

Frank and Anne Hummert's Soap Opera Empire: "Reason-Why" Advertising Strategies in Early Radio Programming

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Long before the advent of the television soap opera, dramatic serials, also known as "washboard weepers," were central to daytime network radio programming strategies from the early 1930s until the late 1950s. Although most radio serials did not survive the transition to television (*Guiding Light* being the significant exception), it was on radio that many of the conventions of the soap opera were developed and established. As broadcast historian Michele Hilmes argues, radio's Golden Age of the 1930s and 1940s "effect[ed] changes in the nation's social habits, business economics, and forms of art and entertainment in far-reaching ways that television, despite its far greater revenues and notoriety, did not originate but only continued."¹

Popular and long-running radio serials included *Ma Perkins*, the "true-life story of a woman whose life is the same, whose surroundings are the same, whose problems are the same as those of thousands of other women in the world today," which was broadcast for 15 minutes a day, five days a week on NBC network radio from 1933 to 1960.² Likewise, *The Romance of Helen Trent*, a serial about a woman who sought to "prove for herself what so many women long[ed] to prove—that because a woman is 35 (or more), romance in life need not be over," was heard on CBS daytime radio during the same period, nearly 27 years. Another long-running serial, *Just Plain Bill*, was the "real life story of a man who might be your next door neighbor." Bill's tenure on daytime network radio lasted from 1933 until 1955.³

These three serials were broadcast on different networks and were sponsored by different companies—Procter & Gamble, Angelus lipstick, and American Home Products, respectively. However, what they have in common is that each was produced and overseen by Frank and Anne Hummert. Between 1932 and 1960, the Hummerts produced nearly 40 different daytime serials of varying longevity, including *Stella Dallas*, *Betty and Bob*, *Backstage Wife*, *David Harum*, *Our Gal Sunday*, *Young Widder Brown*, *Easy Aces*, *John's Other Wife*, *Lorenzo Jones*, *The Couple Next Door*, and *Front Page Farrell*. Unlike other well-known producer/

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writers of early radio serial dramas, such as Elaine Carrington and Irna Phillips, the Hummerts were advertising agency employees. Consequently, advertising industry practices significantly influenced the development of the Hummerts' soap opera conventions, in addition to shaping their soap opera production processes. I will argue that the tenets of "reason-why" advertising strategies, in which the product is presented as a solution to a problem identified by the advertisement, are visible in the Hummerts' use of repetitious, simplistic language, idealized character types, and the intertwining of serial narrative and advertisement within an overarching problem/solution paradigm. Furthermore, the assembly-line production of scripts perfected by the Hummerts not only provided the basis for nearly all subsequent soap opera script production procedures, but also reflected attitudes toward authorship and cultural production then dominant in the advertising industry.

In this study, I intend to do more than just support the already well-accepted fact that early broadcast programming was rooted in commercial imperatives. This case study of the Hummerts' soap opera "empire"⁴ raises issues that have been under-analyzed in both broadcasting and advertising histories. Robert C. Allen argues that most broadcast histories focus on technologies and institutions, refusing to analyze programming as "textual systems."⁵ Likewise, advertising is too often examined as an economic institution and not often enough as *culture*, in the broad anthropological sense. Advertisers generate, exchange, and circulate images and texts that have meaning. As John Sinclair notes in his study of global advertising, the meaning of an advertisement is heavily dependent on "its relation to other meanings, symbols, associations, forms of knowledge and representation already present in the culture."⁶ Nick Browne claims that advertising is the "central mediating discursive institution" in commercial broadcasting because it "regulates the exchange between general processes of production and consumption."⁷ Yet instead of being analyzed as part of broadcasting's "supertext," advertising is too often set aside in broadcast histories as interruptions in program texts. Following up on Raymond Williams' conception of television as a planned "flow" of "commercials interrupted by programs,"⁸ Hilmes argues that the theories of Williams and Browne are supported by the actual historical conditions of programming development. It was not the networks but radio advertisers and advertising agencies who invented and produced many of the broadcast program forms that continue to evolve on television. Consequently, Hilmes calls for more historical studies of the role of advertising agencies in the development of broadcasting, "the true originators of most of the broadcast forms still with us."⁹

I will frame the Hummerts' development of their "formula" for successful soap operas with a review of the early debates in the advertising industry over the efficacy of radio as an advertising medium. The role of the Hummerts' agency, Blackett-Sample-Hummert (B-S-H), will then be scrutinized, along with an explication of the principles of "reason-why" advertising. Having established the industrial context for the Hummerts' work, I will then examine their serials' format, style, and production process for evidence of advertising practice. After considering some of the reasons for the demise of the Hummerts' soap opera

"empire," I will argue that studying historical figures such as the Hummerts can potentially contribute toward further theorization of contemporary cultural production.

EARLY RADIO AND ADVERTISING

According to serial drama historian Raymond Stedman, the Hummerts produced 46 percent of network daytime serials during the years 1932-1937.¹⁰ The Hummerts' position as principal suppliers of daytime serials was a result of their agency's early initiatives to convince advertisers to buy radio broadcast time during the day. Previously, before the full-blown development of radio networks, many advertisers and their agencies were reluctant to utilize radio as an advertising medium at all. As advertising historian Roland Marchand notes, early radio was considered to be a tool of "cultural uplift," a medium that would elevate the tastes of the masses by broadcasting "highbrow" classical music and educational programs. Overt commercial messages mentioning products and prices were to be avoided in order to avoid offending audiences listening in their living room concert halls. Advertising agencies often advised their clients to sponsor a program as a "public service" to generate audience "good will" toward the company. Furthermore, many advertising agencies were reluctant to jeopardize longstanding relationships with the print media, whose commissions on advertising space were their prime source of revenue.¹¹ As a new medium, radio also presented a number of practical problems for agencies: new personnel and skills were needed to produce programs for sponsors; new advertising techniques and styles had to be invented for the nonvisual medium; and new methods for measuring the "circulation" of the ad messages had to be formulated.¹²

In addition to broadcasters' efforts to promote the new medium as an advertising vehicle,¹³ several factors contributed to increased advertiser interest in radio in the late 1920s. First, the formation of national networks provided access to wider markets than localized broadcasting.¹⁴ Second, advertising agencies began purchasing the networks' sustaining programs for their clients to sponsor and began taking over program production. Third, the prime-time comedy serial *Amos 'n' Andy* proved its popularity could translate into higher sales for its sponsor, Pepsodent. Fourth, the print media's resistance to publishing radio program schedules eased as newspaper companies began buying radio stations themselves. But most important, advertisers and their agencies were increasingly lured to radio by what was recognized as its "personal" qualities. As one radio advertising booster declaimed, "the human voice still remains the most potent instrument of emotional expression." As some advertisers grew concerned over the effectiveness of the "impersonal" salesmanship of print advertising, radio's capacity for re-personalizing sales messages and its ability to penetrate the privacy of the home would seem "to be one of the greatest advantages open to broadcast advertising."¹⁵ Thus, as William Boddy argues, radio was becoming a new tool for the more complete interpenetration of capitalism into the domestic sphere.¹⁶

Just as the advertising effectiveness of the new medium was becoming more evident to advertisers, the severe economic crisis of 1929–1932 forced a drastic contraction of production and consumption throughout the economy. Advertising expenditures overall plummeted—for example, newspaper advertising expenditures dropped from \$260 million in 1929 to \$160 million in 1932.¹⁷ Layoffs, bankruptcies, mergers, and account-stealing characterized the shrinking ad industry of the 1930s. No longer credible as messengers of prosperity and the coming good life, advertising agents sought to improve their public image in the face of a widening consumer movement and subsequent governmental efforts to regulate advertising.¹⁸ Despite the overall drop in consumer spending, the number of radio sets “in use” climbed from 9 million in 1929 to over 16 million in 1932.¹⁹ Consequently, radio was the only medium to experience increased advertising expenditures. National advertisers on network radio escalated their spending from \$18 million in 1929 to \$39 million in 1932. In 1933, however, even radio advertising expenditures dropped off, only to recover to their previous levels by 1935.²⁰

The taboo against direct advertising on radio lifted as some advertisers grew “disillusioned” with “good will” sponsorship of programs, finding that most listeners did not “express their gratitude by buying the manufacturers’ products.”²¹ Cultural uplift would not sell goods, as Chester Bowles of the radio-oriented agency Benton & Bowles argued in 1936, because “[w]e can’t give the farmer’s wife and the grocer’s daughter a taste for Beethoven and Brahms; we can’t make them like Shakespeare or Greek tragedy. ... If people don’t listen, they don’t buy. They’ll listen only to what they like.”²² Ad agencies subsequently positioned themselves as expert at attracting those farmers’ wives and grocers’ daughters to their clients’ advertising messages with appropriate programming.

In the 1930s, the ad agency Blackett-Sample-Hummert was particularly successful at winning new clients on the basis of its ability to create programming that attracted female listeners. Central to their strategy was the production of open-ended serial narratives that would regularize listeners’ attention and efficiently commodify their target audience.²³ Consequently, serials became the dominant form of sponsored programming. According to Stedman, 73 new dramatic serials were introduced between 1937 and 1942; by 1940, nine of every ten sponsored network programs was a serial.²⁴

BLACKETT-SAMPLE-HUMMERT’S RADIO ADVERTISING STRATEGIES

Blackett-Sample-Hummert (B-S-H), based in Chicago, was one of the few advertising agencies to flourish in the 1930s. Its client billings increased 167 percent from 1930 to 1934, reflecting its early involvement in radio.²⁵ In 1927 John Glen Sample and his partner, Hill Blackett, had lured the famous copywriter E. Frank Hummert away from the well-established Lord & Thomas agency by promising Hummert he could establish a new radio department in their agency. Although Hummert refused to be an owning partner in the new

agency (apparently because he did not want the responsibility), he required a huge salary and, more important, complete ownership of the radio programs produced for their clients. Sample and Blackett agreed and added Hummert's name to the masthead.

Advertisers and networks alike had assumed there was not a large enough audience during the day to render an investment in programming cost-effective. Housewives were considered to be too busy and distracted to focus on a sponsor's message. Thus, the networks sold daytime hours to advertisers at half the price of evening hours. Although some advertisers consulted women's magazines in order to gauge "feminine tastes,"²⁶ the few daytime sponsored programs tended to be "selling" rather than "entertainment" programs. Not unlike present-day infomercials, these programs offered recipes, beauty tips, and household hints incorporating sponsors' products. By 1933 these programs were in decline, their audience ratings low. At the time, advertising man Herman Hettinger suggested that "American women are tiring of the repetition of these matters and are demanding more in the way of entertainment."²⁷ Calculating that daytime radio might provide a cost-effective and low-priced medium with which to target large audiences of housewife consumers, B-S-H was able to convince the huge magazine advertiser Procter and Gamble (P&G) to sponsor daytime radio entertainment.

B-S-H developed the serial drama *Ma Perkins* to promote P&G's Oxydol laundry soap. As a test of the program's popularity, the agency employed a tried-and-true mail order advertising technique. As Sample later recounted, a premium offer was made on the program.

Then we offered a package of zinnia seeds for a dime. We drew about 1,000,000 dimes. The letters covered the floor of an office . . . I took Mr. Deupree and some other top P&G people and I went in there and we walked around on top of all those letters. That's the first time P&G executives had demonstrated to them the power of this relatively new advertising medium—the daily radio serial.²⁸

By 1935, P&G was the leading national radio advertiser, spending over \$2 million a year just on radio.²⁹ In fact, as a major soap manufacturer, P&G's sponsorship contributed to the currency of the phrase "soap opera."

B-S-H was able to convince more of its clients that radio programming could regularly deliver at a low cost per thousand the female listeners most likely to buy their products. Profits for manufacturers of low unit priced products such as soaps, cereals, and cosmetics depended on high volume sales. The format of the serial narrative—particularly its appeal to "tune in next time"—provided advertisers with an opportunity to keep advertisements of their products continually aimed at their target audience.³⁰ To further maximize audiences, B-S-H began to produce multiple serial programs, which were then "block booked" on network airtime in order to ensure continuous audience attention from one program to another. Block booking also won the agency price discounts from the networks. By 1935, two other B-S-H clients, Sterling Products and American Home Products, were ranked sixth and seventh respectively in radio ad spending in 1935.³¹



Figure 1. Ma Perkins, as played by Virginia Payne, 1954. The Library of American Broadcasting, University of Maryland, College Park.

FRANK HUMMERT AND "REASON-WHY" ADVERTISING

Crucial to B-S-H's success as an agency was its ability to win accounts based on Frank Hummert's reputation as a brilliant copywriter. Account executive Sample pitched to new clients by saying, "Gentlemen, if you hire us I can deliver Frank Hummert's brain to you . . ." ³² B-S-H advertised in the trade press that Hummert had written the most successful ad copy "from a dollars and cents standpoint" as well as being the "most highly paid advertising writer in the world." ³³ Hummert has been credited with inventing advertising slogans that increased sales. Mentioned in the trade press were slogans for Ovaltine, "Troubled with Sleepless Nights? Accept, then, this Unique Test"; for Quaker Quick Macaroni, "Here's that New Food Invention which Banishes Burnt Macaroni"; and for Neet Hair Remover, "If Arm or Leg Hair Worries You, Remove Now Without Bristly Re-Growth." ³⁴

Hummert was an adherent of the "reason-why" school of advertising copy. In this type of advertising, a problem was identified and a product was presented as its solution. The problem, whether it was poor hygiene or sleepless nights, was the bait for the hook, the product/solution. Unlike advertising strategies that relied on humor, charm, visual appeal, or artistic innovation to attract readers, this strategy avoided anything—such as humor—that might distract a reader from the product. By listing "reasons why" a consumer should buy a product rather than entertaining her with humor, reason-why copywriters were also able to defend their craft to clients, literally demonstrating that clients' advertising expenditures were not being wasted on humorous frivolities but were being efficiently applied to hard selling strategies.

Reason-why copywriters assumed the average person could not grasp complex ideas, and so their copy utilized simple language and repetition. The selling points in a reason-why advertisement were repeated over and over, in case the reader missed the point. As the conservative trade magazine *Printers' Ink* asserted, "True 'Reason-Why' Copy is Logic, plus persuasion, plus conviction, all woven into a certain simplicity of thought—pre-digested for the average mind, so that it is easier to *understand* than to *misunderstand* it." ³⁵

Many reason-why advertisements marshalled "facts" in order to appeal to a consumer's "rationality" and convince her that the product was the best solution to a problem. Underlying this professed use of rationality were ad men's assumptions about consumers' lower level of intelligence and their susceptibility to "ballyhoo." Upon these assumptions reason-why advocates meant to build a "science" of advertising. Claude Hopkins, one of Hummert's reason-why mentors at the Lord & Thomas agency, wrote an influential book in 1923, *Scientific Advertising*. Predicting that the mysteries of the mind's mechanics would soon be unlocked for the benefit of marketers everywhere, Hopkins asserted, "Human nature is perpetual. In most respects it is the same today as in the time of Caesar. So the principles of psychology are fixed and enduring." According to Hopkins, human nature dictated that people were likely to be persuaded by statements that resembled facts. Thus, Hopkins mastered the art of the incomplete fact. In his campaign for Schlitz beer, his advertisements trumpeted the fact that the Schlitz brewery washed its bottles with "live steam," implying that only Schlitz

practiced advanced hygiene, while neglecting to mention that every other brewer did the same.³⁶

Reason-why copywriters' reliance on "ballyhoo" and "puffery" echoed the nineteenth-century tactics of P. T. Barnum and patent medicine salesmen. For example, Hopkins' hyperbolic slogans for Puffed Wheat cereal included, "Grains puffed to 8 times normal size," and "125 million steam explosions caused in every kernel."³⁷ Dismissing fellow ad men's accusations that they indulged in a "hard sell" that bordered on the fraudulent, reason-why copywriters emphasized that their techniques were effective *sales* techniques. As the economic crisis of the Depression tempered reformers' drive for more "truth in advertising,"³⁸ reason-why advertising was considered by many advertisers to be a practical selling strategy.

THE HUMMERTS' "FORMULA"

Frank Hummert's roots in advertising have not been entirely overlooked by other observers. In his personality-driven history of American advertising, Stephen Fox describes Hummert as one of the first to bring reason-why techniques to radio.³⁹ However, historical accounts of soap operas tend to credit the Hummerts with having had the greatest influence on the form and style of radio soap opera *despite* the fact they worked for an ad agency.⁴⁰ Thus, there has been no analysis of how reason-why advertising may have influenced the Hummerts' serial drama production.

Robert C. Allen, in his impressive account of the soap opera as "commercial vehicle, cultural artifact, textual system, and site of exchange," argues that it was not the force of an "individual genius" such as Hummert or Irna Phillips that gave rise to the form but that soap opera developed to "fit" the "preexisting needs of big business."⁴¹ As my discussion of advertising strategies should demonstrate, I am in accord with Allen's assessment. Yet, I have chosen to single out the Hummerts not to prove any claim that they were the first or best authors of soap operas but to further interrogate the strategies and practices of commercial cultural production as the Hummerts exemplified it. Thus, I see Frank Hummert's training in and adherence to reason-why advertising tenets as significant and influential in the development of soap opera and visible in the serials' simple, repetitive language and idealized, stereotypical characters. The maintenance of a problem/solution problematic in both the narrative fictions and the accompanying advertisements enhanced the complementarity of each.

Frank Hummert, like many advertising men who felt a masculine superiority over the putatively feminized, childish, irrational, and suggestible consumer, looked to a female assistant to articulate and identify the concerns and interests of the targeted female audience. His partner Glen Sample recalls persuading Hummert in 1930 to hire the former journalist and divorcee Anne Ashenurst as his radio assistant despite Hummert's policy of not hiring women: "We were selling a lot to women in those days and I knew that a writer with the women's [sic] touch would be a great asset."⁴² Their choice reflected advertising men's gender essentialism; far from being a housewife herself, Anne Ashenurst

Hummert claimed in a 1991 interview to have had no domestic abilities whatsoever.⁴³ Anne Ashenhurst's experience as a journalist, her attention to detail, and her devotion to improving sales for B-S-H's clients soon proved to be indispensable to B-S-H's expanding radio production department. By the time they married in 1935, Anne Hummert was widely regarded as the organizing force in B-S-H's radio department, and she often served to "translate" Frank Hummert's wishes to subordinates, clients, and networks.⁴⁴ Despite their aversion to publicity and reputation for secrecy, Frank and Anne Hummert's production partnership became well-known.⁴⁵

Citing various inspirations, including serialized novels, comic strips, and advice for the lovelorn columns in newspapers, Frank Hummert later described their idea for a dramatic serial that would appeal to housewives as a "guess": "Not a flash of so-called genius, but a shot in the dark."⁴⁶ The Hummerts were not the only ones to devise daytime dramatic serials. Irna Phillips created dramatic serials at around the same time. Phillips, who became a major force in soap opera with the ongoing *Guiding Light* and who was the mentor for the soap opera writer Agnes Nixon, was primarily a writer, while the Hummerts were fundamentally producers.⁴⁷ Phillips' efforts to write all the scripts herself kept her from producing more than a few serials at one time, whereas the Hummerts were soon producing multiple serials simultaneously from their script-writing "factory," as discussed below.

The Hummerts' "formula" for attracting daytime listeners was simple. Each program had to be based on a fundamental human problem, particularly a problem faced by housewife listeners of the time. These problems often revolved around the divisions of social class, as in *Stella Dallas*, in which a mother "saw her beloved daughter Laurel marry into wealth and society, and realizing the difference in their tastes and worlds, went out of Laurel's life."⁴⁸ In *Just Plain Bill*, Bill's initial problem was whether a barber like himself would be able to get on with his grown daughter who had been raised in a higher social class than he. And *Young Widder Brown's* problem was whether a young single mother could ever remarry.⁴⁹ As in reason-why advertising strategies, the problem provided the bait with which to hook an audience.

Frank Hummert claimed that "[o]ur stories are about the everyday doings of plain, everyday people—stories that can be understood and appreciated on Park Avenue and on the prairie."⁵⁰ As reason-why advertising strategist Hopkins argued, ad men should sell to a "typical" individual by imagining himself in the shoes of such a buyer.⁵¹ Hummert applied this philosophy by creating characters whose lives and vocations seemed unexceptional and accessible to targeted audiences—a mother, a barber, a wife, a married couple. The central character, referred to as the "tentpole" of the narrative, often served to listen and advise others on their common, everyday problems. The kindly and virtuous character Bill of *Just Plain Bill* functioned "much like a super seltzer tablet relieving those in distress" according to serial historian Stedman.⁵² These characters were not unlike figures in reason-why advertising copy who advised readers in comic-strip style advertisements on how to solve their love life problems with personal care products. Their effectiveness as advisers depended upon their representation as friendly, believable, and accessible authority figures.⁵³

The Hummerts' programs were often criticized for their glacially slow plot development.⁵⁴ This was taken to an extreme in *The Romance of Helen Trent*, in which the main character remained at age 35 for decades as she lost or rejected one suitor after the other, never marrying but managing to maintain her virtue. However, the slow plot development served to retain the attention of intermittent listeners, allowing listeners to tune in fewer than five days a week and still follow the narrative. Furthermore, as reason-why practitioners the Hummerts assumed their audiences were of low intelligence and required continual recapitulation and repetition in order to understand the plots. They did not consider their feminized audiences capable of grasping complex ideas, consequently few of their scenes included more than two or three actors or more than one issue at a time. Actors were also cast on the basis of their ability to clearly enunciate the dialogue.

The notable lack of humor in the Hummerts' serials can also be attributed to reason-why advertising tenets. Reason-why proponents argued that humor, cleverness, or novelty might attract a listener or reader to an advertisement, but could not sell the product. Thus, reflecting a concern that humor would detract from the sponsor's selling message, the tone of the Hummerts' serials tended toward the grave and portentous—and, consequently, was easily satirized.

Reason-why copy proponents also stressed the didactic potential of advertising, as did the Hummerts in their serial dramas.⁵⁵ In addition to providing tips for dealing with the rationing of consumer goods during World War II, many of the serial scripts emphasized values represented as traditional or American. In response to critics who accused the soaps of undermining morale or brainwashing gullible housewives, Anne Hummert defended their programs as upholding moral values: "Ours is a religious country, so we try to embody the idea of right. Crime may appear [in a serial], but either the annihilation or change of heart of the erring one must follow."⁵⁶ The issue of crime was pertinent during the Depression, as some social commentators feared that Americans faced with poverty and joblessness would resort to crime or attacks on property. Thus, in an effort to both discourage criminality and potential tendencies toward socialism, Frank Hummert described how their serials emphasized a redefinition of "success."

I would describe most of these scripts as success stories of the unsuccessful. Take *Just Plain Bill*, for instance. His humble calling is that of barber, who is always in financial difficulties, and yet he has made a real success of his life by endearing himself to others and winning their respect.⁵⁷

The serials' didacticism supported advertisers' views of their targeted audiences, women between the ages of 18 and 49. Robert C. Allen points out how the Depression tended to reinforce traditional gender roles, confining women to the domestic sphere in a time of high unemployment. Women were exhorted to "keep things going" at home despite the economic crisis. The didactic quality of radio soap operas, which often juxtaposed narrative and advertising as complementary problems and solutions, "contributed to and reinforced" the "cultural consensus" that women's labor should be confined to domestic and emotional spheres.⁵⁸ James Thurber observed in 1948 that the two-dimensionality of soap opera characters was based on the assumption that women characters who help

others solve their problems "must be flawless projections of the housewife's ideal woman."⁵⁹

The didacticism functioned not only ideologically (in the sense that it appeared to inculcate dominant values) but it also helped to naturalize the insertion of reason-why advertisements in and adjacent to the serials' narratives. In most of the radio serials produced by the Hummerts, the advertising was neither "spot" nor fully integrated into the program's narrative. Instead, a "sandwich" style was used. After a musical signature was played on an organ, the announcer delivered the opening tag line, a minute-and-a-half-long commercial message, and then introduced that episode's nine and half minutes of dialogue, followed by a closing commercial. The length and style of the commercials closely approximated standards for written reason-why copy of the time.

The language of the advertisements was simplistic and repetitive, making the same claims in several different ways. The brand names of products were usually spelled out for the listener to ensure brand recognition. It is worth considering the entire text of the introductory advertisement of a 1933 *Ma Perkins* episode to illustrate the repetitive effect; this advertisement lasted for one minute and thirty seconds, and was delivered by a narrator who introduced the day's episode.

Before we hear from Ma Perkins today though, I want to tell you about something else for a minute that will be of vital interest to every housewife listening, about a remarkable new laundry soap discovery that actually makes any other kind of laundry soap old fashioned and out of date. It's the new, improved Oxydol, spelled O-X-Y-D-O-L, Oxydol. It embodies the latest scientific discovery of the world's greatest soap makers, the Procter and Gamble Company. Whatever soap you've been using in the past, whether it's a granulated soap, a soap flake, or a bar soap, you owe it to yourself to try this new improved Oxydol. It makes washing easier, gets the washing done faster, and is safer for colors and fabrics than any other laundry soap now or ever known. Here's what Oxydol will do for you under guarantee of the world's greatest soap makers. Oxydol will wash your clothes 25 to 40 percent faster, whether you use a tub or the latest improved washing machine. It washes clothes four to five shades whiter by actual scientific tests than any other soap can do. And absolutely without scrubbing or boiling. And remember that even your best cotton prints and your children's dainty frocks are safe in mild thick Oxydol suds because it embodies a new discovery which keeps all the fast washing and white washing qualities *in* the soap and leaves all the harshness out. It's safe for colors, safe for fabrics, and yet so kind to your hands that, well, you're simply amazed at its cleansing power. And now, we find Ma Perkins just where we left her yesterday...⁶⁰

Reason-why tenets are evident in the references to technological progress ("the latest scientific discovery"), quantification (cleans "25 to 40 percent faster"), scientific proof ("actual scientific tests"), and hyperbole ("remarkable," "greatest," "simply amazed"). Occasionally, a network program censor would call the Hummerts to task for the misleading or exaggerated advertising claims. Anne Hummert recalls negotiating with NBC executives and cooperating by changing terms like "the best" to "one of the best."⁶¹ Although this advertisement's length and repetitiousness appear excessive today, this strategy indicates how unsure advertisers were that listeners were "getting" the selling message. Furthermore, while the length of most advertising texts today is much shorter,

advertisers still rely on the principle of repeated exposure to the message to ensure advertising effectiveness.

The lessons of the serial narratives were also integrated into and referred to in the advertisements themselves. In the same episode of *Ma Perkins*, the announcer closed the episode with a moral and an advertisement. The plot line concerned the widow Ma Perkins' resistance to mortgaging her lumberyard in order to bail out her no-good son-in-law. She finally gave in to her children's pleas. The narrator returned to report,

And so Ma Perkins has a change of heart at last. She realizes what mothers have found since the world began. You can't run other people's affairs for 'em, you can't make them do what you think is best. You've just got to help them. And speaking of help, heh-heh, there's no household job that needs outside help more than washing clothes. Good intentions won't get clothes clean. If you don't use the best soap, well, you just wear yourself out and get a grey, disappointing wash. But suppose every time you washed clothes they came out fresh and sparkling white and colors unfaded and everything smelling sweet and fresh and clean. Heh, it's almost a joy to work then when you get the right results. And that's the kind of wash you will get if you use Oxydol laundry soap. ...⁶²

The announcer's chatty mode of address, which followed several minutes of folksy and plain-talking dialogue, helped to smooth over any sense of interference or disruption to the listener. Both the fictional narrative and the advertisement operated within a problem/solution paradigm. The character Ma Perkins functioned to dispense advice on the management of family members, while the narrator presented a solution to the increasing demands of household technologies.⁶³

THE SOAP OPERA "FACTORY"

While today many of the tenets and strategies of reason-why advertising are less noticeable in both advertising and soap opera texts, the Hummerts' efficient soap opera script "factory" is evident in present-day soap opera script production. Their "factory" was created in response to the problems of producing multiple serials simultaneously. Compared to other advertising vehicles, radio serials were labor intensive and required the constant generation of new material. Yet sponsors were attracted to serials because they regularly delivered audiences at a low cost per thousand listeners. The Hummerts could not produce more than a few programs at a time until they developed their "assembly-line system," which resulted in their becoming known as the "Fords of the serial industry."⁶⁴ In addition, the Hummerts' interlocking relationships with agencies, sponsors, talent, writers, and networks furthered their drive for centralization, efficiency, and control and brought a hierarchical system of writers into serial program production.

In a rare interview in 1939, the Hummerts described their "script-writing factory," which the reporter compared to Alexandre Dumas' "fiction factory." The Hummerts claimed to generate up to 6.5 million words a year producing at least



Figure 2. Group cast of Backstage Wife, circa 1938. The Library of American Broadcasting, University of Maryland, College Park.

100 scripts a week; their serials were said to take up nearly one-eighth of all radio broadcast time.⁶⁵ (Their attempt to quantify their production by number of words written is clearly in the reason-why tradition of exaggerated facts and figures.) During the 1930s, the Hummerts introduced new serials every year. The first step was to invent or buy a title and character. Many Hummert soap operas were based on characters already proven popular in other media, such as *Stella Dallas*, based on the film starring Barbara Stanwyck, which was in turn based on the popular novel by Olivia Higgins Prouty. The presold character franchise allowed the Hummerts to develop plot lines that "follow the lives of the characters after the last chapter of the book or the final curtain in the theatre."⁶⁶

In the privacy of their house in Greenwich, Connecticut, the Hummerts would outline a theme in four or five pages. Then a story line would be sketched for five or six episodes; this was sent to a dialogue writer. One of the twelve or so dialogue writers kept on staff then would write a draft, which was read by a script editor. The script editor kept the dialogue writers apprised of deadlines and plot shifts. All communication with writers was in writing.⁶⁷ By delegating the actual dialogue writing to their employees, the Hummerts were able to control and oversee the plot lines of multiple serials simultaneously.

Writers were expected to produce 15 to 25 episodes a week, sometimes working on five serials concurrently.⁶⁸ Writers were prized for their speed and efficiency and were discouraged from contributing plot ideas. The dialogue writers were paid by the script, usually \$25 apiece; the more serials they worked on, the higher their weekly pay. This piece rate was half the going rate for radio script writers.⁶⁹ But the writers, like the actors, were usually employed on more than one serial. When criticized for their low compensation policies, the Hummerts defended themselves by claiming that they provided workers with steady employment and employees were thus guaranteed to make a certain amount.⁷⁰ The Hummerts' policies have been credited with stimulating the formation of the Radio Writers Guild.⁷¹

The Hummerts often shifted writers around from serial to serial, ostensibly to keep their writing fresh, but also to prevent too close an identification of the dialogue writers with the program.⁷² The Hummerts also insisted on anonymity for the dialogue writers.⁷³ With the spoken tag line "written by Anne Hummert," many of the programs were identified as Hummert creations, thereby creating a kind of Hummert trademark. The dialogue writers were not collaborators with the Hummerts, only employees who had little control over the plot or characterizations.⁷⁴ This mode of script production continues today. As Allen describes present-day television soap opera script production, dialogue writers have a similar relationship to the producers who conceptualize the plot lines. Soap opera writers do not function in collaborative groups but are intentionally isolated from other writers and the production process.⁷⁵

The Hummerts' insistence on controlling creative hierarchy was not unique to them, yet their maintenance of writers' anonymity reflected attitudes in the advertising industry toward the status of copywriters. Copywriters were considered to be anonymous craftsmen rather than identifiable authors or artists. In his discussion of ad industry debates over whether copywriters should "sign" their copy, historian Jackson Lears notes the failure of certain copywriters'

aspirations to be recognized as individual artists. From the point of view of the advertiser, "the artisan endangered the entire enterprise when he drew attention to his own artifice."⁷⁶ Copywriters were reminded that their work was not self-expression (or art) but the selling of an advertiser's product. Reason-why advocates were particularly wary of any claims to artistry on the part of copywriters and were adamant that copywriters not be allowed to sign copy.⁷⁷ (Ironically, Hummert's status as a preeminent reason-why copywriter partly rested on his publicized authorship of famous advertising slogans, especially the World War I slogan "Bonds or Bondage."⁷⁸) Thus, while the Hummerts were excoriated by critics and writers like Dwight MacDonald for appearing to demean an ideal of creative autonomy for writers,⁷⁹ they were transposing the values of creative anonymity from advertising into radio programming.

For the Hummerts, script writing was not a fine art supported by attendant romantic ideologies of artistic expression and autonomy but a craft to be practiced efficiently and methodically. The success of their advertisements and soap operas rested on two foundations: their effective harnessing of cultural codes in order to produce a meaningful aesthetic experience for targeted audiences, and the efficient use of clients' resources to produce the desired commodity audience. Additional industrial practices by the Hummerts that reduced their production costs and increased their profit margins included the employment of the same actors on concurrently running programs, the requirement that actors "kick back" a 5 percent commission to the Hummerts' talent agency Air Features, Inc., and the restriction of rehearsals to one hour to prevent overtime.⁸⁰

DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE

When B-S-H split up in 1943, the Hummerts owned their programs and were able to remain independent producers, delegating the buying of air time to the newly formed agency of Dancer-Sample-Fitzgerald. In 1948, the peak year for radio advertising revenues, the Hummerts were overseeing twelve serials simultaneously. Their control over so many serials meant that the networks and sponsors often catered to them.⁸¹ If a sponsor tried to interfere or participate in their program production, Frank Hummert would threaten to quit the account, claiming he did not tell sponsors how to manufacture soap, so why should they tell him how to write dramas?⁸² The Hummerts were such a formidable force in network program production that they were among the few production companies to disregard the blacklists of the "Red Channels" era.⁸³

Advertisers continued to sponsor radio soaps into the 1950s after the advent of national network television because radio soaps were produced at an extremely low cost for the number of listeners they attracted. As late as 1958, 16 serials were broadcast on network radio, and only 10 serials on network television.⁸⁴ Although radio daytime serials remained on the air longer than most prime-time radio programs, the last network radio daytime serials were broadcast in 1960, ending the Hummerts' hold on daytime programming. Factors affecting the demise of the radio serials included loss of sponsors and audiences to television soap operas, and affiliate pressure for local control over programming.⁸⁵ Radio

actress Mary Jane Higby has described the Hummerts' tenacity in the face of the shift to television—changing program times as better slots became available, experimenting with plot lines, introducing new programs.⁸⁶ CBS bought the Hummerts' production company, Air Features, and they retired to a private life.

While their script production process would transfer to television programs, not much else of their dramatic "formula" would. The television soap opera would develop a greater emphasis on characterization and move away from reason-why didacticism. Furthermore, many of the techniques utilized by the Hummerts in their production of live, single-sponsored serial programs with integrated or sandwiched advertisements would become mostly obsolete with the advent of taped or filmed programming sponsored by multiple advertisers, who use separable and repeatable (and therefore mobile) commercials.⁸⁷

When asked in 1991 how she wished to be best remembered, Anne Hummert did not mention the script factory, or the didactic effects of their soap operas, or even their cooperation with the Office of War Information during World War II. Instead of claiming authorship or credit for entertaining millions of listeners, Anne Hummert preferred to be remembered for her efficacy as an advertising agent and businesswoman: the Hummert programs, she claimed, helped sell goods in the depths of the Depression when nothing else seemed to. Thus, she wished to be remembered as "having done something to give jobs to people in the Depression."⁸⁸

CONCLUSION

The strategies of the Hummerts and the Blackett-Sample-Hummert ad agency had a significant impact on early radio programming formation and, ultimately, on television soap opera production processes. The advertising agencies of the 1930s and 1940s were the major production companies that supplied programming for commercial network radio; investigating their techniques and strategies serves to illuminate sources of television history that are often overlooked.⁸⁹ Frank Hummert's training in and adherence to the reason-why school of advertising strategy affected the formulation and production of the Hummerts' radio serials. Evidence of reason-why strategies can be found in the Hummerts' use of simple language, repetition, didacticism, humorlessness, and in their efforts to contain both the advertising and the fictional narrative in a problem/solution paradigm. The Hummerts' development of an assembly-line production process enhanced efficiency and profitability while maintaining a kind of intentional authorial anonymity that functioned to privilege and foreground the commodity program and the advertised commodity over any potential claims to artistry or high culture. Their hierarchical system of script production is evident in current soap opera script production processes, in which the labors of plot conception and dialogue writing are parceled out to specialized writers. Furthermore, the ongoing success of serials and episodic series on television is partly predicated on the maintenance of a certain amount of authorial anonymity that serves to foreground a program's characters and situations over an individual authorial "voice."

The significance of the Hummerts' dominance of early radio serial production is not simply reducible to a set of industrial and economic practices. An analysis of the Hummerts' strategies as producers of advertising and programming helps explicate the ways that advertising functions as, in Nick Browne's words, the "central mediating discursive institution" of commercial broadcasting. The Hummerts were culture producers who engaged in and traded on cultural meanings, and they operated in the service of powerful commercial imperatives. The case of the Hummerts points to some of the problems critics and historians face when analyzing the types of commercial cultural production that are not limited to a single author or text. Clearly, the Hummerts' practices were similar to other efforts to regularize and standardize the production of cultural commodities.⁹⁰ Yet the tenacity of the romantic ideology of the autonomous, self-expressive artist has encumbered serious critical assessment of the impact of producers like the Hummerts on the formation of contemporary culture. It is my contention that the creation and dissemination of vast amounts of imagery and text *expressly designed to sell* requires that we reconsider the categories of "culture" and "advertising" in order to further theorize both the production and reception of mass media texts.

NOTES

1. Michele Hilmes, *Hollywood and Broadcasting: From Radio to Cable* (Urbana: U. of Illinois Press, 1990), 49.
2. *Ma Perkins*, Dec. 12, 1933, recorded transcription, Museum of Television and Radio, New York (hereafter cited as MTR).
3. *The Romance of Helen Trent*, Sept. 21, 1939, recorded transcription, MTR; Raymond William Stedman, *The Serials: Suspense and Drama by Installment* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971, 1977), 256-57.
4. The term used by soap opera historian Robert LaGuardia in *Soap World* (N.p.: Arbor House, 1983), 23.
5. Robert C. Allen, *Speaking of Soap Operas* (Chapel Hill: U. of North Carolina Press, 1985), 131.
6. John Sinclair, "Globalisation and National Culture," *Policy Research Paper No. 24* (South Melbourne, Australia: Centre for International Research on Communication and Information Technologies, 1992), 28. See also William Leiss, Stephen Kline, and Sut Jhally, *Social Communication in Advertising: Persons, Products, and Images of Well-Being* (New York: Methuen, 1986).
7. Nick Browne, "The Political Economy of the Television (Super) Text," in *Television: The Critical View*, 4th ed., ed. Horace Newcomb (New York: Oxford U. Press, 1987), 589.
8. Raymond Williams, *Television: Technology and Cultural Form* (New York: Schocken, 1975), 90.
9. Hilmes, *Hollywood and Broadcasting*, 81.
10. Stedman, *The Serials*, 501, 267. Stedman's account of the history of movie, radio, and television serials is primarily a chronology with little cultural or social analysis.
11. Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 89-92. Even today, most advertising agencies are not paid by their clients for their "creative" work on ads but instead receive a 15 percent commission from media outlets on the amount of ad time or space bought for clients.
12. Ralph M. Hower, *The History of an Advertising Agency: N.W. Ayer & Son at Work, 1869-1939* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939), 167.
13. In 1926, the nascent NBC network appointed Frank Arnold, an ad man, to be NBC's "Ambassador at Large to the American business world" and overcome the "sales resistance" of corporate executives to advertising on the new medium. See Gleason L. Archer, *Big Business and Radio* (New York: The American Historical Company, 1939), 294-95.

14. Susan Smulyan, *Selling Radio: The Commercialization of American Broadcasting, 1920-1934* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994), ch. 2.
15. Herman S. Hettinger, *A Decade of Radio Advertising* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933), 35.
16. William Boddy, "The Rhetoric and the Economic Roots of the American Broadcasting Industry," *Cine-Tracts*, vol. 2, no. 2 (Spring 1979): 48.
17. James Rorty, "Advertising and the Depression," *The Nation*, Dec. 20, 1933, 703.
18. As advertising critic James Rorty noted in 1933, "The Golden Bowl of advertising is not broken, but it has been badly cracked." Rorty, "Advertising and the Depression," 703. On the regulation of advertising, see Otis Pease, *The Responsibilities of American Advertising: Private Control and Public Influence, 1920-1940* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958).
19. Hettinger, *A Decade of Radio Advertising*, 42.
20. *Printers' Ink*, July 25, 1935, 76.
21. L. Ames Brown, "Radio Broadcasting as an Advertising Medium," in *The Advertising Agency Looks at Radio*, ed. Neville O'Neill (New York: Appleton, 1932), 7.
22. Chester B. Bowles, "Agency's Responsibility in Radio," *Printers' Ink Monthly*, July 1936, 81.
23. Allen, *Speaking of Soap Operas*, 177.
24. Stedman, *The Serials*, 306-307.
25. Advertisement, *Printers' Ink*, May 3, 1934, 74-75. Within the ad industry, an agency's size and status is indicated by the number of dollars its clients are billed for the purchase of advertising time and space in various media. Agency profits are ideally at least 10 percent of the billings amount.
26. Alfred N. Goldsmith and Austen C. Lescarbourea, *This Thing Called Broadcasting* (New York: Henry Holt, 1930), 222.
27. Hettinger, *A Decade of Radio Advertising*, 215, 226.
28. Lawrence Doherty, "Adman Sample? He's Florida Land Tycoon," part 2, *Advertising Age*, May 14, 1962, 170.
29. "150 Leading Radio Advertisers in 1935," *Advertising and Selling*, Jan. 16, 1936, 29.
30. Allen, *Speaking of Soap Operas*, 177.
31. "150 Leading Radio Advertisers in 1935," *Advertising and Selling*, Jan. 16, 1936, 29.
32. Lawrence E. Doherty, "Adman Sample? He's Florida Land Tycoon," part 1, *Advertising Age*, May 7, 1962, 66.
33. Advertisement, *Printers' Ink*, Oct. 27, 1927, 166-167. Hummert's annual salary in the 1930s was reputed to be up to \$150,000.
34. *Tide*, May 1929, 8.
35. Quoted in Stephen Fox, *The Mirror Makers: A History of American Advertising and Its Creators* (New York: Morrow, 1984), 50.
36. Claude C. Hopkins, *My Life in Advertising; Scientific Advertising* (Chicago: Advertising Publications, Inc., 1966), 242-243; Fox, *The Mirror Makers*, 54.
37. Hopkins, *My Life in Advertising*, 223-225.
38. Daniel Pope, *The Making of Modern Advertising* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), 174.
39. Fox, *The Mirror Makers*, 158.
40. See Mary Jane Higby, *Tune in Tomorrow* (New York: Cowles, 1966), 139; James Thurber, *The Beast in Me and Other Animals* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1973), 200; Madeleine Edmondson and David Rounds, *The Soaps* (New York: Stein and Day, 1973), 53; Muriel Cantor and Suzanne Pingree, *The Soap Opera* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1983), 40.
41. Allen, *Speaking of Soap Operas*, 7, 177.
42. Doherty, "Adman Sample? He's Florida Land Tycoon," part 1, 66.
43. Anne Hummert explains that her lack of domestic skills required that she take her business career quite seriously (unlike those women expecting to leave the work force at the time of marriage). I am indebted to Philip Napoli for providing a recording of his interview with Anne Hummert that took place on June 7, 1991, in New York City.
44. In her interview with P. Napoli, Anne Hummert explains that Frank Hummert's British accent was unintelligible to many.
45. One observer reports that their secrecy was the result of the heavy criticism of their soap operas: Thomas Whiteside, *The Relaxed Sell* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), 35. Certain facts about the Hummerts' pasts are shrouded in mythology. Rumor had it that Frank Hummert once

- rode with the Texas Rangers as a youth before writing for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. See Edmondson and Rounds, *The Soaps*, 53.
46. "Hummerts to Exit from B-S-H," *Advertising Age*, Aug. 16, 1943, 2; Stedman, *The Serials*, 235.
 47. Cantor and Pingree, *The Soap Opera*, 42. Ellen Seiter discusses Phillips in terms of how her soaps represented women and how Phillips defended soaps as educational and uplifting. "'To Teach and to Sell': Irna Phillips and Her Sponsors, 1930-1954," *Journal of Film and Video* 40 (Winter 1988): 21-35.
 48. *Stella Dallas* transcription, "The Egyptian Mummy," no date.
 49. Anne Hummert takes credit for inventing these initial basic story problems. Interview with P. Napoli.
 50. Michael Mok, "Radio Script-Writing Factory Outdoes Dumas Père's Plant," *New York Post*, Jan. 30, 1939.
 51. Hopkins, *My Life in Advertising*, 242-43.
 52. Stedman, *The Serials*, 256.
 53. Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*, 13.
 54. See Allen, *Speaking of Soap Operas*, 16-18, on critic Dwight MacDonald's assessment of Hummert soap operas as "kitsch."
 55. As Allen points out, "Because of their status as vehicles for the advertising of consumer products, soap operas were from the beginning 'didactic' in nature." *Speaking of Soap Operas*, 138.
 56. Harriet Corley, "Soap Opera Her Empire," *New York Sun*, Nov. 12, 1944.
 57. "Radio Serial Has Formula," *New York Times*, July 31, 1938.
 58. Allen also argues that the open-ended narrative structure of soap operas allowed for narrative adaptation to changing social conditions while regularly delivering the commodity female audience to the advertisers. Allen, *Speaking of Soap Operas*, 135-136, 172.
 59. James Thurber, "Soapland," in *Culture and Commitment, 1929-1945*, ed. Warren Susman (New York: George Braziller, 1973), 155.
 60. *Ma Perkins*, Dec. 12, 1933, recorded transcription, MTR.
 61. Anne Hummert, in interview with P. Napoli.
 62. *Ma Perkins*, Dec. 12, 1933, recorded transcription, MTR.
 63. In the 1930s, the dissemination of labor-saving appliances, such as washing machines, elevated acceptable standards of cleanliness. See Adrian Forty, *Objects of Desire* (New York: Pantheon), 210.
 64. Mok, "Radio Script-Writing Factory."
 65. Mok, "Radio Script-Writing Factory."
 66. "Radio Serial Has Formula," *New York Times*, July 31, 1938.
 67. Mok, "Radio Script-Writing Factory."
 68. Anne Hummert only admits to assigning writers to two serials at a time. Interview with P. Napoli.
 69. Corley, "Soap Opera Her Empire"; Whiteside, *The Relaxed Sell*, 45; "The Hummerts' Super Soaps," *Newsweek*, Jan. 10, 1944, 80.
 70. "Hummert Tells How, Why," *Variety*, May 11, 1938, 27.
 71. Robert Landry, "Pioneer Soaper Frank Hummert, Ever the Hermit, Almost 'Sneaks' His Obit," *Variety*, April 27, 1966.
 72. However, one of their first serials was not written assembly line style. Reporter Charles Robert Douglas Hardy Andrews churned out *Just Plain Bill* scripts singlehandedly—his typing speed was legendary. See Thurber, "Soapland."
 73. Eventually, after the establishment of the American Federation of Radio Artists (AFRA), the Hummerts finally agreed in 1939 to allow dialogue writers' names on the covers of scripts, along with a "supervised by Frank and Anne Hummert" credit. "Frank Hummert Gives His Views," *Variety*, Jan. 25, 1939, 26.
 74. J. Fred MacDonald, *Don't Touch That Dial!* (Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1979), 249.
 75. Allen, *Speaking of Soap Operas*, 53.
 76. Jackson Lears, "Some Versions of Fantasy: Toward a Cultural History of American Advertising, 1880-1930," *Prospects* 9 (1984): 350-51.
 77. See also Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*, 43.
 78. "Hummerts to Exit from B-S-H," *Advertising Age*, Aug. 16, 1943.
 79. Allen, *Speaking of Soap Operas*, 17. See Allen, 15, on the critical assessments that soaps could not be an art form because there are no identifiable authors.

80. This type of commission on talent was common in vaudeville; doubling up performers was likewise common in the circus. "Frank Hummert Gives His Views," 26; Landry, "Pioneer Soaper Frank Hummert, Ever the Hermit, Almost 'Sneaks' His Obit." Anne Hummert claims that their talent agency was formed primarily to protect actors from unscrupulous talent agents; interview with P. Napoli.
81. Fox, *The Mirror Makers*, 160-161.
82. Anne Hummert, interview with P. Napoli.
83. Higby, *Tune in Tomorrow*, 139.
84. Stedman, *The Serials*, 346-47, 387.
85. Allen, *Speaking of Soap Operas*, 126.
86. Higby, *Tune in Tomorrow*, 213.
87. Yet, several soap operas continue to be owned by an advertiser, maintaining a sponsorship structure similar to that of the Hummerts' era. For example, Procter and Gamble still owns *As the World Turns*, *Guiding Light*, and *Another World*.
88. Anne Hummert, interview with P. Napoli.
89. Hilmes, *Hollywood and Broadcasting*, 89.
90. For example, see Janet Staiger on standardization and differentiation in the Hollywood mode of production. David Bordwell, Janet Staiger, and Kristin Thompson, *The Classical Hollywood Cinema* (New York: Columbia U. Press, 1985).