genot	6.1	16.7	1.8	30.4	83.3	11.7	Virg.	Virg.	Virg.
Pure	zuiver*	70.2	57.7	53.4	51.5	42.3	-90.7	Virg.	-	Virg.
Quality	kwaliteit*	104.3	54.3	28.2	87.8	45.7	-116.2	Virg.	-	Virg.
Quality	quality	12.7	88.2	11.0	1.7	11.8	-202.2	-	-	Virg.

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Real	echt / echte / real	152.3	61.7	86.4	94.5	38.3	88.6	USA	USA	-
Rich	rijk / rijke / rijker	44.1	85.3	-	7.6	14.7	-		USA	
Ripe	rijp*	51.6	82.5	42.5	11.0	17.5	-3.3	Virg.	USA	USA
Ripe brown	rijpbruin*	36.5	100.0	-	0.0	0.0	-		USA	
Size	formaat	21.2	62.6	-	12.7	37.4	-		USA	
Smoked	gerookte	29.7	100.0	-	0.0	0.0	-		USA	
Smoker	ro{1,2}ker / rokers	155.9	47.4	66.9	173.0	52.6	117.5	USA	-	Virg.
Smoking pleasure	rookgenot	25.6	60.2	23.4	16.9	39.8	13.9	-	USA	-
Soft	zacht*	118.6	58.2	71.1	85.2	41.8	44.4	USA	-	USA
Taste	smaak*	190.0	59.1	142.5	131.6	40.9	46.6	Virg.	-	USA
Tasty	lekker*	128.1	62.5	-	76.8	37.5			USA	
World	wereld / world	48.7	76.2	19.0	15.2	23.8	-45.3	Virg.	USA	Virg.
World-famous	wereldberoemd*	70.9	100.0	67.7	0.0	0.0	-2.9	-	USA	USA

Appendix 4.1 | Topic Modeling Newspaper Discourse on American Cigarettes

For topic modeling I used the R package STM (structural topic model).⁹ For the determination of the number of topics, I relied on the *searchK* method included in STM.¹⁰ As Roberts et al. argue that there is not a *right* way to determine the number of topics. I mostly relied on the held-out likelihood and semantic coherence to determine an optimal number of topics (*k*). When in doubt, I opted for a high number of topics to capture greater granularity. The parameter *lower.threshold* (threshold) drops words that appear in fewer documents than set by the threshold. Documents that contain words that all appear in fewer documents than the threshold will also be removed. This value is determined by plotting the effects of different values using the *plotRemoved* function.

The order of the displayed words in each topic is calculated with three different word weighting techniques: *Highest Prob*, *FREX*, and *Lift*. *Highest Prob* selects the words with the highest probability. *FREX* includes frequent and exclusive words that distinguish topics, and *Lift* highlights particular words in phrases that are more prevalent within a group of documents compared to the average across the corpus.¹¹ I also

⁹ Molly Roberts, Brandon Stewart, and Dustin Tingley, “Stm: A R Package for the Structural Topic Model,” accessed May 17, 2016, <http://structuraltopicmodel.com/>. I segmented the corpus on the article level, which means that the topic modeling algorithm approached each article as a single document. In the case of longer documents, such as novels, people often segment on paragraph level or by a set number of words.

¹⁰ For a discussion of this method see: Margaret Roberts, Brandon Stewart, and Dustin Tingley, “Navigating the Local Modes of Big Data: The Case of Topic Models,” in *Computational Social Science: Discovery and Prediction* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 51–98.

¹¹ For more on these measure, see the reference manual at: Margaret Roberts, Dustin Tingley, and Brandon Stewart, *Stm: Estimation of the Structural Topic Model*, version 1.1.3, 2016, <https://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/stm/index.html>. For more on LIFT see: Matt Taddy, “Multinomial Inverse Regression for Text Analysis,” *arXiv:1012.2098 [Stat]*, December 9, 2010, 6, <http://arxiv.org/abs/1012.2098>.

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annotated each topic with a short description by examining the most frequent words in articles associated with the topics. Also, in some cases, I read the articles associated with topics by querying the corpus using the keywords taken from the topics. Finally, I placed the topics in one or more of the following categories: trade, domestic events, culture, international events, politics, or health.

1890 – 1899 ($n = 488$, $k = 10$, $\text{threshold} = 25$)			
Topics	Topic words	Description	Category
A1	Highest Prob: dito, voorraad, totaal, kalm, bank, maand, meel FREX: dito, voorraad, totaal, kalm, meel, maand, bank Lift: dito, voorraad, totaal, meel, kalm, havana, stemming	Trade	Trade
A5	Highest Prob: twee, werden, dagen, jaar, kwam, eenige, eene FREX: brand, personen, onderzoek, kreeg, zijn, dood, politie Lift: geplaatst, gekwetst, vlammen, brand, jarig, ongelukken, geraakte	Fire	Domestic events
A7	Highest Prob: tabak, miljoen, staten, zeer, sigaren, waarde, amerika FREX: miljoen, waarde, rooken, dollars, pond, thee, cent Lift: thee, dollar, dollars, pond, cuba, cent, miljoen	American Tobacco Trade	Trade
A8	Highest Prob: waar, groote, zeer, alle, heer, zelfs, vrouwen FREX: vrouwen, dames, eigen, tentoonstelling, kinderen, firma, voorbeeld Lift: taal, keuze, vaak, tentoonstelling, duizenden, winkels, bezoekers	Consumers / World Expo / Gender	Culture

1900-1909 ($n = 848$, $k = 15$, $\text{threshold} = 25$)			
Topics	Topic words	Description	Category
B1	Highest Prob: handel, staten, nederlandsche, eene, vereenigde, nederland, opgenomen FREX: consul, rubriek, nederlandsche, overzicht, handel, mededeelingen, bevat Lift: schat, rubriek, consulgeneraal, egypte, overzicht, gepubliceerd, consul	Trade	Trade

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B3	Highest Prob: werden, twee, politie, jaar, brand, plaats, dagen FREX: brand, politie, overleden, gewond, dood, moord, ballon Lift: sept, ontploffing, dader, overleed, verhoor, ballon, verdronken	Fire / Murder	Domestic events
B4	Highest Prob: amerikaansche, groote, engeland, jaar, maatschappij, amerika, engelsche FREX: kapitaal, maatschappij, trust, aandelen, amerikaansche, fabrikanten, company Lift: stoomboot, trust, winkeliers, company, aandelen, kapitaal, city	American / British Trusts	Trade
B6	Highest Prob: heer, minister, kamer, commissie, stemmen, regeering, vergadering FREX: stemmen, commissie, minister, voorstel, zitting, rijksdag, aangenomen Lift: febr, rijksdag, motie, liberalen, begrooting, debat, commissie	German Reichstag	International events
B8	Highest Prob: eene, regeering, boeren, oorlog, president, bericht, engeland FREX: boeren, britsche, generaal, troepen, oorlog, lord, president Lift: tegengesproken, botha, chamberlain, generaals, berichtgever, boeren, kaapkolonie	Boer War	International events
B14	Highest Prob: tabak, sigaren, recht, jaar, zeer, eene, waarde FREX: betaald, verhooging, rechten, tabak, recht, oogst, sigaren Lift: betaald, oogst, verbruik, invoerrecht, verhooging, tabak, <u>geheven</u>	Import taxes on tobacco / cigars	Trade
B15	Highest Prob: russische, japan, regeering, rusland, japanners, japansche, groote FREX: japanners, russische, japansche, russen, rusland, japan, vloot Lift: locomotief, japanners, socialistische, japansche, russen, tokiro, roosevelt	Japan-Russian War of 1905	International events

1910-1919 (n = 1,466, k = 15, threshold = 30)			
Topics	Topic words	Description	Category
C1	Highest Prob: tabak, millioen, sigaren, sigaretten, groote, land, jaar FREX: trust, millioen, fabrikanten, fabrieken, belasting, sigaren, bedrijf Lift: brazilië, tabakstrust, trust, monopolie, tobacco, fabrikanten, winsten	Tobacco Trust / Monopolies	Trade
C2	Highest Prob: heer, rotterdam, gestolen, alhier, werden, wonende, firma FREX: wonende, gestolen, nadeele, pand,	Crime / Burglary	Domestic events

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	ontvreemd, verdacht, spuit Lift: peper, spuit, nadeele, pand, ontvreemd, wonende, pakhuis		
C4	Highest Prob: oorlog, duitsche, duitschland, leger, duitschers, alle, troepen FREX: front, vijand, duitschers, troepen, leger, oorlog, vrede Lift: geëindigd, offensief, legers, stellingen, artillerie, oostenrijkers, hoofdkwartier	World War I	International events
C5	Highest Prob: jaar, werden, markt, week, maart, prijzen, vraag FREX: aand, aandeelen, oogst, markt, pakken, mllloen, voorraad Lift: aand, koersen, central, oeconomische, mlllloen, omzet, dividend	Stock exchange	Trade
C6	Highest Prob: waar, alle, groote, wanneer, komt, goed, zeer FREX: dames, rooken, ziet, ontwerp, dikwijls, gaat, kunst Lift: ontwerp, restaurants, stijl, geleerd, drinkt, dansen, deftige	Consumers / Gender	Culture
C8	Highest Prob: politie, werden, twee, kwam, eenige, vrouw, brand FREX: politie, justitie, brand, gedood, gearresteerd, ongeluk, onderzoek Lift: motie, gekwetst, brandwonden, dader, zoontje, moordenaar, landbouwer	Fire	Domestic events
C12	Highest Prob: nederlandsche, nederland, duitsche, regering, schepen, duitschland, zullen FREX: nederlandsche, geladen, schepen, grens, levensmiddelen, neutrale, gebrek Lift: geladen, distributie, neutrale, graan, nederlanders, zweedsche, nederlandsche	International trade of staple goods	Trade
C13	Highest Prob: recht, waarde, invoer, belast, vrij, tarief, nederland FREX: tarief, belast, totale, recht, waarde, voorgesteld, invoerrechten Lift: totale, tarief, invoerrechten, belast, bewerking, invoerrecht, onderworpen	Import taxes	Trade
C15	Highest Prob: pruisen, kilo, katoen, guld, tabak, ruwe, manufacturen FREX: pruisen, guld, klllo, kilo, geverfd, ongeverfd, gebleekt Lift: beetw, geplet, guano, mmmm, mmmmm, onber, ongeverfd	Import of tobacco	Trade

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1920-1929 (n = 3,826, k = 15, threshold = 25)			
Topics	Topic words	Description	Category
D1	Highest Prob: amerikaansche, vork, cigaretten, china, gewone, chineesche, american FREX: cigaretten, chineesche, vork, tobacco, brown, schappij, jacob Lift: schappij, stores, brown, chineesche, tobacco, cigaretten, united	American cigarette companies trade with China	Trade
D2	Highest Prob: millioen, uitvoer, invoer, tabak, gulden, waarde, jaar FREX: mill, loco, uitvoer, invoer, tarwe, katoen, kisten Lift: croo, lijnzaad, gerst, mill, plantaardige, tarwe, lijnolie	Trade report	Trade
D3	Highest Prob: regeering, minister, zullen, heer, duitschland, frankrijk, engeland FREX: regeering, conferentie, politiek, politieke, minister, volkenbond, verdrag Lift: ontwapening, betrek, briand, entente, mogendheden, kabinet, geallieerden	Germany / League of Nations / Post-WW1	International events
D4	Highest Prob: aandeelen, amsterdam, bank, dito, jaar, millioen, dividend FREX: dito, dividend, aandeelen, aandeelhouders, wisselkoersen, reserve, cable Lift: chesapeake, cumulatief, denemark, dividendbewijs, exdividend, metaalvoorraad, promessen	Stock exchange	Trade
D7	Highest Prob: publiek, weer, film, groote, waar, heel, eerste FREX: film, tooneel, kroonprins, spel, films, gespeeld, majoor Lift: plantage, volkslied, rolprent, film, actrice, kroonprins, orkest	Cigarette in movies	Culture
D9	Highest Prob: rooken, tabak, sigaretten, dollar, amerika, sigaret, sigaren FREX: rooken, sigaar, pijp, dollar, rookers, nicotine, gerookt Lift: holle, nicotine, rookende, rooker, rooken, rookers, rookten	Smoking in America / Nicotine	Culture / Health
D11	Highest Prob: leven, vrouw, waar, tijd, vrouwen, alle, alleen FREX: jeugd, huwelijk, leven, boek, meisjes, mensch, geest Lift: boulevards, hedendaagsche, romans, geslachten, idealen, romeinen, generatie	Smoking by women	Culture
D12	Highest Prob: jaar, welke, millioen, groote, zeer, echter, thans	Industrialization	Trade

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	FREX: industrie, nijverheid, productie, cijfers, concurrentie, milliard, mate Lift: tier, voortbrenging, toename, nijverheid, terugslag, industrieën, ongunstiger		
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1930-1939 ($n = 3,438$, $k = 20$, threshold = 30)			
Topics	Topic words	Description	Category
E1	Highest Prob: tabak, zeer, jaar, sigaren, welke, millioen, nederland FREX: tabak, indische, indië, invoer, bevolking, producten, sigaren Lift: sigarettenproductie, accijns, importeurs, invoerrecht, duurder, import, industrieën	Import from Dutch colonies of tobacco for cigars and cigarettes	Trade
E2	Highest Prob: sigaretten, american, amerikaansche, reclame, fabriek, sigaret, tobacco FREX: fabriek, reclame, company, merk, sigaretten, tobacco, concurrentie Lift: concern, strike, sigarettenfabriek, lucky, sigarettenindustrie, company, fabriek	American cigarette companies, Lucky Strike, brands, advertising	Trade / Culture
E4	Highest Prob: werden, brand, twee, jaar, personen, welke, groote FREX: brand, gewond, personen, meldt, gemeld, jarige, gedood Lift: verwondingen, uitvinding, ontploffing, brandweer, gewond, verdronken, gistermiddag	Fire / Explosion	Domestic events
E8	Highest Prob: film, leven, groote, zeer, waar, zien, boek FREX: film, films, hollywood, boek, regisseur, hans, greta Lift: geborgen, scenario, filmster, regisseur, film, greta, cinema	Movies and cigarettes	Culture
E9	Highest Prob: moeten, regeering, zullen, welke, thans, minister, nieuwe FREX: minister, politieke, regeering, politiek, economische, maatregelen, volk Lift: opleving, spreker, stelsel, vraagstukken, bezwaren, politieke, socialistische	Politics / Economy	Trade
E11	Highest Prob: jaar, millioen, aandeelen, eerste, bedroeg, maanden, mill FREX: aandeelen, dividend, aandeel, mill, kwartaal, bedroeg, daling Lift: sluit, nettowinst, dividenden, beurze, uitkeering, rendement, halfjaar	Stock exchange	Trade
E18	Highest Prob: amerika, waar, wanneer, groote, alle, amerikaansche, zelfs FREX: rooken, rookt, iedere, amerikanen, kost, vrouwen, dollar	Smoking in America / Women / Gender	Culture

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	Lift: bediend, pijpen, programmas, rookende, bonbons, dubbeltje, betaalt		
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1940-1949 ($n = 3,349$, $k = 20$, threshold = 25)			
Topics	Topic words	Description	Categorization
F1	Highest Prob: land, waar, wanneer, stad, alle, witte, vrouwen FREX: witte, schoonheid, koele, paleis, weemoedig, kerken, francisco Lift: ingezet, weemoedig, stadjes, californië, onbegrijpelijke, lompen, pesos	Description of California	Culture
F2	Highest Prob: kwartaal, jaar, eind, aantal, fabrieken, werden, productie FREX: kwartaal, bedroeg, eind, mill, concurrentie, bevredigend, uitvoer Lift: overeenkomstige, netto, kwartaal, vermindering, verminderde, bevredigend, concurrentie	Profit tobacco manufacturers	Trade
F7	Highest Prob: tabak, april, rijksbureau, regeling, secretarisgeneraal, beschikking, besluit FREX: rijksbureau, vakgroep, houdende, tabaksproducten, secretarisgeneraal, instelling, vergunning Lift: onjuist, kleinhandelaren, vakgroep, rijksbureau, houdende, consumenten, detailhandel	Import/sales of tobacco during the Second World War	Trade
F8	Highest Prob: volk, onze, zullen, oorlog, moeten, nederland, land FREX: volk, vrede, nood, bolsjewisme, bevrijding, macht, propaganda Lift: daarheen, erkennen, nationaalsocialisme, communisme, menscheid, machten, volk	Liberation, political ideology	Domestic events / international events
F10	Highest Prob: miljoen, handel, bank, goederen, milliard, nederland, prijzen FREX: aandelen, belastingen, milliard, bank, rubber, dividend, tobacco Lift: arrest, dividend, fondsen, koersen, aandelen, franc, tobacco	Stock exchange	Trade
F13	Highest Prob: nederlandsche, duitse, regering, minister, welke, nederland, jaar FREX: minister, regering, departement, rijkscommissaris, führer, telegraaf, president Lift: heffen, handelsblad, staatscourant, rijksminister, telegraaf, volksvoorlichting, regeeringen	Dutch-German Political affairs	International events
F14	Highest Prob: tabak, zeer, tijd, echter, oorlog, nederland, sigaren FREX: import, virginiatabak, rookers, tabak,	Import of Virginia tobacco	Trade

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	rooken, virginia, tabakken Lift: bovenstaande, virginiatabak, dekblad, omblad, tabaksoorten, verbouwd, tabakken		
F17	Highest Prob: sigaretten, zwarte, amerikaansche, zullen, handel, millioen, maand FREX: pakjes, sigaretten, pakje, shag, zwarte, cent, winkelier Lift: amsterdamsche, volksherstel, lucky, strike, doosjes, shag, kilo	Illegal import American cigarettes > Lucky Strike	Trade
F20	Highest Prob: duitsche, werden, troepen, amerikaansche, leger, soldaten, amerikanen FREX: geallieerden, bommen, troepen, vliegtuigen, vijandelijke, geallieerde, jappers Lift: maatschappelijk, uitgeworpen, elbe, linies, daily, angloamerikaansche, mitrailleurs	Allied forces / Liberation / spreading of cigarettes	International events

1950-1959 (n = 2,798, k = 20, threshold = 20)			
Topics	Topic words	Description	Category
G1	Highest Prob: markt, arbeiders, fabriek, miljoen, winst, bedrijf, dollar FREX: tobacco, fabriek, aandelen, winst, staking, steel, bedrijf Lift: tobacco, north, factor, south, fondsen, staking, shell	Profits tobacco factories / strikes	Trade
G2	Highest Prob: jaar, sigaretten, millioen, procent, staten, engeland, gulden FREX: milliard, procent, miljard, kilo, prijzen, millioen, productie Lift: omzetbelasting, miljard, inkomstenbelasting, milliard, accijns, belastingen, schatkist	Taxes / Duty on smoking in Great Britain and the United States	Trade
G7	Highest Prob: sigaretten, jarige, werden, twee, drie, maanden, amerikaanse FREX: marihuana, rechtbank, verdovende, beslag, verdachte, hennep, gevangenisstraf Lift: voorarrest, politierechter, handelaar, hennep, marihuanasigaretten, ongebanderolleerde, voorwaardelijk	Cigarettes and crime. Illegal American cigarettes	Trade
G8	Highest Prob: john, film, sigaret, kamer, peter, amerikaanse, twee FREX: john, peter, film, monsieur, prinses, lucifer, films Lift: eindje, peter, monsieur, john, camera, lucifer, circus	Cigarettes in movies	Culture
G10	Highest Prob: amsterdam, sigaretten, amerikaanse, nederlandse, nederland, duitse, grote FREX: belgische, oostenrijk, amsterdam, mark, belgië, deense, haag	Smuggling of cigarettes	Trade

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	Lift: smokkelhandel, oostenrijk, belgische, haarlem, bankbiljetten, hamburg, denemarken		
G11	Highest Prob: amerikaanse, amerikanen, russische, soldaten, hadden, duitse, werden FREX: russische, russen, soldaat, soldaten, leger, officieren, gevangenen Lift: koreaanse, krijgsgevangenen, russen, officieren, nazis, gevangenen, soldaat	American / Russian / Korean soldiers.	International events
G14	Highest Prob: amerika, waar, amerikaanse, vrouwen, heel, alleen, land FREX: duur, kopen, plastic, reclame, kost, vrouwen, artikelen Lift: inbegrepen, plastic, advertenties, koopt, inkopen, goedkoop, modellen	American women / advertising / plastic / purchasing. American consumer culture	Culture
G15	Highest Prob: regering, minister, landen, land, zullen, president, grote FREX: politiek, politieke, conferentie, minister, buitenlandse, israël, eisenhower Lift: behoeften, socialistische, kabinet, genève, parlement, premier, verkiezingen	American politics	International events
G17	Highest Prob: roken, sigaretten, longkanker, rokers, kanker, jaar, tabak FREX: rokers, longkanker, roken, kanker, rapport, pijp, rookt Lift: bevelen, filter, rokers, sigarettenroken, sterftecijfer, nicotine, longkanker	Cigarettes and cancer. Filter cigarettes, nicotine	Health

1960-1969 (<i>n</i> = 2,508, <i>k</i> = 20, threshold = 17)			
Topics	Topic words	Description	Category
H1	Highest Prob: zullen, president, amerikaanse, regering, minister, staten, verenigde FREX: minister, president, kennedy, johnson, premier, moskou, britse Lift: vrezzen, minister, oppositie, premier, ministers, bewind, pvda	American president / government	International events
H3	Highest Prob: roken, longkanker, sigaretten, rokers, rapport, amerikaanse, tussen FREX: longkanker, rokers, kanker, meinsma, sigarettenrokers, roken, ziekten Lift: kankerregistratie, sterfgevallen, verwekken, longkanker, meinsma, sterftecijfer, sigarettenrokers	Lung cancer / report / meinsma	Health
H5	Highest Prob: amerikaanse, twee, amerikanen, soldaten, eerste, oorlog, vliegtuig FREX: soldaten, geheime, generaal, officieren, leger, majoor, saigon	American soldiers / Saigon	International events

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	Lift: munitie, nachtclubs, mariniers, helikopter, spionnen, vietnamese, saigon		
H10	Highest Prob: film, Amerikaanse, publiek, eerste, Amerika, muziek, televisie FREX: film, films, toneel, programma, programma's, muziek, televisie Lift: tijdschriften, regisseur, avro, finale, regie, acteur, kijkers	American movies / television	Culture
H11	Highest Prob: jaar, sigaretten, procent, miljoen, Amerikaanse, roken, miljard FREX: miljard, procent, waarschuwing, januari, miljoen, ministerie, verbruik Lift: wetsontwerp, sigarenwinkeliers, sigarettenreclame, shag, sigaartjes, tabaksverbruik, sigarettenverbruik	Cigarette consumption in the United States / Ban on advertising.	Culture / Politics / Health
H14	Highest Prob: pakje, moeten, Amerikanen, club, ruimte, sigaretten, prijs FREX: club, navy, pakje, ruimte, advertentie, kleintje, negers Lift: navy, spaarzaam, kleintje, smakelijke, club, ruimtevaart, kwartje	Americans / space / price / advertisement	Culture
H15	Highest Prob: sigaretten, politie, Amerikaanse, jarige, twee, werden, marihuana FREX: marihuana, verdovende, politie, douane, jarige, justitie, aangehouden Lift: douanerecherche, gevlucht, sigarettensmokkel, smokkel, recherche, verdachte, gesmokkelde	Smuggling of cigarettes / marihuana	Trade
H17	Highest Prob: dollar, American, aandelen, tobacco, winst, lager, hoger FREX: steel, fondsen, Philip Morris, chem, aandelen, tobacco Lift: cont, motors, anaconda, Cerro, fondsen, fusie, Goodyear	Stock exchange	Trade
H18	Highest Prob: sigaret, tabak, sigaretten, Nederlandse, merken, merk, Nederland FREX: teer, merken, tabak, merk, nicotine, produkt, filter Lift: typen, consumentenbond, nicotinegehalte, consument, teer, importeur, turmac	Introduction of filter cigarettes in the Netherlands. Dutch debates on health risks of smoking	Health
H19	Highest Prob: alleen, vooral, alle, leven, mensen, tijd, mogelijk FREX: mens, luchtverontreiniging, jongeren, probleem, mate, werking, patiënt Lift: wedstrijden, verslaving, patiënt, verslaafd, medici, klachten, verschijnselen	Causes of cancer and smoking. Air pollution. Smoking by youth. Addiction	Health

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H20	<p>Highest Prob: waar, land, amerikaanse, sigaretten, gaan, grote, nederlandse</p> <p>FREX: winkels, klanten, drank, winkel, overal, voedsel, nederlanders</p> <p>Lift: toonbank, klanten, winkels, restaurants, maaltijden, automaten, klant</p>	American consumer culture	Culture
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1970-1979 (n = 1,740, k = 15, threshold = 15)			
Topics	Topic words	Description	Category
I1	<p>Highest Prob: filter, plus, jaar, boek, amerikaanse, eerste, nederlandse</p> <p>FREX: plus, king, betty, dames, james, spelers, voetbal</p> <p>Lift: plus, wedstrijden, betty, spelers, doek, king, tentoonstelling</p>	Cigarette companies sponsoring sport events (Tennis player Betty Stöve / Formula 1 driver James Hunt)	Culture
I2	<p>Highest Prob: sigaretten, sigaret, teer, tabak, shag, niemeyer, nicotine</p> <p>FREX: teer, shag, niemeyer, nicotinegehalte, nicotine, nicotinearne, tabak</p> <p>Lift: shag, nicotinegehalte, niemeyer, teer, theodorus, milligram, teergehalte</p>	Tar / Nicotine in cigarettes. Dutch company Niemeyer	Health
I4	<p>Highest Prob: sigaretten, jaar, miljoen, procent, amerikaanse, roken, gulden</p> <p>FREX: miljard, miljoen, dollar, procent, gemiddeld, pakjes, staten</p> <p>Lift: steeg, wetsontwerp, miljard, bedroeg, verbruik, denemarken, schatting</p>	Number of cigarettes consumed. The United States as point of reference.	Culture / Trade
I5	<p>Highest Prob: grote, nieuwe, moeten, land, jaren, jaar, mensen</p> <p>FREX: economische, melk, kaas, systeem, welvaart, steden, industrie</p> <p>Lift: samenwerken, werkloosheid, industriële, welvaart, inkomen, bedrijfsleven, inflatie</p>	Economic prosperity	Trade
I7	<p>Highest Prob: amerikaanse, president, werden, nixon, vietnam, jaar, tijdens</p> <p>FREX: nixon, vietnam, brand, russische, president, saigon, moskou</p> <p>Lift: senaat, saigon, nixon, prinses, overleed, texas, agent</p>	Vietnam war	International events
I8	<p>Highest Prob: film, weer, publiek, waar, twee, goed, heel</p> <p>FREX: film, muziek, show, plaat, publiek, programma, band</p> <p>Lift: artiesten, dreigde, speelfilm, muzikale, rock, johnny, concert</p>	Cigarettes in music and movies	Culture

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I10	Highest Prob: roken, rokers, sigaretten, jaar, aantal, onderzoek, longkanker FREX: longkanker, kanker, rokers, vaatziekten, ziekte, hartinfarct, hart Lift: categorie, sterfgevallen, vaatziekten, longkanker, hartziekten, hartinfarct, sterfte	Lung cancer / Research / smokers/ Heart disease	Health
I13	Highest Prob: amsterdam, bedrijf, directie, merken, batco, tobacco, fabriek FREX: directie, batco, sigarettenfabriek, tobacco, british, company, morris Lift: three, batco, directie, company, ondernemingsraad, sigarettenfabriek, turmac	Mergers of Dutch companies with American tobacco companies	Trade

1980-1989 (n = 1,638, k = 20, threshold = 15)			
Topics	Topic words	Description	Category
J2	Highest Prob: dollar, miljard, amerikaanse, miljoen, jaar, procent, gulden FREX: miljard, aandelen, concern, dollar, nabisco, aandeel, sigarettenfabrikant Lift: goldsmith, overneming, particulieren, nabisco, group, unilever, aandelen	Stock exchange	Trade
J4	Highest Prob: russische, moskou, waar, weer, jaar, russen, mensen FREX: moskou, russische, russen, sovjetunie, china, indianen, camera Lift: formaat, moskou, assistent, cameras, indianen, russische, valuta	Russia / Soviet Union	Politics
J7	Highest Prob: roken, rokers, sigaret, sigaretten, roker, tabak, mensen FREX: rokers, roker, roken, nicotine, volksgezondheid, gerookt, rookt Lift: rookverbod, rookloze, rokers, roker, nicotine, teer, verstokte	Smoking ban, tobacco, smoker, nicotine, public health	Health
J9	Highest Prob: jaar, vrouwen, onderzoek, kinderen, roken, procent, mensen FREX: kanker, rapport, onderzoek, bloeddruk, cocaïne, stoffen, risico Lift: ontwikkelingslanden, doorgaan, vaatziekten, kanker, verhoogde, bloeddruk, afwijkingen	Cancer, report, research, children, women.	Health
J10	Highest Prob: nederlandse, nederland, sigaretten, bedrijf, amsterdam, europese, markt FREX: reclame, bedrijf, europese, boete, woordvoerder, american, produktie Lift: turmac, boete, niemeyer, laurens, vestiging, sponsors, directie	Dutch company, advertising, market	Trade
J11	Highest Prob: sigaar, jaar, sigaren, sport, weer, drie, spelen FREX: sigaar, sigaren, olympische, sport, stadion,	Olympic games, anti-smoking campaign	Health

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	olympisch, toernooi Lift: antirookcampagne, sigaar, sigaren, olympische, olympisch, toernooi, bladeren		
J13	Highest Prob: muziek, publiek, band, eerste, goed, zoals, twee FREX: band, zingen, podium, plaat, wandelen, groningen, muzikanten Lift: doctor, elpee, single, wandelen, roll, gitaar, plaat	Music	Culture
J16	Highest Prob: film, zien, films, leven, verhaal, gaat, amerikaanse FREX: films, film, regisseur, verhaal, scène, roman, scènes Lift: panorama, scènes, personages, regisseur, scenario, acteurs, scène	Movies, American, scene	Culture
J17	Highest Prob: weer, werden, hadden, waar, kwam, eerste, jaar FREX: Duitsers, Gerrit, bevrijding, kilometer, vliegtuigen, soldaten, moesten Lift: spullen, bevrijders, Duitsers, chocolade, Canadezen, bevrijding, geallieerde	Looking back on liberation	Domestic event / International event

Appendix 5.1 | Keywords in Coca-Cola Advertisements

Keywords Coca-Cola advertisements		Period	1928-1937	1948-1957	1958-1967	1968-1977
		total # of ads	192	311	315	523
Keyword	Query	Category ¹²	rel. freq	rel. freq	rel. freq	rel. freq
alcohol	alcohol	1	20.3			
available	verkrijgbaar	2	43.8	5.8	2.5	6.3
best	best*	1	51.6	42.1	37.8	24.5
bottle	fles*	3	52.1	53.4	46.3	41.3
break	pauze	4	1	11.9	25.4	
bubble	parel*	1	10.9	1.9		2.7
calorie	[a-z]alorie*	4			7.6	5
compound	samenvoeging	1	18.8			
connoisseur	kenner*	4	24.5	4.2		1.7
convivial	gezellig*	4	2.6	11.6	7	1.5
countries	landen	2	33.9	19.3	6.7	1.1
crown cap	kroonkurk*	3		12.2	5.4	8
daily	dagelijks	2	49.5			2.7
delicious	heerlijk	1	67.2	25.4	26.3	7.6
designed	ontworpen	3		15.8		
diet	lijn	4	3.1	2.3	11.7	2.1
distinct	apart*	1	55.2	1.6	6.3	1.3
economical	voordelig*	4		2.9	13.3	4.8
everybody	iedereen	2	3.1	11.6	7.6	1.9
everywhere	overal	2	43.2	19.3	7.6	2.9
extra	extra	1	2.1	4.8	11.4	6.5
family bottle	gezinsfles*	3			14.9	8.2
fancy	chique	4	12.5			
fashionable	mondain*	4	9.9			

¹² 1 = features; 2 = popularity; 3 = materiality; 4 = consumer.

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fine	fijn	1	42.2	5.8	3.5	6.9
flavor	aroma	1	20.8	1	1	1
fresh	fris	1	55.7	34.1	54.3	8.2
fruit	vruchten*	1	55.7	3.2	1.3	7.1
glass	glas	3	50.5	16.1	12.4	5.9
glasses	glazen	3	51	2.3	8.3	4.6
graceful	sierlijk*	3	1.6	15.1		
invigorating	opwekkend*	1	22.4	3.9		1
irreplaceable	onvervangbare	1				2.9
kingsize	kingsize	3			7	
liter bottle	literfles*	3				11.1
million	mil[a-z]oen*	2	2.1		1.6	1.9
modern	modern*	4	17.7	6.4	3.2	3.4
new	nieuw*	4	23.4	16.7	28.6	19.7
original	origine[a-z]*	1	1.6	1		5.9
plastic	plastic	3		1.9	4.1	2.1
popular	populair*	2	21.4	6.1	2.5	
practical	praktisch*	1			5.1	5.2
price	prijs	4	16.7	8.4	8.6	17.6
pure	zuiver*	1	22.4	14.5	15.2	4
quality	kwaliteit	1	10.4	10.6	6.3	5.5
quench	lescht	1	16.7			
real	echte	1	4.7	5.5	3.5	14.5
refreshing	verfris*	1	51.6	29.9	36.2	1.1
refreshing	verkwik*	1	7.8	1	23.2	
sparkling	sprankelen*	1	4.7	17.7	20	1.9
special	bijzonder*	1	29.7	4.2	7	1.3
standard bottle	standaardfles*	3			2.5	3.1
stimulating	stimuleer*	1	9.4			
taste	smaak	1	71.4	12.5	45.7	13.4
tasty	lekker*	1	2.1	3.9	17.1	6.7
thirst	dorst	1	50	8.4	10.5	2.5
world	wereld	2	35.9	28	7.9	4.2

Appendix 6.1 | Topic Modeling Newspaper Discourse on Coca-Cola

For topic modeling I used the R package STM (structural topic model).¹³ For the determination of the number of topics, I relied on the *searchK* method included in STM.¹⁴ As Roberts et al. argue that there is not a *right* way to determine the number of topics. I mostly relied on the held-out likelihood and semantic coherence to determine an optimal number of topics (*k*). When in doubt, I opted for a high number of topics to capture greater granularity. The parameter *lower.threshold* (threshold) drops words that appear in fewer documents than set by the threshold. Documents that contain words that all appear in fewer documents than the threshold will also be removed. This value is determined by plotting the effects of different values using the *plotRemoved* function.

The order of the displayed words in each topic is calculated with three different word weighting techniques: *Highest Prob*, *FREX*, and *Lift*. *Highest Prob* selects the words with the highest probability. *FREX* includes frequent and exclusive words that distinguish topics, and *Lift* highlights particular words in phrases that are more prevalent within a group of documents compared to the average across the corpus.¹⁵ I also

¹³ Molly Roberts, Brandon Stewart, and Dustin Tingley, “Stm: A R Package for the Structural Topic Model,” accessed May 17, 2016, <http://structuraltopicmodel.com/>. I segmented the corpus on the article level, which means that the topic modeling algorithm approached each article as a single document. In the case of longer documents, such as novels, people often segment on paragraph level or by a set number of words.

¹⁴ For a discussion of this method see: Margaret Roberts, Brandon Stewart, and Dustin Tingley, “Navigating the Local Modes of Big Data: The Case of Topic Models,” in *Computational Social Science: Discovery and Prediction* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 51–98.

¹⁵ For more on these measure, see the reference manual at: Margaret Roberts, Dustin Tingley, and Brandon Stewart, *Stm: Estimation of the Structural Topic Model*, version 1.1.3, 2016, <https://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/stm/index.html>. For more on LIFT see: Matt Taddy,

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annotated each topic with a short description by examining the most frequent words in articles associated with the topics. Also, in some cases, I read the articles associated with topics by querying the corpus using the keywords taken from the topics. Finally, I placed the topics in one or two of the following categories: culture, economy, politics, and sports.

1928-1989 ($n = 3,029$, $k = 45$, threshold = 10)			
Topics	Topic words	Description	Category
A3	Highest Prob: cocacola, atlanta, drank, italië, rome, smaak, jaar FREX: atlanta, cocacola, rome, recept, drank, italië, drug Lift: drug, atlanta, pemberton, recept, apotheker, bottelarijen, rome	History of Coca-Cola	Culture
A5	Highest Prob: eten, amerikanen, amerikaanse, amerika, drinken, onze, melk FREX: eten, lunch, maaltijd, melk, ontbijt, restaurants, vlees Lift: gebraden, vruchtensap, maaltijden, wodka, tomaten, sandwiches, lunch	Food culture in United States	Culture
A7	Highest Prob: miljoen, jaar, gulden, procent, liter, ruim, bedrag FREX: liter, miljoen, gulden, procent, bedrag, ruim, miljard Lift: ondergang, omzetstijging, branche, liter, stijging, kenter, geraamd	Amount of Coca-Cola consumed. Profit of the Coca-Cola company	Economy
A12	Highest Prob: nederland, nederlandse, bedrijf, heer, volgens, aldus, zullen FREX: advertentie, directie, fabrikanten, bottelo, consument, dongen, merk Lift: advertentie, bottelo, vrumona, arbeidsplaatsen, oranjeboom, literfles, exota	Dutch bottling plants	Economy
A16	Highest Prob: fles, flessen, vrouw, twee, steeds, waar, jaar FREX: statiegeld, flessen, afval, kelder, fles, schip,	Bottles and introduction of bottle deposit	Economy

“Multinomial Inverse Regression for Text Analysis,” *arXiv:1012.2098 [Stat]*, December 9, 2010, 6, <http://arxiv.org/abs/1012.2098>.

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	ziekenhuis Lift: kelder, statiegeld, afval, kratten, ontwerper, verwerking, raymond		
A38	Highest Prob: cola, coca, pepsi, amerikaanse, plastic, flessen, sevenup FREX: cola, pepsi, coca, sevenup, ingesteld, plastic, concurrent Lift: ingesteld, colaoorlog, colamarkt, sevenup, cola, pepsico, pepsi	Competition with PepsiCo	Economy
A45	Highest Prob: franse, europa, europese, frankrijk, amerikaanse, landen, amerika FREX: europese, franse, fransen, frankrijk, europa, hongarije, roemenië Lift: beïnvloeden, roemenië, europeanen, boedapest, fransen, hongarije, europese	Coca-Cola in Europe, in particular France	Culture / Economy
A10	Highest Prob: nederlandse, reclame, nederland, bureau, televisie, adverteerder, grote FREX: adverteerder, media, bureau, omroep, televisie, satelliet, commerciële Lift: adverteerder, brinkman, zender, gerichte, omroep, satelliet, adverteerders	Advertising / Media law by Secretary Brinkman	Economy / Culture
A35	Highest Prob: mensen, reclame, alleen, maken, goed, waar, zegt FREX: reclame, jongeren, vind, mensen, vaak, merken, leuk Lift: public, doelgroep, stoet, jongeren, relations, modellen, suggereren	Advertising and youth culture	Economy / Culture
A1	Highest Prob: verwacht, firma, kort, maatschappij, scène, company, frisdrank FREX: verwacht, scène, geding, firma, concern, alicia, verstappen Lift: aangespannen, scorpio, verwacht, alicia, verstappen, geding, parra	Court case with Scorpio over the erotic movie <i>Alicia</i> that featured a graphic depiction of a Coke bottle	Culture
A15	Highest Prob: regering, coca, jaar, mensen, negros, twee, land FREX: negros, stemmen, verkiezingen, arbeiders, regering, staking, filippijnen Lift: guatemala, rhodesische, tand, filippijnen, filippijnse, negros, rechtse	Social unrest in Philippines and Guatemala	Politics
A34	Highest Prob: oorlog, land, amerikaanse, regering, leger, alle, amerikanen FREX: leger, militaire, communistische, generaal, oorlog, vietnam, nicaragua	American military presence in Asia and South-America	Politics

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	Lift: reiken, saigon, korea, vaticaan, nicaragua, vietnamese, indonesische		
A40	Highest Prob: amerikaanse, verenigde, staten, zuidafrika, bedrijven, Israël, Arabische FREX: zuidafrika, Israël, Arabische, carter, zuidafrikaanse, verenigde, afrika Lift: mais, apartheid, zuidafrika, Israël, zuidafrikaanse, Arabische, sancties	Boycott by League of Arab States and boycott of South-Africa by the Coca-Cola Company	Politics
A41	Highest Prob: Duitse, jaar, Amerikaanse, Duitsland, waar, Amerika, staat FREX: Duitsers, Duitse, Duits, Donald, Duitsland, gordijn, koningin Lift: ardratgeber, filmster, Donald, gordijn, Popeye, Duitsers, Duits	Coca-Cola's presence in Germany	Culture / Politics
A11	Highest Prob: Makavejev, cola, coca, becker, Frans, Amerikaanse, Dusan FREX: Makavejev, becker, Dusan, Australië, Roberts, Australische, Eric Lift: game, Makavejev, Roberts, Dusan, Greta, becker, Australië	Movie <i>Cola Kid</i> by Dusan Makavejev	Culture
A13	Highest Prob: Rotterdam, Zullen, festival, grote, zaterdag, twee, gehouden FREX: festival, Rotterdamse, organisatoren, juni, Rotterdam, feest, stichting Lift: blue, popfestival, organisatoren, Kralingse, genoteerd, zaterdagmorgen, jury	Pop festival in Rotterdam	Culture
A21	Highest Prob: heer, Amsterdam, jaar, waar, alle, teddy, weer FREX: teddy, Scholten, Chris, kermis, opera, heer, vergaderingen Lift: vergaderingen, Scholten, teddy, Chris, concertgebouw, jubileum, dirigent	Performance Teddy Scholten at Coca-Cola show	Culture
A23	Highest Prob: show, miljoen, dollar, John, Jackson, Michael, jaar FREX: Jackson, Trax, Michael, John, show, circus, football Lift: Trax, Jackson, Michael, presentatoren, discotheek, Florida, artiest	Michael Jackson and Pepsi	Culture
A26	Highest Prob: kunst, grote, museum, werk, tentoonstelling, kalender, fotos FREX: tentoonstelling, kalender, museum, kunst, schilderijen, kunstenaar, expositie Lift: courant, popart, museum, kunstwerken,	Coca-Cola in pop-art	Culture

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	tentoonstelling, kalender, beeldende		
A14	Highest Prob: tour, ploeg, jaar, ronde, renners, eerste, weer FREX: tour, ploegleider, renners, trui, ploeg, france, wielersport Lift: brouwer, levitan, ploegleider, hinault, perrier, thurau, wielersport	Sponsorship of the Tour de France	Sports
A24	Highest Prob: voetbal, klasse, wedstrijd, eerste, spelers, twee, jaar FREX: klasse, voetbal, elftal, fifa, knvb, wedstrijd, spelers Lift: sparta, klasse, scheidsrechter, bondscoach, voetbalbond, elftal, zamora	Sponsorship soccer	Sports
A39	Highest Prob: spelen, olympische, dollar, landen, cocaïne, olympisch, moskou FREX: cocaïne, olympische, olympisch, spelen, winterspelen, griekse, moskou Lift: sony, winterspelen, cocaïne, organisatiecomité, olympisch, atleten, olympische	Olympic Games in Moscow	Sports
A42	Highest Prob: bergsma, jong, punten, groep, ronde, partij, tweede FREX: bergsma, okrogelnik, remise, punten, bandstra, hoekstra, maertzdorf Lift: cocacolabeker, corr, dambond, damtoernooi, maertzdorf, remise, roordahuizum	Sponsorship of checkers	Sports

1928-1944 ($n = 125$, $k = 11$, threshold = 5)			
Topics	Topic words	Description	Category
B5 & B9	Highest Prob: waar, staat, gaan, cent, moeten, groote, ieder FREX: cent, vraagt, koffie, hudson, ieder, brood, krijgen Lift: hudson, koffie, post, dragen, brood, cent, drugstore	Description of life in the United States.	Culture
	Highest Prob: menschen, wanneer, allemaal, alle, dezelfde, onze, amerika FREX: allemaal, restaurants, straat, precies, eten, menschen, dezelfde Lift: cream, restaurants, papieren, aardige, dagelijksche, scholen, leek		
B7	Highest Prob: mexico, mannen, guadalajara, tante, tram, koopen, wanneer FREX: guadalajara, tram, tante, mexico, mexicaansche, pesos, oeroude Lift: mexicaansch, auteursrecht, guadalajara,	Description of life in Mexico	Culture

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	heldere, mexicaansche, pesos, slordige		
B11 & B2	Highest Prob: alle, welke, zelfs, groote, wanneer, jaar, wereld FREX: welke, artikel, landen, grootste, verschillende, geheel, economische Lift: motor, sommige, landen, economische, artikel, biedt, schrijft	Global popularity of Coca-Cola	Economy
	Highest Prob: coca, cola, jaar, vijf, millioen, hooger, vraag FREX: coca, millioen, cola, vraag, blijven, hooger, zeven Lift: millioen, wijst, vraag, zeven, coca, cola, blijven		

1945-1954 ($n = 403$, $k = 12$, threshold = 5)			
Topics	Topic words	Description	Category
C1	Highest Prob: cocacola, franse, frankrijk, amerikaanse, wijn, jaar, moeten FREX: frankrijk, franse, canada, wijn, fransen, duitsland, cocacola Lift: canada, fransman, franse, genoemde, frankrijk, millioenen, belangen	Protests against Coca-Cola in France and Germany after the Second World War	Culture / Politics
C7	Highest Prob: amerikaanse, amerika, land, nieuwe, waar, staat, amerikanen FREX: verenigde, politiek, leger, politieke, communisme, truman, staten Lift: communisme, truman, gordijn, systeem, wereldoorlog, bezetting, leger	Coca-Cola as symbol during emerging Cold War tensions	Politics
C8	Highest Prob: nederland, teddy, kalender, belgië, scholten, ronde, nederlandse FREX: teddy, kalender, scholten, ronde, november, belgië, fotos Lift: scholten, kalender, kalenders, maandag, teddy, vlog, periode	Performance of Teddy Scholten in the United States	Culture
C9	Highest Prob: waar, noch, land, bier, koffie, alleen, komt FREX: noch, bier, soldaten, verlangen, kilo, waard, vork Lift: noch, verlangen, klimaat, mijnheer,	Comparison between Europe and the United States	Culture

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	vooroorlogse, machine, legt		
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1955-1964 ($n = 437$, $k = 13$, threshold = 8)			
Topics	Topic words	Description	Category
D2	Highest Prob: amerikaanse, jaar, amerika, president, plaats, staten, eerste FREX: amerikaanse, president, staten, amerika, ongeveer, verenigde, miljoen Lift: american, staten, president, regering, amerikaanse, paleis, waaronder	American politics	Economy / Politics
D6	Highest Prob: amsterdam, haag, cola, coca, groningen, nieuwe, jaar FREX: amsterdam, groningen, haag, fabriek, utrecht, schiedam, flesjes Lift: vrijdag, schiedam, groningen, fabriek, amsterdam, utrecht, haag	Bottling plants in the Netherlands	Economy
D3	Highest Prob: jeugd, twee, film, heel, meisje, waar, engelse FREX: film, fotos, jeugd, meisje, engelse, billy, juli Lift: billy, juli, genoemd, fransen, dansen, fotos, boeken	The movie <i>One, Two, Three</i> by Billy Wilder	Culture
D12	Highest Prob: heer, coca, cola, onze, hotel, frans, tussen FREX: frans, hotel, bezoek, duits, beschikbaar, reclame, gehele Lift: beschikbaar, duits, frans, restaurant, vertrek, bezoek, firma	Reception of Coca-Cola in Germany and France	Culture

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1965-1974 ($n = 637$, $k = 14$, threshold = 8)			
	Topic words	Description	Category
E1 & E11	<p>Highest Prob: cocacola, heer, cola, coca, bedrijf, amerikaanse, bedrijven</p> <p>FREX: bedrijven, dongen, bedrijf, bottelo, fabriek, schiedam, produktie</p> <p>Lift: dongen, groen, directie, bottelo, bedrijven, ondernemingen, schiedam</p>	Dutch bottling plants and sales figures in the Netherlands	Economy
	<p>Highest Prob: jaar, liter, miljoen, heer, festival, frisdranken, cola</p> <p>FREX: festival, cent, liter, frisdranken, fris, nederlander, miljoen</p> <p>Lift: goederen, steeden, raak, popfestival, festival, kralingse, honkbal</p>		
E2	<p>Highest Prob: film, fles, scène, flessen, coca, cocacola, alicia</p> <p>FREX: alicia, scène, verstappen, geding, parra, fles, scorpio</p> <p>Lift: parra, alicia, benen, colafles, geding, scorpio, verstappen</p>	Incident with Coca-Cola bottle in pornographic movie <i>Alicia</i>	Culture
E3	<p>Highest Prob: waar, onze, wereld, jaar, land, bevolking, alleen</p> <p>FREX: indianen, brazilië, koning, bevolking, arabische, duitse, blanken</p> <p>Lift: kust, Duitsers, westerse, tocht, indianen, medische, blanken</p>	American presence in South-America, Arab World, and Germany	Politics / Culture
E4	<p>Highest Prob: film, gaat, godard, films, twee, mensen, zeggen</p> <p>FREX: godard, films, film, jeugd, muziek, marx, werkelijkheid</p> <p>Lift: godard, Jean-Luc, democratie, scènes, marx, portret, bioscoop</p>	The movie <i>Masculin Féminin</i> by Jean-Luc Godard	Culture
E9	<p>Highest Prob: amerikaanse, regering, twee, vietnam, griekse, Amerikanen, militaire</p> <p>FREX: militaire, griekse, Nixon, regering, Griekenland, vietnam, leger</p> <p>Lift: militaire, Griekenland, Vietnamese, Nixon, griekse, toestel, saigon</p>	American presence in Vietnam. Coca-Cola's role in Greek politics	Politics

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E13	<p>Highest Prob: jaar, gebruik, mensen, cola, nieuwe, mogelijk, coca</p> <p>FREX: consument, kaas, middel, middelen, bepaalde, stoffen, mogelijk</p> <p>Lift: stoffen, beïnvloeden, kunstmatige, dosis, consument, kaas, levensmiddelen</p>	<p>Popularity Coca-Cola, debates on harmful ingredients</p>	Economy
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1975-1989 (<i>n</i> = 1,427, <i>k</i> = 21, threshold = 6)			
Topics	Topic words	Description	Category
F1	<p>Highest Prob: cola, coca, pepsi, onderzoek, nederland, amerikaanse, bedrijf</p> <p>FREX: onderzoek, cola, konsumentenman, test, company, coca, drank</p> <p>Lift: konsumentenman, colatest, inge, voedingsmiddelen, vocht, etiket, varaprogramma</p>	<p>Competition between PepsiCo and the Coca-Cola Company. Debates on differences in taste</p>	Economy
F2	<p>Highest Prob: amerikaanse, zuidafrika, bedrijven, dollar, zullen, landen, israël</p> <p>FREX: zuidafrika, israël, boycot, moskou, zuidafrikaanse, arabische, bedrijven</p> <p>Lift: mais, pretoria, afghanistan, astronauten, honeywell, apartheid, overname</p>	<p>Boycotts by League of Arab States and boycott by Coca-Cola Company of South-Africa</p>	Politics
F7	<p>Highest Prob: japan, japanse, coca, cola, september, december, televisie</p> <p>FREX: japan, tokio, japanse, december, japanners, november, symposium</p> <p>Lift: magazin, japanners, zweeds, koper, bell, chileense, tokio</p>	<p>Coca-Cola in Japan</p>	Economy / Culture
F12	<p>Highest Prob: jackson, michael, amerikaanse, makavejev, pepsi, muziek, zwarte</p> <p>FREX: jackson, michael, dusan, australië, australische, makavejev, turner</p> <p>Lift: summer, scacchi, turner, satire, tina, jackson, greta</p>	<p>Popular culture</p>	Culture
F14	<p>Highest Prob: negros, zouden, twee, volgens, politie, regering, mensen</p> <p>FREX: negros, nicaragua, verkiezingen, eiland, stemmen, arbeiders, politie</p> <p>Lift: negros, nicaraguaanse, salisbury, gestemd, rhodesië, tand, vakbond</p>	<p>Social unrest directed toward Coca-Cola in Negros and Nicaragua.</p>	Politics

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F15 & F18	<p>Highest Prob: groningen, rotterdam, nederlandse, jaar, nederland, directeur, band</p> <p>FREX: groningen, band, benoemd, rotterdam, rotterdamse, groningen, satelliet</p> <p>Lift: again, bottelmaatschappij, noordnederlandse, oranjeboom, brouwerij, brinkman, breda</p>	Dutch soft drink industry	Economy
	<p>Highest Prob: cocacola, jaar, nieuwe, pepsi, markt, nederland, liter</p> <p>FREX: liter, sevenup, consument, statiegeld, leeuwarden, consumenten, produkt</p> <p>Lift: afvalstroom, franeker, petfles, harmonie, hergebruik, meldingen, consumenten</p>		
F17	<p>Highest Prob: amerikaanse, wereld, land, amerika, jaren, chinese, grote</p> <p>FREX: chinese, warhol, peking, kunst, vietnam, kunstenaars, chinezen</p> <p>Lift: warhol, whisky, vietnam, voorwerpen, marilyn, eenzaam, griekse</p>	Pop-art & China	Culture / Politics

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Nederlandse samenvatting | Summary in Dutch

Dit proefschrift bestudeert de rol van Verenigde Staten als referentiecultuur in het Nederlandse publieke discours over de moderniserende consumptiemaatschappij. Het concept referentiecultuur wordt ingezet om te beschrijven hoe landen en hun culturen hebben gefunctioneerd als cultureel model voor andere landen, in dit geval de Verenigde Staten voor Nederland. Deze studie heeft onderzocht welke ideeën, waarden en praktijken er in Nederlandse kranten met de Verenigde Staten werden verbonden, maar ook in welke debatten en op welke wijze er naar de Verenigde Staten werd verwezen. Dit helpt ons te begrijpen hoe bepaalde landen vooraanstaande posities in nemen de verbeelding van tijdgenoten binnen een nationale context. Daarnaast biedt het inzichten in omgang van Nederlanders met cultuurhistorische veranderingen gerelateerd aan twintigste-eeuwse consumptiemaatschappij.

Middels een combinatie van computergestuurde *text mining*-technieken en meer traditioneel historische methoden onderzoekt deze studie hoe de Verenigde Staten als referentiecultuur werden gerepresenteerd in het gedigitaliseerde krantenarchief van de Koninklijke Bibliotheek. De analytische en heuristische mogelijkheden van *text mining* heeft cultuurhistorisch onderzoek verrijkt en deze meer systematische analyse van historische processen mogelijk gemaakt. Door iteratief te schakelen tussen verschillende niveaus van analyse, ook wel bekend als *distant* en *close reading*, heb ik de discursieve thema's en linguïstische trends gerelateerd aan de Verenigde Staten en consumentengoederen in het krantendiscours kunnen ontwaren.

Dit onderzoek plaatst bestaand onderzoek naar de beeldvorming over de Verenigde Staten en het proces van Amerikanisering in een bredere context. Deze specifieke studie van kranten toont aan dat reeds in het interbellum het Nederlandse publiek zich openstelde voor invloeden uit de Verenigde Staten ondanks kritiek vanuit intellectuele kringen. In deze periode tussen de twee Wereldoorlogen werd de fundering gelegd voor sterke pro-Amerikaanse sentimenten in de daaropvolgende decennia. Ondanks toenemende kritiek op de Verenigde Staten tijdens de jaren zeventig en tachtig bleef het land een centrale rol als referentiecultuur innemen in debatten over bijvoorbeeld de macht van multinationals en de effecten van globalisering. Gedurende de twintigste eeuw waren de ogen vanuit Nederlandse consumenten gericht op de Verenigde Staten. Men keek naar Amerikaanse ontwikkelingen om houvast te krijgen op soortgelijke fenomenen binnen de Nederlandse samenleving.

Dit proefschrift richt zich in binnen het archief van gedigitaliseerde kranten in het bijzonder op artikelen en advertenties over consumptiegoederen. In deze bronnen werden producten regelmatig met landen geassocieerd. Dit proefschrift beschrijft hoe producten die met de Verenigde Staten in verband werden gebracht Nederlandse consumenten hebben geconfronteerd met Amerikaanse vormen van adverteren, produceren, distribueren en consumeren.

Hoofdstuk 1 beschrijft welke computationele technieken gebruikt zijn om een corpus van meer dan vijftig miljoen artikelen en bijna twintig miljoen advertenties te exploreren, analyseren en visualiseren. Hoofdstuk 2 gaat dieper in op de representativiteit en kwaliteit van het gedigitaliseerde krantencorpus. Daarnaast biedt dit hoofdstuk een overzicht van de producten en thema's die in kranten het meest frequent met de Verenigde Staten in verband werden gebracht.

Na de twee inleidende hoofdstukken presenteert dit proefschrift twee casussen. De eerste casus onderzoekt sigaretten in advertenties (hoofdstuk

3) en artikelen (hoofdstuk 4). Hoofdstuk 3 laat zien dat in de late jaren twintig adverteerders regelmatig en in rijke bewoordingen sigaretten met de Verenigde Staten begonnen te associëren. Naast Amerikaanse sigaretten werd de Nederlandse sigarettenmarkt voor de Tweede Wereldoorlog bevolkt door onder andere Engelse, Egyptische, Turkse en Russische sigaretten. Dit veranderde na de Tweede wereldoorlog en al snel stond de Amerikaanse sigaret synoniem voor alle sigaretten. Amerikaanse sigarettenfabrikanten maakten Nederlandse rokers bekend met een milde, goedkope, aromatische, lange sigaret, die sterk afweek van andere soorten sigaretten. Deze Amerikaanse sigaret veranderde het beeld van de sigaret, de roker en het roken in Nederland.

Hoofdstuk 4 laat zien dat de Verenigde Staten optraden als referentiepunt in sociale en culturele debatten rondom het roken van sigaretten. Men moet dan denken aan discussies over de mechanisering van het productieproces van consumptiegoederen, de gezondheidsrisico's van roken en de emancipatie van vrouwelijke consumenten. In dit deel van het publieke discours is duidelijk te zien dat de Verenigde Staten aanvankelijk een natie van grenzeloos roken symboliseerden, maar vanaf de jaren zestig steeds meer werden gezien als een voorbeeld van het inperken van roken. Hiernaast stonden de Verenigde Staten symbool voor de problematische relatie tussen het bedrijfsleven, de wetenschap, de overheid en de consument.

De tweede casus richt zich op de - nog altijd - populaire Amerikaanse frisdrank Coca-Cola. Hoofdstuk 5 toont aan dat in krantenadvertenties Coca-Cola niet expliciet met de Verenigde Staten in verband werd gebracht, maar dat advertenties op impliciete wijze een levensstijl – *the American way of life* – communiceerden die in krantenartikelen met de Verenigde Staten werd verbonden. Een opvallend kenmerk in Coca-Cola advertenties is de nadruk op het internationale alsook het lokale karakter van Coca-Cola.

Hoofdstuk 6 laat een geleidelijke verschuiving zien in de manier waarop Coca-Cola met de Verenigde Staten werd verbonden. Aanvankelijk werd Coca-Cola genoemd in artikelen die de sociale condities in de Verenigde Staten schetsten. Gaandeweg verschoof dit gebruik en diende Coca-Cola als illustratie van de groeiende mondiale machtspositie van de Verenigde Staten op economisch, militair, en cultureel gebied. Tijdens de Koude Oorlog deed Coca-Cola dienst als symbool voor het kapitalistische Westen en niet meer uitsluitend voor de Verenigde Staten. Ook laat het aanhoudend gebruik van Coca-Cola als een voorbeeld van de mondiale verspreiding van Amerikaanse cultuur zien dat in het publieke discours globalisering en Amerikanisering sterk met elkaar werden verbonden.

In artikelen en advertenties in kranten symboliseerden de Verenigde Staten een breed scala aan ideeën, praktijken en waarden die tegelijkertijd relatief stabiel en soms tegenstrijdig zijn. Het land representeerde authenticiteit, kwaliteit, mechanisering, beschaving, maar ook kunstmatigheid, overdaad en restrictieve wetgeving. Krantenartikelen in het interbellum en in de eerste twee decennia na de Tweede Wereldoorlog presenteerden de Verenigde Staten als een rijke, gedemocratiseerde consumptiemaatschappij. In de daaropvolgende jaren verschoof het beeld van de Verenigde Staten allengs van een natie van overdaad naar een die gekenmerkt werd door toenemende inperkingen opgelegd door de Amerikaanse overheid. De Verenigde Staten speelden een centrale rol in nationale debatten over de gezondheidsrisico's van consumentengoederen; de emancipatie van vrouwelijke consumenten; de bedrijfspolitiek van multinationals; de politieke, culturele, en economische effecten van globalisering; en belangenstrijd tussen consumenten, onderzoekers, producenten en de overheid.

Adverteerders maakten Nederlandse consumenten bekend met een geromantiseerd beeld van de Verenigde Staten. Dat bestond enerzijds uit

een beeld van een avontuurlijk, ruig, en ontgonnen landschap en anderzijds uit een kosmopolitische, moderne en efficiënte consumptie­maatschappij. Centraal binnen deze representaties stond de zelfredzame mannelijke of vrouwelijk consument die zelf kon beslissen waar, wanneer en met wie hij of zij ogenschijnlijk oneindige hoeveelheden moderne, op industriële wijze geproduceerde producten kon consumeren. Adverteerders gebruikten dit beeld van de Amerikaanse samenleving als referentiepunt om Nederlandse consumenten bekend te maken met nieuwe en andere manieren van consumeren en de nieuwe positie van de consument in de maatschappij.

Beide casestudies laten zien dat de ideeën, waarden, en praktijken die met Amerika werden geassocieerd relatief stabiel bleven gedurende de twintigste eeuw. Ondanks verschuiving in de mate waarin deze associaties als positief of negatief werden ervaren bleven de thema's terugkeren in de kranten. Dit betrekkelijk eenduidige beeld van de Verenigde Staten maakte haar functie als referentiecultuur krachtiger en eenvoudiger toe te passen door tijdgenoten. Kranten hebben sterk bijgedragen aan het in stand houden van een betrekkelijk eenduidig beeld van de Verenigde Staten en de Amerikaanse cultuur. Ondanks pogingen in kranten om het beeld te nuanceren overheerste een stereotiep beeld van de Verenigde Staten dat dienst deed als voorbeeld in positieve en negatieve zin in Nederlandse discussie over de modernisering van de consumptie­maatschappij. Ook tonen de kranten dat de rol van de Verenigde Staten als referentiecultuur zich gedurende de twintigste eeuw steeds meer consolideerde. Binnen debatten gerelateerd aan de consumptie­maatschappij werd naar de Verenigde Staten verwezen en diende de natie als cultureel model.

Opmerkelijk is ook dat gaandeweg de twintigste eeuw het beeld van de Verenigde Staten steeds meer losgezongen raakt van daadwerkelijke gebeurtenissen in het land en plaats maakte voor een haast mythisch,

geconstrueerd beeld. De losgezongen status van dit beeld zorgde ervoor dat pogingen om het beeld te nuanceren of te ontkrachten voor veel mensen geen verschil maakten. In haar rol als referentiecultuur functioneren de Verenigde Staten als een extra-nationale entiteit die op exceptionele wijze richting heeft gegeven aan de Nederlandse opvatting over en de manieren van handelen in kwesties gerelateerd aan de consumptiemaatschappij.

Curriculum Vitae

Melvin Wevers was born on the 27th of September 1982 in Roermond. In 2001, he completed his secondary education at the Bisschoppelijk College Schöndeln in Roermond. Between 2006 and 2008, he received a MSc in Psychology and a MA (Cum Laude) in American Studies at the University of Utrecht, and a RMA (Cum Laude) in Cultural Analysis at the University of Amsterdam. In 2013, he started his Ph.D. research at the Department of History and Art History in Utrecht as part of the Translantis project. In 2015, he was visiting researcher at the British Library Digital Lab in London. In the spring of 2016, he took part in the 'Culture Analytics' program as an invited researcher at UCLA's Institute for Pure and Applied Mathematics. After finishing his Ph.D. thesis, he was researcher-in-residence at the National Library of the Netherlands. During this short research project, he applied computer vision to digitized advertisements. In October 2017, he will start as a postdoctoral researcher at the Digital Humanities Group of the KNAW Humanities Cluster in Amsterdam.

